

Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom

Perspectives on the Pyramid Age



Edited by
PETER DER MANUELIAN
and
THOMAS SCHNEIDER

BRILL

Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom

Harvard Egyptological Studies

Editor

Peter Der Manuelian (*Harvard University*)

Harvard Egyptological Studies

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Contents

- Editor's Introduction VII
Preface VIII
- 1 Ancient Egyptian History as an Example of Punctuated Equilibrium:
An Outline 1
Miroslav Bárta
- 2 Economic Implications of the Menkaure Triads 18
Florence Dunn Friedman
- 3 Did the Old Kingdom Collapse? A New View of the First
Intermediate Period 60
John Gee
- 4 The Chronology of the Third and Fourth Dynasties according to
Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* 76
Roman Gundacker
- 5 The Entextualization of the Pyramid Texts and the Religious History of
the Old Kingdom 200
Harold M. Hays†
- 6 Shareholders: The Menkaure Valley Temple Occupation in Context 227
Mark Lehner
- 7 Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Contributions to Old Kingdom History at Giza: Some Rights and
Wrongs 315
Peter Der Manuelian
- 8 Cattle, Kings and Priests: Phyle Rotations and Old Kingdom Civil
Dates 337
John S. Nolan
- 9 The Sed-Festival of Niuserre and the Fifth Dynasty Sun Temples 366
Massimiliano Nuzzolo

- 10 The State of Egypt in the Eighth Dynasty 393
Hratch Papazian
- 11 The Old Kingdom Abroad: An Epistemological Perspective
With Remarks on the Biography of Iny and the Kingdom of Dugurasu 429
Thomas Schneider
- 12 The Dawn of Osiris and the Dusk of the Sun-Temples: Religious History at the End of the Fifth Dynasty 456
Rachel Shalomi-Hen
- 13 Centralized Taxation during the Old Kingdom 470
Leslie Anne Warden
- Index 497

Editor's Introduction

Exactly 110 years ago, during the summer of 1905, representatives from Harvard University created one of the longest-running and most successful archaeological expeditions ever undertaken. Harvard's President Charles W. Eliot and David Gordon Lyon, Assyriologist and founder/director of the Harvard Semitic Museum, negotiated with their counterparts at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, to initiate the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition. George A. Reisner (Harvard AB 1889, PhD 1893) was appointed director. This Expedition continued with hardly an interruption until Reisner's death at Giza in 1942, and finally closed in 1947. In all, Reisner explored twenty-four sites in Egypt, Sudan (ancient Nubia), and Palestine.

An early twentieth-century pioneer in responsible archaeological method and documentation, Reisner assembled a massive archaeological archive in addition to the artifacts and works of art he discovered. The antiquities he excavated are now primarily in collections in Cairo, Istanbul, Khartoum, Berkeley, Boston, and Cambridge. Today, many of Reisner's sites are once again under investigation by numerous international expeditions, augmenting and expanding upon his work.

An agreement between Harvard and the MFA on July 3, 1905 stated that, "The records of the expedition and the rights of publication shall belong to the University." The creation of the present monograph series, entitled "Harvard Egyptological Studies" (HES), is in partial fulfillment of Harvard's commitment to scholarly publication, and in coordination with a recent reemphasis on Egyptology within its teaching curriculum. The series is sponsored by the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, and the Department of Anthropology, both of which are in the University's Faculty of Arts and Sciences. HES will highlight, but is not limited to, sites and selected aspects of the HU–MFA Expedition. Invited topics will include recent PhD dissertations; reports from excavations; specialized studies in ancient Egyptian language, history, and culture; conference proceedings; publications of scholarly archives; and historiographical works covering the field of Egyptology.

This first volume in the HES series contains the papers from an Old Kingdom conference held at Harvard University on April 26, 2012 (see the preface to this volume below). Additional volumes are under consideration or in preparation, and it is my hope that HES will become a significant and regular contributor to Egyptological discourse.

Peter Der Manuelian

Editor, Harvard Egyptological Studies

Philip J. King Professor of Egyptology, Harvard University

Director, Harvard Semitic Museum

Preface

In this first volume of the Harvard Egyptological Studies we publish the proceedings of an International Symposium held at Harvard University on April 26th, 2012, and entitled: "Toward a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age." The symposium was intended as a celebration of the fact that the *Journal of Egyptian History*, which is dedicated to promoting research into the history and historiography of all aspects of ancient Egypt, completed its fifth year of appearance. It was a memorable event shaped by the symposium's keynote speaker, Prof. Dr. Manfred Bietak, and the articles by distinguished contributors gathered here are apt to have a significant and lasting impact on the study of the history of the Pyramid Age.

The conference organizers wish to thank the Faculty of Arts of the University of British Columbia and the Provostial Fund in the Arts and Humanities, Harvard University, for providing financial support to the symposium. We would also like to thank Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden and Boston, not only for providing support to the symposium itself, but for their vision to establish a new journal devoted to the modern historiography of ancient Egypt. Particular thanks go to Brill's Acquisitions Editors in the ancient Near East who have helped to realize the journal and assist in its continuous success: Michiel Klein Swormink, Jennifer Pavelko, Katelyn Chin, and Suzanne Mekking. JJ Shirley, who has also typeset the present HES volume, has been a magnificent Managing Editor of the journal for the past seven years and deserves particular recognition. Peter Der Manuelian was instantly enthusiastic about hosting the celebratory event at Harvard University, and to publish it as the opening volume of the new HES series.

We hope that the contributions of this volume will stand out as examples of historiographical methodology in the very way the *Journal of Egyptian History* seeks to encourage and stimulate a new discourse on writing and interpreting Egyptian history.

Finally, it is with great sadness that we remember and pay our tribute as scholars and friends to Harold Hays, who passed away on November 20, 2013, and whose contribution to this volume is a testament to his significant impact in understanding the development, use, and re-use, of Old Kingdom texts.

Thomas Schneider

Founding Editor of the *Journal of Egyptian History*

Professor of Egyptology and Near Eastern Studies, The University of British Columbia

CHAPTER 1

Ancient Egyptian History as an Example of Punctuated Equilibrium: An Outline

Miroslav Bárta

Charles University in Prague

Abstract

The present study attempts to identify and characterize some basic principles that underlined historical development in ancient Egypt, specifically during the Old Kingdom period. Looking at the ever-increasing corpus of the evidence, it applies the theory of punctuated equilibrium for explaining some of the major features operating human society from a diachronic perspective. The explanatory potential of the punctuated equilibrium concept seems to work rather well when applied to the historical evidence we have at hand. As a consequence, Old Kingdom history is not any more a rather homogenous continuum represented by individual pharaohs and monuments arranged into a regular evolutionary scheme; on the contrary, it emerges as an intricate open system punctuated by several historically brief “events” during which major changes in society took place and which were divided by longer periods of stasis, a continuum with seemingly no significant development. The Old Kingdom era emerges as an open system in which the specific role of the individual in specific historical circumstances is able to significantly enhance our understanding of new discoveries, historical facts, and known contexts.

1 Introduction

In this brief paper I would like to address the specific dynamics which—in my view—best illustrate the nature of general historical processes and cycles in the development of civilisations. In doing so, I shall use the example

* I wish to express my thanks to V.G. Callender who was patient enough to discuss over and over individual issues connected to this piece of research. She also kindly revised the text. The research presented in this paper was supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic No. P405/11/1873.

of ancient Egyptian civilisation, specifically of the Old Kingdom period (*ca.* 2700–2200 BCE). The reason for doing this is a very simple one: modern observers (including some of us scholars) tend more often than not to view ancient Egyptian history as a more or less continuous and perhaps uneventful parade of reigns marked by isolated royal monuments that is interrupted from time to time by unique events, such as building monumental architecture, foreign trade or military expeditions, *Sed*-Festivals, cattle counts, donation of land and inventory to temples, or incursion of enemies, to name but a few such incidents.¹ In the best case, we divide this historical continuum into dynasties which are in turn used to provide a sufficient historical framework for ancient Egypt.²

Ancient Egypt is renowned for several deeply rooted concepts which formed the perceived basic nature of that state and which permeated virtually every single aspect of the society of the day. In particular, we may note the ancient Egyptians' cyclical concept of time. Equally important was the concept of *Maat*, a concept which advocated stability and the unchanged order of matters within the society and its culture whereupon it was the pharaoh, earthly and chosen representative of the gods, who was in charge of its maintenance. This paradigm was endorsed by the king and the ruling elite, and the ritual of honouring *Maat* was expected to be re-enacted by every new king.³ On the cultural front, for example, one can best observe the enactment of *Maat* by the superficial "sameness" within Egyptian iconography and the visual arts (for instance, in royal statuary, or in royal iconography representing the king smiting his enemies, *etc.*) (Fig. 1.1). Thus it may seem that the ever-repeating cycle and unchanging order of things dominated the ancient Egyptian mind. Yet it is appropriate to inquire if this modern observation can really be an undistorted reflection of the past.

The specific period under discussion is the third millennium BCE in Egypt, and specifically the Old Kingdom. While we are indeed capable of seeing and identifying profound differences between, for instance, the later Predynastic Period and the First Dynasty in terms of art, administration, or history, or the changes in building techniques separating the reigns of Khasekhemwy and Khufu or Nyuserra, we might hesitate to outline major differences between

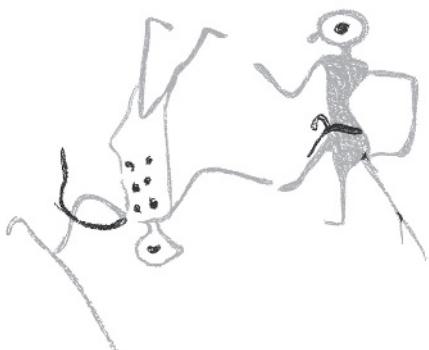
¹ Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden* and *Die grossen Pyramiden von Giza*; Verner, *The pyramids: a complete guide*; Hawass, *The treasures of the pyramids*; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*; Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*.

² Redford, *Pharaonic king-lists, annals, and day-books*.

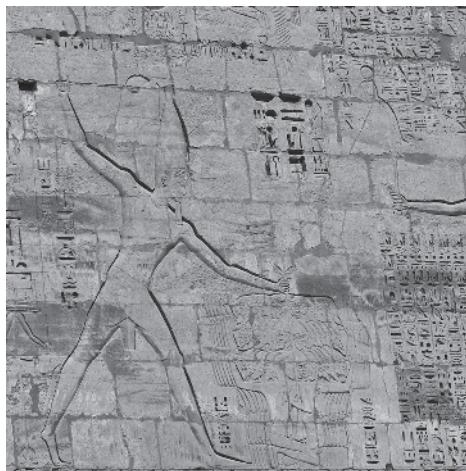
³ Assmann, *Maat: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*.



a



b



c



d

FIGURE 1.1 *The “sameness” of the Egyptian civilization can be demonstrated by many iconographic details. One of the most principal ones is the motif of the king smiting his enemies. 1a—Gilf Kebir, Cave of the Beasts (6th mill. BCE, Bárta, Swimmers in the sand, 44); 1b—so-called Painted Tomb L 100 in Hierakonpolis (late 4th mill. BCE, Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis. Part II, pl. 76); 1c—pylon of the temple of Ramesse III in Medinet Habu (12th century BCE); and 1d—pylon of the Ptolemaic temple at Philae (3rd century BCE). Figs. 1c and 1d, photographs by M. Frouz.*

the reign of Unas and Pepy I at the other end of the historical scale. Focusing in this particular case on the Old Kingdom, it is not difficult to assume that this period was a rather monolithic and uneventful series of longer or shorter reigns marked by a dotted line of monumental pyramid complexes, two- and three-dimensional art, and formulaic written statements, be it administrative

documents or biographical inscriptions, which, in most cases, were following a strict, and only very slowly changing, set of rules.⁴

In contrast to that opinion, the aim of this discussion is to demonstrate that the history within this epoch was not developing in a linear but rather “punctuated” mode, a state of affairs that has long been indicated by the emerging evidence provided about Egyptian history through archaeology and texts. It will be shown that longer periods of stasis were interrupted by relatively brief periods during which major changes were taking place as if in the very same moment, and that these changes largely modified and even determined the nature and character of the society. In other words, important historical processes or major changes display a tendency towards clustering in discrete “pockets” of time rather than being distributed evenly throughout time and proceeding in a regulated linear way.⁵

2 Historical Overview

The Old Kingdom period covers the era that saw the first Egyptian centralized state in the history of Ancient Egyptian civilisation, and probably of human society in Africa. This state came into being around 3000 BCE and lasted for some eight centuries. The time span accommodated under the term “Old Kingdom” covers the so-called Third-Sixth Dynasties dated from *ca.* 2592 to 2150 BCE.⁶ The nature of the evidence we have at our disposal for this epoch is luckily manifold—we have ample historical and archaeological data which, in combination with biographic and administrative texts, provides us with a lively picture of the distant past.⁷

When dealing with diachronic trends during the Old Kingdom, it may be useful to refer to the so-called “multiplier effect,” a phenomenon identified by the British prehistorian Colin Renfrew in the 1970s. The multiplier effect as defined by Renfrew implies that smaller and formally independent changes (that taken in isolation would have no far-reaching potential) taking place in

⁴ Arnold, *When the Pyramids Were Built*; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*.

⁵ I have applied this concept, though implicitly, on the development of administration in the Egyptian state during the third millennium BCE—see Bárta 2013, “Kings, viziers and courtiers.”

⁶ This chronology is based on Hornung, Krauss and Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 490; see also Málek, “The Old Kingdom” and Verner, “Archaeological remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty chronology.”

⁷ Arnold, Grzymski, and Zeigler, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (catalogue).

virtually the very same moment may have had a combined—or “multiplied”—effect that might have led to fundamental and very rapid changes in society (and therefore in architecture, art, structure of the state administration, society, or religious concepts, to name but a few of them).⁸ The multiplier effect can thus be used to identify the most critical changes of pace within Egyptian history, and these can then be used to chart the punctuated trajectory of Egyptian history. The multiplier effect is in my view identifiable during several short periods of Old Kingdom history:

Multiplier Effect Period 1 (MEP 1): reign of Netjerikhet 2592-2566: 26 years;
 MEP 2: Sneferu, 2543-2510: 33 years;
 MEP 3: Shepseskaf, 2441-2436: 4 years and Userkaf 2435-2429: 6 years;
 MEP 4: Neuserre, 2402-2374: 28 years;
 MEP 5: Djedkare, 2365-2322: 43 years.

In most of these cases, the specified rulers and their respective periods of reign are known for many significant changes that shaped the state and the society of the day. We can now have a closer look at them and cursorily outline the major significance of each of the periods.

2.1 *MEP 1: Netjerikhet Djoser*

Djoser is known for setting several benchmarks.⁹ During his reign, the first complete cult complex built of stone came into being—in a sense he was expanding the experience of the late Second Dynasty architects who used stone extensively during construction of the tomb of Khasekhemwy at Abydos (use of limestone) and a sanctuary in Hierakonpolis (red granite).¹⁰ Besides this milestone, the first recorded grammatical sentences are attested from this period, demonstrating that the development of the ancient Egyptian script now gained solid ground. This is in contrast to former periods, when inscriptions had consisted merely of labels for objects or titles for officials; the First Dynasty stela of Merka is the most extended of all private inscriptions at this time.¹¹ Most likely beginning in Netjerikhet’s reign, decorated tombs seem

⁸ Renfrew, *The emergence of civilisation*, 37.

⁹ Lauer, *Fouilles à Saqqarah*; Baud, *Djésér et la 111e dynastie*.

¹⁰ Flandrin, Chapuis, *The Labyrinth of the Pyramids*.

¹¹ For the most prominent ones, the slab stelae, see Saad, *Ceiling stelae in second dynasty tombs from the excavations at Helwan*; Köhler and Jones, *Helwan II*. For the Merka stela, see Regulski, *A palaeographic study of early writing in Egypt*.

to appear more frequently, decorated with stone or wooden slabs.¹² Hand in hand with the rising power of the incipient state went the ability of the centre to mount and finance long-distance expeditions abroad, such as to the Sinai (Wadi Maghara).

2.2 *MEP 2: Sneferu*

The Palermo Stone shows that during Sneferu's reign the concept of annals underwent some modifications—such as a clear tendency towards detailed record keeping, the accumulation of bureaucratic offices, and the abandonment of the regular “following of Horus” tours of the country by the king, a tradition enacted by the kings of the first three dynasties.¹³ Moreover, Sneferu instigated a parsimonious policy in regard to building works sponsored by the king which was reflected in regularized cemeteries and the standardization of mastabas in Dahshur, a trend which peaked during the time of his son Khufu in his new residential necropolis in Giza.¹⁴

Significantly, Sneferu seems to be the king who also concentrated on cementing his influence in the provinces. In order to attain this goal, he seems to have established most of the local pyramids all over the country. These pyramids served exclusively as tokens of the royal presence in areas of prominent political and economic importance: Elephantine, Edfu, Hierakonpolis, Naqada, Abydos, Zawiet el-Meitin, Seila, and Abu Rawash.¹⁵

The lengthy biography of Metjen demonstrates a marked improvement in the physical appearance of hieroglyphic script and its ability to convey sophisticated ideas, as well as an increase of titles and therefore offices.¹⁶ Another sphere which was deeply influenced by this trend was the so-called “material culture” wherein the appearance of new pottery forms profoundly changed the philosophy of the mortuary cults.¹⁷ It is also in non-royal tombs dated to his reign that, for the first time, offering formulas appeared, and this, too, became

¹² Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1911–12: the tomb of Hesy*; Bárta, Vymazalová, Coppens, *Tomb of Hetepi (AS 20)*, *Tombs AS 33–35 and AS 50–53*.

¹³ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 90–91.

¹⁴ Fakhry, *Sneferu*; Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*; Bárta, “Pottery inventory and the beginning of the ivth Dynasty;” Alexanian and Seidlmayer, “Die Nekropole von Dahschur.”

¹⁵ Dreyer and Kaiser, “Zu den kleinen Stufenpyramiden Ober- und Mittelägyptens”; Bárta, “Location of the Old Kingdom pyramids in Egypt”; Marouard and Papazian, “The Edfu Pyramid Project.”

¹⁶ Gödecken, *Eine Betrachtung der Inschriften des Meten*.

¹⁷ Bárta, “Pottery inventory and the beginning of the ivth Dynasty.”

traditional for the remainder of pharaonic culture.¹⁸ We can also observe a significant development in officials' biographical inscriptions.¹⁹

2.3 *MEP 3: Transition between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties*

The next significant period was reached during the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasties.²⁰ This transition was also marked by the ancient Egyptians, as the Palermo Stone makes an explicit break at this point. From the formal point of view, it is precisely this period when the verso recording of these annals begins. Moreover, the entries on the verso side of the stone have different characteristics, in that they tend to be more detailed than before. And, perhaps more importantly, instead of the enumeration of the most significant achievements of the kings, as was done previously, the annalists now focus on the enumeration of pious donations by the rulers to divine temples and royal mortuary complexes.²¹

At the same time, we have explicit evidence for a major change within the political tradition of the Old Kingdom. The royal family resigned from or gave up (or was made to give up) controlling all of the vital components of the Egyptian state. The state machine had now become so complicated that a single family, however large it might be, was simply no longer capable of running it. Thus, a high number of officials of non-royal origin start to enter the scene and assume the highest places in the state administration, including even the office of the vizier.²² To a certain extent, one can say that it was from this point onwards that the term "Egyptian state" becomes justified.²³

There are also many demonstrable changes reflected in Old Kingdom material culture that might be mentioned. For example, the royal burial grounds returned from Giza southwards to the Abusir-Saqqara area; Userkaf was the first king after some generations to return to Saqqara, building his mortuary complex to the northwest of the Step Pyramid complex. At the same time, it was this king that started almost a century-long tradition of building solar temples north of Abusir, in Abu Ghurob, and thus created a new trend in state

¹⁸ Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*.

¹⁹ Baud, "The Birth of Biography."

²⁰ Bárta, "The sun kings of Abusir and their entourage."

²¹ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 148.

²² Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*; Strudwick, *Administration*; Piacentini, *Les scribes*.

²³ Bárta, "Kings, viziers and courtiers," 163.

policy with regard to religion.²⁴ In addition, the pyramid temples became more sophisticated in their decoration and thematic scope whereas the pyramids themselves shrank significantly in size.²⁵

2.4 *MEP 4: Reign of Nyuserra*

King Nyuserra has been a bit in the shadow with regard to modern Egyptological research. However, it is without a doubt that his reign turned out to be one of the most decisive for the way in which the Old Kingdom began to collapse.²⁶ During his reign, the cult of Osiris entered the scene, the office of the Overseer of Upper Egypt emerged—an official with over-riding power in Upper Egypt—, and we can also observe the first centrifugal tendencies within the central state administration.²⁷ During this time, prominent officials began to gain more independence and exert more power and influence. They also showed a tendency to retain their privileges, by keeping their official posts within the family and, as a consequence, many offices became hereditary.

As a clear result of these shifts, two essential classes of tombs emerged. The first class was comprised of the wealthy mastabas belonging to the highest officials of the state. The second class was made up of poorer family tombs. Both categories had very different standards of wealth, but they conveyed the same concept of inheriting the family offices and communicating the social standing of their patriarch.²⁸ Thus these tombs were also a means of legitimisation and authorisation for certain offices occupied by the surviving members of each family. It is precisely during this time that we can observe the first centrifugal tendencies in the provinces that are symptomatic of an increasing independence of wealthy officials and their families. Here we have the real origins of what later became widespread nepotism.²⁹

Many new iconographic motifs also appear for the first time in the decoration of non-royal tombs. Just as suddenly, the positive factors of the state machine that lay behind the dramatic growth and proliferation of the Egyptian state—such as monumental projects, initiation of certain procedures such as the tax system, innovation within technologies, and the growth of the admin-

²⁴ See the overview by Krejčí and Magdolen, “Research into Fifth Dynasty sun temples—past, present and future.”

²⁵ Verner, *Abusir: realm of Osiris; El Awady, Sahure—the pyramid causeway*.

²⁶ Bárta, “Architectural Innovations.”

²⁷ Brovarski, “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms.”

²⁸ Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*; Bárta, “Non-royal tombs of the Old Kingdom at Abusir”; Krejčí, *The architecture of The Mastaba of Ptahshepses*.

²⁹ Richards, “Text and Context in late Old Kingdom Egypt.”

istrative body—began to exert a negative impact on the efficiency of the state. We can witness this first of all with the steadily growing number of officials and the influence exercised by both the senior officials as well as the lesser ones, followed by the system of tax exemption for prestigious ancestral monuments and cults; these all began, step-by-step, to place an unsustainable burden upon the ancient Egyptian economy.³⁰

At the same time, we can observe a tremendous intensification of the mortuary cults as a consequence of the fact that payments originating from them represented a considerable contribution to the economic profit of a class of numerous officials. In accordance with this trend, we can follow the rapid growth of the numbers of store-rooms in pyramid complexes. In some way, these acted as a kind of ancient “bank”: virtually all the commodities stored within the magazines were supplied by the central administration. Then, after the specific offering rites were accomplished, the goods were transferred as a type of payment to the official elite. The end result was that the existence of a huge number of mortuary complexes for which the royal purse was responsible—at least partially—and for which the royal purse had to supply the on-going costs of maintaining the cult, sapped the wealth of the country (as attested by selected texts from Abusir papyrus archives).³¹

3 Fluctuation and the Absence of Stasis

Nyuserra paved the way for the reforms of Djedkara and his successors. At this stage, we can observe another highly interesting phenomenon: namely, that the periods of relatively long stasis dividing individual major events or periods of change cease to be present, and different ways of running the country were installed with each new king: Djedkare appointed officials to permanent posts in the provinces; Unas cancelled this move and brought the men back into the capital. Time and again, officials had duties and responsibilities taken away from them as one king followed another.³² The once sole office of Overseer of Upper Egypt became an office that was found in the majority of provinces—a title usually held by the nomarch of the province—until Merenra cancelled all but one of them.³³ Meanwhile, the numbers of titles for officials continued

³⁰ Müller-Wollermann, *Krisenfaktoren im ägyptischen Staat*; Gundlach, *Der Pharao und sein Staat*, 227 ff.

³¹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The pyramid complex of Raneferef*.

³² Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*.

³³ Kanawati, *Governmental reforms*, 130.

to increase in order to make the king's favourites seem extremely powerful and important.³⁴ Virtually all kings following Nyuserra again paid significant attention to their symbolic presence in the provinces, as is demonstrated by the intensified building of temples.³⁵ Another measure taken by the kings was to marry some of their daughters to high officials of the state, in the hopes of securing their permanent loyalty. This policy is attested at least from the time of Userkaf, yet it gains in "popularity" from the reign of Nyuserra onwards.³⁶

The very beginning of the Sixth Dynasty may indeed have been troubled by a successful murder of king Teti, at least according to the Manethonian tradition. It is possible that the archaeological evidence in the cemeteries of Unas and Teti (collected by Naguib Kanawati) indicating that a significant number of high officials suffered punishment for unspecified wrong-doing is connected to this event. One indicator for this punishment may be found in the state of their unfinished or (on occasion) "usurped" tombs.³⁷

Not long after this, Pepy I managed to survive a conspiracy plotted in his own royal establishment. The plot was uncovered and investigated by his loyal official Weni.³⁸ This again shows that the person of the king was no longer considered by all his subjects to be of a divine nature and thus untouchable. At the same time, powerful families from the provinces begin to trespass on the once unrestricted power of the ruling king, and one of the governing principles in all levels of state administration became "nepotism," which increasingly limited the former dominance and superiority of the king himself. Individual biographical inscriptions of the period attest clearly to the fact that high officials were becoming more and more powerful.³⁹ Typical of this nepotism is the Abydene family of the same official Weni (the Elder) who acted on behalf of king Pepy I.

Based on the latest excavation results, it emerges that Weni the Elder originated from a powerful family and that already his father, Iuu, held the office of the vizier. Moreover, the children of Weni the Elder: two sons—Weni the Younger and Iuu—and daughter Mezenet apparently also reached an elevated status in the society.⁴⁰ Another powerful family of Abydene origin was Khui and his wife, Nebet. This pair had a handful of children, among them

³⁴ Piacentini, *Les scribes*.

³⁵ Bussmann, *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis zur II. Dynastie*.

³⁶ Bárta, "Abusir paradigm' and the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty."

³⁷ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*.

³⁸ Piacentini, *L'autobiografia di Uni*.

³⁹ Kloth, *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*.

⁴⁰ Richards, "Text and Context in late Old Kingdom Egypt," 90–94.

two daughters known later as Ankhenehmeryra/Ankhenehespepy I and II, both of whom married king Pepy I. Undoubtedly, these ladies became very important persons as the first one gave birth to king Merenra and the second one to Pepy II.⁴¹ Thus the reigning family of the late Old Kingdom became highly, and unusually, intertwined with prominent Abydene families.

Yannis Gourdon also draws attention to another unusual feature, namely that the new forms of these two queens' names: Ankhenehespepy—"May Pepy live for her"—is a feature that seems to be quite indicative of the troubled times of the declining Sixth Dynasty. The form of the name suggests that the king venerated these queens by an oath sworn by Pepy himself. This fact demonstrates an unparalleled (compared to previous historical periods) high social standing and importance of these two sisters from the provinces.⁴² Within this historical framework it is certainly not without interest that most of the queens buried in Pepy's complex had burial chambers decorated with Pyramid Texts. Again, this shows clearly that these women were raised to a similar burial status as the king.⁴³

Typically, when a complex society is in decline, the critical factors tend to "chain," *i.e.* to follow one after another with virtually no significant periods of stasis/equilibrium. Thus, we can say that one of the few indications of an approaching collapse is that critical moments appear more frequently, whereas periods of stasis which under normal circumstances occur in between them and last for a noticeable period of time, are virtually absent.

The troubled times between the reigns of Djedkara and Pepy II can be used as an excellent example of a deteriorating state showing explicit signs of slow yet continuous decline. Virtually every single king reigning during this "tail" period introduced substantial modifications to the current state model that was steadily becoming less and less efficient and capable of handling matters of an originally robust and elaborate centralized state.

Nonetheless, the attempts by the kings and their advisors to upgrade the system proved to have had only short term effects at best. Thus the Old Kingdom "tail" stage, the decades of the late Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty, can be viewed as an increasing process of attempts on the part of the king to restore stability to a more and more unstable system that was steadily degrading. The whole process eventually led to a political disintegration of the entire centralized system.

⁴¹ For details on the queens and the Abydos family see Baud, *Famille royale*, 426–29 and 629–31; Callender, *In Hathor's Image*, 249–71.

⁴² Gourdon, "Le nom des épouses abydiennes de Pépy Ier," 103.

⁴³ Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah*.

This declining stage, in turn, led to regionalisation and the reappearance of a governing system in the hands of local chiefdoms.⁴⁴

4 Conclusions

The emerging concept of historical development outlined above can be, in my view, successfully applied towards a description of some of the irregularities which once governed the development of ancient Egyptian society during the Old Kingdom. Stephen Jay Gould and Nils Eldridge in the early 1970s formulated a new theory, describing the nature of processes encountered in evolutionary biology.⁴⁵ It was a theory that explained some formerly incomprehensible patterns in the distribution of fossil remains over a long period of time. They concluded, due to a lack of other evidence, that instead of an evolutionary linear concept, one may well apply a theory of punctuated equilibria. This appeared to be a much more suitable explanation for the observed phenomena.

In simplified terms, the original concept of “punctuated equilibria” means that species (following the original studies of Eldridge and Gould) continue to exist in an apparently balanced way, punctuated by major individual events introducing crucial changes within that basic species, or group evolution. These major developmental changes tend to happen in certain discrete periods of time divided by rather uneventful periods of stasis when no significant development takes place.

If we look now at the data which we have analyzed for the Old Kingdom, we can see that a similar “punctuated” pattern emerges. The explanatory potential of the punctuated equilibrium concept seems to work quite well when applied to Old Kingdom history. There is every reason to believe that it can be applied to other periods as well. The results given above have proven to have had a significant bearing on how we can now view Old Kingdom history. With regard to the Old Kingdom, it seems to be appropriate to assume that the evidence at our disposal is rich enough and sufficiently heterogenous to allow for such a theory, thus avoiding the risk of coming to speculative conclusions.

44 Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich* and “The First Intermediate Period (c. 2160–2055 BC).”

45 Eldredge and Gould, “Punctuated equilibria: an alternative to phyletic gradualism” and Gould and Eldredge, “Punctuated equilibria: the tempo and mode of evolution reconsidered.”

In my opinion, Old Kingdom history should no longer be considered as a rather homogenous continuum represented by individual pharaohs and monuments arranged into a regular evolutionary scheme. On the contrary, it emerges as an intricate open system in which several historical individuals embedded in specific historical contexts managed considerably greater achievements than others. It would certainly deserve a detailed study if the “events” must always be connected to a historical personage. For the time being, this seems to be the most probable context.

Equally powerful can be the concept of punctuated equilibrium when applied to an analysis of the development, rise, and fall of any given complex society—as it has done in the case of the history of Old Kingdom Egypt. The fact that we can bind specific innovations to specific historical circumstances and embed them in a particular historical context lets us detect more satisfactorily the decisive turns in the development of any given society.

In this particular case we can see without any significant bias that factors that formerly initiated dramatic success of the ancient Egyptian state gradually transmuted into negative ones that contributed to the decline and eventual collapse of the Old Kingdom. Thus the roots of principal internal factors contributing to a system’s ultimate demise can be detected already in the formative stage of the system. Their former positive feedback eventually turns them into factors that usher in a crisis of the system.⁴⁶ At the same time, it is the shortening and eventually total disappearance of the equilibrium periods which is indicative of the approaching collapse of the current state of affairs.

The multiplier effect, coupled with the concept of punctuated equilibrium, represent tools with which it is possible to better understand the nature of some traditional phenomena in history. Moreover, this concept provides a rather different perspective from the former notion of history as a continuous uninterrupted current of more or less isolated events.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

⁴⁶ Compare, for instance, factors such as divine kingship and the ultimate demise of this institution at the end of the Sixth Dynasty; increasing numbers of officials necessary to efficiently run the country and eventual burden of the mandatory expenses; or wealthy and loyal officials who at the end usurped more and more power and made many of their offices hereditary.

<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
<i>ArOr Supp</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální Supplementa</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>ÉMÉ</i>	<i>Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>KAW</i>	<i>Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt</i>
<i>OINN</i>	<i>Oriental Institute News and Notes</i>
<i>WA</i>	<i>Writings from the Ancient World</i>

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CHAPTER 2

Economic Implications of the Menkaure Triads

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Abstract

This article expands on an earlier suggestion that the Menkaure triads served, in part, as economic illustrations of how the king's *Heb-Sed* was provisioned. The working hypothesis is that each triad's stated nome is linked to an (unnamed) economically important town, like Sheikh Said or Giza, which was associated with a real or symbolic Hathor temple whose estates provisioned the King's *Heb-Sed*. Two triads are singled out for discussion in this regard: one with the standard for the 15th nome of Upper Egypt, the Hare nome; and the other, its damaged mate, provisionally restored with the White Walls of the 1st nome of Lower Egypt that held Egypt's capital of Memphis. Hathor in this economic model mediates between the king and state, on the one hand, and the nomes and their resources, on the other. Reality and symbolism come together in this goddess, who, at her son's valley temple, serves as divine provisioner at the juncture of archaeologically-based reality and symbolic fiction.

1 Introduction

This article builds on several others that dealt with the meaning and function of the Menkaure triads.¹ In the course of researching those articles, I developed what has become the core of my working hypothesis, and which is at the base of

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1 Friedman, "Triads I," "Triads II," and "The Cultic Relationship of the Menkaure Triads."

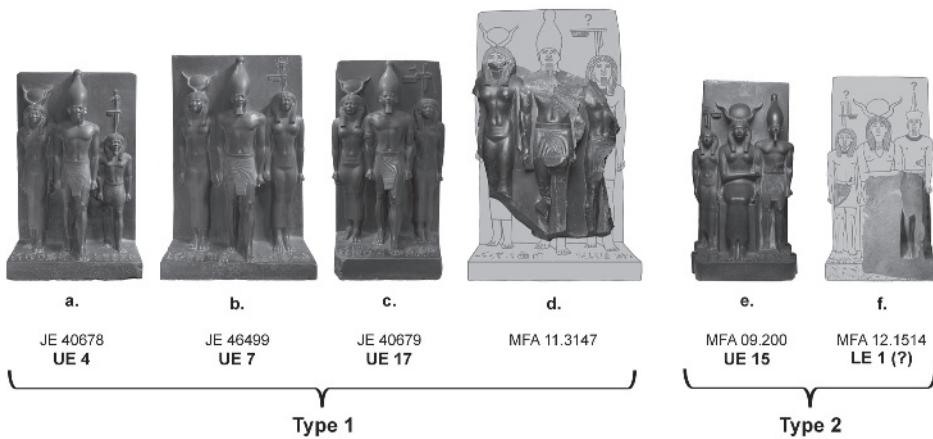


FIGURE 2.1 *Four intact (a, b, c, e*) and two fragmentary (d*, f*) triads. Figure 2.1f (MFA 12.1514) is hypothetically restored with the LE 1 nome standard, and the Lower Egyptian crown is thus given to the king. “The White Walls” nome standard is grammatically masculine, and thus the male nome is represented. For use of the Lower Egyptian nome standard and crown, see below. Grey areas are reconstruction.*

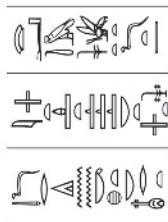
(*COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON)

this current paper: that the main theme of the triads is the *Heb-Sed*, and that the provisioning text on the base of each triad was for provisioning that festival.² For the sake of clarity, and to add new data, I repeat and expand on some of that material now, especially the implications of one proposal: that the triads read as names of *hwty* estates from provincial Hathor temples, real or symbolic.

The triads consist of four intact examples plus two large fragments, presented in two format types (Fig. 2.1).³ Type 1 shows the king striding at center, flanked by Hathor and a nome personification, and Type 2 shows Hathor seated at center, flanked by the standing king and a nome personification. Type 1 cites the Hathor

² Comparing the meaning of the triads to that of the small step pyramids was especially persuasive to me. See Friedman “The Cultic Relationship of the Menkaure Triads.”

³ For excavation (and other) photos of the four intact and two fragmentary triads, see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pls. 36–46, 64 h. These six were found in the king’s valley temple at Giza (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 35, 37, 109–10). Corrections to *Mycerinus*, 35 on orientation of the four intact triads as found in Corridor III, 4, are given by Diane Flores (formerly Research Associate, Giza Archives Project, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) in personal communication in Friedman, “Triads I,” 26, n. 22. Reconstructions of more triads from fragments at the MFA continue as a work in progress; the earlier reconstruction of Fig. 2.1f with MFA fragments now appears to be wrong. Simpson, “Grammar of Egyptian Statuary,” II3 suggests the four intact triads may be by different hands or even different sculptural schools. Stylistic variation, I would add, obtains for the fragmentary triads as well, esp. MFA 11.3147.



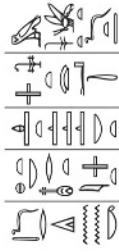
JE 40679



MFA 09.200



JE 46499



JE 46499

FIGURE 2.2 *Inscriptions on the base of each intact triad: JE 40678, JE 46499, JE 40679, MFA 09.200.**
(* COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON)

cult of *Hwt-Hrnbt nht m swt.s nbt*, “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore in all her Places” (Fig. 2.2; JE 40678 [omitting “her”], 46499, 40679), and Type 2 cites the separate Hathor cult of *Hwt-Hr nbt nht*, “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore”⁴ (Fig. 2.2; MFA 09.200). Of the fragmentary triads, one is Type 1 (Fig. 2.1d), and the other Type 2 (Fig. 2.1f), the latter identified from remains of the center-seated figure of Hathor with traces of the standing king to her left.⁵ The nomes on the intact triads are UE 4, 7, and 17 for Type 1, and UE 15 for Type 2, while the two fragmentary triads lack nome signs. To “read” the triads as estate names, I used the back slab as the *hwt* hieroglyph □ without corner box; Hathor’s embrace, handholding and close juxtaposition to the king as the verb, *mr*, “love”; and the nome sign as the given nome. Based on other Fourth Dynasty estate names, especially Sneferu’s, I suggested a reading of: *hwt Mn-k3w-R^c mr Hwt-Hr Mn-k3w-R^c*, “The *hwt* estate of Menkaure (called) ‘Hathor loves Menkaure’,” in the given nome.⁶ What is not stated on the triads, I believe, is the specific town in which the estates lay in the given nomes (like Sheikh Said, e.g., in UE 15); the towns would have been understood. The estates, I suggested, are from Hathor temples in those unnamed towns. The temples and their estates may be fictitious propaganda, or real, or a combination of both.

Besides reading the triads as estate names, I also tried to show how the iconography and attitude of the triads’ figures, plus the inscription on the triads’ bases, detail the benefits accorded Menkaure: his legitimization (expressed through Hathor and the nome personifications’ hand holding or embrace), his provisioning from Upper Egypt (stated in the inscriptions, Fig. 2.2),⁷ his ability to move simultaneously in multiple directions (signaled by the outward

⁴ Galvin, *Priestesses of Hathor*, 71–72.

⁵ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 110 (14). Much of the statuary has disappeared, as attested by the abundant shattered pieces of greywacke and calcite alabaster. But I find no evidence of group statuary that combined Menkaure with a deity other than Hathor. An interesting idea from Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration*, 313, n. 1294, however, suggests that the unprovenanced Hildesheim fragment of a cat deity with missing king (in Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, 10–12, fig. 4, pl. 2) was part of a calcite alabaster Menkaure triad with Bastet, instead of Hathor.

⁶ See Friedman, “Triads 1,” 34–36 for full discussion. The naming construction uses Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 75, III A2a; names appear as verbal phrases, like “God x loves the king,” in the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty (p. 78).

⁷ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 46. Through the nome personifications (vehicles through which Hathor acts), the inscriptions show the king receiving offerings from UE 4 (JE 40678): *ht nb(t) jmjt Sm^cw df^b nb htpt nbt sk tw h^c(j).t(j) m nsut-bjtj dt*; from (UE 7) JE 46499: *ht nb(t) nfrt jmjt(j) htpt nbt jmjt Sm^cw h^c(j).t(j) m nsut-bjtj dt*; from UE 17 (JE 40679): *ht nb(t) nfrt jmjt(j) htpt nbt jmjt Sm^cw h^c(j).t(j) m nsut-bjtj dt*; and from UE 15 (MFA 09.200): *nfrt nb(t) htpt nb(t) df^b nb jmjt Sm^cw dt*.



a. Type 2 (MFA 09.200)



b. Type 1 (JE 40679)

FIGURE 2.3 *In the Type 2 triad (MFA 09.200*), the king holds a mekes; in Type 1 (e.g., JE 40679) he holds the “enigmatic object.”*

(*COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON)

glances of the flanking figures),⁸ and, most importantly, his confirmation at the *Heb-Sed*. The *Heb-Sed* theme is revealed in Type 2 by the *mks* held in the king's left hand (Fig. 2.3a), unlike the “enigmatic object” held by the king in every Type 1 (Fig. 2.3b). Following the pattern of all Type 1s, which show the king holding the same object, the damaged Type 2 (Fig. 2.1f) should follow the intact Type 2, by showing the king with the *Heb-Sed mks* in his left hand. Legitimation, provisioning, multi-directionality, and *Heb-Sed* confirmation come to Menkaure through Hathor,⁹ with *Sed* confirmation being the most important. The *Heb-Sed*, I stressed, is the main theme of the triads, with legitimation, provisioning and multi-directionality being attendant themes to the *Sed-Festival*, just as they were at Sneferu's lower temple at the Bent Pyramid¹⁰ and, earlier, at Djoser's Step Pyramid complex.¹¹

The provisioning theme is a prominent feature of the triads and appears in the form of inscriptions with textual variations on the base of each triad (Fig. 2.2). The provisions, I maintained, should be understood as coming from

⁸ Friedman, “Triads II.”

⁹ Friedman, “Triads I,” 33–37.

¹⁰ Stadelmann, “The heb-sed Temple of Sneferu at Dahshur,” confirms the *Sed-Festival* purpose of Sneferu's temple.

¹¹ Friedman, “Triads II,” 105–11. For Khufu *Heb-Sed* images, see Khaled, *Royal Funerary Domains*, 98–101. In Friedman, “Triads II,” I missed a provisioning theme for Djoser implicit in some of the pottery and stone vessels from his underground galleries (Lacau and Lauer, *Pyramide à Degrés IV and V*), some with ink labeled food contents referencing the *Heb-Sed* (Lacau and Lauer, *Pyramide à Degrés V*, esp. 96; cf. Lauer, *Saqqara*, 133; pl. 104 with calcite alabaster vase with *Heb-Sed* decoration), the ceremony with which “probably all of the ink inscriptions are to be linked” (Regulski, “Ink Inscriptions,” 955, 957).

Hathor, through the vehicle of the nome personifications, who act as her deputies, and before whom the inscriptions appear.¹² The framework for the transfer of goods from the provinces to the king via Hathor was based on real-world economics, since funneling produce from provincial properties (estates or domains) to a king had a long tradition dating back to the beginnings of Egyptian history.¹³ With Menkaure, however, I've suggested a variation on this theme, namely, that the goods listed on the triads should not be understood as coming directly from Menkaure's own domains but from domains he really or symbolically set up for his divine mother (and wife), Hathor, whose temple estates he and other kings, in theory, if not in fact, had founded or allied themselves with.

My hypothesis about Menkaure's interest in provincial Hathor temples would link to a principle seen later in the Royal Annals of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, where the crown is presented as responsible for all gods' temples,¹⁴ caring for them through acts of royal patronage especially in the form of land endowments.¹⁵ Menkaure, I suggest, presents himself as patronizing the temple cults of Hathor in the nomes on the triads, an act that would be understood within a quid pro quo relationship in which he sets up estates for her temples, from which she then provisions his *Heb-Sed*. In such a propagandistic fiction, the triads would show Hathor feeding her son, her "beloved"¹⁶ (Fig. 2.2), with supplies from her own temple properties,¹⁷ i.e., herself. I now revisit that theory, as well as my reading and understanding of Type 2 triads.

One important point in this analysis is whether these provisions for Hathor's beloved were for his funerary cult, which is what I originally assumed. Indeed, a king's need for ongoing provisions in a funerary cult was real, and archaeological remains confirm that well into the Sixth Dynasty goods were offered to Menkaure in the form of four seated alabaster statues—none of which, by the way, has an offering text—in the valley temple's offering hall behind the open court.¹⁸ But I now believe that the triads' provisions from Hathor focused not

¹² Friedman, "Triads I," 33–36 and "Triads II," 95.

¹³ Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I*.

¹⁴ Bussmann, "Die Provinztempel," XCII–XCIV, Ch. 7.

¹⁵ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 154.

¹⁶ UE 4 (JE 40678): *mry dt*; (UE 7) JE 46499: *mry*; from UE 17 (JE 40679): *mry dt*; and from UE 15 (MFA 09.200): *mry*.

¹⁷ Friedman, "Triads I," 33–34, 36–37.

¹⁸ Discussed in Friedman, "Names of Menkaure," forthcoming. See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 47. Nolan, "The Cult of Menkaure," 70, finds that the funerary cult seems to have been active even when Menkaure was alive.

on this funerary cult, but on his *Heb-Sed*,¹⁹ which is not funerary in nature. Hathor as specifically illustrated through the Type 2 triads is provisioning Menkaure's *Heb-Sed* from her own *hwt* temple estates, a hypothesis with implications, symbolic and maybe real, for the economic workings of the country. The first step is to look at the meaning and usage of *hwt*, and how it may relate to my hypothesis.

2 *Hwt*

2.1 *Definition of hwt*

Hwt is a generic term for an enclosed structure,²⁰ possibly “any large brick enclosure, whatever its purpose.”²¹ Based on Old Kingdom sources, Rainer Hannig defines *hwt* most notably as a settlement or farm,²² which, as Patricia Spencer notes, was probably in origin an enclosure with a brick wall around it.²³ Expanding on this notion, and substituting stone for brick, a *hwt* could be the house of a king, especially his pyramid temples; or the house of a god, *i.e.*, his or her divine temple.²⁴ But it is economics that often dominate the

¹⁹ I appreciate discussing this point with Hana Vymazalová. All conclusions, however, are my own. On the association of Hathor with the *Sed*-Festival, see Selve, “Le Symbole Bat,” who dates the Hathor association back to the Old Kingdom through the Bat sign. Selve shows the Bat sign relates to Hathor from the beginning of its use (p. 91), appearing in the Old Kingdom with private persons from the Residence who participate at the *Heb-Sed* (pp. 94–95). Centuries later, Amenhotep III’s first *Heb-Sed* will include Hathor (LeBlanc, *Sed Festival* 1, 48), showing the king enthroned with her (pp. 56–58). Bat, the symbol of Hathor, appears on the Menkaure triad with UE 7 (JE 46499).

²⁰ Gardiner sign-list O6, 493 also translates *hwt* as the ideogram for “castle,” “mansion,” “temple,” and “tomb.” A defensive notion can also be attached to the enclosure; see Moreno Garcia, “The State and organization,” 317, who identifies *hwt* as a tower.

²¹ Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 23.

²² Hannig, *Wörterbuch* 1, 781.

²³ Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 23.

²⁴ Hannig, *Wörterbuch* 1, 782. In the Sixth Dynasty it could also refer to a tomb (p. 783), another type of “dwelling”; cf. n.20, above. A false door inscription, possibly mid-Fifth Dynasty, from the tomb of the Overseer of Menkaure’s pyramid, Ii-nefret includes among his titles, (ss) *n sg3wt nt hwt Mn-k3w-R* (Schürmann, *Die Reliefs*, 14, 67, fig. 19, top left, middle column with original text) translated by Schürmann (p. 20) as “(der Schreiber) des Schatzes des Gutes ‘Tempel des Mykerinos’” that is, “(Scribe) of the Treasury of the estate, ‘The *hwt*-Temple of Menkaure.’” Hannig, *Wörterbuch* 1, 782 translates *hwt* as a Menkaure “temple” based on Schürmann, *Die Reliefs*, 14 (but see 20); and elsewhere as a temple of Neferirkare, plus another in his name of Kakai. See also, Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*,

usage of *ḥwt*, as textual sources clarify its role as an income-producing property that yielded agricultural and other goods for kings²⁵ and gods (or the elite, not discussed here).²⁶ Kings installed *ḥwts* around the country. The economic meaning of *ḥwt* has been explored in detail since the late 1990s, especially by Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, who shows that *ḥwt* “jouait un rôle fondamental dans l’organisation administrative des provinces ainsi que dans le contrôle de la campagne égyptienne,”²⁷ acting as “une installation de la couronne qui contrôlait des terres, des localités et des travailleurs, et qui était utilisée comme centre d’emmagasinage et de ravitaillement.”²⁸ Storage and provisioning were economic features critical to *ḥwt*, which was one of several types of royal foundations, or domains,²⁹ that also included *njwt*, an economic subdivision, or village, controlled by a *ḥwt*.³⁰ Helen Jacquet-Gordon³¹ produced the seminal work on this subject, explored more recently by not only Moreno Garcia, but also Hratch Papazian,³² and Mohammed Khaled.³³

2.2 ḥwt at the Sneferu Temple

The architectural and economic meanings of *ḥwt* conflate at Sneferu’s lower (or so-called valley) temple at the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur. The temple itself was identified as a *ḥwt* by the hieroglyph written on quarry blocks destined for

24. But Schürmann suggests that Menkaure’s *ḥwt* temple (with *pr*-determinative) dealt with the financial management of Menkaure’s mortuary cult. If so, a *ḥwt* could thus be a dwelling for the king during or after life, but also possibly an entity that played a role in the economy of his cult. I do not think the Menkaure temple in the Li-nefret inscription, however, necessarily related to the king’s valley or pyramid temples, though it is possible.

25. Provisioning also included the king’s workmen on site. Redding, “The OK Corral,” 4, “calculated that 11 cattle and 37 sheep/goats were slaughtered every day to feed the workers at the Lost City . . .”

26. Moreno Garcia, “Estates (Old Kingdom),” 1. An official could also have estates. For Fourth Dynasty examples, see Strudwick, *Texts*, Metjen (no. 108), Nykaure (no. 111), and Penmeru (no. 112); and Strudwick’s comments on funerary domains (no. 319).

27. Moreno Garcia, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 151.

28. Moreno Garcia, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 154.

29. Since the Early Dynastic period, sources differentiate “domains,” shown in oval frames, from enclosures known as *ḥwt* estates: Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 118; see also his summary on royal foundations, pp. 117–25.

30. Moreno Garcia, “Administration territoriale,” 38, 42 and *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 128.

31. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*.

32. Papazian, *Domain of Pharaoh*.

33. Khaled, *Royal Funerary Domains*.

the temple,³⁴ with the term then echoed by the file of personified *hw*t estates lining part of the interior temple walls³⁵ (Fig. 2.4). Grouped by nome, each *hw*t estate is named atop the head of a female offering bearer, with the estate name determined by *njw*t, that smaller agricultural unit controlled by the *hw*t.³⁶ The result is a visual nesting of one concept within another: nomes with named *hw*t estates and their village farms that fed the king (an economic concept) nested within the *hw*t-temple itself (an architectural one). But do these *hw*t estates, which theoretically held economic and administrative control over properties throughout the country, reflect reality or fiction? Are they an economic record? The procession on the east and west walls includes so many offering bearers and was, in its entirety (though few LE nomes survive), so neatly symmetrical that the whole tableau may just be a piece of visual propaganda to project the power of the king, a picture that Moreno Garcia sees as ideology trumping reality.³⁷ He is surely right, in part. But just as we might not tilt our understanding of the so-called scenes of daily life in private tombs too steeply toward being pure idealization,³⁸ we might similarly make room for multiple views in assessing the Sneferu estates. For it is still true that during a reign as long as 33 years,³⁹ Sneferu was a prolific builder (as Moreno Garcia notes) and, as attested by the Palermo Stone, appears to have founded *hw*t estates throughout Upper and Lower Egypt (*Urk.* I, 236: 11), founding in one year 35 *hw*t, or possibly *hwwt-3t*.⁴⁰ (*Urk.* I, 236: 14).⁴¹

34 Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, Part 1, 14; Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 24.

35 Discussed in detail in Friedman, "Triads I," 34–35, Figs. 14–15 and "Triads II," 105–07; Figs. 17–19.

36 I missed this point in Friedman, "Triads" I and "Triads II."

37 Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 72–73, 96, 104–05, 143.

38 See Swinton, *Management of Estates*, in which the author argues that scenes of daily life "reflect the actual work of a rural estate" (p. 147). On the pictured domains in private tombs, however, see Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 72–73, and "L'organisation sociale," 417 on what he perceives as their unreal nature. I thank Susan Hollis for reference to the last article.

39 Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, "Chronological Table," 490.

40 The term in Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, 30, Nr. 3, goes untranslated. On reading the hieroglyph as *hwwt-3t*, "great estate," see Scalf, "Rereading the 7th Count of Snefru," esp. 90, and n. 7 with reference to an alternate translation by Málek, *In the Shadow of Pyramids*, 68, who translates the text as "creating 35 estates with people and 122 cattle-farms."

41 See Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 235 for Sneferu's governmental changes and the Palermo Stone record that Sneferu built *hw*t extensively throughout both Upper and Lower Egypt. I am stressing that perhaps these data are actually relevant to the extensive number of *hw*t on his temple walls.

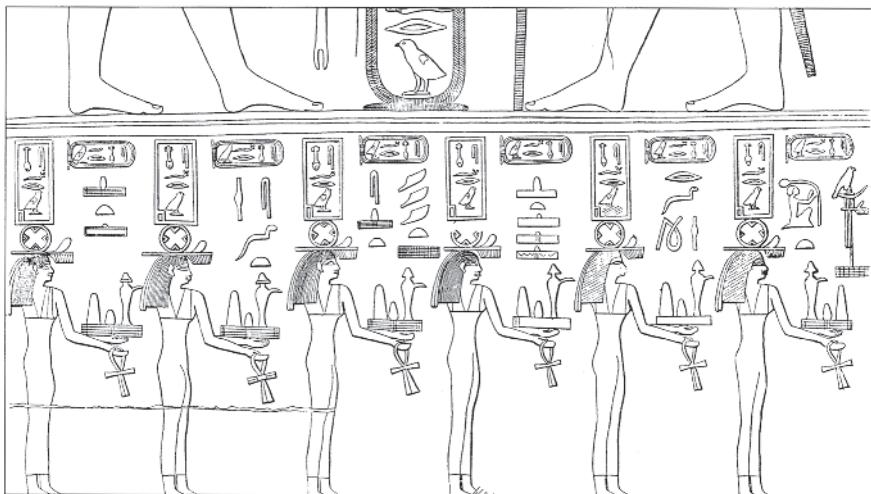


FIGURE 2.4 *Section of personified hwt estates on the west entrance wall of Sneferu's temple. After Fakhry, Sneferu II, Part I, Fig. 18.*

And while the Annals could exaggerate, some of Sneferu's *hwt* estates, as Moreno Garica demonstrates, were real. UE 1, which Ahmed Fakhry justly inferred for the top of the west wall of Sneferu's temple portico,⁴² had an Aswan estate used by Sneferu, and another founded by him at Elephantine,⁴³ where there had already been a royal estate probably since the Second Dynasty.⁴⁴ The Annals show that Sneferu, through the founding of multiple *hwt* estates, spread his power throughout the country, surely in large part to tap the provincial resources that were key to provisioning his expansive building needs.⁴⁵ So even if the number and names of the *hwt*-estates on the walls of his temple are fanciful, his *hwt* procession still alludes, at base, to an economic reality of increasing Fourth Dynasty royal control over those provinces, including, if we can paraphrase from the Menkaure triads' inscriptions, all their good things,⁴⁶ i.e., their resources (Fig. 2.2). So the *hwts* on Sneferu's temple walls are not just a perfectly balanced picture of Upper and Lower Egyptian estates over which

⁴² Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, Part 1, 18, Fig. 8; and see Friedman, "Triads 1," Fig. 15. Preserved UE nomes are 9–16, 18, and 22.

⁴³ Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 152.

⁴⁴ Seidlmaier, "Town and State," 121.

⁴⁵ Málek, *Shadow of the Pyramids*, 68.

⁴⁶ UE 4 (JE 40678): *ht nb(t)*; UE 7 (JE 46499): *ht nb(t) nfrt*; UE 17 (JE 40679): *ht nb(t) nfrt*; UE 15 (MFA 09.200): *nfrt nb(t)*.

the king as sovereign had complete control.⁴⁷ There were, at least in part, real income-producing estates projected into this cosmological ideal of the temple that were clearly part of a real economic network of feeding the king and his projects. Looking at one estate that also appears on the triads expands on this theme.

2.3 *Significance of the hwts in UE 15*

One of the surviving Upper Egyptian nomes on the Sneferu temple's west entrance wall is UE 15, shown with three named *hwts* estates.⁴⁸ UE 15 is also the nome on the intact Type 2 Menkaure triad (Fig. 2.1e), which, according to my hypothesis, included an unnamed but understood town in which its named estate lay. Unlike Sneferu's entire procession, which I believe originally showed a circulation of offerings moving north and south to the king from almost all the nomes,⁴⁹ Menkaure's triads, I think, were never intended to show all nomes. I estimate from the excavated bits and pieces of greywacke at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts that there were perhaps ten or twelve triads in all, and so ten or twelve nomes. If I am right, then the choice of each nome on the triads becomes especially noteworthy, making us look more closely at UE 15, on the intact Type 2.

UE 15 was the Hare, or Hermopolite, nome, containing the two especially important towns of Sheikh Said and Hatnub, either of which could have been the unnamed town for the estate in this Type 2 triad. The Belgians' recent work in UE 15 strongly suggests the presence of a *hwty*-royal estate at Sheikh Said by Khufu's reign.⁵⁰ In fact, the Sheikh Said *hwty* was probably founded by Khufu, or possibly Sneferu.⁵¹ It was a supplier of calcite alabaster,⁵² probably into Menkaure's reign,⁵³ and is replete with evidence of industrial stone working. At Sheikh Said, it also looks like Khufu established a royal cult, that is, a cult to himself, which continued into the Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁴ Nearby Hatnub also had calcite alabaster quarries, referenced on Early Dynastic inscribed alabaster

⁴⁷ Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 96, and also 72, 104–05.

⁴⁸ Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, Part 1, 34, and 39, Figs. 15, 16. Their estate names to my knowledge do not connect to known towns.

⁴⁹ Friedman, "Triads II," 119. Few LE nomes, however, survive.

⁵⁰ De Meyer, "Two Cemeteries," 49; Willems, *et al.*, "Industrial Site," 326.

⁵¹ Willems, *et al.*, "Industrial Site," 313, 323.

⁵² On terminology for Egyptian alabaster, see Willems, *et al.*, "Industrial Site," 295, n. 9; Arnold and Pischikova, "Stone Vessels," 121.

⁵³ Willems, "Un domaine royal," 26–27; Willems, *et al.*, "Industrial Site," 323.

⁵⁴ Willems, *et al.*, "Industrial Site," 325–26.

vessels deposited in Djoser's Third Dynasty underground galleries,⁵⁵ and like Elephantine (UE 1) and Sheikh Said (UE 15), the Hatnub quarries may also have been a royal *ḥwt* estate dating to Khufu.⁵⁶ UE 15 was thus rich in assets, with great natural resources, technological expertise and possibly growing intellectual capital even in Menkaure's day.⁵⁷ But for reasons noted below, it was Sheikh Said, I believe, that is the specific though unnamed town to be understood in the UE 15 nome of the intact Type 2 triad.

UE 15 was part of Middle Egypt, the area between Asyut and Memphis,⁵⁸ that, rich with fertile soil,⁵⁹ attracted the attention of kings in the Fifth Dynasty,⁶⁰ as it attracted the attention of Khufu in the early Fourth Dynasty; and, as I will suggest, that of Menkaure toward the end of the Fourth Dynasty. Significantly, Middle Egypt was also a region that reveals a Hathor-*Heb-Sed* connection in Middle Kingdom private tombs that Wente thinks was based on early Fifth Dynasty royal *Heb-Sed* scenes from Sahure.⁶¹ Given the associations of fertility, Hathor and (a bit later) the *Heb-Sed*, it is noteworthy that the Type 2 triad uses UE 15 in the triad in conjunction with clear *Heb-Sed* iconography (Figs. 2.1e, 2.3a; 2.5a, 2.6).

The Belgian team connects the estate at Sheikh Said in UE 15 to Giza, the site of not only Menkaure's, Khafre's and Khufu's pyramid complexes but also

55 Lacau and Lauer, *Pyramid à Degrés V*, 15 for Hatnub as the origin of numerous vases pre-dating Djoser, also 96.

56 Willems, *et al.*, "Industrial Site," 325.

57 Besides Sheikh Said and Hatnub, there was also Deir el-Bersha, a town with Old Kingdom burials (de Meyer, "Two cemeteries") that about 500 years after Menkaure (*ca. 2000 BCE*) evidenced a level of medical expertise and anatomical understanding (Chapman, "Replicating the Mutilations," 27–28; Peacock, *et al.*, "Replication of ancient Egyptian osteotomies") that might suggest a history of accumulated scientific knowledge reaching back centuries. It was even in this nome that Akhenaten would later found Akhetaten (Amarna) in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Berman, "Discovering Deir el-Bersha," 91. For Middle Kingdom art here, see Freed, "Art of the Middle Kingdom," esp. 79, 87).

58 Baines and Málek, *Cultural Atlas*, 14, 120.

59 Gillam, "Priestesses of Hathor," 226 and n. 169 with summary of references, including Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, II.

60 Moreno Garcia, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*, 240–41; de Meyer, "Two Cemeteries," 49, mentions Middle Egypt's connection to a trade route in the Bahariya Oasis.

61 Wente, "Hathor at the Jubilee," 89: Senbi's Middle Kingdom private tomb chapel in Meir (UE 14) in Middle Egypt includes Hathor-related ceremonies related to both funerary and *Heb-Sed* contexts. A dancer addresses Senbi: 'May you repeat a million sed-festivals while Hathor gladdens you therein.' Wente also cites an UE 16 Middle Kingdom nomarch's tomb in a related context. See also, Selva, "Le culte d'Hathor," 121.

of a large urban settlement in the area at Giza known as Heit el Gurab, dated from mud sealings to Khafre and Menkaure.⁶² The excavators find a striking similarity between Sheikh Said and Heit el Gurab at Giza based on parallels between bread molds and other pottery,⁶³ seal impressions, the presence of stone (as opposed to mudbrick) walls with northern orientation, remains of similarly high-quality diets,⁶⁴ and botanical and faunal remains.⁶⁵ Both sites were “centrally provisioned.”⁶⁶ On the basis of these similarities in material culture, the Belgian excavators suggest that the *hwty* estate of Sheikh Said in UE 15 was modeled on a *hwty* estate at Giza in LE 1.⁶⁷ Since Sheikh Said in UE 15 is analogous to Giza in LE 1, I am suggesting that the two Type 2 triads may also be analogs. As the intact Type 2 (Fig. 2.1e) alludes, I believe, to the unmentioned town of Sheikh Said in UE 15, so the damaged Type 2 (Fig. 2.1f) would allude to Giza in LE 1. If so, the damaged Type 2 can be restored with the nome standard of the White Walls of Memphis for LE 1, the nome in which Giza—and the capital—lay (Fig. 2.5). The two Type 2 triads would thus show that:

Type 2 Triad (MFA 09.200)/ Sheikh Said/UE 15/
parallels
 Type 2 triad (MFA 12.1514)/ Giza/LE 1/

Two known *hwty*-royal estates, Sheikh Said and Giza, could therefore be suggested as the unnamed towns in the UE 15 and LE 1 Type 2 Menkaure triads.

To take this hypothesis further: Giza has clear Memphite ties to Hathor, with the Memphite (Giza-Sakkara) cult of *Hwt-Hr nbt nht*, “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore”⁶⁸ cited on the intact Type 2 triad⁶⁹ (Fig. 2.2, MFA 09.200), as opposed to all Type 1s that name her *Hwt-Hr nbt nht m swt.s nbt*, “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore in all her Places,”⁷⁰ or, dropping the possessive pronoun, *Hwt-Hr nbt nht m swt nbt*, “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore in all Places,”⁷¹ meaning,

⁶² Tavares, “Village, town and barracks.” The inscriptional material she cites (p. 270, n. 3) refers to the mud sealings published by Nolan, *Mud Sealings*.

⁶³ Vereecken, “Old Kingdom bakery.”

⁶⁴ Willems, “Un domaine royal,” 26–27. I thank Marleen de Meyer for this reference; Willems, *et al.*, “Industrial Site,” 314–15.

⁶⁵ Tavares, “Village, town and barracks,” 271.

⁶⁶ Tavares, “Village, town and barracks,” 271.

⁶⁷ Willems, “Un domaine royal,” 26–27; Willems, *et al.*, “Industrial Site,” 314–15, 323–24.

⁶⁸ On Hathor and Memphis, see Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 3–22.

⁶⁹ MFA 09.200. Jones, *Index 1*, 441, nos. 1636, 1637, translates, “Hathor mistress of the *nehet*-shrine.”

⁷⁰ JE 46499; JE 40679.

⁷¹ JE 40678.

throughout Egypt.⁷² Marianne Galvin shows that “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore” and “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore in all (her) Places” are two separate but related Hathor cults.⁷³ Following the pattern that all Type 1s have the same title, the damaged Type 2 should carry the same title as the intact Type 2, namely, “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore.” Thus the two Type 2 triads in Fig. 2.5 would both include Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore, suggesting that the special Memphite form of the Hathor cult extended to both Sheikh Said in UE 15 and Giza in LE 1 by the late Fourth Dynasty. This would yield:

Type 2 Triad (MFA 09.200)/ **Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore/** Sheikh Said/
UE 15/
paralleling
Type 2 triad (MFA 12.1514)/ **Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore/** Giza/LE 1/

While Sheikh Said in UE 15 has no proven connection to a Hathor cult as early as the Fourth Dynasty⁷⁴—and while we do not find a Priest(ess) of Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore at Sheikh Said until the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty⁷⁵—Günther Roeder notes that the lack of earlier evidence for Hathor may simply be an accident of preservation,⁷⁶ leading me to wonder if the intact Type 2 triad in Fig. 2.5 could be a clue to that as yet-unknown evidence for a Hathor cult in UE 15 in the late Fourth Dynasty. In the next section, I expand on this thought further and link it to the *Heb-Sed*.

⁷² Galvin, *Priestesses of Hathor*, 81: “The Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore in all her Places served in all of the sanctuaries dedicated to Hathor as the Mistress of the Sycamore.”

⁷³ Galvin, *Priestesses of Hathor*, 71–72: “...the titles Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore and Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore in all her Places must be regarded as separate and distinct titles. It should be not assumed that the Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore could fulfill the duties of that title in both of the temples dedicated to Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore.”

⁷⁴ Data for Fifth and Sixth Dynasty references are summarized in de Meyer, *Old Kingdom Rock Tombs*, 42. And see Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 174–75.

⁷⁵ Galvin, *Priestesses of Hathor*, 65 cites a priestess from the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty; I thank Galvin for this reference. De Meyer, “Restoring the Tombs,” 126, cites Baer, however, who dates Meru to the middle of the reign of Pepi II, in *Rank and Title*, 225, 283 (no. 192). De Meyer, *Old Kingdom Rock Tombs*, 42 cautions the reader that the “title is very common during the Old Kingdom and does not necessarily imply that a Hathoric cult was located nearby.”

⁷⁶ Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 175: “In Bodenfunden ist Hathor, abgesehen von den Erwähnungen in den Gräbern der Gaugrafen bei Schech Said, nicht sicher belegt, vermutlich weil diese aus älterer Zeit nicht erhalten sind.”



Type 2, UE 15
MFA 09.200



Type 2, LE 1 (?)
MFA 12.1514

FIGURE 2.5 *The two Type 2 triads: intact example (MFA 09.200*) shows the UE 15 sign of the hare of the Hare nome; damaged triad (MFA 12.1514*) is restored with LE 1 sign of the White Walls of the Memphite nome. The proposed names for the unnamed towns in the two nomes are Sheikh Said in UE 15 and Giza in LE 1. Grey area is reconstruction. Not to Scale.*

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3 The UE 15 Menkaure Triad

As discussed in a previous article, the intact Type 2 Menkaure triad with the nome sign for UE 15 has unique features among the intact triads (Fig. 2.6).⁷⁷ It presents Hathor, not the king, as the focus, with the specific Memphite cult title of “Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore”; and shows her seated, not standing, doubly embracing the king who stands, not strides, while holding the *Heb-Sed mks*; and where, for the only time, ‘*nh*’ (meant for the king) is offered by the only female nome personification with an advanced left leg.⁷⁸ The use of the ‘*nh*’ is

77 On this unique triad, and especially its use of the *ankh*, see Friedman, “Triads II,” 103–10.

78 Based on the comparable iconography among Type 1s, the fragmentary Type 2 triad, MFA 12.514, was probably comparable in iconography to Type 2, MFA 09.200.



FIGURE 2.6 *Features unique to Type 2 triad (MFA 09.200*)*.

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significant,⁷⁹ causing me now to read the Type 2 triad differently from those of Type 1. For the reading, I still use the back slab as the *hw* hieroglyph without corner box, but translate Hathor's embrace as *mr*-“wish” instead of “love,” and translate the extended ‘*nh* as “live,” yielding *hw**Mn-k3w-r*‘*mr Hwt-Hr nh Mn-k3w-r*‘, “The *hw*-estate of Menkaure (named) ‘Hathor wishes that Menkaure live,’ which is in UE 15. I base the reading on the naming construction of an early Fifth Dynasty Sahure domain⁸⁰—though not a *hw*—transcribed by Khaled as: *mr b3wy nh S3ltw-R*‘⁸¹ “The two bas wish that Sahure live.”⁸² While the record of Old Kingdom domain names is far from complete, it is intriguing that Niuserre in the mid-Fifth Dynasty (at his Abusir funerary temple) uses this same construction, but now specifically referencing Hathor in one of his *hw* estate

79 See Friedman, “Triads II,” esp. 110.

80 Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 76, III A2c. And see e.g., Unas, 175, nos. 60 (Bat) and 64 (Hathor); Pepy II, 187, nos. 20 (Khenty-Khekek), 22 (Ptah), and 192, no. 54 (Hathor).

81 Khaled, *Royal Funerary Domains*, 191, using Jacquet-Gordon’s III A2c (*Les noms des Domaines*, 76). Khaled translates: “The two souls desire Sahura to live.”

82 Khaled, *Royal Funerary Domains*, 191.

names (Fig. 2.7): *hwty Ny-wsr-Rˁ mr hwty-Hr ‘nh Ny-wsr-Rˁ*, “The *hwty*-estate of Niuserre (named) ‘Hathor wishes that Niuserre live’,” which is followed by the sign for UE 14,⁸³ a nome with a well-known Hathor cult in Cusae,⁸⁴ and surely the unnamed town to be inferred for UE 14 (paralleling Sheikh Said in UE 15 and Giza in LE 1 in the Menkaure triads). In a somewhat speculative digression, I ask: was Niuserre perhaps citing Menkaure’s Type 2 *hwty* name? Connecting Menkaure to Niuserre may not be accidental. Mark Lehner’s team revealed that it was Niuserre who returned to Giza, after a long absence of royal attention in the Fifth Dynasty, to renovate Menkaure’s valley temple and revive his cult.⁸⁵ Niuserre, Lehner notes, may have felt a genealogical link to his Fourth Dynasty Giza forebears (Khafre⁸⁶ and Menkaure) through Khentkaues 1,⁸⁷ a link that, as John Nolan points out, Niuserre appears to have exploited in order to legitimize his claim to the throne in a time of dynastic instability.⁸⁸ I am wondering if Menkaure visually embedded estate names in sculptural form in his Type 2 triads that Niuserre later translated into textual renderings of

83 Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 157, no. 25 from Niuserre’s domain procession in his Abusir funerary temple. I cited this estate name in another context in “Triads 1,” 35 where I said it did not use the corner box on the *hwty* sign; there is too much restoration, however, to know this for sure. On verbal phrases that appear in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, see Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 78.

84 Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 157, n. 4 says the reconstruction with Hathor is certain. On Hathor in Cusae, see Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 23–41.

85 Nolan, “Fifth Dynasty Renaissance,” 2–5, esp. 3: The “evidence points to Niuserre as the driving force behind the resuscitation of the [valley] temple and the renewal of Menkaure’s cult.” See also Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 180 and Lehner, *Annual Report 2011–2012*, 13.

86 Khafre also used the triad and dyad forms of statuary in his pyramid complex: Friedman, “Triads 1,” 28, citing Krauspe in *Statuen und Statuetten*, nos. 26 (gneiss triad fragment) and 30 (gneiss dyad fragment). Khafre’s valley temple, with its two entrances, calls him *mry B3tt ‘nh dt*, “Beloved of Bastet, living forever” at the northern entrance, inside of which was probably the extant seated dyad of him with Bastet; and *mry hwty-Hr [‘nh dt]*, “Beloved of Hathor, [living forever]” at the southern entrance (Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, 16–17, figs. 8, 7). Inside the southern entrance was probably a lost dyad of Khafre with Hathor. But see Flentye, “Decorative Programs,” 87–88, with reservations as to whether dyads were ever installed in the niches. These same two approaches, from north and south, Lehner’s team now shows, were used at the Menkaure valley temple. Lehner *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 183: “The two ways are also comparable to the two ways approaching the Khentkaues complex, at the end of its building sequence.... The double access bears similarities to the sixth dynasty valley temple of Pepy II.”

87 Lehner, *Annual Report 2010–2011*, 13.

88 Nolan, “Fifth Dynasty Renaissance,” 4–5.

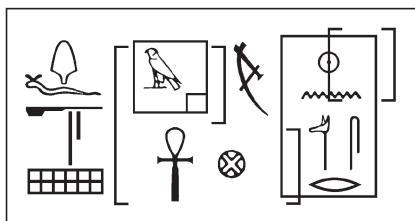


FIGURE 2.7

After Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 157, no. 25. *hwt Ny-wsr-R^c mr Ḥwt-Hr ‘nḥ Ny-wsr-R^c*, “The hwt-estate of Niuserre (named) Hathor wishes that Niuserre live,” which is in UE 14.

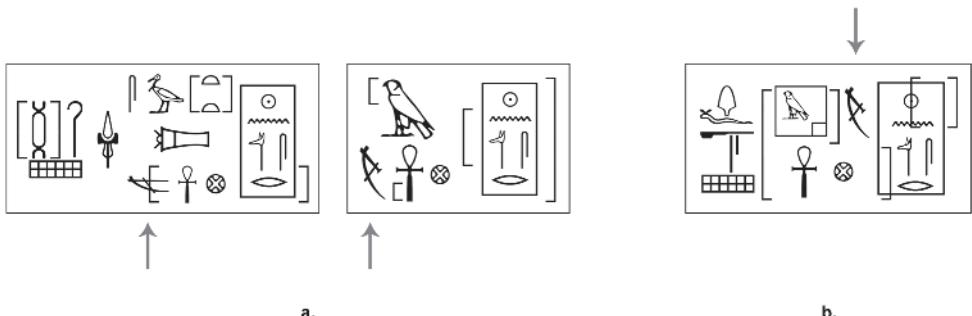


FIGURE 2.8 All after Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*: Figure 8a, left text: 155, no. 16: *ḥwt Ny-wsr-R^c mr Bṣṭt ‘nḥ Ny-wsr-R^c*, “The hwt of Niuserre (called) Bastet wishes that Niuserre live;” which is in LE 13; Figure 8a, right text, 156, no. 18: *ḥwt Ny-wsr-R^c mr Ḥr(?) ‘nḥ Ny-wsr-R^c*, “The hwt of Niuserre (called) Horus (?) wishes that Niuserre live.” Figure 8b: 157, no. 25. *ḥwt Ny-wsr-R^c mr Ḥwt-Hr ‘nḥ Ny-wsr-R^c*, “The hwt-estate of Niuserre (named) Hathor wishes that Niuserre live,” which is in UE 14.

his own estates. Niuserre, in fact, could have seen the Type 2 triads, since the statue vandalism at the valley temple seems to have taken place shortly before he returned to Giza to renovate the temple.⁸⁹ Another small, but possibly telling, feature appears in this regard.

Niuserre used five other *hwt* names, as restored by Jacquet-Gordon, that employ the same naming construction as found in the Type 2 triad, but these other five *hwts* name gods other than Hathor;⁹⁰ I illustrate two of the five in Fig. 2.8a. The arrangement of hieroglyphs in the Hathor *hwt* name (Fig. 2.7) is different from the arrangement in the five non-Hathor *hwt* names. In Niuserre’s non-Hathor names, the *mr*-sign is to the lower left of the image, but in the Hathor *hwt* name the *mr*-sign moves to the upper right beside the king’s

89 Lehner, et al., “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 180; Lehner, *Annual Report 2010–2011*, 13.

90 The five, as restored by Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, using III A2c, p. 76, are: 155, nos. 16, 17; 156, no. 18; 157, nos. 23; 24.



FIGURE 2.9

Type 2 triad (MFA 09.200*) with Niuserre's *hw*t name included above the image for comparison of the placement of the *mr*-sign beside the King's name; the *mr*-sign is aligned with Hathor's embrace of the king in the triad. The written name of Hathor and the nome sign to its right, shown above the image, also align with the figures of Hathor and the nome personification to her right in the triad. The 'nh in the text appears appropriately under Hathor's name since life derives from her, not the nome personification (her deputy), who offers it in the triad (see also Fig. 2.6).

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name. The Niuserre *hw*t estate name with Hathor is the only one out of the six (five without and one with Hathor) that mirrors in its arrangement of glyphs the arrangement of figures in the Type 2 Menkaure triad (Fig. 2.9). In the Niuserre estate name, the *mr*-embrace (wish/love) sign juxtaposes Niuserre in the written form of his *hw*t name, just as directly below, the *mr*-embrace (wish/love) gesture by the figure of Hathor juxtaposes Menkaure in his sculptural form. The other Niuserre glyphs similarly align with the triad's figures below (see caption to Fig. 2.9). Was Niuserre, who renovated Menkaure's valley temple, "copying" the *hw*t estate reading of his predecessor, whose *Heb-Sed* theme had special significance for Niuserre as seen at his Abu Gurab sun temple?

Menkaure's use of UE 15 on the intact Type 2 triad cites a nome that is geographically adjacent to Niuserre's UE 14 in his *hw*t name (Fig. 2.7). UE 14 and 15 are, like the site of Tehna (discussed below), part of Middle Egypt, that area of rich arable lands which by the Old Kingdom (*e.g.*, at Tehna), referenced Hathor worship, and by the Middle Kingdom the *Heb-Sed*. Jacquet-Gordon observes

that the use of a deity's name in a domain name suggests that deity's worship there,⁹¹ so my reading of the intact Type 2 triad would further suggest the existence of a cult of "Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore" in UE 15 by Menkaure's day at the royal estate at Sheikh Said. That the Hathor cult was connected to Menkaure's *Heb-Sed* is further suggested in this UE 15 Type 2, since here the king holds the *Heb-Sed mks*, as Hathor's double embrace confirms his status to rule through the festival. If I am right, this Type 2 triad might be not only our earliest reference to the Hathor cult in UE 15 and specifically at Sheikh Said, but also an indication of provisioning Menkaure's *Heb-Sed* from UE 15 in Middle Egypt—just as the Type 2 fragmentary triad would be a not unexpected indication of provisioning Menkaure's *Heb-Sed* from LE 1 in the capital Memphite region—where the "real" *Heb-Sed* (even if symbolic and post-mortem) would have taken place. In my proposal, the combination of Hathor-King-*Heb-Sed* provisioning would reach to both UE 15 and LE 1 by the late Fourth Dynasty through the following links:

Type 2 triad (MFA 09.200)/ Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore/***Heb-Sed mks***/
Sheikh Said/UE 15/

parallels

Type 2 triad (MFA 12.1514)/ Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore/***Heb-Sed mks***/
Giza/LE 1/

The UE 15 triad may show that Hathor, in a Middle Egyptian nome, well before the Middle Kingdom, is linked to the king's *Heb-Sed* through provisioning. It also shows that while the *Sed*-Festival could take place (presumably) at the capital (in life or after) under the aegis of "Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore," it could be provisioned by her *hwt* estates in far-flung nomes.

The nomes and their unmentioned towns with which the triads are associated seem to be those that kings found economically important—just what we see with the small step pyramids of the late Third and early Fourth Dynasties (also non-funerary monuments) that were located near economically important towns in given nomes where *Heb-Sed*-related cults could be linked to royal domains.⁹² This is just what I think is going on with the triads: that the triads linked to nomes with economically important towns (domains) to which the

⁹¹ Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 157.

⁹² The particular town near which a small step pyramid was located was the overriding reference point for where these little step pyramids were located, the probable goal being to connect royal cult to royal domains, at least in part (Dreyer and Kaiser, "Zu den kleinen Stufenpyramiden Ober- und Mittelägyptens," 56). See Seidlmayer, "Town and State,"

Heb-Sed was added—but now with the added feature of Hathor. Her temples, real or imagined, near royal domains take center stage and could be used to legitimize royal claims to the produce of those nomes' towns.⁹³ In other words, royal economic interest, if we expand on the example of UE 15, could establish a presence in a nome with the imprimatur of Hathor, who through *hw*t names was shown to visibly love the king and support his *Heb-Sed*, while provisioning that festival forever from her own *hw*t temple estates. But how real or active were such putative temple estates and were they capable of distributing goods beyond their own confines?

4 The Real and the Unreal

The Menkaure triads may provide a glimpse into an unfolding process of slightly decreasing symbolic truth in favor of an increased measure of reality in the late Fourth to Fifth Dynasty. If we go back to Sneferu, a combination of the real and the symbolic appears in the number of Seneferu's nomes and their estates that provisioned him. But Sneferu's purpose in exploiting his provincial estates, I am suggesting, concerned more than his funerary cult. The inscription recently found by Rainer Stadelmann⁹⁴ shows that the temple was specifically for the king's *Heb-Sed*,⁹⁵ despite the fact that nothing in the estate names above the offering bearers or in any preserved text on the walls mentions the *Heb-Sed*⁹⁶—just as nothing in the triads' text specifically mentions the

122. These points are discussed in Friedman, "The Cultic Relationship of the Menkaure Triads."

93 Gillam, "Priestesses of Hathor," 226 notes that "Indeed, it seems obvious that the cult of the royal goddess [*i.e.*, Hathor] followed the ruling elite as it organized the towns of Upper Egypt ... as centres for the redistribution of goods and services for its benefit." Cf. Selve, "Rôle et attributions des nomarques," 85.

94 Stadelmann, "The *Heb-Sed* Temple of Sneferu at Dahshur." The importance of the *Sed*-Festival for Sneferu is underscored by the king's appearance in the characteristic *Heb-Sed* cloak at the satellite pyramid of the Bent Pyramid (Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 63, fig. 24) and at North Dahshur where Stadelmann records numerous fragments of the king in the cloak ("Die Pyramiden des Snofru," 233–34, pl. 73).

95 Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, Part 1, 55 for remains of four estate names on fig. 25, which he says could be "from any one of the first twelve nomes of LE." Remains of the leftmost estate can be restored as "*Sneferu-Heb-Sed*" which Fakhry notes is the same name as an UE 11 estate on the west wall. Above the fragmentary LE estates from an unknown nome is a fragment of the king's raised heel running what is probably the *Heb-Sed* race (fig. 25).

96 Though iconography on the temple's pillars and upper temple walls does allude to the *Sed*-Festival. Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, Part 1, figs. 120, 127 (king standing with *mks*); fig. 25 (with

Heb-Sed. What I have suggested in previous work also underscored Sneferu's *Heb-Sed* theme, for when he symbolically exited south out of his temple in the *Heb-Sed*, he was flanked on his right by UE 22, which has survived, and probably LE 1 on his left (which Fakhry rightly inferred), orienting him east and in the Memphite and Dashur region⁹⁷—where he would have celebrated his real-life *Heb-Sed*⁹⁸ (Fig. 2.10a–b). The revision from my earlier thinking, however, is that the offerings from his many pictured *hwt* estates were specifically directed to his *Heb-Sed*, the same principal I propose for Menkaure in his valley temple, where the funerary cult, though clearly operative in the back of his temple through his seated alabaster statues, was not the focus of the offerings inscribed on the triads. Except with Menkaure, I am suggesting the provisions were not understood to be from his own *hwt* estates but really or symbolically from his mother's.⁹⁹ And just as Sneferu's *Heb-Sed* should be understood as symbolically enacted in the open court of his temple, so should Menkaure's. With Sneferu, the king's *hwt* estates feed his *Heb-Sed* in a *hwt*; with Menkaure, the *hwt* estates of his mother feed his *Heb-Sed* in his temple, surely also understood as a *hwt*. And just as *hwt* estates line Sneferu's temple, so did Menkaure's *hwt* estates inhabit his *hwt* valley temple—except not as relief, as with Sneferu, but in the form of three dimensional sculptures.

Provisioning the *Heb-Sed* is not new, and in this regard a trail of ideas I suspect may lead to the Fifth Dynasty sun temples, where at Niuserre's *Heb-Sed*, "Die Grosse Festdarstellung" on the inner walls around the solar obelisk show fragments of offerings¹⁰⁰ that are understood as coming from the deity to the king, just as with the triads, offerings come from Hathor to the king at *his Heb-Sed*. The requirement for food at the *Heb-Sed* in a monumental context goes back to the Second Dynasty at the so-called "Fort" at Hierakonpolis,¹⁰¹ where small granite relief fragments, probably from the enclosure's lintel, included images of Khasekhemwy seated in a kiosk and wearing the *Heb-Sed*

raised foot of king in *Heb-Sed* run); figs. 43, 55, 58, 68 (reconstructed as running with *mekes*). See Friedman, "Triads I" and "Triads II"; LeBlanc, *Sed I*, esp. 231–37.

97 Tavares, "Village, town and barracks," 276 on the possibly "shifting capital" of the Old Kingdom.

98 Friedman, "Triads II," 119–21 with illustrations.

99 All the triads are relatively small, averaging about 90 cm high, and must have stood on plinths, presumably around the open court of the valley temple.

100 Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III*, pls. 20, 21, 23. My thanks to Susan J. Allen, Research Associate for Egyptian Expedition Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for obtaining these images for me.

101 From *Hierakonpolis, City of the Hawk* (<http://www.hierakonpolis-online.org/index.php/explore-the-fort> [accessed 12/29/12]).

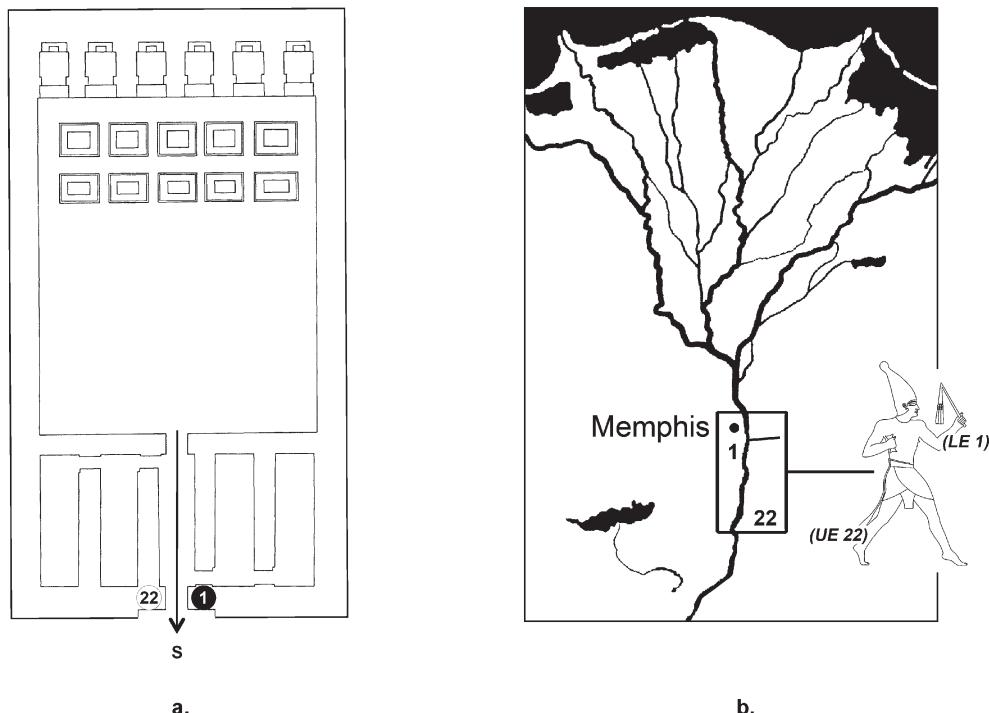


FIGURE 2.10A-B *Figure 2.10a shows the placement of UE 22 and LE 1 at the temple entrance relative to the king exiting south out of his temple. Figure 2.10b shows the geographical relationship of these two nomes. After Friedman, “Triads II,” Fig. 20; temple plan after Friedman, “Relief Panels,” Fig. 21, after Fakhry, Sneferu II, Part I, Figs. 1; II9.*

cloak,¹⁰² as well as engaged in a ceremonial run,¹⁰³ plus fragments of the title *pr hrj-wdb*,¹⁰⁴ a title that Gardiner showed concerned the feeding of the king.¹⁰⁵ Numerous Old Kingdom titles include the term,¹⁰⁶ in which *pr* translates as

¹⁰² Alexanian, “Reliefdekoration,” Taf. 2, Abb. 8 and “Relief Decoration of Khasekhemwy,” 14.

¹⁰³ Though the area that would include his hands, and therefore a *Heb-Sed mks*, is missing: Alexanian, “Reliefdekoration,” Taf. 3, Abb. 10 and “Relief Decoration of Khasekhemwy,” 15. There are also standing attendants: Alexanian, “Reliefdekoration,” Taf. 3, Abb. 9.

¹⁰⁴ Alexanian, “Reliefdekoration,” Taf. 3, Abb. 23. Though fragmentary, the title is reliably reconstructed.

¹⁰⁵ Gardiner, “The Mansion of Life,” esp. 84, 88; Hannig, *Wörterbuch I*, 453: Haus des Speisemesiters.

¹⁰⁶ Numerous titles that include *pr hrj-wdb* indicate one who is charge of reversion offerings: Jones, *Index I*, e.g., 286, no. 1036; 212, no. 790; 213, no. 791; 407, no. 1500; 409, no. 1505; 411, no. 1513; 408, no. 1501; see also *Index II*, 603–06, no. 2212.

“department.”¹⁰⁷ Feeding the king at his *Heb-Sed*, it appears, was formalized by the end of the Second Dynasty with its own department and a director of reversionary offerings. It was perhaps a symbolic feeding, since we don’t know if Khasekhemwy was celebrating his *Heb-Sed* at the large enclosure known as the “Fort” in life or in death,¹⁰⁸ or possibly both. But probably even in Khasekhemwy’s time, the real-life economic model of how goods from provincial estates satisfied the needs of the king was being used to fulfill one of the king’s most pressing ritual needs, his *Heb-Sed*.

5 Hathor and a *hwty-3t* near Tehna

Outside of the triads, there is no certain reference I am aware of in the Fourth Dynasty of Hathor feeding the king’s *Heb-Sed*. But at one provincial Old Kingdom temple tied to the state, Hathor is clearly linked to provisioning in the context of a *hwty-3t*, or Great Estate. The term refers to a larger or more important *hwty*, and similarly carries architectural and economic meaning, as in an especially important building or structure, or to an expanded economic version of a *hwty*. Moreno Garcia characterizes it as a provincial palace or royal estate, and shows that, like a *hwty*, it served as an economic foothold by which the king extended his power into the provinces. As with *hwty*, *hwty-3t* was associated with a king or god,¹⁰⁹ appearing in the one extant inscription that shows Menkaure’s real-life involvement with a provincial Hathor temple. The temple is dedicated to a local form of Hathor in Middle Egypt, called “Hathor, Mistress of Rainet, ‘Mouth of the Valley’,” a site about 2 km south of Tehna (“Tihna al-Gabal” on the map in Fig. 2.11).¹¹⁰ Tehna itself was a *hwty*-estate, that

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Jones, *Index* 1, 212, no. 790; 213, no. 791.

¹⁰⁸ R. Friedman, “Fixing the Fort,” notes that “this imposing enclosure may have been built to commemorate the king’s rejuvenation festival or perhaps even the reunification of land under his command and the grand festival when Khasekhem was reborn as Khasekhemwy. Indeed, what could be a better place for such a celebration than the home of the patron god of Egyptian Kingship, Horus of Hierakonpolis. Proof for this theory, however, will be hard to come by, mainly because we are not the first to investigate the monument.” R. Friedman, “Investigating the Fort,” 11–12 leaned more toward in-life use on the basis of pottery remains.

¹⁰⁹ Moreno Garcia, “Administration territoriale,” 45–47.

¹¹⁰ Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 246; Gardiner, *AEO* 11, 92*. However, Nims, “Catalogue of Things,” 260 earlier located Rainet, on the basis of Ramesside evidence, closer to Sheikh Mubarik, a site Kessler places just south of his own location for Rainet, but over the border south of UE 17 into UE 16 (see Fig. 11 in this article). See also Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlung*, 137. Despite slightly different placements, it is clear that Rainet was

is, an administrative center¹¹¹ set up at the order of the king, where the managers of the nearby Rainet temple and its lands were buried.¹¹² Two of the administrators, Khenukai and Nikaiankh I, were appointed by royal decree, a fact that “would appear to indicate a confidence by the crown (Menkaure and Userkaf) in their administrative abilities and suggests a certain seniority within the ranks of royal officials or possibly even royal blood.”¹¹³ Elite individuals related to the crown worked here. Adding to the significance of the site is the possibility that already in the Old Kingdom Tehna may have had the important harbor it was known to have in later times.¹¹⁴ That Rainet, in turn, was a proper locality is suggested by its writing with the village or town determinative (Gardiner sign-list O49), seen in the inscription below,¹¹⁵ where, as Dieter Kessler notes, the Hathor temple was probably the reason for the determinative rather than any presumed settlement that accompanied it.¹¹⁶

While Elizabeth Thompson, Director of the Australian Tehna Expedition, places Tehna and Rainet in UE 16, as do many, but not all, others, no nome sign has yet been found in any of the Tehna tomb inscriptions thus far,¹¹⁷ and Kessler’s research strongly suggests that Tehna and Rainet, during the Old and Middle Kingdom, were, in fact, in UE 17¹¹⁸ (Fig. 2.11). This is a significant point relative to the triads, since the nome standard for UE 17 appears on one Menkaure triad (Fig. 2.1c).¹¹⁹ The *hwty* administrative center at Tehna, including Rainet’s Hathor temple and *hwty-sp3t*, I am suggesting, may be the unnamed town for this triad’s estate.

“nearby” Tehna, as most recently stated in Thompson, *et al.*, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna I*, 15.

¹¹¹ Gundlach, “Tehne,” 304.

¹¹² Thompson, *et al.*, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna I*, 15.

¹¹³ Thompson, *et al.*, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna I*, 16.

¹¹⁴ Gundlach, “Tehne,” 304.

¹¹⁵ The text is best seen in Thompson, *et al.*, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna I*, pl. 57, with Rainet shown above the head of the seated Nikaiankh I, determined solely by the village/town determinative (Gardiner sign-list O49).

¹¹⁶ Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 247. The writing of Rainet in other instances also included the hill country determinative (Gardiner sign-list N25; Thompson, *et al.*, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna I*, 21, n. 34, with references), appropriate given the adjacent stretch of hills and cliffs that ran around Rainet and north to Tehna (Gundlach, “Tehne,” 304. See Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, Map 2; and Fig. 11 in this article.)

¹¹⁷ Thompson, *et al.*, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna I*, 21, n. 33.

¹¹⁸ Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 283–85, esp. 284, Map 2. I thank Dieter Kessler for confirming his thoughts on this subject in a personal communication. See also Gundlach, “Tehne,” 304.

¹¹⁹ Earlier, Sneferu’s official, Metjen, was “leader of the nome (*sp3t*) and overseer of commissions in UE 17” (*Urk. I*, 3:17). On *sp3t* as countryside, see Allen, “Some Aspects,” 10, 17.

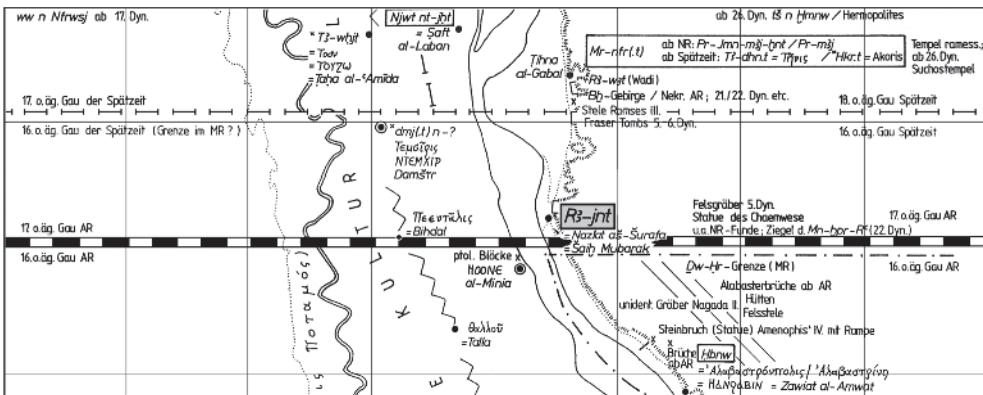
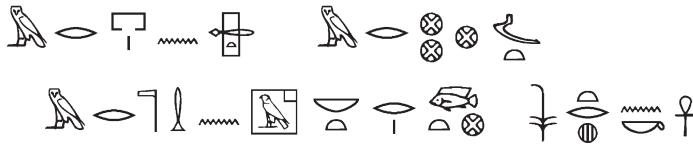


FIGURE 2.11 Modified from Kessler, Historische Topographie, Map 2.

The Tehna inscription¹²⁰ that mentions Menkaure belongs to Nikaiankh I and dates from the reign of Userkaf, first king of the Fifth Dynasty, which places it within approximately a decade of Menkaure's death.¹²¹ The tomb owner's titles are revealing:



*jmj-r3 pr n hwt-‘3t, jmj-r3 njwjt m3wt, jmj-r3 hmw-ntr n hwt-Hr
nbt R3-Jnt, rh/jht nsht Nj-k(3.j)-‘nh (Urk. I, 24: 12–13).*

Steward of the Great Estate,¹²² overseer of the new towns and overseer of the priests of Hathor,

Mistress of Ra-Int, royal acquaintance/custodian of the king's property,¹²³ Nikaiankh.

¹²⁰ Fraser, "Early Tombs at Tehneh," 127.

¹²¹ Hornung, *et al.*, "Chronological Table," 491 gives about 7 years between Menkaure's death and Userkaf's accession, Userkaf then having about a 6 year reign. Menkaure ruled about 5 (Hornung, *et al.*, "Chronological Table," 491) or 6 years (Krauss and Warburton, "Conclusions," 485).

¹²² Jones, *Index 1*, 121, no. 486.

¹²³ For *rh nsht*, see Jones, *Index 1*, 327–28, no. 1206, listed under *iry ht nsht*, meaning "one who is concerned with the things of the king" or, among other translations, "custodian of

Thompson shows that Nikaiankh I was part of the elite group of late Fourth to Early Fifth Dynasty nomarchs whose tombs at Tehna represent some of “the earliest burials of provincial officials in the Old Kingdom,”¹²⁴ with his “position as ‘Overseer of the new towns’ [being] the senior administrative post held by provincial nomarchs in the Fifth Dynasty.”¹²⁵ Moreno Garcia, putting together the administrative and temple titles, describes Nikaiankh’s sphere of influence: “This provincial official and his family succeeded in controlling both the local temple of the goddess Hathor and the royal agricultural centres of the crown in the province....”¹²⁶ The picture is one of an impressive interweaving of social, economic, and political power between crown and local elite. Both the *ḥwt-ṣt*, which I see as a royal economic installation, and the cult temple of Hathor at Rainet that I am interpreting as a separate entity within it, were under the control of the tomb owner.¹²⁷

Much of Nikaiankh I’s status derives from his tie to the king.¹²⁸ His ranking title of *rḥ nswt/jry ht nswt* may be telling in this regard, especially when translated as “custodian of the king’s property,” or, by using *ht* as “cult,” translated by Ron Leprohon as “one connected to the [royal] cult.”¹²⁹ Based on readings from the Fifth Dynasty Abusir Papyri, Leprohon asks if the title (though not referencing Nikaiankh specifically) “is more than simply a designation of rank and upward mobility, but is an actual indication of the king’s largess? The title could then broadly be rendered as ‘One connected to the cultic largess of (*i.e.*, from) the king.’”¹³⁰ Such a translation would ally Nikaiankh I to the cult activi-

the king’s property.” Numerous references follow for this title.

¹²⁴ Thompson, “Report.” Nikaiankh I’s tomb is newly published in Thompson, *et al.*, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna 1*, 21–59, pls. 1–25.

¹²⁵ Thompson, “Report.” See also Papazian, *Domain of Pharaoh*, 54.

¹²⁶ Moreno Garcia, “State and organization,” 321. The author also notes that while the Fifth Dynasty epigraphic record reveals that “[f]or the first time temples have become an important element of the rural landscape” that the role of temples was probably not insignificant, as demonstrated in this Nikaiankh inscription. Also, Moreno Garcia, “Les temples provinciaux,” 102.

¹²⁷ Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 285: “Wahrscheinlich war er mit Aufgaben im königlichen *ḥwt-ṣt* [sic] betraut, die auch die Organisation neuer königlicher Güter in der Provinz mit einschloss.”

¹²⁸ It is interesting in this regard to note that “[t]he architectural form of most of the tombs in this cemetery is remarkable being an attempt by the ancient architects to reproduce the stone and brick mastabas of the cemeteries of the capital at Giza and Saqqara.” From Thompson, “Report.” The tombs seem to have been imitating prestigious Memphite forms.

¹²⁹ Leprohon, “Sixth Dynasty False Door,” 41–42, 46–47.

¹³⁰ Leprohon, “Sixth Dynasty False Door,” 47. I thank Ron Leprohon for discussing this term with me.

ties and generosity of Userkaf. So while Tehna's cult temple, like other provincial cult temples, may have been deeply rooted in its own locality,¹³¹ it and its managers were probably significant enough in Userkaf's day—and even in Menkaure's, but a few years earlier—to merit the state's rewards and interest.

Kings show interest in provincial temples, in fact, since the Early Dynastic period.¹³² Moreno Garcia summarizes some of the current data on the subject from Upper Egypt, including findings from Elephantine (UE 1) where Second and Third Dynasty sealings point to royal intervention in the activities of the local elite through control of a local temple there; and at Gebelein in UE 4 where Fourth Dynasty papyri attest to a state requirement of the people for aid in constructing a temple.¹³³ Elephantine comes up enough in the archaeological record to the end of the Fourth Dynasty that we would expect a Menkaure triad with UE 1 for one of the triad reconstructions. But the Theban nome with Gebelein (UE 4) does appear on one triad (Fig. 2.1 a), so it is noteworthy that Early Dynastic relief fragments from the temple of Gebelein (UE 4) suggest a *Sed*-Festival there.¹³⁴ Evidence thus points to royal use of provincial monuments at both Hierakonpolis, at the enclosure called the "Fort," and possibly at Gebelein's temple, for celebration of *Heb-Seds*, and in the case of Gebelein, through use of a local temple that was perhaps already, and certainly would be later, dedicated to Hathor. Provincial intervention in the nomes through the medium of local institutions/temples, for reasons economic and ritual—including the *Heb-Sed*—are suggested or shown from the first dynasties.

Though Menkaure's interest in Rainet's *hwt-3t* with its Hathor temple has no known connection to his *Heb-Sed*, his intervention at Tehna was surely grounded in economics that concerned a range of cult provisioning. Tehna's location in Middle Egypt, with what may have been a functioning harbor nearby, made it ripe for exploitation; it was a focus for development and control by Fifth Dynasty kings.¹³⁵ Menkaure's involvement at Tehna may be a fore-runner to Fifth Dynasty interest and exploitation in Middle Egypt. His reign, in fact, should be seen very much in keeping with the Fifth Dynasty, the period from Menkaure to Userkaf representing in some ways a carry-over of ideas,¹³⁶

¹³¹ Bussmann, "Die Provinztempel Ägyptens," LXXXV–LXXXVII, Ch. 1.

¹³² Moreno Garcia, "Les temples provinciaux," 97–99.

¹³³ Moreno Garcia, "Les temples provinciaux," 97–98.

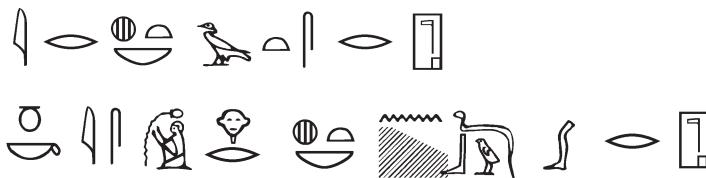
¹³⁴ Morenz, "Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel, esp. 224–27.

¹³⁵ Moreno Garcia, "Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire," 241, though I am placing Tehna in UE 17, as opposed to Moreno Garcia who places it in UE 16.

¹³⁶ Stadelmann, "Userkaf," 531 on a development of ideas from the Fourth to Fifth Dynasty. He remarks that Shepseskaf and Userkaf have so many points in common that it is difficult to suggest a dynastic break between them; even in the construction of their names, the *f* surely refers in each to Re.

as well as a marked shift in bureaucratic structure;¹³⁷ but a time so brief that, as Nolan's work on the Pottery Mound mud sealings shows, some scribal officials working under Menkaure were still working under kings in the Fifth Dynasty long after Userkaf, and as late as Niuserre.¹³⁸

The temple at Rainet's *ḥwt-ṣt* acted in an economic capacity, and it did not act alone. It was part of a network of redistribution within its region, revealed when Nikaankh I, as authorized by Userkaf, says:



*jr ht nb(t) 'kt.s r ḥwt-ntr
jnkjs w'b hr ht nb(t) n wdb-rd r ḥwt -ntr (Urk. I, 26.12–13).*

As for anything that will enter into the temple [*i.e.*, of Hathor], it is indeed I who shall act as *w'b*-priest over all things ("aspects")¹³⁹ of the reversionary offerings involving the temple.¹⁴⁰

Papazian makes a good case for believing that the goods redistributed here did not originate from the temple but rather that the temple received the goods from another source and then redistributed them, in a pattern found later in the Fifth Dynasty where the origin of a temple's goods were another temple and the royal residence.¹⁴¹ Papazian suggests that the

reversionary offerings were ritually processed only after resources (qualified here as *ht nbt*) were directed toward the temple. This would suggest that Hathor's temple was not the originator of those offerings, but

¹³⁷ Nolan, *Mud Sealings* and "On the Cusp," 10–11 shows that in the Fifth, as opposed to the Fourth, Dynasty "[t]he real work of governing was done by a growing number of trained officials, who staffed the newly formed government bureaus."

¹³⁸ Nolan, *Mud Sealings*, 407.

¹³⁹ Papazian, "Temple of Ptah," 141, n. 21 on *ht nbt* as "all aspects."

¹⁴⁰ Transliteration and translation basically follow those of Papazian, "Temple of Ptah," 141.

¹⁴¹ Goedicke, "Cult-temple and 'State,'" 123 also concludes that the temple was dependent in part on the largess of the king.

rather that it acted firstly as the recipient of the goods, and subsequently as the ritual reverser of that income, over which Nykaiankh maintained control.¹⁴²

In this understanding, the role of the Hathor Temple is purely cultic,¹⁴³ that is, as a ritual recipient and reverser. And while one might conclude that the temple and its lands were too small to feed more than the Hathor cult and temple personnel, I am not sure we really know how small or large an operation it was, or whether the temple estates within the *hwt-ꜣt* had enough land to feed any outside its purview. What the inscription and Papazian's analysis do show, however, is that the temple and the *hwt-ꜣt* in which it functioned were part of a broader economic network of generators, receivers, and redistributors of goods, within which was this one royal estate. And even if the temple there took a largely ceremonial role, that of receiver but not generator of goods (and I do not know that we can say that for sure), that ceremonial role was still significant in Menkaure's day, because Tehna was sitting on valuable land, with a probable harbor and a local Hathor cult, all of which the crown could exploit. The given is that through connection with such provincial temples the king was staking a claim on their estates for provisioning his own needs.¹⁴⁴ A picture of a multi-layered territorial, economic, and religious installation at Tehna emerges with roots going back at least to Menkaure's reign, and perhaps a bit earlier, as discussed below.

6 Menkaure and the *hwt-ꜣt* near Tehna

Earlier in the inscription, Menkaure appears in the context of a rare legal document concerning the transfer of Nikaiankh 1's property to his children at his death,¹⁴⁵ a portion of which is stated as having come from Menkaure. The tomb owner says,

¹⁴² Papazian, "Temple of Ptah," 142.

¹⁴³ Papazian, "Temple of Ptah," 143.

¹⁴⁴ Gillam, "Priestesses of Hathor," 226 notes that, "[i]ndeed, it seems obvious that the cult of the royal goddess [Hathor] followed the ruling elite as it organized the towns of Upper Egypt . . . as centres for the redistribution of goods and services for its benefit."

¹⁴⁵ Manuelian, "An Essay in Document Transmission," esp. 13.



hmw-ntr jrw.n.(j) pw m msw dt.(j)
r w'b n hwt-hrw
jw jr 3ht st3t 2jn hm MN-K3W-R^c
n hmw-ntr jpn
r w'b hr.s

These are the priests I made from the children of my funerary estate
 to do *w'b*-service for Hathor,
 in light of that fact that 2 arouras of farmland were made by the
 Incarnation of Menkaure
 for those priests
 to do *w'b*-service in exchange for it (*Urk. I*, 25: 2–6).¹⁴⁶

The tomb owner's children are *hm-ntr* priests to whom Menkaure pays 2 arouras of land (1.36 acres),¹⁴⁷ in exchange for their work as *w'b*-priests of Hathor. Menkaure's small, but not unusual, allotment of 2 arouras¹⁴⁸ of rich fertile land (*3ht*) is not to endow an entire Hathor cult, as sometimes suggested;¹⁴⁹ it is rather to pay already existing *hm-ntr* priests to do, or continue to do, *w'b* service at an already existing Hathor temple.¹⁵⁰ In other words, the 2 arouras were

¹⁴⁶ I thank James P. Allen for his transliteration, translation and clarification of meaning, in personal communication.

¹⁴⁷ Calculated on the basis of Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 101 that says 10 arouras = 6.81 acres.

¹⁴⁸ For the range of size in fields, for which 2 arouras is low, see Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 3.

¹⁴⁹ And as I mistakenly thought in Friedman, "Triads I," 37.

¹⁵⁰ This text, by the way, confirms the existence of Hathor priests in a provincial temple outside Memphis in the late Fourth Dynasty: Gillam, "Priestesses of Hathor," 226, n. 163. Gillam also stresses that the duties of these priests are not merely honorific but entail real temple services (pp. 212–13).

fields allotted by the crown for maintenance of an ongoing cult that preceded Menkaure's allotment—and possibly Menkaure. Concerning the role of *w'b*-priests, Moreno Garcia makes a case, though based mainly on Middle Kingdom papyri, that they were not lowly temple workers, but members of the lower elite in provincial temples who could make a fairly good living, and share in the status of interacting with higher-ups¹⁵¹—as Menkaure's intervention in the Nikaiankh I inscription may also suggest. Menkaure's payment to the priests to take on another duty shows how Hathor temple service is being yoked at least by the late Fourth Dynasty to a state-sanctioned economic base in Middle Egypt. The presence of Menkaure here in the late Fourth Dynasty, plus his Hathor-related triads, and especially the UE 17 triad, suggest that something real, in both an economic and religious sense, is going on here. But defining that reality more fully is not easy.

7 New Hypotheses

The distinction between real and symbolic started with my reading of the three intact Type 1 triads as *hwt*-estates called “Hathor loves Menkaure,” each in a different nome. Is this mere rhetoric or would the repeated use of one name for multiple estates be likely? Repetition of the same domain name in a single series is, in fact, known from the Fourth Dynasty,¹⁵² as seen with Sneferu,¹⁵³ and confirmed from the early Fifth, by Khaled's recent publication of the funerary domains on Sahure's causeway—some using the late Fourth-early Fifth Dynasty naming formula that I used for Type 1 triads, namely, “God x loves the king.”¹⁵⁴ Whether these domains and their provisions are primarily symbolic takes us back to Sneferu's *Heb-Sed* temple where I suggested that a blend of real and fictive income-producing estates is presented as supplying his *Sed*-Festival.

¹⁵¹ Moreno Garcia, “Les temples provinciaux,” 114–17; Gillam, “Priestesses of Hathor,” 213 for a Sixth Dynasty example of an overseer of Hathor priests and also a *w'b* who performs hands-on service in a Hathor cult at Cusae [UE 14] (*Urk. I*, 222: 2).

¹⁵² See Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 13 on two or more domains having same name in different parts of the country.

¹⁵³ Fakhry, *Sneferu II*, Part 1, 55, 58; Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des Domaines*, 13.

¹⁵⁴ Khaled, *Royal Funerary Domains*, gives multiple Sahure domain names using the formula of “God x loves the king,” using *ntr* (pp. 69, 117 [probably], 123 [probably], 145); Sokar (pp. 79, 122, 168); or Seshat (pp. 120, 158, 173) as gods who love the king. The formula also appears one time each with Re (p. 118), Horus (p. 156), Nemty (p. 171) and Dwaw (p. 178).

As noted, when Sneferu exited his temple, symbolically or really, he was headed south according to the compass, but east as well, since he would have UE 22 on his right and (probably) LE 1 on his left (Fig. 2.10a), putting him in the Memphite region for his *Heb-Sed* celebration (Fig. 2.10b). What recent archaeology reveals is that he would have been moving toward a real harbor connected to the temple. Discovered in 2010 by two German teams, the harbor appears to be huge, running east from Sneferu's temple,¹⁵⁵ the very direction in which he runs. We have at Sneferu's *Heb-Sed* temple, therefore, an interweaving of symbolic and archaeologically-based truth occurring at the lower temple entry point to the pyramid complex. This area has been associated through texts with the *mrt* and the *r3-š*. The earliest reference to the *mrt* relates to Sneferu, though it is recorded later, in a Fifth Dynasty Annals inscription from the reign of Neferirkare. It cites the procession of a statue to *Hwt-Hr nht Snfrw mrt* (*Urk.* 1, 247: 15–16), “(a cult place of) ‘Hathor, (Mistress) of the Sycamore’ (in?) the *mrt*-of Sneferu,” suggesting a cult of the goddess in a Sneferu constructed *mrt* shrine/temple. Based on the Fifth Dynasty Abusir papyri, Paule Posener-Kriéger shows that the *mrt* was fundamentally a cult of “Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore,” allied to feeding the dead king.¹⁵⁶ These two features, that is, the Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore cults, and the fact that she provisions the king, are repeated in every one of Menkaure’s triads (Fig. 2.2).¹⁵⁷ The Neferirkare text suggests that Sneferu’s *mrt* temple of Hathor was active (or renewed) in the time of Neferirkare, a king who gave Hathor special cultic focus in his funerary and *Sed*-related sun temples.¹⁵⁸ It has been posited that each king founded his own *mrt* temple,¹⁵⁹ leading us to expect one for Menkaure.¹⁶⁰ While no remains of any *mrt* has been found, its suggested location would be the area of the valley temple, thought to have been the locus for a sacred marriage between the king and Hathor in her role as wife and queen.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ On Sneferu harbor: Alexanian, *et al.*, “Necropolis of Dahshur,” esp. 2–3.

¹⁵⁶ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 618, n. 2.

¹⁵⁷ Keeping in mind that the provisions originate from Hathor, not the nome personification, who, like an anthropomorphic hieroglyph, performs the offering on behalf of Hathor, not in her stead.

¹⁵⁸ *E.g.*, Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* I, 107, n. 1.

¹⁵⁹ Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, I, 47; Arnold, *Lexikon*, 161: inscriptions attest to ten *mrts* from Sneferu to Pepy II.

¹⁶⁰ Old Kingdom evidence, besides Sneferu’s, includes early Fifth Dynasty references to *mrts* of Userkaf and Sahure. See Helck, “Gartenanlage, -bau.” Sahure’s *mrt* was connected to both Hathor and Sekhmet.

¹⁶¹ Barta, “Zur Lokalisierung und Bedeutung der *mrt*-Bauten,” 98–104; Arnold, *Lexikon*, 161.

This point is used by Matthias Seidel in his discussion of the triads to connect Menkaure and Hathor at the king's valley temple through an assumed presence of a *mrt* temple there.¹⁶² Given the overlap in economic functions (provisioning) through Hathor (the provisioner) that are implicit in both the *mrt* and the triads, he may be right.

Posener-Kriéger's work shows that the *mrt* was also connected to the *r3-š*, a place of provisioning,¹⁶³ described by Lehner as "a place of deliveries, storage and production,"¹⁶⁴ and by Toby Wilkinson as "an intermediary institution responsible for collecting produce from the royal domains,"¹⁶⁵ functions Moreno Garcia attributes to *hw.t*. Lehner suggests the *r3-š*—literally, "entrance to the basin"—might be "the entrance to the valley ensemble, where the valley temple, harbor, canal and pyramid town were located."¹⁶⁶ In fact, he and his team seem recently to have found the basin. It appears as a steep drop-off in front of Menkaure's valley temple, suggesting a real harbor—as they also found for the Khentkaues I complex just to the north of the Menkaure valley temple,¹⁶⁷ giving archaeological support to the suggestion made some years ago that these Giza complexes (like Sneferu's at the Bent Pyramid) were fronted by harbors in the area known from texts as the *r3-š*.¹⁶⁸

The *mrt*, *r3-š* and *hw.t* held shared economic functions that I think get folded into the triads, where Hathor embraces and legitimizes her son/husband (Type 1 and 2), confirming him in the *Heb-Sed* (Type 2), "marrying" him in the *mrt*, and provisioning him from her temple *hwts* (founded in theory by him) in the given nomes (on Type 1 and 2). The economic functions at work are both real and symbolic: the real being the movement of goods into the valley temple to provision the king's *Sed*-Festival, and the symbolic being a mediation of these economic functions through the one who makes it all possible—Hathor, the king's mother/wife who visibly supports him and implicitly offers divine sanction for his claim to economic bases in nomes with income-producing potential. Standing at the juncture of the real and the symbolic, she is the figure uniting the *mrt*, *r3-š* and *hwts*, the divine force driving the country's economic engine for the creation and transfer of the nomes' products. While she acts on

¹⁶² Seidel, *Statuengruppen*, 1, 47.

¹⁶³ Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 618, n. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 232.

¹⁶⁵ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 164.

¹⁶⁶ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 232; also Málek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids*, 79.

¹⁶⁷ Lehner, et al., "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 164, 183, 190.

¹⁶⁸ Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 230–32.

a symbolic plane as mother/wife and provisioner, she stands in the triads in a real valley temple, at a real *r3-š* storage and delivery area, beside a real harbor, where real agricultural and industrial goods arrived for the king from towns like Sheikh Said, Giza and maybe Tehna. Through the vehicle of Menkaure's triads Hathor shares economic functions with the *r3-š* and *mrt*, enabling the influx of "all good things" from a network of her real and symbolic *hwt* estates which provision Menkaure's most important cult, his *Heb-Sed*.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AEO II	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> , vol. II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947.
<i>AERAgam</i>	Ancient Egypt Research Associates, <i>Newsletter</i>
ÄL	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
ArOr Supp	Archiv Orientální Supplementa
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen
<i>BSFÉ</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie</i>
B. TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Beihefte Reihe B
CRIPEL	Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille
Gardiner	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised. London:
sign-list	Oxford University Press, 1969.
<i>IBAES</i>	<i>Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Studies from the Internet on Egyptology and Sudanarchaeology</i>
JE	Journal d'Entrée (Cairo Museum)
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
LdÄ	E. Otto, W. Westendorf, and W. Helck, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–1991.
LdÄ II	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf, eds. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977.
LdÄ VI	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf, eds. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986.
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
WA	Writings from the Ancient World

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CHAPTER 3

Did the Old Kingdom Collapse? A New View of the First Intermediate Period

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Abstract

Our perceptions of the First Intermediate Period are heavily colored by later literary texts such as the Admonitions of Ipuwer and the Instructions for Merykare. Almost half a century ago, Gun Björkman showed that the Instructions for Merykare did not match the milieu in which it was set. Stephen Seidlmayer has shown that there is an increase in wealth at the end of the Old Kingdom and into the First Intermediate Period, which does not fit with the narrative of the Middle Kingdom narratives. Historical inscriptions contain references that might explain this increase, but understanding them requires a change in perspective on the period that rejects the Middle Kingdom assessments of the First Intermediate Period. When viewed in this way, one must ask in what sense was the end of the Old Kingdom a collapse?

1 The Collapse of the Old Kingdom

One of the truisms of Egyptology is that, in the words of the UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, “the collapse of the Old Kingdom was followed by the tumultuous First Intermediate Period.”¹ The “collapse of the Old Kingdom” has become something of a catchphrase often repeated in books on ancient Egypt without a second thought being given to its use.² There has thus been no end of speculation about the causes of its collapse.³

¹ Katary, “Taxation,” 6.

² Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 80; Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 81; Leclant, “A Brief History of the Old Kingdom,” 11; Katary, “Taxation,” 6; Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 47.

³ Leclant, “A Brief History of the Old Kingdom,” 11: “Specialists will no doubt debate for many years to come the circumstances surrounding the collapse of Old Kingdom Egypt.”

Some suggest an invasion or immigration problem depending on whether it is seen as “incursions into the Delta,”⁴ or “the infiltration of Asiatics into the Delta.”⁵ Thus, there were said to be “increasing Bedouin hostilities, a weakening Egyptian garrison”;⁶ “perhaps even attacks from desert raiders”;⁷ “strife between districts; looting, killing, revolutions, and social anarchy”;⁸ “the forces of disorder were unstoppable.”⁹ Some, however, argue for general “social unrest” among Egyptians,¹⁰ and not just illegal immigrants.

Others suggest that it was the result of climate change: “One cannot escape the potential relevance of the climatic events of the First Intermediate Period.”¹¹ It is said that there were “one or more unusually severe ecological crises at the very end of the Old Kingdom.”¹² “The collapse of the Old Kingdom . . . can be traced at least in part to variations in Nile flood levels”;¹³ “a series of catastrophically low floods”;¹⁴ “catastrophic drought and cooling that generated regional abandonment, collapse, and habitat-tracking”;¹⁵ or “a prolonged and severe deficiency in the annual floods of the Nile”;¹⁶ “a series of inadequate Nile floods that brought famine”;¹⁷ and “widespread droughts, each lasting several decades.”¹⁸ But this explanation is problematic. After all, “it is debatable whether *all* of these references [to catastrophically low floods] can be considered historical rather than literary allusions to real, datable events.”¹⁹ As Stephan Seidlmayer notes:

Independent evidence confirming climatic change during the First Intermediate Period is lacking. Instead, the available data seem to suggest that the ‘Neolithic Wet Phase’ had already ended during the Old

⁴ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 8.

⁵ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 107.

⁶ Mumford, “Tell Ras Budran (Site 345),” 59, n. 66.

⁷ Freed, “Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,” 30.

⁸ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 8.

⁹ Málek, *Egyptian Art*, 152.

¹⁰ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 47.

¹¹ Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, 40.

¹² Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, 29.

¹³ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 47.

¹⁴ Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, 28.

¹⁵ Weiss and Bradley, “What Drives Societal Collapse?” 610.

¹⁶ Bell, “Climate and the History of Egypt,” 224.

¹⁷ Freed, “Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,” 30.

¹⁸ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 48.

¹⁹ Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, 28–29.

Kingdom, bringing drier climatic conditions in the adjacent desert areas in particular, as well as encouraging a general process of adaptation to lower levels of annual Nile flooding. These environmental changes showed no signs of affecting the development of pharaonic civilization at that date.... [If anything,] recent archaeological observations from Elephantine even seem to indicate that Egypt was experiencing flood levels slightly above average during the First Intermediate Period.²⁰

Yet others suggest governmental problems: “a growth in purely courtly titles, which were often the remains of ancient offices that had fallen into disuse but were maintained for their honorific value”;²¹ “a top-heavy social pyramid”;²² “an ever-growing number of bureaucrats... placed an additional drain on the country’s coffers”;²³ “dynastic troubles”;²⁴ “political weakness, poor leadership”;²⁵ “central authority was in rapid decline”;²⁶ “rapid disintegration of the old Memphite régime following the overlong reign of Piopi II”;²⁷ and “King Pepy II’s long reign that lasted an unbelievable ninety-four years.”²⁸ For a long while it has been sufficient to invoke Pepy II’s advanced age to support the conclusion that the entire country weakened and was thereafter delivered into the hands of the supposedly “rivalrous nomarchs.”²⁹ Parenthetically, the only reason we have to consider the reign of Pepy II as lasting for 94 years is Manetho; the highest dates for Pepy II I am aware of are the somewhat doubtful thirty-third cattle count in the chapel of Queen Udjebten and the year after the thirty-first cattle count, which give us a maximum year sixty-five, only about two-thirds the length given in Manetho.³⁰ Some cite “political opportunism,”³¹ although political opportunism is not peculiar to the First Intermediate Period or even Egypt; it is, after all, the nature and disposition of almost all mortals as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose,

²⁰ Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 129.

²¹ Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 90.

²² Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 48.

²³ Freed, “Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,” 30.

²⁴ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 102.

²⁵ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 47–48.

²⁶ Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 89.

²⁷ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 107.

²⁸ Freed, “Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,” 30.

²⁹ Leclant, “A Brief History of the Old Kingdom,” 11.

³⁰ Smith, “The Old Kingdom in Egypt and the Beginning of the First Intermediate Period,” 195; cf. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 89.

³¹ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 25.

to immediately begin to be corrupt. Some have cited “bloodshed and anarchy resulting from the collapse of the monarchy and the rivalries of the provincial feudal lords or ‘nomarchs.’”³² But while “internal forces of change and powerful external forces . . . inevitably affected the political system, . . . it is important to realize, however, that the end of the Old Kingdom was not brought about by the increasing power of the great families of nomarchs.”³³

Still others suggest “economic decline,”³⁴ or “economic crisis,”³⁵ since “the central direction of resources committed to massive labour-intensive projects was . . . the great engine of growth,” and “huge numbers of people received a basic ration—a minimum wage.”³⁶ Others have argued the opposite: “Several hundred years of pyramid building taxed resources and generated no income.”³⁷ They blame it on “immense construction at royal expense,”³⁸ or “overtaxation.”³⁹ Both these views ignore the significant decline in the scope of the monumental architecture after the Fourth Dynasty, which has led to the observation that the “general decline in government spending was not consciously noticed.”⁴⁰

Some sources blame tax breaks: “Institutions such as temples were granted tax exemptions.”⁴¹ Another likewise suggests that “the establishment of tax-exempt funerary endowments diminished royal resources.”⁴² These funerary endowments were used to fund “groups of people that provided part-time service in temples, work crews, and the mortuary cults of kings and high officials” organized into phyles.⁴³ Yet the “use of phyle systems in private tomb cults was a passing phenomenon that flourished during the period around the change from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties,”⁴⁴ and thus too early to contribute to the end of the Old Kingdom. Priests were certainly used after the private phyle system disappeared but the fact that the phyle system was not in use at the end of the Old Kingdom suggests that the number of priests needed to service the mortuary cult was insufficient to require a phyle organization, and thus that

³² Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 107.

³³ Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 127–28.

³⁴ Mumford, “Tell Ras Budran (Site 345),” 59, n. 66.

³⁵ Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 129.

³⁶ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 136.

³⁷ Freed, “Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,” 30.

³⁸ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 8.

³⁹ Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 48.

⁴⁰ Warburton, *Egypt and the Near East*, 19.

⁴¹ Freed, “Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,” 30.

⁴² Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 8.

⁴³ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 2.

⁴⁴ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 118.

the number of individuals employed part-time in such occupations actually decreased. If there is little evidence that royal mortuary cults lasted more than a generation after the death of the monarch, why should we assume that private mortuary cults would have any more longevity, or that the amount of resources consumed by these enterprises would significantly increase?

One highly theoretical source claims that “investment in sociopolitical complexity as a problem-solving response [reached] a point of declining marginal returns” without necessarily specifying how this applied to Old Kingdom Egypt.⁴⁵

Perhaps it was simply the mood of the country: “An overall pessimism had set in.”⁴⁶ Yet strangely this pessimistic or despairing viewpoint is not found in the contemporary texts.⁴⁷

Some explanations border on the unbelievable: “The once unbridgeable gap which existed between the king and his nobles gradually closed until, finally, it did not exist at all and the pharaoh became merely one of many local rulers.”⁴⁸ It all started when a Fourth Dynasty king actually married his daughter to a commoner⁴⁹ and this led to the destruction of the country three-hundred years and two dynasties later.

This is not to say that various and complex factors did not contribute to the end of the Old Kingdom, or that the factors listed above might not have contributed to the changes at the end of the Old Kingdom, though many of them are disputed. One cannot help but notice one observer’s comment about theories of collapse: “The ‘too great and too prolonged a rejection of systematized life in favor of freedom to manoeuvre’ that Barry Kemp suggests as a reason why all the great civilizations collapsed might be viewed as simply an expression of his sociopolitical context as an academic in twentieth-century England.”⁵⁰ We like to read our own day into the past and use the past to come up with solutions for our own day. Nevertheless, no consensus exists about either one.

45 Tainter, *Collapse of Complex Societies*, 194.

46 Freed, “Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids,” 30.

47 Sedlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 146.

48 Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt I*, 131.

49 Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt I*, 131.

50 Wenke, “Evolution of Early Egyptian Civilization,” 286, referring to Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 180.

2 Collapse?

The view of the collapse of the Old Kingdom is contingent on our view of the First Intermediate Period. Because we typically view the First Intermediate Period as one of chaos and poverty and the Old Kingdom as one of order and prosperity, then, we reason, there must be a catastrophe and collapse of the ordered Old Kingdom into the chaos of the First Intermediate Period.

Two observations, however, undermine this view.

The first observation comes from Seidlmayer; during the First Intermediate Period Egypt “became economically richer and culturally more complex.”⁵¹ Seidlmayer details indications of greater prosperity: “Many more cemeteries are known, and, whenever a particular region has been explored systematically, there is a marked increase in the number of tombs” which “clearly attests to demographic growth” and “ordinary tombs became considerably larger and burials began to be provided with much better grave goods.”⁵² Another way to look at the increase in prosperity can be seen in commemorative stele. If we reduce the Sixth Dynasty by the thirty undocumented years of Pepi II’s reign, then the Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period are approximately equal in length. More than three times as many stele come from the Coptite nome during the First Intermediate Period than from the Sixth Dynasty.⁵³ When a population is both increasing and prospering it is difficult to argue that it has collapsed.

If “it is also clear that the Egyptians themselves did not consider the First Intermediate Period a major disruption in the flow of their history” and there was “no apparent break in the continuity of pharaonic rule,”⁵⁴ why do we take the view that conditions were worse during the First Intermediate Period? Because texts like *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*,⁵⁵ *The Instruction for Merikare*,⁵⁶

⁵¹ Seidlmayer, “The First Intermediate Period,” 121.

⁵² Seidlmayer, “The First Intermediate Period,” 121; O’Connor, “Political Systems and Archaeological Data,” 27.

⁵³ Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, 8–102.

⁵⁴ Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 137.

⁵⁵ Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, :135; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 109–10; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 25; Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 138–39; Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 111–14; Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 145; Ezzamel, “Accounting and Redistribution,” 64–65.

⁵⁶ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 115–16; Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 139, 147.

and the *Prophecy of Neferty*⁵⁷ depict such dreary conditions.⁵⁸ This is implicit or explicit in almost all treatments of both the texts and the period in history they purport to document.

This brings me to the second observation, by Gun Björkman, made almost a half century ago. The *Instruction for Merikare* is an historical fiction crafted in later times and does not match the situation in the contemporary documents.⁵⁹ “Texts deriving from the First Intermediate Period itself are entirely lacking in that very note of despair that is the hallmark of Middle Kingdom ‘pessimistic’ literature.”⁶⁰ Björkman suggested further that the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* and the *Prophecy of Neferty* have similar problems although he did not delve into an in-depth analysis of either source.⁶¹ Björkman concludes that “to write history on the basis of a literary document of dubious validity is not permissible.”⁶² Be that as it may, Björkman has been correct in predicting that “historians will be reluctant to cease to regard the [I]nstruction for Merykare as a key document for this fascinating period of Egyptian history,”⁶³ since circumspection about correlating the reality behind the texts with other evidence has been “less fully absorbed by those analysing literary texts.”⁶⁴ Jan Assmann has noted that “the First Intermediate Period did not look back at the Old Kingdom as a Golden Age.”⁶⁵ Considering that the average Egyptian was better off, it is hard to see why they would have. These Middle Kingdom literary sources, which Georges Posener has labeled as propaganda—“l’utilisation de la parole écrite à des fins politiques pour influer sur l’opinion”⁶⁶—serve to allow the Middle Kingdom government “by means of its retrospective view of the First Intermediate Period, [to assert] its own claim as a period of restored peace and its own qualification as a Golden Age.”⁶⁷ Kemp argues that “the Middle Kingdom takes on a distinctive

57 Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I,136; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 125–26, 131; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 25; Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 159–60; Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 107–9, 114; Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 145–46.

58 Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period, 145.

59 Björkman, “Egyptology and Historical Method.”

60 Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 146.

61 Björkman, “Egyptology and Historical Method,” 11. For the Admonitions of Ipuwer as fiction, see Morenz, “Geschichte als Literatur,” 113–14

62 Björkman, “Egyptology and Historical Method,” 33.

63 Björkman, “Egyptology and Historical Method,” 33.

64 Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 7.

65 Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 83.

66 Posener, *Littérature et politique* 14–15.

67 Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 83.

character: it was motivated by a vision—fragmentary and incomplete perhaps—of a bureaucratic Utopia, an unformulated ideology which acted as a pattern in the making of decisions.”⁶⁸

What happens when we take these two observations seriously? Since there is no economic decline in the First Intermediate Period, there is no economic collapse at the end of the Old Kingdom. It is merely a figment of the imagination of the Middle Kingdom propaganda. Without the picture of chaos derived from the Middle Kingdom literary sources there is no collapse at all. This is not to question the existence of a transition between the time periods since a number of differences between the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period indicate that they are indeed distinct eras. Indication of differences include such things as the presence of monumental architecture in the Old Kingdom and its absence in the First Intermediate Period,⁶⁹ or multiple concurrent rulers. Instead of trying to explain why the Old Kingdom collapsed, we need to explain why the First Intermediate Period was more prosperous. I have a suggestion for one factor that might have influenced that prosperity.

3 An Alternate Theory

Kemp argues that “welfare (as yet innocent of social ideology) arrived early in human history”; as early as the Old Kingdom in fact.⁷⁰ A libertarian argument might be that that abandoning the welfare state and downsizing government by trimming an over-bloated bureaucracy enabled individuals to gain and retain more personal wealth and thus everyone was better off. There is, however, a problem with this argument. The economic upturn actually starts in “the late Old Kingdom,”⁷¹ when the administrative bureaucracy was at a peak. So the end of the Old Kingdom does not exactly support the idea that cutting government increases prosperity. Nor does it support the idea that large government and governmental redistribution programs increase prosperity. The rise in prosperity seems independent of either of those factors.

On an Eighth Dynasty architrave from Dendera, the overseer of cattle, Merer says: “I gave bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked. I saved the poor from the one stronger than him.”⁷² Far from a unique expression, this

68 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 178–80.

69 Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 86.

70 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 136.

71 Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 121–22.

72 Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. VIII; Janssen, *Traditionele egyptische autobiografie*, 2:78 (26).

is a common theme in autobiographical inscriptions.⁷³ The mention of charity—by which in this article I mean giving bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked, not the Christian theological virtue—appears in the written record about the same time as the increase in wealth. It is expressed beginning in reign of Teti,⁷⁴ continuing through the reigns of Pepi I,⁷⁵ Merenre I,⁷⁶ Pepy II,⁷⁷ and into the First Intermediate Period,⁷⁸ with the majority of the uses of the phrase being found in the First Intermediate Period. At Coptos, for example, the only mentions of charity come from the First Intermediate Period;⁷⁹ this may also be the case elsewhere.⁸⁰ Seidlmayer notes that “during the First Intermediate Period, the principle of caring for the weak was greatly elaborated.”⁸¹ The rise in prosperity correlates with the rise in charity.

This correlation is curious. A modern economist, Arthur Brooks, looking at patterns of charitable giving came to the surprising conclusion that not only does charity correlate with prosperity but charity actually increases prosperity.⁸² I will here argue only for correlation as I am not certain that we can demonstrate causality with the ancient evidence. The First Intermediate Period provides an interesting test case for Brooks’ theory because we have explicit statements of charity in contemporary autobiographies and because we have an increase in prosperity at the time.

Brooks’ theory has several conditions that need to be met. The first is that charitable giving is voluntary and not governmental redistribution of income:

Government spending is not charity. It is not a voluntary sacrifice by individuals. No matter how beneficial or humane it might be, no matter how

73 Janssen, *Traditionelle egyptische autobiografie*, 1:113, 2:78 (14–15); Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie*; Kloth, *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, 77–78.

74 Janssen, *Traditionelle egyptische autobiografie*, 1:113, 2:78 (14–15); Kloth, *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, 77.

75 Janssen, *Traditionelle egyptische autobiografie*, 2:78 (18).

76 Janssen, *Traditionelle egyptische autobiografie*, 2:78 (19–20).

77 Janssen, *Traditionelle egyptische autobiografie*, 2:78 (22–24).

78 Janssen, *Traditionelle egyptische autobiografie*, 2:78 (26–28), 79 (35–37, 39, 42, 50), 80 (52, 54–55, 59).

79 Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptic Nome*, 67–68 (Cairo CG 20500).

80 Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period*, 147.

81 Seidlmayer, “First Intermediate Period,” 130.

82 Brooks, *Who Really Cares*, 137–50.

necessary it is for providing public services, it is still the obligatory redistribution of tax revenues.⁸³

Is the giving described in Egyptian texts charity or government redistribution? One way of testing this hypothesis is by examining the titles of those who gave bread. If they have a title that indicates that giving bread was part of a government office or program we count it as government redistribution; if not, we count it as charity. This project is made more difficult because there seems to be no separation of church and state in ancient Egypt. One of the earliest attestations of charity comes from the inscription of Nefer-seshem-Ptah,⁸⁴ an overseer of prophets during the reign of Teti.⁸⁵ His titles seem to be religious rather than governmental. But government officials also use this motif. In the reign of Pepi I, the inscription of Henqu,⁸⁶ uses the motif, and he is a nomarch, which we would normally consider a governmental official. Looking at titles alone would be insufficient to determine the assistance given, and whether it was from personal or public sources.

There is another way to look at the problem though. The purpose of the ancient Egyptian autobiography was to persuade other ancient Egyptians that the subject of the biography was an individual worthy of worship, or at least of an invocation offering. For example, Intef says:

O you who live, who exist, who love life and hate death, who shall pass by this tomb, as you love life and hate death, you will drive away the dead from you for me. If it is good not for me to be among you, you will say with your mouth: 'a thousand bread beer ox and fowl, alabaster and linen, a thousand of every good and pure thing to the provisioned Khuintef's son Intef' since I gave bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked and ferried the boatless with my own boat.⁸⁷

The autobiographies therefore tend to mention the exceptional over the mundane. So if giving bread to the hungry were merely part of one's job, then there would be no need to mention it. Thus if a government official mentions charitable giving, this should be seen as above and beyond the call of his job, and thus not be seen as a form of governmental redistribution. From this

⁸³ Brooks, *Who Really Cares*, 20, emphasis in original.

⁸⁴ Urk. I, 201; Janssen, *Traditionele egyptische autobiografie*, 78 (15).

⁸⁵ Urk. I, 200.

⁸⁶ Urk. I, 77; Janssen, *Traditionele egyptische autobiografie*, 78 (16).

⁸⁷ Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire*, 2.

perspective, any mention of giving bread to the hungry should count as charity rather than redistribution. The official Hemgu, for example, goes out of the way to mention that the seed corn he gave was “not from my father or mother’s property” but from his own resources.⁸⁸

Brooks argues that “four forces in modern American life are primarily responsible for making people charitable.” These forces are religion, strong families, skepticism about the government in economic life, and personal entrepreneurship.⁸⁹ Can we detect any of the same forces in ancient Egyptian life?

In later times, charitable giving was seen as part of the good way of god and thus part of religion,⁹⁰ with clear ethical dimensions made explicit at least as early as the Middle Kingdom.⁹¹ It forms part of the list of good deeds appearing in Book of the Dead 125 (“I satisfied the god with what he desires; I gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, and clothing to the naked”),⁹² and in the later Document of Breathings Made by Isis,⁹³ and survives into the Roman period Demotic Book of the Dead.⁹⁴ Whether or not charitable giving was originally part of Egyptian religion or whether it was seen as religiously motivated as early as the First Intermediate Period we may not be able to tell, but it certainly was later on.

In Egyptian autobiographies, families and charity are often mentioned together,⁹⁵ but beyond that connection there seems to be little explicit link between the two. Implicitly, the Egyptian ideal of father teaching son and presumably mother teaching daughter—which is not particularly Egyptian but found in every society—would imply that charity is largely learned at home. To say that “children learn charity when their parents teach it to them by their own example”⁹⁶ seems like a penetrating glimpse into the obvious. Brooks, however, makes the case that simply having a strong, stable family increases charitable giving.⁹⁷ We can, at least, show a concern for families in ancient Egypt, and not just in the First Intermediate Period. Coffin Texts 131–146 are

88 Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire*, 8.

89 Brooks, *Who Really Cares*, 11.

90 Vittmann, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, 72.

91 Vittmann, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, 54–55.

92 Book of the Dead 125, in Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:Taf. 66 lines 759–60; Lapp, *Papyrus of Nebseni*, pl. 92; Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, Taf. XLVIII.

93 P. BM EA 10048 7/3, in Herbin, *Books of Breathing*, 13, 35, pls. 13–14.

94 P. Pamontes 2/34, in Stadler, *Totentapyrus des Pa-Month*, 35, 89.

95 Kloth, *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, 61–87.

96 Brooks, *Who Really Cares*, 102.

97 Brooks, *Who Really Cares*, 98–108.

concerned with “giving a man’s family to him in the next life,”⁹⁸ and that family includes “my family, my children, my brothers, my father, my mother, my servants, and all my neighbors.”⁹⁹ Marriage, and it did exist, was depicted as an association of love. “It was customary for married couples to be shown embracing.”¹⁰⁰ Gestures of affection show that love in marriage was frequent or considered to be the norm,¹⁰¹ even in the First Intermediate Period.¹⁰² The evidence is insufficient to quantify what percentage of Egyptian—much less First Intermediate Period—marriages were happy, but we can show that they were the norm.

Skepticism about government is rare in ancient Egypt, as dissent was not well tolerated; Pyramid Texts condemning anyone who speaks evil of the king come to mind.¹⁰³ Personal entrepreneurship is also hard to detect. If skepticism about government cannot be measured, one impact of government can be. Brooks notes that in modern societies, increases in government spending decreases charity in that area.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, “just as an increase in government social spending displaces private giving, decreases in state funding stimulate charity.”¹⁰⁵ We can definitely see this in the Egyptian evidence between the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. It is clear that large-scale building projects cease with the Old Kingdom and whatever form of remuneration came with that ceased as well. On the other hand, mentions of charity increase in the First Intermediate Period. Janssen lists eight mentions of charitable giving in the Sixth Dynasty and fourteen for the roughly the same amount of time in the First Intermediate Period, almost twice as many. Kemp’s Old Kingdom welfare state may have come to an end, but Egyptians saw the need to help others and met that need.

So religion is the most detectable force for reinforcing charitable giving in ancient Egypt. This is not to say that the other elements were not present, but they are harder to discern in our present documentation. There may be other factors at work that the modern economists have missed or that apply to ancient Egypt and not the modern world or vice versa. One should note that Brooks demonstrates that in American charitable giving the divide between

⁹⁸ CT 131–146 II 151–205; see Gee, “Practice of Sealing,” 117–22.

⁹⁹ CT 131 II 151.

¹⁰⁰ Teeter, *Ancient Egypt*, 34.

¹⁰¹ Gee, “Love and Marriage,” 101.

¹⁰² Gee, “Love and Marriage,” 96–97.

¹⁰³ Pyr. 892; Greishammer, *Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten*, 57.

¹⁰⁴ Brooks, *Who Really Cares*, 55–60.

¹⁰⁵ Brooks, *Who Really Cares*, 60.

religious and non-religious is much more significant than the various views of government.

Factors other than charitable giving likely also contributed to the increase in prosperity of the First Intermediate Period. Another explanation, for example, is that

more people chose to accept compensated labor on private tombs. And private individuals began to heap their own tombs full of goodies, increasing demand, and spreading wealth as officials constructed tombs in all the provincial areas, and even in the distant oases.¹⁰⁶

Yet charitable giving was something of which the Egyptians of the First Intermediate Period were aware, whether it increased their prosperity or was merely made possible by it.

4 Conclusions

Our view of the Old Kingdom is inextricably connected with our view of the First Intermediate Period, and that has been heavily colored by Middle Kingdom propaganda designed to support the Middle Kingdom regime at the expense of the memories of the First Intermediate Period. Since Middle Kingdom texts like the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, the *Prophecy of Neferti*, and the *Instruction for Merikare* are propagandistic and devoid of historical value, there is no reason to use them to reconstruct the First Intermediate Period. Once we eliminate them, we see more clearly that the First Intermediate Period was a time when wealth increased among all classes. The First Intermediate Period ceases to be a time of chaos and becomes a time of comparative prosperity.

This prosperity is linked with a decrease in governmental welfare programs and an increase in personal charitable giving. At this far remove the evidence is insufficient to claim that the prosperity was caused by charity or the reverse: that the prosperity allowed the charity. They go together and function independently of the size of government. Several of the authors of the First Intermediate Period inscriptions argue that people were better off because of the authors' charity.

Like Björkman, I hold no sanguine hopes that Egyptologists will change their depiction of the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period any time soon. Sometimes we would rather hold on to our

¹⁰⁶ Warburton, *Egypt and the Near East*, 19.

myths than rethink the reality when new evidence comes along. Otherwise, we might talk about the collapse of the old cliché.

Abbreviations¹⁰⁷

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
BEHE	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études
CT	Coffin Texts
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
OrSu	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i>
SAT	Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch
Urk. I	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932–33

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¹⁰⁷ All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

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CHAPTER 4

The Chronology of the Third and Fourth Dynasties according to Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*

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Abstract

Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* is one of the most important sources for ancient Egyptian chronology. This applies particularly to Old Kingdom chronology, because the archaeological and inscriptional evidence is sparse and contradictory. Although the late date of its composition may provoke doubts about its historical accuracy, Wolfgang Helck has already identified genuine Egyptian historiographical sources which were used by Manetho. A reevaluation of previous results concerning the kings' names and lengths of reign provided by Manetho allows for the following conclusions: Manetho made use of at least two different Egyptian historiographical accounts for his Third and Fourth Dynasties. One of these contained in part the number of census-cycles for the Fourth Dynasty, while the other contained only correctly converted numbers of regnal years. Manetho's account of the Fourth Dynasty is therefore an important, but not yet fully recognized, source for the determination of the regularity of the census until the late Fifth Dynasty.

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1 Manetho the Egyptian

Manetho¹ was an autochthonous Egyptian priest—possibly born in Sebennytos and associated with the cult of Re at Heliopolis²—, who composed treatises

¹ The name Manetho is still unexplained (*cf.* for exhaustive collections of etymologies: Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, 79–80; Sterling, *Historiography*, 117–36; Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 95; Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*, 8–9; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 191), but *Mrij-ntr-³* “beloved of the Great God” (Redford, “The Name Manetho,” 121) is a particularly promising attempt (consisting of the unstressed passive participle *mrij-* ~ **mārjūj-* ~ **mā(j)-*, *cf.* Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 446; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 235–42; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 186–88 and “Ägyptische Nominalbildungslehre,” and the theonym *ntr-³* ~ **nātār-⁴ā³* > **nēt-(⁵)ōd* (either with loss of ayin > **nēt-ōd* or with metathesis **nātār-⁴ā³* > **nāt(ē)-⁵(³)* > **nēt-ōd*, because, in its proper position, the ayin would have averted the aspiration of -*t*, *cf.* Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 332, 433; Quack, “Griechische und andere Dämonen”; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 143, 213; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 155, 182 and “Ist Mythos,” 554–55). Manetho’s name was graecized as Μανέθω (uninflected, still found in several fragments, *cf.* Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 *passim*), but usually treated as a Greek *n*-stem Μανέθων, -ωνος (less frequently, an alternative nominative Μανέθως (uninflected?, *cf.* n. 57 below) or—perhaps corrupted, but *cf.* n. 3 below—Μάνεθος can be found); Μανέθωθ, which is found in only a single manuscript (*cf.* Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F2), is probably a comparably late modification in order to connect Manetho’s name with that of the Egyptian god Thoth (*cf.* Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 95–96). For the problematic positioning of Greek accents on Egyptian words and names, *cf.* Clarysse, “Greek Accents”; Thissen, “Umgang.”

² The Byzantine lexicon Σοῦδα (c. 970 ACE, Adler, *Suidae lexicon*) contains two relevant lemmata (*cf.* Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T1, T2): (M.142) Μανέθως Μένδης τῆς Αιγύπτου, ἀρχιεφεύς. ἔγραψε περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων, ζήτει τι τὸ κῦφι “Manetho of Mendes in Egypt, archpriest; he wrote ‘On the Production of Kyphi’, see what Kyphi is [*cf.* Σοῦδα (K.2797), quoted later in this footnote]” and (M.143) Μανέθως Διοσπόλεως τῆς Αιγύπτου ἡ Σεβεννύτης. Φυσιολογικά· Ἀποτέλεσματικά δι’ ἐπῶν· καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀστρονομούμενα “Manetho of Diospolis (*scil.* inferior, Waddell, *Manetho*, x–xi) in Egypt or of Sebennytos; ‘Physiological Matters’; ‘Astrological’ Effects’ in verse; and other astronomical (~ astrological) things more” (*cf.* Aufrère, “Manéthôn de Sebennytos, médiateur,” 321–24 and “Les deux notices”; Naiditch, “Manetho”; Koechly, *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum*; Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*). On the one hand, all three towns are located in the Nile Delta in close proximity to one another, which could be interpreted in favor of only a single person Manetho. But, on the other hand, the three toponyms could point towards a totally different solution:

- (1) The mention of Mendes may be due to confusion of Manetho with Ptolemy of Mendes, who also compiled an Egyptian history (Αἰγυπτιακά) in three books (Dihle, “Ptolemaios von Mendes”; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 611), as was pointed out by Müller and Müller, *FrHistGr* II, 512 (*cf.* Waddell, *Manetho*, x–xi).
- (2) Similarly, Diospolis (inferior) may indicate that Manetho was mixed up with an early Hermetic astrologer, Anubio of Diospolis (magna, *i.e.*, Thebes, *cf.* Lopilato,

Apotelesmatika, 8, with n. 51 [p. 15]), who wrote a didactic poem (second half of the 1st century ACE; Obbink, “Anoubion” and *Anubio. Carmen*; cf. Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologumena*, 380; Bremmer, “Apion and Anoubion”; Heilen, “Anubio”). It is however notable that, in addition to Diospolis (inferior), the Σοῦδα gives a second toponym, Sebennytos. This may hint at two authors, either of whom could be called Manetho: on the one hand, Manetho of Sebennytos, who wrote on Egyptian history and religion (3rd century BCE), and, on the other hand, an otherwise unknown Manetho of Diospolis (inferior), to whom some of the pseudoeigraphic works might be attributed (above all books II–III, VI of the Ἀποτελεσματικά, cf. Kroll, “Manethon,” 1102–06, which depend on the lost astrological treatise of Νεχεψώ and Πετόσιρις, cf. Riess, “Nechepsonis et Petosiridis”; Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrologie*; Heilen, “Anubio,” 134–38; Bohelke, “In Terms of Fate”). If the horoscope, which the author himself provides in book VI, 745–50 (cf. Koechly, *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum*; Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*, 140, 304), is to be taken seriously, his date of birth can be calculated as May 27th/28th, 80 ACE (Garnett, “Ἀποτελεσματικά”; Neugebauer and van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, 92; Ypsilanti, “Apotelesmatica”); books II–III, VI may thus be dated to c. 130 ACE (in the 3rd century ACE, book IV was added, cf. Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2546, Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*, 3, and, finally, books I and V were appended some time prior to 415 ACE, when Hephaestio of Thebes quoted Manetho’s Ἀποτελεσματικά I, 167–69 in his own treatise, also called Ἀποτελεσματικά 2.4.27, cf. Pingree, *Hephaestionis libri*; Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*, 5). It is thus most likely that Manetho of Sebennytos, who was best known for his books on Egyptian religion, and the astrologer Manetho of Diospolis (inferior) were amalgamated, which advanced the association of Manetho with Thoth and his secret books, i.e., Hermetic writings (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T11a–11b, F25; Aufrère, “Traces”) and the astrological *opus* of Νεχεψώ and Πετόσιρις (cf. Heilen, “Anubio”; Ryholt, “New Light”; cf. nn. 22–23). Cf. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 96; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 191–93; Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, 171.

It is also important to stress the clumsy character of both entries “Manetho” in the Σοῦδα: One should expect Μένδητος τῆς Αἰγύπτου “of Mendes in Egypt” instead of Μένδης τῆς Αἰγύπτου (cf. Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.42), and Σεβεννύτου “of Sebennytos” instead of Σεβεννύτης (cf. Meineke, *Ethnicorum*, 558; Billerbeck, *Ethnica* IV), which makes Διοσπόλεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου “of Diospolis (inferior) in Egypt” the only correct expression of origin. In spite of their superficial similarity, Μένδης “of Mendes” and Σεβεννύτης “of Sebennytos” are the result of two entirely different mistakes. As far as it concerns toponyms, the author of the Σοῦδα closely followed the Ἐθνικά of Stephanus of Byzantium. This becomes obvious when Μένδης τῆς Αἰγύπτου “of Mendes in Egypt” is analyzed, because Stephanus of Byzantium mentions this town (Meineke, *Ethnicorum*, 444; Billerbeck, *Ethnica* III), but he does not indicate its declension pattern. Therefore, the compiler of the Σοῦδα aligned the Egyptian town Μένδης with the toponym immediately preceding it in the Ἐθνικά, i.e., the Thracian town Μένδη, -ης (cf. Meineke, *Ethnicorum*, 444; Billerbeck, *Ethnica* III), which is supported by several entries in the Σοῦδα: (A.4127) . . . τὸν ἐν Μένδῃ τράγον Πλανὸς ιερὸν κατέθυσε . . . “. . . he (scil. Ochus of Persia) sacrificed the sacred goat of Pan in Mende . . .”, (M.592) Μενδαῖος: ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Μένδης “Mendaeus: the man from Mende”—according to the Ἐθνικά (cf. Meineke, *Ethnicorum*, 444; Billerbeck, *Ethnica* III), this adjective is exclusively used for persons and things connected

on Egyptian history and religion. He probably lived under Ptolemy I Soter (305–283 BCE), Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BCE), and Ptolemy III

to Μένδη in Thrace, s.v. (M.593) in the Σοῦδα, whereas the Egyptian town Μένδης was the source for Μενδήσιος and Μενδίτης, cf. (M.594) and (M.595) in the Σοῦδα—, (M.593) Μένδη: πόλις μία τῶν ἐν Πελήγῃ Μένδα... “Mende: Menda [sic, perhaps ← *Μένδη by harmonization with the preceding Μενδαῖος] is one town of those in Pellene ...” (cf. the lexicon of Valerius Harpocratio, s.v. Μένδη, which is obviously quoted in (M.593), Dindorf, *Harpocratian lexicon* 1, 202), (M.594) Μένδην: οὕτω καλούσι τὸν Πάνα Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς τραχοπρόσωπον... ἦν δὲ καὶ ιερὸν τοῦ Μενδήσιου παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις... “Menden: Thus the Egyptians call Pan as goat-faced (deity)... and there was also a temple of the Mendesian (god) amongst the Egyptians”, (M.595) Μενδήσιον κέρας: τὸ τοῦ Νείλου στόμα “The Mendesian horn: the [Mendesian] mouth of the Nile” (cf. Herodotus II.17.5; Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.17.5). Σεβεννύτης “of Sebennytos”, however, cannot be explained that way, because Stephanus of Byzantium (Meineke, *Ethnicorum*, 558; Billerbeck, *Ethnica* III) calls this town Σεβέννυτος, undoubtedly a thematic *o*-stem, and its citizen and its nome equivocally Σεβεννύτης (cf. also Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, 4,5; Stückelberger and Graßhoff, *Ptolemaios* 1, 420–43). Σεβεννύτης “of Sebennytos” should thus be analyzed as an interpolation, which was introduced because of the common association of Manetho with Sebennytos on grounds of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 354C, 361F–362A; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T3, F19; cf. García Valdés, *Plutarco*, 72–73, 110–13; Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, 130–31, 160–61, 393–401), the statements of George Syncellus (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 TIla–IIlc), and the pseudoePIgraphic letter at the beginning of the *Book of Sothis*, which explicitly refers to Manetho as ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ιερῶν ἀδύτων, γένει Σεβεννύτης, ὑπάρχων Ἡλιούπολίτης “archpriest and scribe of the sacred shrines throughout Egypt, Sebennytus by birth, a residing Heliopolite” (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F25; Waddell, *Manetho*, 210–11). It was perhaps the collection of chronographic fragments by George Syncellus which triggered the introduction of Σεβεννύτης into the Σοῦδα or one of its sources (maybe an offshoot of the geographical section of the card index of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus?; cf. Toynbee, *Constantine*, 575–605).

If this interpretation is correct, (M.142) Μανέθως Μένδης τῆς Αἴγυπτου “Manetho of Mendes in Egypt” deals with *the* Manetho (of Sebennytos), although he was mixed up with Ptolemy of Mendes, whereas (M.143) Μανέθως Διοσπόλεως τῆς Αἴγυπτου “Manetho of Diospolis in Egypt”—although it then remains unclear which Diospolis is meant (perhaps Diospolis inferior after all?)—records information about the author of the core of the Ἀποτελεσματικά, to whom Σεβεννύτης “the Sebennytus” was added by mistake. The attribution of the title ἀρχιερεὺς “archpriest,” which is also found in the pseudoePIgraphic letter at the beginning of the *Book of Sothis* and in Περὶ κατασκευῆς χυφίων “On the Production of Kyphi,” the only authentic work of Manetho of Sebennytos (cf. section 2) mentioned in the Σοῦδα, to Manetho of Mendes strongly speaks in favor of this analysis. The lemma (K.2797) Κύφι: τοῦτο Μάνεθως ὁ Αἴγυπτιος κατεσκεύαζε “Kyphi: Manetho the Egyptian used to prepare this” is also noteworthy insofar as it attributes the preparation of this compound incense to “Manetho the Egyptian,” thus avoiding any concrete association with an Egyptian town. Perhaps the compiler of the Σοῦδα was aware of some kind of problem with his entries (M.142) and (M.143), but his materials were insufficient to decide on this matter.

Euergetes (246–221 BCE).³ Manetho also seems to have been involved in installing the Graeco-Egyptian cult of Sarapis.⁴ He furthermore played an important

3 Cf. in general Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*. Most notably, there are at least four pieces of evidence linking Manetho to the first three Ptolemies: (1) Manetho and the Eumolpid Timotheus of Athens are said to have been the very priests who were able to interpret king Ptolemy's dream about the cult image of Sarapis, which was to be brought from Sinope to Alexandria. Those events are dated to the reign of Ptolemy I Soter by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 361F–362A; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T3; cf. García Valdés, *Plutarco*, 110–II, 245; Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, 160–61, 393–401; Sfameni Gasparro, "Serapide"; Quack, "Reiche," 10, n. 3), to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus by Eusebius (*Chronica [Armenian version]* 125,4; Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum*, 120) and others, and to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes by Tacitus (*Historiae* 4, 83–84, cf. Borst, Ross, and Borst, *Tacitus Historien*). (2) The pseudopigraphic letter at the beginning of the *Book of Sothis* (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T1la) gives Ptolemy II Philadelphus as the addressee of Manetho's letter, which would simply be ludicrous if Manetho had not commonly been considered a contemporary of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Laqueur, "Manethon," 1061). But one should keep in mind that Manetho was styled a pagan analogon to the seventy-two Jewish elders responsible for the translation of the Septuagint (cf. Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Septuagint*, 284–88). (3) George Syncellus mentions several times that Manetho was a subject of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, although one has to admit that he considered *The Book of Sothis* the authentic Manethonian king-list (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T1la–IIlc; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, xvii). (4) A papyrus found at el-Hibeh (Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibe Papyri* 1, no. 72, 6–7; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T4) mentions a high-ranking priest called Manetho (actually the dative ΜΑΝΕΘΩΙ, thus indicating a thematic o-stem *Μάνεθος; cf. also the following note and n. 1) in 241/240 BCE, i.e., early in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Although it cannot be proven that the Manetho known from the papyrus is the same as the famous priest and author, this is nevertheless at least possible given the chronological proximity and the rareness of the name Manetho, which is otherwise unattested. (5a–b) Two more, but somewhat vague references can be found in the youngest books of the Ἀποτέλεσματικά: I, 1–2 Χαῖροις, ὁ Πτολεμαῖς, λαχῶν βασιλῆδα τίμην || γαῖης ἡμετέρης, κοσμοτρόφου Αἰγύπτιο || "Be greeted, o Ptolemy, holding the royal power || of our land, of Egypt, which nurtures the all." and v, 1–II Ἐξ ἀδύτων ιερῶν βίβλων, βασιλεύ Πτολεμαῖς, || καὶ κρυφίων στηλῶν, ἃς ἡράτο πάνσοφος Ἐρμῆς. || ... || ἀντιτύπω κηρῷ γ' ἀπομαξάμενος κεκόμισμαι || ἀνθολόγον Μούσης ... || ... || οὐ βαίδες κάματος δ' οὐτος, Πτολεμαῖς, πέφυκεν. || "From sacred books of secret shrines, o king Ptolemy, || and concealed stelae, which all-wise Hermes devised || ... || I, making impressions with figure-retaining wax, have recovered || the Muse's flowering compilation ... || ... || And this work, o Ptolemy, has not grown little." (cf. Koechly, *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum*; Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*, 99, 263, 394–402). However, it is currently impossible to determine Manetho's dates of birth and death with greater accuracy (cf. Ryan, "Lebensdaten"; Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis*, 240–43), but the association of Manetho and the first three Ptolemies can be viewed as historical fact (Huß, König, 123–29).

4 It is once more important to point to the episode of the cult image of Sarapis brought to Alexandria from Sinope, because it displays all features of what is traditionally called an

role in the early stages of the development of the ideology of the Ptolemaic state and royal ideology as well as the elaboration of official propaganda at the crossroads of Greek and Egyptian cultures.⁵

Paradoxically and ironically enough, Manetho's writings were totally ignored by classical Greek and Roman authors including geographers, ethnographers and historians.⁶ In this respect, Manetho became the victim of the Graeco-

"Egyptian *Königsnovelle*" (Hermann, *Königsnovelle*; Loprieno, "King's Novel"; cf. for further critical remarks concerning the genre *Königsnovelle* Quack, "Pharao und Hofstaat" and "Political Ritual"; Redford "Writing"; Schneider "History as Festival"), as was shown by Ryan, "Lebensdaten." One should also mention that the *topos* of returning a statue to Egypt (which usually is said to have been brought abroad by the Persians) is very common during the Ptolemaic Period (cf., e.g., the Mendes Stela, *Urk.* II, 81–105; de Meulenaere and Mackay, *Mendes II*; Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, 73–83; cf. Aufrère, "Les destructions"). The content and the literary form of this episode are thus an excellent example for genuine Egyptian elements in Greek reception. Despite all the chronological problems concerning the installation of the cult of Sarapis—which must have been a long-lasting process (Stiehl, "The Origin"; Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*, 61–65; Jougouet, "Politique intérieure"; Sfameni Gasparro, "Serapide"; Borgeaud and Volokhine, "La formation"; Stephens, *Seeing Double*, 15–16; cf. for the cult of Sarapis Hani, *La religion égyptienne*; Merkelbach, *Isis regina—Zeus Sarapis*; Takács, *Isis and Sarapis*)—, it must have been viewed as closely connected to Manetho. This assumption finds particular support in the base of a marble bust found in the temple of Sarapis at Carthage bearing the inscription MANΕΘΩΝ (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIIC, no. 609 T5; cf. Aufrère, "Manéthon de Sebennytos et la traduction," 17–19; Beschaouch, "Topographie de Carthage"). The donor (sponsor) or initiator, his motives, and the exact circumstances which led to the erection of this monument remain unknown.

5 Cf. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, 69–109; Stephens, *Seeing Double*, 14–15; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 203–06; In this respect, Manetho represents the continuation of Hecataeus of Abdera (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 264), who wrote an account of Egyptian culture and history for Ptolemy I Soter; cf. Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 193–96; Sterling, *Historiography*; Murray, "Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship"; Murray and Stern, "Hecataeus of Abdera"; Burstein, "Hecataeus of Abdera"; Lloyd, "Nationalist Propaganda"; Dillery, "Manetho and Greek Historiography"; Legras, "Experts"; Sterling, *Historiography*.

6 The comprehensive, almost encyclopedic works of Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pliny the Elder do not mention Manetho. The first native Greek author to quote Manetho (but not his historiographical *Aegyptiaca!*) is Plutarch (c. 120 ACE, cf. Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIIC, no. 609). Cf. Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho*, 3; Verbrugge and Wickersham, *Beroßos und Manetho*, II5–20; Krauss, "Manethos Ägyptische Geschichte," 227; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, "King-Lists," 34. The first author relying on Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* is possibly Apion of Oasis (mid-1st century ACE, cf. Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIIC, no. 616 F4a, F15a, no. 609 T1 (with notes); cf. also Aufrère, "Dualism," 43, n. 29; Quack, "Reiche," 5, with n. 14) followed by Flavius Josephus in his *Contra Apionem* (mid- to late 1st century ACE, cf. n. 26 below).

centric view of historiography,⁷ and of pro- and anti-Jewish polemics, which over time must have “infected” his writings.⁸ It is thus inappropriate to reduce

- 7 It would seem that Greeks quoted authors of non-Greek descent only if there was no genuine Greek alternative. As with Manetho, Berossus, who wrote a history of Babylon (*Βαβυλωνιακά*) dedicated to Antiochus I Soter (c. 290/278 BCE, Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 680; cf. Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis*, 240–43), was quoted by only two genuine Greeks, neither of whom is *prima facie* a historian: (1) Clitarchus of Alexandria (early to mid-3rd century BCE; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* II, no. 137), who, in his *Alexander History*, relies on Berossus when describing the city of Babylon and its monuments, and (2) Alexander Polyhistor (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 273), who systematically compiled excerpts from Berossus’ *Babylonica*, which were subsequently used by Greek and Latin authors. Apart from these, Berossus’ writings were directly quoted only by Juba II (mid-1st century ACE, Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 275), king of Mauretania, who was married to Cleopatra Selena, the daughter of Cleopatra VII Philopator and Marc Anthony (cf. Roller, *Juba II and Cleopatra Selene*), and by an unknown Jewish (to be exact: Samaritan) author (Pseudo-Eupolemus, perhaps 2nd century BCE; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 724). Cf. in general Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur*; Burstein, *Babylonica of Berossus*; Haubold, et al., *The World of Berossos*; Heller, *Babylonien der Spätzeit*. Just as Berossus was neglected in favor of Ctesias of Cnidus (late 4th century BCE; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 688), Manetho could not prevail over Hecataeus of Abdera and Herodotus, who provided a less dry account of Egyptian culture, presenting it as being mythical and mysterious, which the Greek audience deemed more attractive (Waddel, *Manetho*, xxiv; cf. Burstein, “Images of Egypt,” 597–601; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 193–96; Brown, “Greek Sense,” 268; Johnson, “Chronological Writing”). One should furthermore mention that the Greeks had doubts about the value of ancient scriptures, which delivered historical events predating the earliest Greek historical records by centuries. This is explicitly expressed by Diodorus Siculus (perhaps quoting Hecataeus of Abdera, cf. Jacoby, “Hekataios”; Drews, “Diodorus”; Hornblower, *Hieronymus*, 20–39): ήμῖν δὲ περὶ ἐκάστου τὰ κατὰ μέρος μακρὸν δὲν εἴη καὶ περίεργον γράφειν, ὡς ἂν τῶν πλείστων ἀχρήστων περιελημμένων. “But for us it would be an enormous and futile labor to write of each (*scil. of the 470 native Egyptian kings and five native Egyptian queens*), because the most of everything encompassed is useless.” (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 264 F25; Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus* I, 158–59 [s.v. 44.5]). Herodotus also skipped most of the 343 kings and queens, of whose names he knew, although he did not explain why (Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, I, 185–92 and III, 1–6; cf. also n. 312).
- 8 Manetho and his writings became obviously more and more important to the population of Alexandria during the conflict between pagan Egyptians and Jews (in particular from the 1st century BCE onwards, cf. Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Septuagint*, 275–90). After the translation of the Septuagint (Hanhart, “Fragen um die Entstehung”; Tilly, *Septuaginta* [with numerous references]; cf. also Larsson, “Chronology of the Pentateuch”; Gilbert, “Hellenization”; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*), there was, on the one hand, an increasing association of Manetho with Thoth (cf. nn. 1–2 above), and, on the other hand, there were the emerging attempts of Jewish scholars to align the Biblical and Manethonian chronologies (cf., e.g., Wacholder, “Biblical Chronology”; Cohen, “History and Historiography”; Jaeger, “Greeks and

Manetho to some kind of a *Kunstfigur* invented⁹ *e nihilo* in order to name the anonymous author of an account of Egyptian history produced early in Rome's rule over Egypt.¹⁰ Especially when compared to the fate of the writings of other oriental and Levantine authors, who composed works about their homelands' histories in Greek for a Greek audience,¹¹ the fate of Manetho's writings is no longer a unique difficulty, but it becomes understandable. To conclude, the information on Manetho and his life may be summarized as regrettably sparse, but there is no compelling reason to deny the commonly assumed early Ptolemaic setting of Manetho and his writings.¹²

2 Manetho's Writings—An Incomplete Mosaic

Ten works have been attributed to Manetho:¹³ (1) Αἰγυπτιακά “Egyptian Matters” in three books, which were devoted to Egyptian history;¹⁴ (2) Ἡ ἱερὰ βίβλος

Jews”; *cf.* also a great number of remarkable points in Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis*, whose overall theory that the Pentateuch itself is the Jewish reaction on Berossus and Manetho is nevertheless untenable and thus to be discarded, *cf.* e.g., van Seeters, “Review of Berossus and Genesis”). Those developments may be identified as the starting point for a fatal chain of interpolations and tendentious emendations (*cf.* Laqueur, “Manethon”; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, “King-Lists,” 34–35; Feldman, “Pro- and Anti-Jewish”; Gruen, “Use and Abuse”; Hendel, “Exodus”; Krauss, *Amarnazeit*, 204–23; Bickerman, *Jews*; Rajak, *Jewish Dialogue*). Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* thus became a battlefield in the conflict between the pagan and the Judaeo-Christian worlds (*cf.* P. Schäfer, “Manetho-Fragmente”; Collins, “Anti-Semitism”; Quack, “Reiche,” 8–9). Even though Manetho's text may have contained anti-Semitic sections, he certainly could not promote crude polemics which would have imperiled the Ptolemies' relations to the Jews and their dominion over Jewish territories (Feldman, *Scholarship*, 157–61; Levison and Wagner, “Introduction”; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 206–07, 276–96; Schneider, *Ausländer* 1, 86–91). *Cf.* for the reception of Manetho in Hermetic philosophy nn. 2–3 above, and nn. 22–23 and 130 below.

⁹ Thissen, “Der Name Manetho.”

¹⁰ Cf. Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho*, 3; Havet, *Mémoire*; Krauss, “Manethos Ägyptische Geschichte.”

¹¹ This is explicitly stated by Flavius Josephus (*Contra Apionem* 1, 73; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T7a; *cf.* n. 26 below), *cf.* for Manetho Stephens, *Seeing Double*, 50, n. 96, 250, n. 43, *cf.* n. 274 below.

¹² Cf. furthermore Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 505–06; Huß, *Der makedonische König*, 124–25; Sterling, *Historiography*, 505–06.

¹³ Waddell, *Manetho*, xiv; Laqueur, “Manethon,” 1063, 1099–1101; Kroll, “Manethon,” 1102–06. Recently, Aufrère announced a new critical edition entitled “Manéthôn de Sebennytos” (Aufrère, “Dualism,” 36, n. 1).

¹⁴ Waddell, *Manetho*, 2–187; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F1–F12. The composition is dated to c. 285–280 BCE by Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis*, 240–43 (*cf.* Adler, *Time Immemorial*,

“The Sacred Book,” which dealt with Egyptian mythology and Egyptian cults;¹⁵ (3) Περὶ ἔορτῶν “On Festivals”;¹⁶ (4) Περὶ ἀρχαῖσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας “On Ancient Ritual and Religion”;¹⁷ (5) Περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων “On the Production of Kyphi”¹⁸—the last three titles, nos. (3)–(4) in particular, may be chapters of *The Sacred Book*¹⁹; and five more obviously pseudepigraphic works: (6) Πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον “Against Herodotus,” actually a secondary compilation of Manetho’s critical remarks on Herodotus as found in his *Aegyptiaca*;²⁰ (7) Φυσικά or Φυσιολογικά “Physical Matters”;²¹ (8) a medical treatise of unknown title;²² (9) Ἡ βίβλος τῆς Σώθεως ἡ ὁ κυνικός κυκλός *The Book of Sothis* or *The Canicula Cycle*, a historical account, partly dependent on Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* and partly independent from it, which is composed as a king-list, and at the beginning of which a clearly fictitious letter relates that Manetho devoted this book

60–65), but to c. 270 BCE by Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho*, 2 (cf. Aufrère, “Manéthon de Sebennytos et la traduction” and “Manéthon de Sebennytos, médiateur”); either assumption fits the linguistic data fairly well, cf. n. 57 below.

15 Waddell, *Manetho*, 188–95; Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 F19–F23b; cf. Aufrère, “Manéthon de Sebennytos et la traduction.”

16 Waddell, *Manetho*, 198–99; Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 F15.

17 Waddell, *Manetho*, 198–203; Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 F14.

18 Waddell, *Manetho*, 202–05; Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 F16a–c.

19 Otto, *Priester und Tempel* II, 215, n. 4; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, xv; Laqueur, “Manethon,” 1099.

20 Waddell, *Manetho*, 204–07; Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 F13 (cf. F1); cf. Mendels, “Polemical Character.” Manetho’s critique was certainly evoked by Herodotus’ Graeco-centric approach and by misapprehensions and errors, which Manetho recognized. One should also remember Plutarch’s *De malignitate Herodoti* “On the malice of Herodotus” (Cuvigny and Lachenau, *Plutarque: Œuvres morales*), a similarly biased work discrediting Herodotus on the basis of a limited number of errors and blaming him for having produced an ill-willed and unjustifiably unfavorable history from the point of view of the Hellenic cities, e.g., Thebes (cf. Hershbll, “Plutarch and Herodotus”). The reasons for this harsh critique were Plutarch’s perception of Greek history and his aim of presenting Egypt as the source of religion and philosophy (cf. Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, 18–33).

21 Waddell, *Manetho*, 196–99; Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 F17–F18.

22 Cf. Kind, “Manethon,” 1101–02; A medieval catalog of ancient physicians (Codex Laurentianus 73, 1 folium 142v, 9th century ACE, Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 T13) reads (orthography corrected): *nomina auctorum medicinae... Hermes Trismegistus, Manethos, Nechepso, Cleopatra regina...* “Names of authors of medical treatises:... Hermes Trismegistus, Manetho, Nechepso and queen Cleopatra [vii Philopator]....” In addition, Paulus of Aegina (c. 650 ACE, *De re medica* IV, 40.3, cf. VII, 19.4, cf. Heiberg, *Paulus Aegineta* I, 360, II, 324) records: *καθαρῶν μὲν ὄντων τῶν ἐλκῶν... ἐστὶ... τὸ Μανέθωνος <ξηρόν> διὰ σφέκλης...* “If the wounds are clean,... there is... the <desiccative powder> of Manetho with salts of tartar ...” (cf. also n. 2 above).

to Ptolemy II Philadelphus;²³ and (10) Ἀποτελεσματικά “(Astrological) Effects,” a hexametric poem in six books on astrological matters.²⁴

Of these, nos. (2)–(8) are known from only a few scarce fragments, no. (9) is known to a large extent, and no. (10) is the only work preserved in its entirety. The most complex line of tradition is found with no. (1), the *Aegyptiaca*. As mentioned above, the *Aegyptiaca* suffered from pro- and anti-Jewish emendations and interpolations,²⁵ which must have produced several conflicting versions. At some time (perhaps in the 1st century BCE?), the unabridged text of one such version of the *Aegyptiaca* was excerpted in order to produce the Epitome, which contains the Egyptian kings’ names and lengths of reign arranged in dynasties and supplemented with a few glosses on the most outstandingly important events. The original text is preserved in only a small number of quotations in Flavius Josephus’ *Contra Apionem* (late 1st century ACE),²⁶ whereas the Epitome is found in full-length in the chronographic compilations by Sextus Julius Africanus (3rd century ACE) and Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (4th century ACE); both of these texts also suffered from a complex line of tradition.

²³ Waddell, *Manetho*, 10–15, 208–11, 234–49; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIc, no. 609 T1la, F25, F28; cf. n. 121 below. It is important to stress that the fictitious letter at the beginning of *The Book of Sothis* closely matches the *Forecast of Neferty* (*cf.* Helck, *Prophezeitung des Neferti*): the king (Ptolemy II Philadelphus—Snefru) asks a widely recognized sage (Manetho—Neferty) to foretell future events, which the sage does by considering and analyzing the past in order to extrapolate (*cf.* Winkler, *Looking at the Future*) the future; *cf.* Aufrière, “Traces.” Lopilato pointed out that this spurious letter and the dedication in books I and V of the Ἀποτελεσματικά (*cf.* n. 3 above) are birds of a feather (Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*, 7, 398; *cf.* Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIc, no. 609 T1la, with n. 56), because they both refer to secret tablets of Hermes as the principal sources of Manetho’s account (... παραφανήσεται σοι & ἔμαθον ἵερᾳ βιβλίᾳ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ προπάτορος τρισμεγίστου Ἐρμοῦ ... “... I will place before you (*scil.* king Ptolemy II Philadelphus) the sacred books which I have studied, (those) which were written by (your) forefather Hermes Trismegistus . . .” Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIc, no. 609 F25, *cf.* T 1la–1lc; Waddell, *Manetho*, 210–11). The *Book of Sothis* may thus be dated to the 3rd–4th century ACE (Waddell, *Manetho*, 234–35, n. 1), although Panodorus of Alexandria and Annianus of Alexandria have been suspected of being the actual authors (*cf.* Waddell, *Manetho*, 12, n. 1); *cf.* n. 121 below.

²⁴ Koechly, *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum*; Lopilato, *Apotelesmatika*; *cf.* Kroll, “Manethon,” 1102–06; Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologumena*, 155–64; Reed, “Pseudo-Manetho”; *cf.* also Aufrière, “Manéthon de Sebennytos et la traduction” and “Traces”; *cf.* nn. 2–3 above.

²⁵ Cf. n. 8 above, and in addition Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Beroossos and Manetho*, 118.

²⁶ Labow, *Flavius Josephus*; Siegert, *Über die Ursprünglichkeit*; Barclay, *Against Apion*; *cf.* also Feldman and Levison, *Josephus’ Contra Apionem*.

The following investigation will thus be based on the Epitome according to Africanus and Eusebius, the Greek and the Armenian versions; *The Book of Sothis*; and the king-list, which is ascribed to Apollodorus of Athens, who is supposed to quote Eratosthenes of Cyrene (therefore Pseudo-Apollodorus or Pseudo-Eratosthenes).²⁷ All these writings were collected by George Syncellus in his Ἐξλογὴ Χρονογραφίας “Selection of Chronography” (792 ACE), which is thus the most important historiographical source.²⁸

3 The Third and Fourth Dynasties according to Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* as Reflected in Quotations by Other Authors

The Third Dynasty according to the Epitome of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* as transmitted by Sextus Julius Africanus and preserved in the Ἐξλογὴ Χρονογραφίας of George Syncellus, supplemented with critical notes after the version of Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea, reads as follows:²⁹

Τρίτη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ἐννέα(θ')^a, ὥν

The Third Dynasty consists of nine Memphite kings, of whom was the

α' Νεχερωφήσ^b ἔτη κη'
 ἐφ' οὐ Λίβυες ἀπέστησαν
 Αἴγυπτίων, καὶ τῆς σελήνης
 παρὰ λόγον αὐξηθείσης διὰ
 δέος ἔαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

1. Necherophes: 28 years,
 under whom the Libyans
 revolted against the Egyptians,
 and after the moon had waxed
 beyond reckoning, they
 surrendered in terror.

²⁷ Jacoby, *FrHistGr* II, no. 244 F85; cf. Jacoby, *Chronik*, 399–400; Waddell, *Manetho*, 212–25.

²⁸ Cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, xv–xx; Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho*, 1–43; Laqueur, “Manethon”; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 35–38; cf. for the compilation of Africanus: Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*; Wallraff, *Julius Africanus* and *Sextus Iulius Africanus*; cf. for the chronicle of Eusebius: Aucher, *Eusebii chronicon*; Schoene, *Eusebii chronicorum*; Mosshammer, *Chronicle of Eusebius*; cf. for the Ἐξλογὴ Χρονογραφίας of George Syncellus: Mosshammer, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*; Adler and Tuffin, *Chronography of George Syncellos*; cf. for Christian chronographers in general: Adler, *Time Immemorial*; Wallraff, *Welt-Zeit*; Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*.

²⁹ Greek text after Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIc, no. 609 F3–F5; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 40–45; Orthographic variants are not recorded if they unambiguously occurred late and if they are irrelevant for the reconstruction of the Egyptian equivalents. Cf. also n. 28 above.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>β' Τόσορθρος^c ἔτη κθ'
 <έφ' οὐ Ἰμούθης,>^d οῦτος
 Ἀσκληπιὸς <τοῖς>^d
 Αἰγυπτίοις κατὰ τὴν
 ιατρικὴν νενόμισται,^e καὶ
 τὴν διὰ ξεστῶν λίθων
 οἰκοδομίαν εὔρατο, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη.</p> <p>γ' Πύρεις ἔτη ζ'
 δ' Μέσωχρις ἔτη ιζ'
 ε' Σώϋφις ἔτη ιζ'
 ζ' Τοσέρτασις ἔτη ιθ'
 ζ' "Αχης ἔτη μβ'
 η' Σήφουρις <ἔτη> λ'
 θ' Κερφέρης ἔτη κς'^f
 δμοῦ ἔτη σιδ'</p> | <p>2. Tosorthros: 29 years,
 <under whom lived Imhotep;>
 he is regarded as Asclepius
 <by the> Egyptians because
 of his medical skills; and he
 invented the art of building
 with hewn stone, and he
 moreover was devoted to
 writing.</p> <p>3. Tyreis: 7 years;
 4. Mesochris: 17 years;
 5. Soyphis: 16 years;
 6. Tosertasis: 19 years;
 7. Aches: 42 years;
 8. Sephouris: 30 years;
 9. Kerpheres: 26 years;
 altogether: 214 years.</p> |
|--|--|

^a Eusebius: δκτώ(η') "eight"; ^b manuscript variant: Νεχερόφης; Eusebius: Νεχέρωχις, Նեքերուրլս Nek'erōk'is (Armenian version); ^c Eusebius: Σέσορθος, Սեսօրթոս Sesorthos (Armenian version); ^d conjecture, cf. Sethe, "Imhotep," 111 (*παρά* is superfluous); ^e Eusebius: <έφ' οὐ Ἰμούθης,> δς Ἀσκληπιὸς παρὰ <τοῖς> Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκλήθη <under whom lived Imhotep,> who is called Asclepius among <the> Egyptians," conjecture, cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 77; ^f Eusebius: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔξ οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔπραξαν "But the remaining six did nothing worth mentioning"; ^g Eusebius: οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσιν ρῷ "And they ruled for 198 years," 197 years (Armenian version).

The Fourth Dynasty according to the Epitome of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* as transmitted by Sextus Julius Africanus and preserved in the Ἐξλογὴ Χρονογραφίας of George Syncellus, supplemented with critical notes after the version of Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea, reads as follows:³⁰

Τετάρτη δυναστεία Μεμφιτῶν συγγενείας ἔτέρας βασιλεῖς η'(δκτώ)^a.
 The Fourth Dynasty were 8 kings from another bloodline of the Memphites.

30 Greek text after Jacoby, *FrHistGr* 111c, no. 609 F3–F5; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 44–49; Orthographic variants are not recorded if they unambiguously occurred late and if they are irrelevant for the reconstruction of the Egyptian equivalents. Cf. also n. 28 above.

- | | |
|---|--|
| α' Σώρις ἔτη κθ' | 1. Soris: 29 years; |
| β' Σούφις ἔτη ξγ' | 2. Souphis: 63 years,
who built the largest pyramid,
which, says Herodotus,
was erected under Cheops. |
| δς τὴν μεγίστην ἥγειρε
πυραμίδα, ἦν φησιν
Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος
γεγονέναι. οὗτος δὲ καὶ
ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς ἐγένετο,
καὶ τὴν ιερὰν συνέγραψε
βίβλον. ^b | And he also developed
arrogance towards the
gods, and he wrote <i>The
Sacred Book</i> . |
| γ' Σοῦφις ἔτη ξς ^c | 3. Souphis (II): 66 years; |
| δ' ἘΜεγχέρης ^d ἔτη ξγ' | 4. Mencheres: 63 years; |
| ε' Ρατοίσης ἔτη κε' | 5. Rhatoises: 25 years; |
| ζ' Βίχερις ἔτη κβ' | 6. Bicheris: 22 years; |
| ζ' Σεβερέρης ἔτη ζ | 7. Sebercheres: 7 years; |
| η' Θαμφθίς ἔτη θ ^e
δμοῦ ἔτη σοζ' / σοδ' ^f | 8. Thamphthis: 9 years;
altogether: 277/274 years. |

^a Eusebius: Ιζ' “17”; ^b personal remark of Africanus: ἦν ὡς μέγα χρῆμα ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ γενόμενος ἐκτησάμην “which, because of its high esteem, I bought when in Egypt”; ^c Eusebius explicates: τρίτος Σοῦφις, ὁ τὴν μεγίστην πυραμίδα ἐγείρας, ἦν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγονέναι, δς καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς γέγονεν ὡς μετανοήσαντα, αὐτὸν τὴν ιερὰν συγγράψαι βίβλον, ἦν ὡς μέγα χρῆμα Αἴγυπτοι περιέπουσι “The third was Souphis, the constructor of the largest pyramid, which, says Herodotus, was erected under Cheops, who also developed arrogance towards the gods; but, as if/when he had repented, he (is said) to have written *The Sacred Book*, which the Egyptians hold in high esteem”; ^d Μενχέρης [sic] according to the manuscripts; ^{e-e} Eusebius: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἀνεγράφῃ “But of the remaining, there is nothing worth mentioning recorded”; ^f Correct: σπδ’ “284”; Eusebius: Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσιν υμιν” “And they ruled for 448 years.”

The section on the Third and Fourth Dynasties according to the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes and preserved in the Ἐκλογὴ Χρονογραφίας of George Syncellus reads as follows:³¹

31 Jacoby, *FrHistGr* II, no. 244 F85; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 212–25 and n. 121; Merely orthographic variants are not recorded, but the text of the this king-list has suffered even more than the Epitome of the *Aegyptiaca* according to Africanus and Eusebius (cf., for additional conjectures of von Gutschmid, Gelzer, “Diorthose”). The particularly late and fantastic explanations of the kings' names are left out for the sake of brevity.

[...]

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ζ' Μομχειρὶ^a Μεμφίτης, ἔτη οθ'.

As 6th ruled the Egyptian Thebans the Memphite Momcheiri, 79 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ζ' Στοῖχος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἔτη ζ'.

As 7th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Stoichos, his son, 6 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὅγδοος Γοσορμίης, ἔτη λ'.

As eighth ruled the Egyptian Thebans Gosormies, 30 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν θ' Μάρης, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἔτη κς'.

As 9th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Mares, his son, 26 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ι' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀνωϋφίς, ἔτη κ.'

As 10th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Anoyphis, 20 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ια' ἐβασίλευσε Σίριος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἔτη ιη'.

As 11th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Sirios, his son, 18 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ιβ' ἐβασίλευσε Χνοῦβος <ἢ>^b Γνεῦρος, ἔτη κβ'.

As 12th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Chnoubos <or> Gneuros, 22 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ιγ' ἐβασίλευσε Ραῦωσις, ἔτη ιγ'.

As 13th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Rhayosis, 13 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ιδ' ἐβασίλευσε Βιῦρης, ἔτη ι'.

As 14th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Biyres, 10 years.

Θηβαίων Αἰγυπτίων ιε' ἐβασίλευσε Σαῶφις, ἔτη κθ'.

As 15th ruled the Egyptian Thebans Saophis, 29 years.

Θηβαίων <Αἰγυπτίων> ις' ἐβασίλευσε Σαῶφις β', ἔτη κζ'.

As 16th ruled the <Egyptian> Thebans Saophis II, 27 years.

Θηβαίων <Αἰγυπτίων> ιζ' ἐβασίλευσε Μοσχερῆς, ἔτη λα'.

As 17th ruled the <Egyptian> Thebans Moscheres, 31 years.

[...]

^a An obscure gloss, τοιγάρο ἄμαχος, before the king's name should perhaps be transposed to the end of an exceptional remark following the

folk-etymological gloss after his name: . . . περισσομελής, <τοιγάρ άμαχος> “. . . (a man) with exceedingly large limbs, thus irresistible” (*cf.* Waddell, *Manetho*, 216); as an alternative, von Gutschmid (Gelzer, “Diorthose,” 268) conjectured two additional names, Τοισαράμ “Ἄχος, but their position and interpretation would constitute an enigma of their own, and should thus be discarded. ^b conjecture, Bunsen, *Weltgeschichte* II, 76–77; Waddell, *Manetho*, 218; *cf.* furthermore n. 134 further below.

Excursus I Old Kingdom Chronology according to Contemporary Data and the Old Kingdom Annals—A Plea in Favor of Regular Biennial Census-Cycles

When reconstructing the chronology of the earliest phases of Egyptian history, one faces two major problems: on the one hand, there is a regrettably small number of dated texts preserved,³² and, on the other hand, the dating system was still evolving towards its final form, *i.e.*, simply counting the regnal years of the actual king.

This process started in prehistoric times with years being named after the most prominent and most important events which took place in the course of each year. Of course, those events had to be predictable in order to allow for a consistent and distinctive name for each year from the respective new year’s day on.³³ Among those events, regularly recurring ones, especially *šmšw-Hrw* “the following of Horus”³⁴ and *tnw.t (jh.w ‘w.t nb.w Mhwj Šm‘w)* “the counting (of all cattle and livestock of Lower and Upper Egypt),” became predominant. This was without a doubt motivated precisely by their regular biennial recurrence,³⁵ which left only every second year to be given individual year names beyond a common template. In the early reign of Snefru (prior to his sixth census), the system of naming years after eponymous events was finally altered to a system of counting biennial census-cycles.³⁶ From then on, every even year was named *rnp.t sp XY (tnw.t jh.w ‘w.t nb.w Mhwj Šm‘w)* “Year of the

³² Spalinger, “Dated Texts”; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” “Contemporaneous Evidence,” and “System of Dating”; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 327.

³³ This does *not* imply that the events recorded in the royal annals are of only limited historical significance, or even none at all; *cf.* Navrátilová, “Review of Wilkinson, Royal Annals”; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 6; Baud, “Les frontiers,” 45–46; Quack, “Reiche,” 17, n. 56 *contra* Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 66.

³⁴ Cf., *e.g.*, Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 3–21; Kees, “Horusdiener”; Helck “Horusgeleit”; von Beckerath “*šmšw-hrw*” and “Horusgeleit”; Kaiser, “Frühzeit I”; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 189, 220–21.

³⁵ Thus already Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 75–81.

³⁶ Cf. for this development Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 315–22, 338; Baud, “Ménès, la mémoire monarchique” and “Les frontiers”; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, “Methods of Dating.”

XYth occurrence (of the counting of all cattle and livestock of Lower and Upper Egypt)," and every odd year *rnp.t m-ḥt sp XY* (*tnw.t jh.w ‘w.t nb.w Mḥwj Šm‘w*) "Year after the XYth occurrence (of the counting of all cattle and livestock of Lower and Upper Egypt)." ³⁷ The only exception to that mode was a king's first incomplete year which lasted from the day following his predecessor's death until the next new year's day (*rnp.t sm3-T3.wj* "Year of the unification of the Two Lands").

It was obviously the regularity of the census, which made it an appropriate point of reference in a simplified system of naming years. Accordingly, one should expect that the fragments of the Old Kingdom annals³⁸ and the contemporaneous inscriptions³⁹ provide a somehow balanced ratio between even (*rnp.t sp XY*) and odd years (*rnp.t m-ḥt sp XY*). However, as far as the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties are concerned, this is simply not the case.⁴⁰ John Nolan⁴¹ thus

37 Edel, "Regierungsjahr" and *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, §§ 412–13; Barta, "Das Jahr in Datumsangaben" and "Zur Bezeichnung"; Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 60–99; Gardiner, "Regnal Years" and "Reading of the Word"; Matthä, "Dating Group"; von Beckerath, "Lesung"; cf for the correct reading of the word for regnal year as *rnp.t-sp* Fecht, "Lesung von Regierungsjahr" and Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 319–21, 331–38.

38 Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*; cf Helck, "Palermosstein"; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, "Royal Annals." Cf for the individual fragments: (a) *Palermo Stone*: de Rougé, *Recherches*; Pellegrini, "Nota"; H. Schäfer, "Bruchstück"; Naville, "Pierre de Palerme"; Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 42–59; Giustolisi, "Pietra di Palermo"; (b)–(e) *Cairo Fragments I–IV*: Gauthier, "Quatre fragments" and "Quatre fragments... Musée du Caire"; Daressy, "Pierre de Palerme"; (f) *Cairo Fragment V = Fragment de Cenival*: de Cenival, "Un nouveau fragment"; (g) *London Fragment*: Reeves, "Fragment"; Stewart, *Egyptian stelae* II, 6, pl. 3.1. Cf for additional attempts to reconstruct the royal annals, von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 13–19, 204–05; Borchardt, *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung*; Kaiser, "Frühzeit I" and "Frühzeit II"; Helck, "Bemerkungen zum Annalenstein"; Barta, "Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie"; Baud, "Ménès, la mémoire monarchique." Cf for the date of origin, perhaps the reign of Newoserre, Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy*, 48; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 6–7, 363, n. 1962; Gardiner, *Geschichte*, 64; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 14; cf for the annals of the Sixth Dynasty, Baud and Dobrev, "De nouvelles annales" and "Le verso des annales." And for a recent translation of the Old Kingdom annals, cf. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 65–77.

39 Spalinger, "Dated Texts"; Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," "Contemporaneous Evidence," and "System of Dating."

40 Spalinger, "Dated Texts"; Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," "Contemporaneous Evidence," and "System of Dating"; cf, however, Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 327.

41 Nolan, "The Original Lunar Calendar" and "Lunar Intercalations and 'Cattle Counts.'" According to Nolan, the cattle count was nothing but a ritual, but this can be proven wrong by the aid of the description of the census in the (auto)biography of Weni (*Urk. I*, 106: 4–9) *jnj.kj n=f(m)jmj-r3 Šm‘w r hrw.t...jp=j.jh.t nb.t jp.t(j) n hnw (m) Šm‘w pn (m) sp.wj śn.wj wnw.t nb.t jp.t(j) n hnw (m) Šm‘w pn (m) sp.wj śn.wj jrj=j śrw.t=j.jrj.tj kd=j (m)*

developed a special theory of two calendar systems, a lunar and a solar one, which were in use side by side. According to him, cattle counts and intercalary months were complementary elements so that the imbalance of even (*rnp.t sp XY*) and odd years (*rnp.t m-ht sp XY*) of almost 1:1.7 was inherently rooted in the Old Kingdom calendar(s): All (solar) years comprising twelve lunar months of the lunar calendar running in parallel were even years (*rnp.t sp XY*), whereas all others containing thirteen lunar months were odd years (*rnp.t m-ht sp XY*). The ratio between years without and years with a thirteenth intercalary month is exactly 1:1.7155. This approach has meanwhile found substantial critique,⁴² and in fact the evaluation of the basic data appears to be unsatisfactory.⁴³

All collections of Old Kingdom dates provide a so far unrecognized *double* imbalance: It is not only the case that attested even years (*rnp.t sp XY*) outnumber attested odd years (*rnp.t m-ht sp XY*), but even in those biennia for which either year is attested, the numbers of attestations of the even year (*rnp.t sp XY*) usually outnumber the attestations of the odd year (*rnp.t m-ht sp XY*) significantly. This, in turn, is a problem directly linked to the inscriptions collected: The majority of year dates from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties are found with masons' graffiti and administrative notes, which were intended for immediate or specifically short-term usage. One therefore has to reckon with

Smw pn “I acted for him (scil. the king) as overseer of Upper Egypt to the (utmost) satisfaction... when I counted every good which was to be counted for the residence in this (country of) Upper Egypt two times, and every service which was to be counted for the residence in this (country of) Upper Egypt two times, I fulfilled my office so that my (good) reputation was established in this (country of) Upper Egypt.” (cf. Doret, *Narrative*, 35; Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 10–12, 145–46 [with references]; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 355–56, with n. 32 [p. 377]). Weni reports that he repeated the counting, but he does not tell why: either he counted twice to lay bare cases of tax evasion, or Weni just wanted to highlight his accuracy (cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 320; differently Gardiner, “Regnal Years,” 15, who thought that Weni piques himself on having levied the double amount of taxes, but this seems rather unlikely).

42 Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 324–26; Verner, “System of Dating,” 39–43.

43 Several recent studies prefer a system of irregular census-cycles: Krauss, “Length of Snefru’s Reign,” “Chronologie und Pyramidenbau,” and “Berechnung der Bauzeit”; Nolan, “The Original Lunar Calendar” and “Lunar Intercalations and ‘Cattle Counts’”; Spalinger, “Dated Texts”; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” “Contemporaneous Evidence,” and “System of Dating.” The main proponents of regular biennial census-cycles are Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 60–99; Gardiner, “Regnal Years”; Edel, “Regierungsjahr” and *Altägyptische Grammatik* 1, §§ 412–13; Stadelmann, “Länge der Regierung Snofrus”; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 147–63 (except for the reign of Snefru, p. 157); Baud, “Les frontiers”; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 315–38, “Baugraffiti,” and “Mykerinos.”

masons' graffiti and the vast majority of administrative papyri using abbreviated year formulae, which make mention of only the actual biennial census-cycle, but not the exact year within it.⁴⁴ Dates of this kind must therefore be excluded from any further analysis. By doing so, a remarkable balance of 1:1 of even (*rnp.t sp XY*) and odd years (*rnp.t m-h t sp XY*) emerges from the remaining data from the time of Snefru to Newoserre, which derives from royal decrees, legal documents, (auto)biographical inscriptions, etc., all documents destined for long-term usage.⁴⁵

44 Cf. for the masons' graffiti found on blocks of the pyramid at Meidum, Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti," 19; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 315, 323–30 and "Baugraffiti." This system of abbreviated year dates is somewhat similar to late Roman and medieval dates according to the Diocletian *indictiones*, tax-cycles of originally 5 years (from 297 ACE until 312 ACE), which soon were revised to tax-cycles of 15 years (312 ACE) and numbered consecutively (the starting point of *indictiones* covering 15 years each was, however, conjectured to 3 BCE (western Europe), 48 BCE (Byzantium), 297 ACE (Egypt), etc., cf. Ginzel, *Chronologie III*, 148–55; Depuydt, "AD 297"; Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, *Oxford Companion*, 768–71). Furthermore, it became standard to mention only the year within the current *indictio*, but not the number of the *indictio* itself. E.g., the following date is found in the last will of Emperor Charles the Great (Pertz and Waltz, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 33; cf. Kasten, *Herrischer- und Fürstentestamente*): "... anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi DCCCXI, anno vero regni eius in Francia XLIII, et in Italia XXXVI, imperii autem XI, indictione IIII ..." "in the year 811 since the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the 43rd year of his [scil. Charles'] reign in France, and the 36th in Italy, but the 11th of [his] imperial reign, in the *indictio* [year] four" ("indictione IIII" is short for "anno quarto *indictionis currentis*" "in the fourth year of the current *indictio*"). It is only the additional dates which provide a point of reference for the determination of the number of the *indictio* itself: it was the 55th *indictio* since the fictitious installation in 3 BCE. Just as in this Roman system, where the number denoting the *indictio* was left out for the sake of brevity and because every contemporary was well aware of the *indictio* referred to, the Egyptians skipped the reference specifying the exact year within the biennial census-cycle. Especially with documents in use for only a very limited span of time (i.e., no longer than a few months), everyone was aware of the actual year; it was thus necessary to designate only the current census-cycle (cf. the masons' graffiti found in Giza and discussed by Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*; Smith, "Inscriptional Evidence"). From the second half of the Fourth Dynasty onwards, dates of this kind, especially masons' graffiti, may lack any kind of year-reference, i.e., they mention only month and day of composition (cf. the pyramids of the late Fourth to Sixth Dynasties, which hardly ever show year dates, Verner, "Archaeological Remarks"; Baud, "Dynasties 6–8"). The difference between the Roman and the Egyptian systems is certainly founded in the very dissimilar length of census-cycles, which, in the Roman system, makes the *indictio* to which a certain date belongs self-evident, whereas, in the Egyptian system, the actual year of the census-cycle was patently obvious.

45 Cf. for a more detailed argumentation and a list of all year dates which remain according to those stricter conditions Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 323–30; cf. also Gundacker, "Baugraffiti" and "Mykerinos."

From the late Fifth Dynasty onwards, the census-cycles which were originally biennial must have become more and more irregular, as is indicated by an inscription of Pepi I which reads *rnp.t m-ht sp 18... sp tpj h3b-śd* “Year after the 18th occurrence . . . the first occurrence of the Sed-Festival.”⁴⁶ Although one cannot preclude that Pepi I celebrated his first Sed-Festival prior to the ideally expected 30th regnal year, one can at least be sure that he did not celebrate it later than in his 30th regnal year.⁴⁷ A recognizable irregularity of biennial census-cycles in favor of more frequent annual census-cycles must therefore have started to evolve between the reigns of Menkauhor or Djedkare-Isesi and Pepi I.⁴⁸ Finally, at some time during the First Intermediate Period, the census was no longer carried out at all, and the dating system switched to the counting of regnal years *stricto sensu*.⁴⁹

The only obstacle to this is an entry in the Palermo Stone, which indicates that the “Year of the 8th occurrence” (*rnp.t sp 8*) of Snefru immediately followed his “Year of the 7th occurrence” (*rnp.t sp 7*).⁵⁰ This has been taken (a) as evidence for generally irregular census-cycles,⁵¹ (b) as an error which occurred during the compilation of the annals,⁵² and (c) as an exception, e.g., because of increased financial constraints owing to the foundation of the Bent Pyramid

46 Urk. I, 93: 5–6; cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 331, n. 1751; Baud, “Dynasties 6–8,” 147–51. Another inscription referring to the first Sed-Festival of Pepi I, whose date is usually read *rnp.t sp 25* “Year of the 25th occurrence” (Urk. I, 95: 14, 16), contains either a misspelled or damaged date; it should therefore be emended to *rnp.t <m-ht> sp 18* “Year <after> the 18th occurrence.” Anyway, this single date is certainly not sufficient to propose two parallel dating systems (Spalinger, “Dated Texts,” 306; Baud, “Dynasties 6–8,” 149–50).

47 Cf. Hornung and Staehelin, *Sedfest*; Hornung, “Introduction” (with numerous references).

48 Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 327, n. 1736; Baud’s conclusion (Baud, “Dynasties 6–8”) that the royal annals of the Sixth Dynasty prove a census was held in strictly biennial intervals until the very end of the Old Kingdom is nevertheless questionable, because it cannot be proven that every census compartment of the South-Saqqara-Stone contained exactly two years.

49 Cf. Gardiner, “Regnal Years,” 14–16; Hayes, “Royal Decrees,” 13; Spalinger, “Dated Texts,” 312; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 331–34; Baud, “Dynasties 6–8,” 158.

50 Palermo Stone, recto VI.3–4; cf. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 143–46, fig. 1.

51 E.g., Arnold, “Überlegungen,” 27; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 157; Helck, *Geschichte*, 52; Krauss, “Length of Snefru’s Reign,” “Chronologie und Pyramidenbau,” and “Berechnung der Bauzeit”; Nolan, “The Original Lunar Calendar” and “Lunar Intercalations and ‘Cattle Counts’”; Spalinger, “Dated Texts”; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” “Contemporaneous Evidence,” and “System of Dating.”

52 O’Mara, *Palermo Stone*, 94.

at Dahshur.⁵³ Whatever be the case, a single piece of evidence, which is not beyond doubt and cannot be explained with certainty, cannot function as the backbone of a theory. It is thus appropriate to adhere to the system of biennial census-cycles, conceivably with very few exceptions (prior to the late Fifth Dynasty), one of which *may* be recorded in the royal annals for Snefru's 7th census-cycle, although different explanations may apply.

4 The Third Manethonian Dynasty

4.1 The Kings and Their Names

Contemporaneous documents of the Third Dynasty prefer a king's Horus name; the *nomen* will be found only rarely. In contrast to this, later writings, including the Royal Canon of Turin⁵⁴ and the king-lists of Abydos and Saqqara,⁵⁵ usually mention a king's *nomen*, and so does Manetho. The names of the Third Manethonian Dynasty have suffered from misinterpretation, misreading, and misspelling,⁵⁶ perhaps also in part intentional reinterpretation or alteration over time. The following discussion of the kings' names as given by Manetho will provide a brief summary of what changes they underwent.⁵⁷

53 E.g. Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 83; Stadelmann, "Länge der Regierung Snofrus," 236; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 21.

54 Farina, *Papiro*, pl. II; Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, pl. II, col. III (= col. 4 according to Helck, "Anmerkungen"; Ryholt, "Turin King-List"); cf. Excursus II below.

55 Cf. von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 215–16.

56 Cf. for an overview of common mistakes West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; cf. also Merkelbach and van Thiel, *Griechisches Leseheft*; Harrauer, *Handbuch*. It is also important to distinguish between scribal errors which occurred in Greek uncials (300 BCE until the 9th century ACE, cf. Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands* and *Hellenistic Bookhands*; Turner and Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts*; Seider, *Paläographie*; Roberts, *Literary Hands*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*) and scribal errors which occurred (cf. for manuscripts written in a transitional script, late 8th–early 9th centuries ACE, Cavallo, "La κοινή") in Greek minuscule (from the 9th century ACE onwards, Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*; Wittek, *Album*; Lake and Lake, *Dated Manuscripts*; Spatharakis, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*).

57 Cf. for basic information on Greek transcriptions of Egyptian personal names Brunsch, "Untersuchungen" and "Bemerkungen"; Quaegebeur, "Study of Egyptian Proper Names," "Pre-Old Coptic," and "Greek Transcriptions"; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 71 (with numerous references); Schenkel, "Ist Mythos." Cf. also the collections of transcribed names: Parthey, *Personennamen*; Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; Foraboschi, *Onomasticum*.

Although this is not the place for a comprehensive description of Manetho's orthographic conventions and of the process of degradation having affected his writings in

the course of tradition, it is nevertheless instructive to draw attention to a single issue, namely η and τ in Egyptian names graecized by Manetho. Interpreting η and τ is exceptionally difficult because their exact sound value differed in the Greek varieties and sociolects during the centuries around the turn of the eras. But the exact sound value of η, γ/η, ει, and ε, on the one hand, is essential for the interpretation of the kings' names according to Manetho and their Egyptian *Vorlagen* and, on the other hand, it is also indicative for the date when they were graecized. Alas, the picture was obscured by ancient and medieval copyists unfamiliar with the Egyptian kings' names, which were thus easily misspelled. The standard correspondences of the vowels η, γ/η, ει, and ε in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* are difficult to determine; only toponyms and kings' names should be accepted as a firm basis, because the text proper in both, the glosses of the Epitome and the quotations found in Flavius Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, were probably altered and corrected by later copyists. According to this data, Manetho's transcriptions show η ~ *᷑ ~ *᷑ and ε ~ *᷑ ~ *᷑ (γ/η and ει are not found; the latter is especially remarkable insofar as itacistic spellings of toponyms and kings' names with ει instead of τ are expected to remain in the text, because there was no orthographic tradition serving as a model after which ει could have been corrected to i). Although this will require further research beyond the material of the Third and Fourth Manethonian Dynasties, one may tentatively conclude that Manetho adhered to an outspokenly conservative orthography typical for formal and learned vernaculars of the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BCE. Cf. for the phonology of the contemporary papyri Mayser, *Grammatik* I; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*; Gignac, *Grammar*; Teodorsson, *Phonology*: frequent interchange ει ~ τ, passably frequent interchange η ~ ει – cf. also the Ptolemaic Homer papyri, which, in antevocalic position, display very frequently the alternation -ηV- ~ -ειV- (S. West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 17), although, in the Epic dialect, this may be the outcome of different dialectal constituents, (Old-East) Ionic and Epic Aeolic; -ειV- is moreover ambiguous, because it could also represent systematic metrical lengthening by means of insertion of *-᷑-: *-εV- (scanned ~) → *-ειV- *-᷑V- (scanned ~) (cf. also Werner, *η und ει*). One should furthermore consider possible effects of the *metacharacterismus* in 403/402 BCE (Old-Attic alphabet: E ~ *᷑ and *᷑ → Milesian alphabet E ~ *᷑, EI *᷑, and H *᷑; cf. Herzog, *Umschrift*; Goold, "Homer"; Chantraine, *Grammaire Homerique* I, 5–16; Threatte, *Attic Inscriptions* I, 211–13; West, *Studies*, 21–23; Reece, "Metacharacterism"), which contributed to this heterogeneous picture—, rather rare interchange η ~ ε and ει ~ ε indicating the emerging collapse of vowel quantities, and, somewhat delayed, the beginning interchange η ~ τ hinting at the beginning of itacism *stricto sensu*. It is nevertheless particularly difficult to judge the effects of the common Greek development of itacism, which must have affected the text of the *Aegyptiaca* and the Epitome (cf. for the background of Koine Greek, Thumb, Kieckers, and Scherer, *Handbuch* I, 43–45, II, 306–13; Hoffmann, Debrunner, and Scherer, *Geschichte* II; Kretschmer, *Entstehung*; Niehoff-Panagiotidis, *Koine und Diglossie*, vis-à-vis the genuine Egyptian interchange of *-᷑(-) and *-᷑(-) (Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 19–26; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 231–32; cf. for the Egyptian influence on Koine Greek, e.g., Quaegebeur, "Phonology").

The names graecized by Manetho follow certain orthographic rules, among which the following are of special importance for the subsequent study: Whenever Egyptian words ended with a *shwa*-vowel, Manetho graecized them as *i*-stems -ις, -ιος or, rarely, as

thematic *o*-stems -(i)oς, -(i)ou. Egyptian *-é(-) and *-í(-) are expected as -η- and -ī- respectively, which is crucial in the case of the theonym *R'w* because of its frequent occurrence as the last element of kings' names; name-final *R'w* ~ *Ríč'úw > *Ríč'(ē) > *Réč'(ē) (Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 20–21) is commonly rendered with -ρης (*-ρους, *s*-stems, less plausibly *-ρου, thematic ā-stems), but rarely and unexpectedly, and therefore probably by itacistic corruption, it is also found as -ρις (*-ριος, *i*-stems, rarely ← *-ρις?). Similarly, Herodotus transcribed Egyptian names as either *i*-stems (-ις, -ιος; later Greek authors followed an Atticistic fashion and preferred *d*-stems, -ις, -ιδος, cf. Plutarch's Περὶ Ἱσιδος καὶ Ὀστριδος, Garcia Valdés, *Plutarco*; Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, cf. also the toponyms recorded in Stephanus of Byzantium's his Ἐθνικά (6th century ACE), Meineke, *Ethnicorum*; Billerbeck, *Ethnica*; sometimes, the model of πόλις, -εως “city, town” was followed, as one may anyway expect in the case of toponyms, cf. n. 311 below) or thematic *o*-stems (-ος, -ου or -ως < *-ο-ος, -ώ < *-δ-ου, with Doric contraction, which could be a relic of the original Doric dialect of Halicarnassus which was superseded by Milesian Ionic by the early 5th century BCE (Rosén, *Sprachform*, 64–65; however, one may alternatively postulate -ως < *-ω-ος, -ώ < *-ώ-ου); occasionally, further inflectional patterns, e.g., ā-, *n*-, *s*- (subtype à la -χλῆς < -έ-ης, -χλέους < -έ-ε-ος) and *eu*-stems, can be found; Rosén, *Sprachform*, 58–96; Thumb, Kieckers, and Scherer, *Handbuch* II, 236–41; Clarysse, *Eponymous Priests*). Even though the degree of itacistic degradation having affected Manetho's transcriptions is unclear, one may expect that it had effects on the names found in the Epitome. Manetho's and Herodotus' approaches of assigning graecized Egyptian names to certain Greek inflectional patterns were thus basically very similar, although future in-depth research may reveal differences in detail. To conclude, Manetho graecized most Egyptian names as *i*-stems; accordingly, most names should display -ις as their nominative desinence (Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 254). The nominative desinence -ης is only correct when it is the Greek equivalent of Egyptian word-final *-é#; in all other instances, it should be considered an itacistic replacement of original -ις. As far as Greek accents on graecized Egyptian words are concerned, it is important to stress that they were added only according to Greek principles. Rules of Egyptian prosody and word stress were totally ignored, which renders Greek accents insignificant for the revocalization of ancient Egyptian (cf. Clarysse, “Greek Accents”; Thissen, “Umgang”; cf. also Rosén, *Sprachform*, 65).

It is furthermore remarkable that the Coptic alphabet (in its conservative reading with an opposition of vowel quantities (long vs. short vowels), Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 10–26; Kasser, “Coptic Alphabets” and “Alphabet in Coptic, Greek”; Satzinger, “Old Coptic,” “Koptische Vokalphoneme,” and “Das Griechisch”; cf. for the alternative interpretation as an opposition of vowel qualities (high vs. low vowels) Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 199–216) displays the grapheme—phoneme standard correspondences η ~ *é (~ *í), i ~ ei ~ *í (but ei is not used for unstressed *i, which is solely rendered i), and e ~ *ξ̄, which is indicative for the 2nd century BCE (Mayser, *Grammatik* 1; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*; Gignac, *Grammar*; Clarysse, “Ethnic Diversity and Dialect”; cf. for Late Coptic Η Lambdin, “Bivalence”; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 228–30 and “Zur Aussprache des koptischen Eta”). The Coptic alphabet continues thus a practice of writing Egyptian with Greek characters, which started in the Ptolemaic Period (the earliest examples date from the 3rd century BCE: Papyrus Heidelberg 414; Quecke, “Wörterliste”; Quaegebeur,

Νεχερωφής (Νεχέρωχις) is usually identified with Nebka (*Nb-kȝ*),⁵⁸ but this seems problematic, even though the Saqqara king-list already displays an expanded variant *Nb-kȝ-Rȝw*.⁵⁹ This should result in Greek *Νεβ-/Νεφ(ε)-χορής < *Nēb-kō-Rēc < *Nīb-kă3-Rīcūw,⁶⁰ which is remarkably close to the largely unrecognized manuscript variant Νεχερόφης. One may thus conclude that the consonants of *Νεφ(ε)χορής were mixed up by a Greek scribe or perhaps even by Manetho himself. Should the latter be the case, this is the result of conflating *Νεφ(ε)χορής ~ *Nb-kȝ-Rȝw* and Djoser's Horus name⁶¹ *Ntrj-h.t* ~ *Nītrij-híť > *Nētȝ-hé > *Νεθερωχής,⁶² which resembles Eusebius' Νεχέρωχις. One should also remember that Djoser is referred to as *Ntrj-h.t Dśr*, with both names enclosed in a single cartouche, in Ahmose's inscriptions (Twenty-Seventh Dynasty, Berlin 14765)⁶³ and that both names were frequently used in combi-

"Pre-Old Coptic," 190; cf. n. 79 below). An Egyptian graffito of the nationalist counter-king Horwennefer found in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos (201 BCE, Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, 137; Clarysse, "De grote opstand"; Lefebvre and Perdrizet, *Les graffiti*, no. 74; Lacau, "Un graffito"; Pestman, "Haronnophris"; Pestman, Quaegebeur, and Vos, *Recueil II*, no. 11; Clarysse, "Hurgonaphor et Chaonnophris"; Zauzich, "Neue Namen"), which is written in Greek characters (with consistent orthography!), proves beyond doubt that this practice had become customary. The Coptic alphabet is thus the derivative of a petrified Greek alphabet of the 2nd century BCE, to which additional characters were added in order to allow for the proper designation of typically Egyptian/Coptic consonants foreign to Greek (cf. Quaegebeur, "Préhistoire"; Satzinger, "Die altkoptischen Texte").

Greenberg largely neglected all matters of Egyptian and Greek philology, linguistics, and palaeography (Greenberg, *Manetho*, 183–203 (on the Third and Fourth Dynasties), 204–12 (on potential mistakes; in this simplifying section, practically everything is explained as *parablepsis/aberratio oculi*; cf., e.g., for the Middle Kingdom, the critique by Schneider, "Das Ende," 307–09) and thus cannot arrive at firm results. His investigation will thus be largely passed over, as will be done with the problematic approach of O'Mara (O'Mara, "Manetho and the Turin Canon" and *Palermo Stone*).

58 E.g., Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 23; Swelim, *Some Problems*, 224; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 236; Seidlmayer, "Dynasty 3," 116.

59 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 48–49; Ryholt, "Seneferka," 166–67.

60 Cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 153, n. 257, 176–78; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, II, 380, n. 56; Edel, "Vokalisation," 35 and *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62; Gundacker, *Studien* I, 291, n. 1835; cf. for the interchange of φ and β nn. 92, 117 below.

61 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 48–49.

62 Thus already O'Mara, "Manetho and the Turin Canon," 61. Cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 117, n. 201, 258, n. 397; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 315, II, 409, n. 90; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 182.

63 Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 79–83; von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 48–49; cf. furthermore Aufrère, "Remarques," 8.

nation even in the Ptolemaic Period, *e.g.*, on the *Famine Stela*.⁶⁴ Conclusively, Djoser's Horus name and *nomen* ought to be considered as commonly known in the last millennium BCE. It is thus plausible that one of Manetho's sources rather close to the Saqqara king-list began the Third Dynasty with *Ntrj-h.t Dśr* ~ *Νεφ(ε)χορής Τώσις or perhaps *Νεθερωχής ḥ Τώσις,⁶⁵ whereas another source rather close to the Royal Canon of Turin and the Abydos king-list gave *Nb-k3-Rw* ~ *Νεφ(ε)χορής as the first king. After the double entry *Νεθερωχής (ἢ) Τώσις had been split up, which was perhaps triggered by a differing number of kings in the *Vorlagen* of the *Aegyptiaca*, Manetho blended Djoser's Horus name *Νεθερωχής and Nebka's *nomen* *Νεφ(ε)χορής. Although the original appearance of this amalgamate cannot be determined with certainty, it must nevertheless have been closer to Djoser's Horus name, because names ending with -ρής were extremely common. A variant with the desinence -χής must therefore be viewed as the *lectio difficilior*, which later on was further distorted and resulted in Νεχερωφής and Νεχέρωχις.⁶⁶ The variant form Μομχειρί, which is found in the king-list according to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes,⁶⁷ is a late development of *Nb-k3-Rw* ~ *Nb-kā3-Rī'ūw. As it seems, the first element *nb- was reduced to *nb-, which triggered the assimilatory process *nb-> *mb-> *m̪- and the Greek rendering Μομψ-; -χει- is the unstressed outcome of k3.w, which often and unpredictably interchanges with the singular k3;⁶⁸ and -ρί obviously represents the theonym *Rw*, although some kind of misspelling

64 PM v, 252; Barguet, *La stèle de la famine*; Gernier, "Stèle de la famine"; cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 85–91; Aufrère, "Imhotep et Djoser" and "La titulature."

65 Cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 293, n. 429; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 129, 149; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 154, 158.

66 Cf. for the unpredictable interchange of aspirates/spirants in Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names and words Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 15; Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 293, n. 426 and "Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*," 122; Quaegebeur, "Considérations... Teéphthaphônukhos," 98; Thissen, "Ägyptologische Randbemerkungen," 60; cf. n. 57 above.

The gloss attributed to Νεχερωφής/Νεχέρωχις is, however, insignificant; the first part may be traced back to a military event recorded in the royal annals (cf. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 106; cf. also n. 316 below), but the second part remains a conundrum (cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 86; Quack, "Reiche," 4–7).

67 Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 22.

68 Unstressed k3 ~ *kā3, which should have been preserved as such, was analogically replaced with *kō3; cf. Gundacker, *Studien* I, 291, n. 1835. In all other cases, the fluctuation of unstressed *-ě- and *-ō- may simply indicate an imperfect approximation to Egyptian *shwa*-vowels, cf. Lacau, *Études* I, 131–36; cf. n. 167 below.

must have resulted in the loss of word-final -*ς* (one may furthermore suppose an itacistic error *-ρίς ← *-ρής).⁶⁹

The second king of Manetho's Third Dynasty appears to be Djoser, which seems corroborated by the gloss mentioning Imhotep.⁷⁰ Τόσορθρος indeed does contain the element *Dśr*,⁷¹ but the second element -θρος deserves closer attention. The king-lists provide two different extensions for king Djoser:⁷² -*jt* (Royal Canon of Turin)⁷³ and -*s3* (Abydos king-list),⁷⁴ and Djoser's successor bore the similar name *Dśr-ttj*. Of these three additions, -*ttj* matches -θρος best, because, in Hieratic, -*ttj* could easily be misread as -*trj* making Τόσορθρος an almost per-

69 Cf., e.g., the Fourth Dynasty kings *B3-k3=j* → *B3-k3-R'w* > *Bίχερις*, *Mn-k3.w-R'w* > *Μεγχέρης*, and *Špss-k3=f* → *Špss-k3-R'w* > *Σεβερχέρης*. Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62; cf. also n. 57 above.

70 E.g., Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 23; Wildung, *Imhotep*, 33–32; Quack, "Reiche," 15, with n. 47; Swelim, *Some Problems*, 224; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 236; Seidlmayer, "Dynasty 3," 116.

71 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 48–49; Like in all royal names which contain an adjective with final -*r#* as their first element, that -*r#* is unexpectedly preserved. It is thus possible that all those adjectives were replaced with adjective verb forms *n3-šdm=f* in the Late Period (cf. Johnson, *Thus wrote*, § 60 and *Verbal System*, 21–22, 83–84; cf. also Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 117; Sethe, "Nominalverben der Eigenschaftswörter"; Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 398, n. 542; Schenkel, *Einführung*, 113 [4]). In the particular case of Djoser's *nomen*, it is, however, also possible that an uninterrupted *Aussprachetradition* (cf. further below nn. 151–152) preserved its original form. His name may thus be analyzed differently; cf. furthermore nn. 73 and 78 below.

Σέσορθος, the variant according to Eusebius, was certainly influenced by the name of the famous king Σέσωστρις, cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 22–23; Quack, "Sesostris"; cf. also n. 316 further below [s.v. (4)].

72 Cf. furthermore the list of Mehu (Saqqara, Ramesside; PM III.2, 556; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 74–76; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 25), which gives the name as *Dśr nbw*. This is obviously a combination of Djoser's *nomen* and his proto-variant of what later became the Gold Name, *nbw* (or *R'w nbw* or *nbw(j) R'w*, cf. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 48–49; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 75). It is plausible that a secondary addition like this became the starting point for the adjuncts, many of which may have come into being via misinterpretation and *lapsus legendi vel calami*.

73 According to Wildung, this may have been a Late Egyptian orthographic feature simply indicating that word-final -*r#* had not dropped (Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 96). If so, Djoser's name should possibly be analyzed as a *nomen agentis* *Dśrw* ~ **Dśr̄rw* (**Dăśr̄w*, cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 166–75; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 167–69). Cf., however, the opposing evidence presented further below (cf. also n. 78).

74 Cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 64.

fectly transmitted rendering of Djoser-teti's *nomen* *Dśr-ttj* → *Dśr-trj*,⁷⁵ for which one would expect *Τοσόρθορος. The same applies for the next, Manetho's third name, Τύρεις, which seems to be a twin of Djoser-teti's distinguishing element -*ttj*.⁷⁶ If so, in all probability Τόσορθος (*Τοσόρθορος) and Τύρεις once formed only a single entry *Τόσορθος ἢ Τύρεις (*Τοσόρθορος ἢ Τύρεϊς), which explicitly consisted of two variant names. At this stage, one should also remember that Africanus explains the Third Manethonian Dynasty as consisting of nine kings, whereas Eusebius states *expressis verbis* that it contains only eight kings.⁷⁷ Dissolving the entry *Τόσορθος ἢ Τύρεις (*Τοσόρθορος ἢ Τύρεϊς) into two separate ones was thus an individual error by Africanus (or one of his immediate forerunners). Eusebius' version of the Manethonian king-list is thus definitely independent from Africanus' version, even though Eusebius may have known a copy of Africanus' chronographic work. In addition, *Τόσορθος ἢ Τύρεις (*Τοσόρθορος ἢ Τύρεϊς) must have been interpreted as Djoser already when the Epitome was compiled and when the glosses were added, in this case the gloss on Imhotep. Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes mentions this king as Στοῖχος, but one can only guess what may have happened to the name of Djoser-teti in this line of tradition; it may well be that folk-etymological plays on words of late hierogrammateis had an additional distorting effect on this name. If, however, the reconstruction *Dśr* ~ **Dásřir* > **Tώσ(ι)-*⁷⁸ is accepted and if furthermore the rendering of king Teti's name (Sixth Dynasty), *Ttj* ~

75 Thus already Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 22; The variant *Dśr-tj* found in the Royal Canon of Turin may be a haplological or haplographical mistake for *Dśr-ttj*, cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 96, with n. 9. However, one should expect *Τοσόρθορος instead of Τόσορθος (cf. the subsequent discussion of -*ttj* and n. 79 below). The simplification *Τοσόρθορος → Τόσορθος via reducing a sequence of four *o*-vowels may simply have occurred either by haplology/haplography or because of reasons of Greek euphony.

76 Cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 93–100; Cf. for *v* in Τύρεις n. 79 below.

77 Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 80.

78 Cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 293, n. 429; Osing, *Nominalbildung I*, 120–37, 147–55; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 154–61; Secondarily, **Tώσ(ι)-* was perhaps also introduced in unstressed position instead of **Tασ(ι)-*. In pre-tonic position, **Tασ(ι)-* should not have displayed a word-final *shwa*-vowel, but it is impossible to judge whether a secondarily introduced variant **Tώσ(ι)-* would have retained its *shwa*-vowel or not (cf. for the late replacement of *status constructi* with *status absoluti* Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 434 (3)). Moreover, one cannot exclude that Greek copyists analogically aligned several names to one another, which furthermore complicates the analysis of this detail.

**Tātj* > *Θόθις (preserved as ὘θόης in Africanus' version of the Epitome due to the misspelling *θοθ- → θοο- and an itacistic corruption *-ις → -ης),⁷⁹ is kept

79 Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F3; Waddell, *Manetho*, 52–53; cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore nn. 56–57 above.

Compared to *Θόθις, Τύρεις appears as an unusual, maybe a rather colloquial rendering of Egyptian *Trj*, which was not graecized by Manetho himself. This assumption may be substantiated by the following two arguments:

- (1) Τύρεις is the only name in Manetho's king-list which contains υ as a rendering of Egyptian *-ó- or *-ú-. Although this is not uncommon a manner of transcribing Egyptian *-ó- and *-ú- with Greek characters, this cannot be explained as a phonological phenomenon of the Egyptian standard of the Greek Koine. It is important to notice that this practice considerably predates the Greek Koine, as is proven by, e.g., Σεβέννυτος ~ **Tebé-nút̩* < **Tybvw-náṭär* ~ *Tb(w)-ntr* "Sebennytos" (cf. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gae*, 179; Peust, *Toponyme*, 80; cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 315; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 182). Σεβέννυτος is attested for the first time in Herodotus' writings (Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.158), but it is untypical for his approach of graecizing Egyptian toponyms. This is revealed by the fact that, on the one hand, it is not included in the inflectional pattern of Greek *i*-stems, which was typical for Herodotus' East Ionic (Milesian) dialect (Rosén, *Sprachform*, 85), and, on the other hand, it does not conform to the East Ionic standard υ ~ **ü*, but to υ ~ **u* instead (cf. for the common sound change υ ~ **u* > **ü* affecting the Ionic-Attic proto-dialect before its separation, Thumb, Kieckers, and Scherer, *Handbuch* II, 251, 253; Solmsen, *Wortforschung*, 36–155, especially 36–37, 58–68; Chantraine, *Grammaire Homerique* I, 50–51; Mendez-Dosuna, "Fonema υ y Ω"; Threatte, *Attic Inscriptions* I, 21–23, 216–17, 261–67). The phonological correspondence υ ~ **ü* is furthermore demonstrated for Herodotus' Greek by the transcriptions of Egyptian toponyms, e.g., "Ανυσις ~ **āníšē* < **Hā-nn-īnsē* < **Hāwāt-nvw-nj-jīnsvw* ~ *Hwt-n(w)-n(j)-njšwt* "Heracleopolis parva" (cf. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gae*, 123, 189; Peust, *Toponyme*, 52, 97; Gomáa, "Herakleopolis parva" and "Herakleopolis magna"; cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 34, n. 74, 293, n. 428; Gundacker, *Studien* I, 73–76, 97–103, 113–27; cf. Clédat, "Suez," 173–79; Peust, "Zur Herkunft des Koptischen ή"; Gundacker, "Etymology," 66, n. 259, 69–70). According to the papyri, Greek υ for Egyptian *-ó- and *-ú- or Greek *-o- and *-u- is an element of colloquial and non-standard vernaculars of the Egyptian variant of the Greek Koine, although υ for Egyptian *-ó- and *-ú- was rather ordinary in the contemporaneous transcriptions of personal names and toponyms during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. This is, however, insignificant for the determination of phonological variation because it had become a merely orthographic phenomenon. Keeping in mind the conventions of graecizing as applied by Herodotus, the origins of this peculiarity must be searched for before the 5th century BCE. The most promising starting point, then, is Cyrene, a colony of Thera founded in

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- c. 630 BCE (Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 153–56), which exercised significant influence on Egypt, and Cyrene's local Doric dialect (with the conservative correspondence $\upsilon \sim *u$), which displays the very interchange $\upsilon \sim o$ (Dobias-Lalou, *Cyrène*, 24; Thumb, Kieckers, and Scherer, *Handbuch* 1, 173). One may thus conclude that Egypt was influenced by a Doric (Cyrenian) and an East Ionic (Milesian) dialectal variant—Naucratis was a colony of Miletus founded in c. 650 BCE or a little later (*cf.* Boardman, *Greeks Overseas*, 111–21)—in the 6th–4th centuries BCE, which resulted in differing orthographic traditions applied side by side (*cf.* for dialectal features in the Egyptian Koine Clarysse, “Ethnic Diversity and Dialect”; *cf.* n. 57 above; *cf.* for the Doric dialect of Alexandrian poets, above all Callimachus (3rd century BCE), who himself was of Cyrenian descent, Ruijgh, “Cyrénien d’Alexandrie”). Unsurprisingly, elements of the Ionic tradition, which closely matched the Koine, prevailed over Doric elements in more official and elevated vernaculars. Doric peculiarities were, however, preserved in “petrified” transcriptions, which had been graecized rather early and had thus become Panhellenic standard (*e.g.*, Σεβέννυτος), and they were also applied in less formal transcriptions of Egyptian personal names and toponyms for reasons of scribal and orthographic convention.
- (2) It is delicate to judge the desinence $-\varepsilon i\varsigma$ of Túρεις, because $-\varepsilon i-$ instead of expected $-\iota-$ may simply be a late itacistic error (*cf.* n. 57 above), but it should, perhaps, be interpreted differently. Túρεις is the only king's name ending with $-\varepsilon i\varsigma$ in the entire king-list of Manetho, which itself is noteworthy because this does not belong to any of the most prominent Greek declension patterns, into which the vast majority of graecized names was included (*cf.* Clarysse, “Greek Accents”). Therefore, $-\varepsilon i-$ ought to be viewed as the Egyptian word-final *shwa*, which was transformed into a Greek nominative by adding $-\iota\varsigma$ (*Ttj ~ *Tátiy → Trj ~ *Táre → *Tóre ~ Túrēiς*). Accordingly, Túrēiς, or more precisely $*Túrēiς$, matches perfectly $*-\thetaōρος$ (in $*Τοσόρθορος$) and $*Θόθης$ ($\Theta-$ vs. $\Theta-$ is either the result of an Egyptian dialectal variation or merely accidental, *cf.* Schenkel, “Ist Mythos,” 554–55).

To conclude, Túrēiς ($*Túrēiς$) may have belonged to a source different from Manetho's *Vorlagen A* and *B* (*cf.* section 6 below), but this is rather implausible. Although it is uncertain when this variant name was introduced into the king-lists, its correctly assigned position within the king-list renders it highly plausible that it formed already part of Manetho's *Vorlage A* when he made use of it in the course of the composition of the *Aegyptiaca*. One may furthermore speculate whether Túrēiς ($*Túrēiς$) was already written with Greek characters in an otherwise Hieratic king-list (*Vorlage A*, *cf.* nn. 151, 274 below), which also may have contained Demotic glosses (*cf.* Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, 44–52). Indeed, this is strongly supported by the fact that Manetho was expected to graecize *Trj* as either $*\Theta\delta\rho\iota\varsigma$ or $*\Theta\hat{\omega}\rho\iota\varsigma$ (*cf.* Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 95, 349) instead of Túrēiς ($*Túrēiς$). In case this explanation is accepted, Túrēiς ($*Túrēiς$) may moreover be identified as one of the oldest Greek/Pre-Old Coptic glosses (early 3rd century BCE, perhaps with Túrēiς representing the actual gloss, whereas the desinence $-\iota\varsigma$ was added by Manetho himself) known to date (*cf.* Quaegebeur, “Pre-Old Coptic”; Satzinger, “Old Coptic,” 170; Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*; Quack, “Griechische und andere Dämonen”).

in mind, one may expect the following Greek rendering: *Τωσθόθις/Τωσθώθις or, introduced into another Greek inflectional pattern, *Τωσθόθιος/Τωσθώθιος. This rendering must have been truncated, perhaps by haplology, to *[Τω-] σθόθιος ~ *Σθόθιος or *[Τω]σθώθιος ~ *Σθώθιος with subsequent dissimilation of the sequence -θ-θ- (lex Grassmann),⁸⁰ whereby the first -θ- was deaspirated and the second -θ- was shifted to -χ-.⁸¹ As a result, one gets *Στόχιος, which by erroneous metathesis yields Στοῖχος, or *Στῶχος, which through the misreading *-ω- → -οι- yields also Στοῖχος.⁸² Both of these explanations are, however, highly tentative, but, in any case, they hint at a line of tradition which never suffered from the old Hieratic mistake -*tj* → -*trj* found in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*.

The fourth name of the Third Manethonian Dynasty is Μέσωχρις. According to Günter Dreyer,⁸³ this name may be equated with the *nomen* Neferka, which, however, is otherwise unattested. If this assumption is correct, Neferka experienced the same expansion as Nebka (*Nfr-k3* → *Nfr-k3-Rw*).⁸⁴ In this case, one would expect *Nfr-k3-Rw* ~ **Näfür-kä3-Rt'üw* > **Näf-kö-Rt'ě* > *Νεφχορής,⁸⁵ which can only give Μέσωχρις if a process like the following is accepted: First, *n* was assimilated to *m* under the influence of *f* (*Νεφ- ~ *nef- ~ *ηf- > *ηf- ~ *Μεφ-), and second, two scribal errors occurred (corruption of *-φ- → -c-⁸⁶ and metathesis of -ο- ~ -ω-⁸⁷ and -χ-), thus providing exactly Africanus' Μέσωχρις, which furthermore may display an itacistic corruption (Μέσωχρις ← *Μεσωχρής

80 Cf. Gignac, "Pronunciation," 196–97; Schenkel, "Ist Mythos," 554–55, 567.

81 For the unpredictable interchange of aspirates/spirants in Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names and words, cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 15; Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 293, n. 426 and "Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*," 122; Quaegebeur, "Considérations... Teéphthaphônukhos," 98; Thissen, "Ägyptologische Randbemerkungen," 60; Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 95–98; cf. furthermore n. 66 above.

82 A mistake very common in Greek uncial, cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore n. 56 above and von Gutschmid's unnecessary conjecture Σότιχος (Gelzer, "Diorthose," 268).

83 Dreyer, "Der erste König," 34.

84 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 48–49; Ryholt, "Seneferka," 166–67.

85 Cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 176–78; Edel, "Vokalisation," 35; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, 128, II, 380, n. 56; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 154.

86 Perhaps a mistake in Greek uncial, which requires a partly damaged character in the *Vorlage*. Cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore n. 56 above.

87 Cf. Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 95, 349; cf. also n. 57 above.

← *Μεφχορής < *Νεφχορής).⁸⁸ Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes mentions this king as Μάρης, which again must be a truncated variant, as Wolfgang Helck⁸⁹ has pointed out. One may thus propose the development *Ναφχορής > *Μαφχορής → *Μασχορής⁹⁰ → Μά[σχο]ρης, and one may even suggest that the vowel -α- in Μα- is a last faint trace of pretonic *Nfr-* ~ **Nāf-*.⁹¹ The almost homophonous names Nebka(re) and Neferka(re)⁹² were perhaps the main reason for the rearrangement of the king's sequence with Nebka(re) placed before Djoser in the Abydos king-list and the Royal Canon of Turin.

Next Σώϋφις is mentioned, whom Helck⁹³ equated with Djoser by assuming that this name originated from a source different from that providing Τόσορθος. But there can be no doubt that Σώϋφις is a variant of Σοῦφις ~ Cheops as found in the Fourth Dynasty. This is furthermore corroborated by the fact that the eighth and ninth kings of Manetho's Third Dynasty, Σήφουρις and Κερφέρης, have already been recognized as Snefru and Chephren respectively.⁹⁴ Manetho has obviously included three kings in his Third Dynasty, whom he mentions a second time in his Fourth Dynasty. These entries will be considered below in the course of discussion of the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty.

Τοσέρτασις, the sixth king's name according to the Epitome in Africanus' version, obviously contains the element *Dsr*.⁹⁵ The second element -τασι- may be analyzed as a combination of -jt and -s?, both secondarily ascribed to the *nomen* of Djoser in the Royal Canon of Turin and the Abydos king-list respectively.

88 Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 20–21; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62; cf. also n. 57 above.

89 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 22–23.

90 As Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 23 stresses, Μάρης and Μοσχερῆς, the somewhat faulty rendering of Mycerinus (*Mn-k3.w-R'w*), share the same folk-etymological explanation ἡλιόδωρος “gift of the sun” (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* II, no. 244 F85; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 216–17). This is, however, only tenable if both names once looked very much the same or if they even were homophonous at a certain stage of the tradition (cf. n. 134 below).

91 Cf. Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 95, 349 and Clarysse, “Greek Accents”; differently, however, the explanation offered by Widmer, “Maâ-Rê.”

92 Seidlmayer, “Dynasty 3,” 120 suggests that *Nb-k3.R'w* and *Nfr-k3.R'w* are simply corruptions of *Nb-k3*, which is indeed possible in light of the interchangeability of unstressed *nfr-* ~ **nāf-* ~ **nēf-* and *nb-* ~ **nib-* ~ **nēb-* (with *b* ~ /β/, cf. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 135–37 and “Zur Aussprache des Beta”; Gundacker, “Etymology,” 75) from the time of the New Kingdom onwards (Krauss, *Ende der Amarnazeit*, 11; cf. for additional bibliographical references Gabolde, *D'Akhénatón*, 194–96; Breyer, *Ägypten und Anatolien*, 163–202).

93 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 23.

94 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 23; this has causelessly been doubted by von Beckerath, “IV. Dynastie,” II5, n. 12.

95 Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 236 proposed Τοσέρτασις to be the equivalent of Redjedef which was “modified to a form consonant with Τόσορθος,” which is extremely unlikely.

Τοσέρτασις is thus to be identified with Djoser, who actually should have been associated with the gloss mentioning Imhotep. Helck⁹⁶ pointed out that Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes mentions this king as Γοσορμίης, which certainly displays a scribal error *τ- → ρ-; ⁹⁷ Γοσορ- ← *Τοσορ- thus evidently resembles the element *Dśr*. The second element -μή- must therefore represent -τασι- or something similar, but the chain of corruption, which possibly involves multiple Hieratic (and perhaps Demotic) and Greek errors, is too complex to be uncovered.

"Αχης is usually identified with Huni,⁹⁸ and this is certainly correct. Huni's *nomen*,⁹⁹ the Old Kingdom attestations of which should probably be read *njśwt Hwj(w?)*,¹⁰⁰ conspicuously resembles the Greek form "Αχης, although some kind of corruption must have affected it (perhaps an *Akzentvariante* of a *nomen agentis*) "Αχης ← *Χαής ~ *Hāwwē < *Hūwwē ← *Hūwwē < *Hūwjāw ~ *Hwj(w)*, or alternatively "Αχης ← *Χαής ~ *Hāwē ← *Hāwē < *Hāwīj ~ *Hwj*).¹⁰¹ The equivalent of Huni in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes is Ἀνωϋφίς. If once more an interchange -χ- ~ -φ- is assumed, which furthermore may have been triggered by the name Σαῶφις a few lines later, *Ανωϋχίς may be explained as the result of a metathesis of the variant *Hwnj*, which had been in use since the Middle Kingdom at the latest: *Hwnj* ~ *Hāwānūj > *ēhwōnē > *āhwōnē ~ *Αχυῶνις → *Ανωϋχίς.¹⁰²

96 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 22–23; cf. already Gelzer "Diorthose," 268.

97 A mistake common in Greek uncial, cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte II*, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. also n. 56 above.

98 Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 23; Seidlmayer, "Dynasty 3," 117.

99 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 48–49.

100 Cf. for the ascertainment of this reading Borchardt, "König Huni?"; H. Schäfer, "König Huni"; Seidlmayer, "Dynasty 3," 122, n. 28. Other reading attempts must be viewed as failed: Goedicke, "Pharaoh *Ny-swth*"; Meltzer, "A reconsideration"; Barta, "Zum altägyptischen Namen des Königs Aches"; Helck, "Der Name des letzten Königs der 3. Dynastie." In Middle Egyptian, *hwj* "to beat, to strike" was partly replaced with an expanded formation *hwnj* "to beat, to strike" (cf. Sethe, *Das aegyptische Verbum II*, §§ 117.4, 683.6c; Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 83; *Wb III*, 49: 5–8). As it seems, this younger variant of the verb *hwj* intruded Huni's name in some lines of tradition.

101 *Nomina agentis* of the type *sūdmūw (type II.7) rather frequently display *Akzentvarianten*. Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung I*, 120–37, 176–83; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 154–58, 171–73 and "Ägyptische Nominalbildungstheorie."

102 There is, however, no reason to conjecture this name to Ἀνσοϋφίς, as was proposed by von Gutschmid (Gelzer, "Diorthose," 268). Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung I*, 184–92; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 173–75. Hypothetically, it is also feasible to interpret -ω- as the Greek rendering of Egyptian -w- (cf. Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 95) and

A major point not yet addressed is the totally distorted sequence of kings, which mixes up kings of the Third and Fourth Dynasties. This, however, can be explained as a mistake in the reading order of the entries of a double column (before the entry *Τόσορθρος ἡ Τύρεις ← *Τοσόρθορος ἡ Τύρεῖς was split up):¹⁰³

(a) (1) Νεχερωφής	ἔτη κη'	(b) (6) Τοσέρτασις	ἔτη ιθ'
(c) (2–3) *Τόσορθρος ἡ Τύρεις	ἔτη ζ	(d) (7) Ἀχης	ἔτη μβ'
(e) (4) Μέσωχρις	ἔτη ιζ	(f) (8) Σήφουρις	ἔτη λ'
(g) (5) Σώϋφις	ἔτη ις'	(h) (9) Κερφέρης	ἔτη κς'

Sequence (a)–(h) provides the original order of kings, sequence (1)–(9) provides the series found in Africanus' writings.

It is interesting that, according to this table, Μέσωχρις (Neferka) was placed at the very end of the Third Dynasty, but this is certainly due to the fact that one of the forerunners of Manetho learned about this name in a gloss. Neferka was left out in the Saqqara king-list; but in the Abydos king-list and in the Royal Canon of Turin, his name was replaced with degradations of the ancient Egyptian *terminus technicus* “*wśf*” “lost” of textual criticism, which was misinterpreted as the royal names *Śdś* (Abydos king-list) and *Hw-df3* (Royal Canon of Turin) respectively.¹⁰⁴ The Abydos king-list reintroduced the name *Nfr-k3-Rw* from a gloss *in margine* or another king-list, but dropped Huni instead. The reason for this was the erroneous preservation of the entry of “king” *Śdś*, which should have been replaced with *Nfr-k3-Rw*, and, furthermore, the effort of keeping a predefined number of kings. In Manetho's king-list, Μέσωχρις

-v- as that of Egyptian *-ś- under the influence of the Greek dialect of Cyrene (cf. Gundacker, “Etymology,” 66, n. 259; Dobias-Lalou, *Cyrène*, 24; cf. also n. 79 above and Clarysse, “Ethnic Diversity and Dialect”). Cf. furthermore Vergote, *Grammaire Copte* 1.1, § 38; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 205.

103 Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 79–80.

104 The text critical remark, which indicated a lacuna or a deteriorated and consequently illegible passage, read perhaps *śd wsf* (Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 14–16, 85) or *śd df3* (cf. Goedicke, “King *Hwdf3*”) “broken and (therefore) left out.” Written by means of an abbreviation, this *terminus technicus* was, on the one hand, misread as *hw-df3* “food and fare” and, on the other hand, as *śd śj* “it is broken.” Both these misreadings were then interpreted as kings' names. Cf. furthermore Fecht, “Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*,” 117; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 14–16; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 10–11 and “Turin King-List,” 147–48; cf. for textual criticism in ancient Egypt Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien* 1, 43–44; Goedicke, “King *Hwdf3*.”

(Neferka) is thus an addendum which was attached to the Third Dynasty after the correct position of this king had become unknown.

A comparable scenario may also be proposed for the section of the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes concerning the Third Dynasty:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|
| (a) (1) Μομχειρὶ | ἔτη οθ' | (c) (2) Στοῖχος | ἔτη σ' |
| (b) (3) Γοσορμίής | ἔτη λ' | (d) (4) Μάρης | ἔτη κς' |
| (e) (5) Ἀνωϋφίς | ἔτη κ' | | |

Although this suggestion could explain why Στοῖχος (Djoser-teti) and Γοσορμίής (Djoser-it-sa) switched positions, there remain reasonable doubts. Both reading sequences, the original order (a)–(e) as well as the faulty order (1)–(5), would thus end with Ἀνωϋφίς (Huni). But this constitutes a substantial difficulty, because the last line of this double column thus contained only a single entry. Although George Syncellus¹⁰⁵ states that this king-list covered only a single dynasty, it represents obviously a king-list comparable to that of Manetho, which originally consisted of more than one dynasty. It is thus appropriate to suppose that the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes once was organized in dynasties, which were given up for an unknown reason. If such a dynastic division once intervened between Ἀνωϋφίς and the first king of the Fourth Dynasty (Σίριος), the last line of the dynastic equivalent of the Third Dynasty according to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes would indeed have contained only a single king's name. This explanation remains, however, highly tentative, and one cannot exclude that the distorted sequence of kings is the result of some other kind of mistake in handing down this king-list.

4.2 *The Lengths of Reign*

The length of reign of 28 years ascribed to Νεχερωφής has probably been influenced by the figure given with Τοσέρτασις (19 years). In the Royal Canon of Turin, both kings are given 19 years, which were most likely the figures found by Manetho.¹⁰⁶ He then attributed to Τοσέρτασις 19 years, but varied the

¹⁰⁵ Jacoby, *FrHistGr* II, no. 244 F85; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 212–25.

¹⁰⁶ However, the fragments of the royal annals indicate that Djoser actually ruled 29 years (Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 53; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, “Royal Annals,” 23–24), which means the loss of a ten either already before the compilation of the Royal Canon of Turin or in the course of handing it down until the present copy was produced (Nineteenth Dynasty). The intentional addition of tens renders it extremely difficult to uncover the numbers found by Manetho and Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes. According to Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 81–83, the most common additions

figure for Νεχερωφής by adding a ten resulting in *29 years. An additional reason for doing so was perhaps the wish to avoid two identical figures in immediate sequence. After the erroneous misreading of the double column and the splitting up of the double entry *Τόσορθρος ἡ Τύρεις/*Τοσόρθορος ἡ Τύρεις, Africanus (or one of his immediate forerunners) created the new figure of 29 years for Τόσορθρος by copying Νεχερωφής' *29 years. Moreover, in order to preclude two identical figures directly following one another, he varied Νεχερωφής' *29 years to 28 years. This is fully in line with Μομχειρί who according to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes ruled 79 years, which of course must be seen as a figure intentionally raised by 60 (*19 → 79).¹⁰⁷ Γοσορμίης' 30 years are closely related to the 19 years of Manetho's Τοσέρτασις, if the addition of a ten and rounding up is accepted (*19 → *29 → 30).¹⁰⁸

Τύρεις' 7 years thus continue the original figure of the double entry *Τόσορθρος ἡ Τύρεις/*Τοσόρθορος ἡ Τύρεις, which also fits the entry of the Royal Canon of Turin (6 years ← *6 years, XY months, AB days, rounded up to 7 years). The entry of Στοῖχος, whose length of reign is numbered 6 years by Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, likewise mirrors that found in the Royal Canon of Turin (6 years ← *6 years, XY months, AB days, rounded down to 6 years, or with loss of months and days).

The length of reign of 17 years ascribed to Μέσωχρις appears like a duplicate of the preceding king's 7 years with the common addition of 10. But the Royal Canon of Turin confirms an original figure of 6 years, XY months, AB days rounded up to 7 years. This is furthermore corroborated by Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, who attributes 26 years to Μάρης, which can be identified as the result of the addition of 20 to an original figure of *6 years, XY months, AB days, disregarding the months and days.¹⁰⁹

'Αχγς' length of reign of 42 years is, however, certainly incorrect. Helck¹¹⁰ supposed that a deliberate alteration *24 → 42 was applied, but due to the numerical systems in use, this cannot be viewed as a simple case of transposed digits. With Greek numerals, this kind of modification remains a mystery, because there is no plausible explanation for the change *κ.Δ.' → τιμβ', be it

were 10, 20, and multiples of 20, which would allow for the determination of 19 years attributed to the first and second kings of the Third Dynasty (Νεχερωφής 19+10 = Μομχειρί 19+60 and Τοσέρτασις 19 = Γοσορμίης 19+10 > 30); cf. furthermore n. 280 below.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 56, 81–83; Fecht, "Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu Manetho," 121.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 55–56.

¹⁰⁹ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 55–56.

¹¹⁰ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 56; cf. Barta, "Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie," 21.

intentional or unintentional; but with Egyptian numerals, a psychological mistake may be held responsible for this kind of transposed digits. In view of that, two tens and four units (*24 ~ ፩፪፭፭) were erroneously changed to four tens and two units (42 ~ ፩፪፪፭). This scenario is confirmed by the figure found in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, who attributes to Ἀνωϋφίς 20 years. This figure is almost certainly an original *24 years, which lost its units due to a scribal error (*24 → 20).

5 The Fourth Manethonian Dynasty

5.1 *The Kings and Their Names*

The identification of all kings (with the exception of Θαμφθίς) belonging to this Manethonian Dynasty with those known from contemporaneous evidence is commonly accepted.¹¹¹ However, the exact phonological correspondence between Egyptian and Greek forms has not been described in detail.

According to the *communis opinio*, the first king of Manetho's Fourth Dynasty, Σῶρις, and the eighth king of Manetho's Third Dynasty, Σήφουρις, are to be identified with Snefru.¹¹² This has finally been corroborated by Jürgen Osing,¹¹³ who identified Šnfrw¹¹⁴ as a *nomen agentis* *Šānfāriūw thereby putting down the interpretation of a hypocoristic creation.¹¹⁵ Σῶρις has nevertheless been regarded a defective Greek rendering¹¹⁶ with loss of the hieroglyph “heart and windpipe” (Gardiner sign-list 25F). In light of the interchange of ρ, β, and Υ,¹¹⁷ and the inability of the Greek alphabet to denote properly the sound

¹¹¹ Cf., e.g., Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 24–24; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 156–59 and “Iv. Dynastie”; Spalinger, “Dated Texts”; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” “Contemporaneous Evidence,” and “System of Dating”; Verbrugge and Wickersham, *Berosos and Manetho*, 190–91.

¹¹² Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 23, 26; The duplicates found in Manetho's Third Dynasty are largely ignored, cf., e.g., von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 156–57; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 365, “Contemporaneous Evidence,” 128, and “System of Dating.”

¹¹³ Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 185; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 176; cf. already Vycichl, “Wie hieß”; Černý, “The True Form.” Cf. for the toponym *Asfnis* < *Hwt-Šnfrw* “domain of Snefru” n. 121 below.

¹¹⁴ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 52–53.

¹¹⁵ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen* (1st edition), 52; Graefe, “Reputation,” 260, n. 18.

¹¹⁶ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 28; Vycichl, “Wie hieß,” 126–27.

¹¹⁷ Cf., e.g., ^{S.F.Ak}ϙω ~ ^Σϐω ~ ^Σϐχω ~ ^Ιϐωϐε ~ ^Αλϙοϐε, etc. < *fj* “hair” Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 623a–623b; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 345; Černý, *Coptic Dictionary*, 265; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 280; cf. Gundacker, “Etymology,” 45.

/w/—which is left out or randomly rendered with ο, ω, υ, ου or γ—, Σώρις can be traced back to Snefru's name: *Śnfrw* ~ *Śānfāriūw > *Śnfārē > *Śefōrē > *Śwōrē.¹¹⁸ Σήφουρις (perhaps ← *Σέφουρις) is thus the expected Greek equivalent of *Śefōrē ~ *Śefurē;¹¹⁹ Σίριος, however, which is the variant given by Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, matches, on the one hand, the consonantal skeleton of Σώρις, but, on the other hand, its vowels seem to reflect some kind of folk-etymological reinterpretation.¹²⁰ Two of the three graecized forms of Snefru's name may thus be considered correct (Σήφουρις, Σώρις), the third, which cannot be explained by scribal errors, as intentionally altered (Σίριος).¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Cf. von Beckerath, "IV. Dynastie," 115: "... starke Kontraktion ..."

¹¹⁹ Cf. for the facultative sound change *(-)jō- > *(-)jū- Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, II; cf. for η as the Greek rendering of an Egyptian shwa-vowel Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 187–89; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 263–64, cf. for further references on the interchange η ~ ε known from Greek papyri n. 57 above; cf. also n. 121 below.

¹²⁰ The folk-etymological gloss (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* II, no. 244 F85; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 216–17) gives the explanation νίός κάρης ... ἀβάσκαντος “son of the iris (of the eye) ... [or] ‘of the unharmed (eye).’” The particular form Σίριος may thus have been reshaped after the theonym Osiris (in Greek rendering “Οστρις, Ωστρις, etc.”), because the explanatory interpretations of Σίριος plainly allude to the Osirian myths. Nevertheless one has to admit that Horus would fit both explanations even better. The date of origin of both these explanations is, however, undecided, but they should perhaps be regarded as the product of a late hierogrammateus or folk-etymologist. Cf. n. 134 below.

¹²¹ Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 95–101. There may be two more, somewhat dubitable testimonies concerning Snefru:

(1) The *Book of Sothis* (Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIIC, no. 609 F28; Waddell, *Manetho*, 234–35) is quoted for the first time by two Egyptian monks, Panodorus of Alexandria and Annianus of Alexandria (c. 400 ACE, Waddell, *Manetho*, 12, n. 1), who sought to synchronize Chaldean, Egyptian, and Biblical chronologies. Although the *Book of Sothis* lacks any dynastic divisions, it does give an account of kings in a roughly chronological sequence. The fourth king of this king-list, Σπάνιος, ἔτη λγ̄ “Spanios, 36 years,” is the only king of the Old Kingdom, although, immediately after him, two more were left out erroneously (perhaps Cheops and Chephren?). However, the lost context and the overall problematic nature of the *Book of Sothis* render it difficult to draw any further conclusions concerning the name and the figure of Σπάνιος, though this name bears a faint resemblance to Snefru in its consonantal skeleton. Indeed, the toponym *Hw.t-Śnfrw* ~ *Hāwāt-Śānfāriūw > *Hā-Śānfānă > *Hā-Śyānē > *Hā-Śfōnē ~ Asfnis ~ Ασφυνις (Calderini and Daris, *Dizionario* 1.2, 250; *Notitia dignitatum* § 40, Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum*, 63, s.v. Or xxxi 11 (40, 11); cf. Neira Faleiro, *Notitia dignitatum*; Kulikowski, “Notitia Dignitatum”; cf. also Sahidic cȝbwn, Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 480, and Arabic *Asfun il-Mata’(i)-na*, Peust, *Toponyme*, 12–13; cf. Černý, “The True Form”; Schenkel, “Hut-Snofru”) may be viewed as a piece of evidence in favor of this identification, because

Σπάνιος and *Asfynis* both underwent the sonorant shift *-n-r- > *-n-n- and the reduction *-n-n- > *-ə-n- (*cf.* for this kind of assimilatory and dissimilatory processes Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 13, n. 26; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 167; *cf.* nn. 79, 113–117 above).

- (2) The chronicle of John of Nikiu (*Carrié, Jean de Nikiou*), which was composed in the late 7th century ACE either in Greek with some chapters on Egyptian history written in Coptic (Zotenberg, *Chronique*, 6–7), or entirely in Coptic (Spalinger, *Epistolary*), may contain another mention of Snefru. The text is preserved in an Ethiopic translation from 1602 ACE, which was produced from an Arabic translation of the original. Currently, two manuscripts, now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, and in the British Museum, London (Zotenberg, *Chronique*, 8–9; Charles, *John, Bishop of Nikiu*, iv–v), and a portion of a Coptic papyrus, now in Berlin (Papyrus Berlin 9009, Charles, *John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 38–41; Jansen, *Coptic Story*; Spalinger, *Epistolary*), are known. Even though the chronicle has suffered from the loss of large portions and the distortion of names and passages, particularly in the last step from an obviously unpunctuated and incomplete Arabic copy to the Ethiopic version, it is nevertheless an important chronographical work. As far as the time between the two Persian dominations over Egypt (424–343 BCE) is concerned, all three manuscripts provide the following somewhat fantastic account (Charles, *John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 41):

“LI, 55. And there was an Egyptian who comforted (his people), a man of indefatigable energy, wise and virtuous, named Shenufi, which is by interpretation “good news”. 56. And this man was very vigilant in rebuilding the cities and villages and restoring the tillage of the land so that in a short time he rebuilt all the villages of Egypt. And he restored Egypt and made it as it had been before. And there was great prosperity in his days, and the Egyptians increased very much, and their cattle increased also. 57. And he reigned over them forty and eight years in happiness and peace because of the return of the Egyptians from captivity. And he went to rest full of honour. But before he died, he numbered the Egyptians, and their number was 500,000 men. 58. And after the death of Shenufi, the Egyptians remained for a long time without a king, but they paid taxes to the Persians and Assyrians at the same time. And they remained at peace till they appointed a second Pharaoh as king and paid the taxes to him.”

The setting of these events is of course unhistorical, and so are the events related, but the king's name and his reign of 48 years are remarkable. Graefe pointed out that φενογῷ/φεννογῷ resembles Snefru's name *Śnfrw* ~ *Śānfrāw (Graefe, “Reputation,” 261–63; *cf.* nn. 113–117 above), although one would expect *cēnqoyṛi/*cīnqoyṛi or, with a phonological development similar to that of *Asfynis*, *cēqoyṇi/*cīqoyṇi. But Snefru's name may have undergone a folk-etymological reinterpretation, *Śnfrw* ~ *Śānfrāw > *cēqoyṇi/*cīqoyṇi “benefactor” → φενογῷ/φεννογῷ “good things, good news” (the conditions for the assimilatory sound-change *s* > ś are not found in this instance, *cf.* Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 168). Whether this was founded on a metathesis, *e.g.*, *-qoyṇi → *-nōyṇi, or on a

The second king of Manetho's Fourth Dynasty is called Σοῦφις and is equated with Cheops in a gloss criticizing Herodotus. It is a well-known fact that Manetho intended to correct what he felt faulty in Herodotus' account of Egypt,¹²² but he was nevertheless strongly influenced by Herodotus.¹²³ This becomes particularly obvious in his account of the Fourth Dynasty, in which the three kings who built pyramids at Giza (Cheops, Chephren, Mycerinus) are grouped together, as is found for the first time in Herodotus' writings,¹²⁴ one may thus call these

rather loose association with τογχη “good” remains unclear. But this process was presumably advanced by the fact that *s*-causatives, which had not become lexicalized, were gradually replaced with analytic formations involving (*r*)*dj* “to give” from the Middle Kingdom onwards (*cf.* Schenkel, “*s*-Kausativa”) and that *snfr* “to make beautiful, perfect” had disappeared from the latest stages of the Egyptian-Coptic lexicon (*cf.* *Wb IV*, 163: 1–13; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 862).

Snefru's esteem is already manifest in graffiti found in the temple of his pyramid at Meidum (First Intermediate Period; Rowe, *Excavations*, 18–19; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 118–20; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 101) and in the stories of Papyrus Westcar (Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 115–17; *cf.* nn. 248–250 below), and he was styled an affable king entitled *njswt mnḥ* “beneficent king” (*Instruction for Kagemni*, Papyrus Prisse 11.8, Jéquier, *Papyrus Prisse*; Gardiner, “Instruction”; *Forecast of Neferty*, E 1; Helck, *Prophezeiung des Neferti*). This is very interesting because (*njswt*) *mnḥ* was translated as (βασιλεὺς) εὐεργέτης “beneficent (king)” in official Ptolemaic inscriptions (*cf.* Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 32), thus mirroring the literal meaning of Snefru's name, which certainly was the basis for his good reputation and for his abiding cultic veneration until the Graeco-Roman Period (Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 148–52; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 94). A common awareness of Snefru's benevolent nature probably outlasted the end of the pagan cult in popular stories (Graefe, “Reputation”). John of Nikiu must have used such popular stories which, to some extent, contained authentic information. For that reason, φενογχη/φεννογχη's length of reign of 48 years must be taken seriously, because, it can neither be explained as a round number (*e.g.*, 50) nor as a symbolic number (*e.g.*, $7 \times 7 = 49$). The chronicle of John of Nikiu may thus preserve further evidence for Snefru's reign lasting for 48 years. One has, however, to admit that this interpretation still lacks confirmation because Greek, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic numerals need to be checked for potential scribal errors (the text preserved gives the numbers written out in full, but this need not be true for all intermediate steps).

To conclude, the evidence of both these lines of tradition should be looked at with great caution until further investigation will allow for a more precise assessment (*cf.* Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 94, 97–98).

¹²² Cf. Mendels, “Polemical Character”; Burstein, “Images of Egypt,” 599–601.

¹²³ Cf. Dillery, “Manetho and Greek Historiography”; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 193–96.

¹²⁴ Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.124–35.

three kings, arranged in this particular order, the “Herodotean Giza-group.” Although the Manethonian gloss stresses that the Herodotean variant Χέοψ¹²⁵ is inferior to Manetho’s own, Σοῦφις, this is wrong. Hieroglyphic¹²⁶ *Hwj=f-wj* developed¹²⁷ **Hāwjāfwij* > **Hāwwāfwij* > **Hāwāfwē* > **Hēwōffē* ~ Χέοψ¹²⁸ but at the stage **Hāwāfwē*, the initial consonant *h* was palatalized in all Egyptian dialects except for Akhmimic.¹²⁹ This line of development can adequately explain not only Cheops’ name as mentioned in the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty, but also the variants found in the Third Manethonian Dynasty, Σώφις, and in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, Σαῶφις: **Hāwāfwē* > **Šāwāfwē* > **Šāwōfwē* ~ Σαῶφις > **Šēwōfwē* > **Šwōfwē* (> **Šōwfē*) ~ Σώφις ~ Σοῦφις.¹³⁰ The inability of ancient Greek to denote *w* properly renders it

¹²⁵ Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.124–27.

¹²⁶ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 52–53.

¹²⁷ Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 79; Quack, “Von *Hwj=f-wj-Hnmw* zu Cheops.”

¹²⁸ Cf. for the verbal form, either subjunctive *śdm=f* or perfective *śdm=f* (in gnomic usage), Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 139, 251, n. 356, 333; Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen*, § 25; Osing, *Papyrus BM 10808*, 32–36; Schenkel, *Einführung*, 112–13; cf. also Gundacker, “Etymology,” 57–58; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 111, 62–63.

¹²⁹ Cf. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, § 10; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 117–18, with n. 127.

¹³⁰ Cf. for this kind of *Umlaut* Satzinger, “Koptische Vokalphoneme.” Among the alchemical and Hermetic writings (*Χεμεντικά*) attributed to Zosimus of Panopolis (4th–5th centuries ACE, cf. Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Septuagint*, 275–90; Mertens, *Introduction*; Rémondon, *Résistance*; cf. von Lippman, *Entstehung*, 75–93; Lindsay, *Origins*), a book entitled Βίβλος ἀληθῆς Σοφὲ Αἴγυπτίου καὶ θείου Ἐβραίων κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων Σαβαῶθ. Ζωσίμου Θεβαίου μυστικὴ βίβλος “The True Book of Sophe, the Egyptian, and of the Hebrews’ Divine Lord of Powers Sabaoth. A Secret Book of Zosimus of Thebes” can be found (Berthelot, *Alchimistes Grecs* 11; Mertens, *Introduction*). There is a longstanding tradition to identify Σοφέ with Manetho’s Σοῦφις ~ Cheops (Berthelot, *Les origines*, 58, 158–59, 183 and *Alchimistes Grecs* 1, xvi, 27^b, n. 2, II, 205^b, n. 2; Mertens, *Introduction*, lxvii) and furthermore to equate the book of Σοφέ with ἡ ἱερὰ βίβλος “The Sacred Book” mentioned in the second part of the gloss on Σοῦφις ~ Cheops (Aufrère, “Manéthon de Sebennytos, médiateur,” 331–32). The available data is, however, insufficient for such a conclusion, especially if one considers that ἡ ἱερὰ βίβλος “The Sacred Book,” according to its title and the reason for which it was allegedly composed—Cheops’ penitence following his hubris towards the gods—is not at all expected to be an alchemical treatise. Whatever kind of book this might have been, it must anyway be viewed as a late, pseudopigraphic composition (cf. the anatomical treatise ascribed to king Ἀθωθῖς, cf. n. 316 below). One should also remember that the denigration of Cheops is simply an aetiological explanation, which originated from the enormous dimensions of his pyramid and which can already be found in Herodotus’ writings (Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.124–27, 133; cf. Zivie-Coché, “Nitocris”) and, in the 2nd millennium BCE, in the stories of Papyrus Westcar (cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer*

impossible to determine whether *Šwōwfē was reduced to *Šōwfē via some kind of labial dissimilation or not. In any case, Σώφις and Σοῦφις contained a diphthong *-ó̄u-, which was rendered *-ων- (→ -ώü-, the dieresis was added only secondarily by a Byzantine scribe when, after the diphthong -ων- had become highly uncommon, he introduced diacritics into the epitome) and *-ον- (→ -οῦ-, which, without a doubt, represents a misunderstanding based on the fact that the digraph -ον- had become a monophthong, *-u-, in Greek; one should thus expect *Σόψις as the properly graecized form).

The king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes adds this younger variant of Cheops' name (Σαώφις) together with the two other kings of

Könige, 159–61, 212; Hays, “Historicity”; Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*; Lepper, *Untersuchungen*; cf. n. 248 below). But besides this unfavorable view of Cheops, there existed also another line of tradition which knew Cheops as a pious and great king of the golden age (cf., e.g., the *Foundation Inscription* of the temple at Dendara explaining that the Ptolemaic structure is the renewal of a temple which was erected under Tuthmosis III in accordance with ancient scriptures from the time of Cheops, cf. PM VI, 90; Chassinat, Daumas, and Cauville, *Dendara VI*, 158–60, I73, pl. 583; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 189–92 (with additional examples); cf. also Burkard, “Frühgeschichte und Römerzeit”). It is thus imaginable that Zosimus attempted, on the one hand, to rehabilitate Cheops with his alchemical/Hermetic writings and, on the other hand, to provide his own treatise with an extraordinary authority. Furthermore, an openly anti-Judaeo-Christian tone adheres to the title of this book which belongs among the pagan reaction against Christianity triumphant (Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Septuagint*, 275–90; Rémondon, *Résistance*).

Σοφέ as such can indeed be explained as another correctly graecized form of Cheops' name, which was not included in a Greek inflectional pattern, as is shown by two remarkable features: On the one hand, Σοφέ displays the uncommon desinence -ε#, obviously the representation of a word-final *shwa*. It is noteworthy that this rendering corresponds exactly to the orthographic conventions of the Sahidic and Akhmimic dialects spoken in Upper Egypt near Zosimus' hometown Panopolis (Akhmim) (Shisha-Halevy, “Sahidic,” 196; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 253–54; Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, § 54; Kasser, “Akhmimic,” 22; cf. Till, *Achmîmisch*). On the other hand, the diphthong *-ó̄u- is simply rendered -ο-, which indicates a basically Sahidic dialect (perhaps with Akhmimic impact) and the common Greek problems in denoting Egyptian *w* (or is this an instance of the so-called Akhmimic monophthongization *-á̄u- > *-ό-? cf. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 239; Lacau, *Études* 1, 121–29; Osing, *Nominalbildung* II, 386, n. 73). But simple -ο- was perhaps chosen intentionally on grounds of a learned allusion (Aufrière, “Manéthon de Sebennytos, médiateur,” 331–32 [with nn. 59–62]) between Σοφέ and Greek σοφός “skilled, wise” (cf. also Σαώφις in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes and σωφρών ~ σαοφρών “wise, mentally sound,” Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, 1622, 1751–52). Because of its overall appearance, Σοφέ must belong to an independent line of tradition. Its actual orthography renders it furthermore likely that Σοφέ was graecized by an Upper Egyptian writer, perhaps even by Zosimus himself.

the “Herodotean Giza-group” towards the end of the Fourth Dynasty, Cheops being the third from last. Consequently, Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus were removed from their proper places, but there remained one highly important trace. While nothing is left of Chephren’s original entry, Σίριος is followed by Χνοῦβος ἢ Γνεῦρος. This certainly reflects the first element of Cheops’ full name¹³¹ *Hwj=f-wj-Hnmw*, and Χνοῦβος is in fact a perfect rendering of the theonym Chnum¹³² *Hnmw* ~ **Hānāmūw* with the dissimilation of *m* to *b* in the neighborhood of *n*.¹³³ It is uncertain how Γνεῦρος has come into being, but it may be some kind of corruption of Χνοῦβος.¹³⁴ A variant similar to this, Χέμμις, is found with Diodorus Siculus,¹³⁵ whose account, in part, can be traced back to Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera. In this respect, Hecataeus of Abdera is independent from Herodotus and apparently relies on different Egyptian sources which are possibly related to those reflected in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, Χέμμις is not an accurate

¹³¹ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 52–53.

¹³² Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 184–92; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 173–75.

¹³³ Cf. especially Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 166.

¹³⁴ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 26; Γνεῦρος perhaps suffered from the following misspellings in Greek uncials: ε ← o and π ← β (maybe involving a damaged character in the *Vorlage*, cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*, 13–14; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. n. 56 above); initial Γ- instead of X- may be the result of some kind of phonological confusion γ ~ /γ/ ← χ ~ /χ/ (cf. already Gelzer, “Diorthose,” 268; Mayser, *Grammatik* I, 167–68; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, 141, 145; cf. also Gignac, *Grammar*; Teodorsson, *Phonology*; Niehoff-Panagiotidis, *Koine und Diglossie*). The folk-etymological gloss Χρύστης <ἢ> Χρύσου νίός “Golden One” <or> ‘son of the Golden One’ (cf. for alternative conjectures Bunsen, *Weltgeschichte* II, 76–77; Waddell, *Manetho*, 218) corroborates this and even indicates that Γνεῦρος came into being after the glosses had been added (5th century ACE?). These glosses are the product of hierogrammateis or folk-etymologists, who perhaps worked even without hieroglyphs: the explanation given for Χνοῦβος/Γνεῦρος ignores the initial consonant and solely depends on a superficial homoeophony with S.B.A.L.F.OcΝΟΥΒ < *nābāw ~ nbw “gold,” Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 221b–222a; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 119; Černý, *Coptic Dictionary*, 106; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 139–40; cf. Gundacker, “Etymology” 65, n. 249; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 216; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 181–82). The king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes in its final version must have been compiled from two manuscripts representing different lines of tradition independent from one another, one providing Χνοῦβος, the other corrupted Γνεῦρος.

¹³⁵ Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus* I, 214–15, s.v. 1.63.2; cf. Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 264 F25.

¹³⁶ Burstein, “Hecataeus of Abdera,” 46–48; Burton, *Diodorus Siculus*, 25–29, 187; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 497.

rendering, but it appears to be confused or, at least, contaminated with the town name (*J*ȝ_ȝ*bjt* ~ **J*ȝȝ_ȝ*-bajit* > **ḥé-bé* ~ (**X*ȝ_ȝ*βις* and, with a different development of the consonant cluster in the compositional join, > **ḥéw-bé* > **ḥéb-bé* > **ḥém-bé* ~ *Χέμβις* > **ḥém-mé* ~ *Χέμμις*).¹³⁷

The second king called Σοῦφις, the third king of the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty, is Manetho's equivalent for Chephren. This king is mentioned as Κερφέρης in the Third Manethonian Dynasty and as Σαῶφις β' in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes. Herodotus calls him Χεφρήν,¹³⁸ Diodorus Siculus—relying on Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera—Κεφρήν and Χαβρύης.¹³⁹ These six names can be assigned to two groups: Σοῦφις and Σαῶφις display the same palatalization as does Σοῦφις (Cheops), whose name must have served as a model for reshaping Chephren's name.¹⁴⁰ One may suppose that in *H*ȝ=f*R*ȝ*w* ~ *H*āȝāf-*R*ȝ*ūw*¹⁴¹ the theonym *R*ȝ*w* was replaced with *wj* on the model of Cheops' name, possibly after the initial consonant had been palatalized:¹⁴² **H*āȝāf-*R*ȝ*ūw* > **H*āȝāf-*R*ȝ*ē* > **Śāȝāf-R*ȝ*ē* → **Śēȝ-f-wē* ~ Σαῶφις > **Ś(ȝ)ōwf-ē* ~ Σοῦφις. Κερφέρης, Χεφρήν/Κεφρήν and Χαβρύης are excellent renderings of the unchanged name *H*ȝ=f*R*ȝ*w* ~ **H*āȝāf-*R*ȝ*ūw* > **H*āȝāf-*R*ȝ*ē* > **H*ēȝāf-*R*ȝ*ē* > **H*(ȝ)āf-*R*ȝ*ē* ~ Χαβρύης¹⁴³ > **H*(ȝ)āf-*R*ȝ*ē* ~ Χεφρήν/Κεφρήν. Κερφέρης seems irregular, but it simply displays the rare and facultative sound change ‘ > r¹⁴⁴ and the development of an anaptyctic vowel: **H*ēȝāf-*R*ȝ*ē* > **H*ērfe-*R*ȝ*ē* ~ Κερφέρης.

¹³⁷ Cf. the detailed analysis in Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 49–53; cf. also Gundacker, *Studien* 1, 196–209 and Peust, *Toponyme*, 16 (with additional references); cf. for the Greek variants Herodotus II.91, 156 (cf. Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.91, 156), Stephanus of Byzantium (cf. Meineke, *Ethnicorum*, 690–91; Billerbeck, *Ethnica* v), and Egyptian personal names rendered with Greek characters (e.g., Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 58, 312; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* 1, 56; cf. also Spiegelberg, “Varia,” 181–82).

¹³⁸ Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.127–28.

¹³⁹ Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus* 1, 218–19, s.v. I.64.1; cf. Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 264 F25.

¹⁴⁰ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 54–55; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, III, 63–64, 74.

¹⁴¹ Cf. for the verbal form, either subjunctive *śdm=f* or perfective *śdm=f* (in gnomic usage), Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 139, 251, n. 356, 333; Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen*, § 25; Osing, *Papyrus BM* 10808, 32–36; Schenkel, *Einführung*, 112–13; cf. also Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 20–21; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62.

¹⁴² Cf. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, § 10; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 117–18, with n. 127.

¹⁴³ Cf. for the interchange of *f* and *b* n. 117 above, cf. for Greek *v* ~ **ü* as rendering of Egyptian **i* ~ **i* Peust, “Zur Herkunft des Koptischen *Η*,” 123–24; Gundacker *Studien* 1, 120 and “Etymology,” 66, n. 259; cf. nn. 57, 79 above.

¹⁴⁴ Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 106.

The fourth king of Manetho's Fourth Dynasty is Μεγχέρης, whom Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes calls Μοσχερῆς. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus (once more relying on Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera) call this king equivocally Μυκερῖνος, although Diodorus Siculus explicitly refers to a variant Μεγχέρινος. Μυκερῖνος is a very accurate Greek rendering of Egyptian¹⁴⁵ *Mn-kē-Rīc< *Mēn-kē-Rīc< *Min-kūw-Rīcē< *Mīn-kūžāw-Rīcūw~Mn-kȝ.w-Rȝw.¹⁴⁶ Μεγχέρης and Μεγχέρινος represent a somewhat younger Egyptian variant *Mēn-kē-Réc< *Mēn-kē-Rīc< *Mȝ-kē-Rīc. Μοσχερῆς is actually closely related to Μεγχέρης,¹⁴⁷ but it renders the syllabic nasal *-ȝ- or some kind of *shwa*-vowel with -o-¹⁴⁸ instead of -e-; the theonym Rȝw also appears in its younger variant *Réc. The most obvious difference between Μοσχερῆς and all other graecized forms of Mycerinus' name is -σ- in place of -γ-, which can be explained only as a scribal error (*Γ → Σ/C).¹⁴⁹ Μενχέρης, as is provided by the manuscripts in place of Μεγχέρης, displays either a *lapsus calami* which occurred in Byzantine minuscule in the time of George Syncellus or even later (*-γ- → -ν-), or it continues a spelling often found in ancient papyri.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 81–84, 176–78; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, 127, II, 380, n. 56; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 89, 162; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62; cf. for the tentative plural form kȝ.w ~ *kūžāw Gundacker, *Studien* I, II9, n. 778; cf. for this kind of plural formation Osing, *Nominalbildung* II, 419–21, n. 93, 498–99, n. 198; Schenkel, *Aus der Arbeit*, 205–08, 211–13 and the improvements proposed by Quack, "Gebrochene Plurale," 547–48; Peust, *Toponyme*, 76; cf. nn. 68 above, 167 below.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. for a possible confusion of Bocchoris and Mycerinus Möller, "Zu Herodots ägyptischen Geschichten," 76–77; Wallinga, "The Structure"; cf. Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.129–33, 136.

¹⁴⁷ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 54–55; cf. for Greek υ as rendering of Egyptian *shwa*-vowels Gundacker, *Studien* I, II9.

¹⁴⁸ Gundacker, *Studien* I, 141.

¹⁴⁹ The most likely candidate is a character looking like an angular variant of C, i.e., a transitional variant between the classical and monumental Σ and its younger and simplified variant C typical for Greek papyri. This error must have occurred in an individual hand producing rather angular uncial characters (typical for the 4th–3rd centuries BCE). Cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*, 13–14; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. also n. 56 above.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*; cf. furthermore n. 56 above.

Next, Manetho mentions ‘Πατοίσης, whom Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes calls Παῦωσις. Both these names are correct renderings of Egyptian $R^w\text{-}jdd=f$ ~ * $Ri^c\text{-}uw\text{-}jādādāf$ ¹⁵¹ * $Ri^c\text{-}dādāf$ ¹⁵² > * $Rē\text{-}dādāf$ > * $Rā\text{-}dōdēf$ ~

¹⁵¹ Alternatively, the *verbūm IIiae infirmae ddj* “to endure, to last” (cf. *Wb* v, 628: 6–629: 12; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 1094; Allen, *Inflection*, § 738) may have switched from one verbal class (*verbūm IIiae infirmae*) into another (*verbūm biradicale*) by the time of the New Kingdom triggered by the *verbūm biradicale dd* “to say” (cf. *Wb* v, 618: 9–625: 2; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 1092–93), which dropped its word-final consonant *dd* > *d*, possibly because of some kind of dissimilation (Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, 47; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 85, n. 72, 156–57; cf. Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 201, 270, 285, n. 419). As a result, *dd* “to say” became a *verbūm IIae infirmae* (this change of verbal classes was, however, insignificant). Original *ddj* > *ddj* “to endure, to last” thus may have become a *verbūm biradicale dd*, which finally was introduced into the name of Redjedef ($R^w\text{-}ddj=f$ ~ * $Ri^c\text{-}uw\text{-}dādājāf$ → $R^w\text{-}dd=f$ ~ * $Ri^c\text{-}uw\text{-}dādāf$ > * $Rā\text{-}dōdēf$ ~ * Pātωtīs). Then, one would have to conclude that Redjedef’s name did not belong among those which were in persistent use as self-contained and stable forms in a constant *Aussprachetradition* (cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 193–99; Aufrère, “Remarques”) as can be proven for Snefru (cf. the toponym *Hwt-Śnfrw* ~ **Hāwāt-Śānfāriw* > *Asfynis*, (Černý, “The True Form”; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 96–97; cf. n. 121 above), and for Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus, the kings of the “Herodotean Giza-group” (Brunner, “Zur Aussprache”). All of them—including Redjedef (cf., e.g., his role in Papyrus Westcar, Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 17–18, n. 32)—were venerated until the latest stages of Egyptian history (cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*; Zivie-Coché, *Giza*, 136–71), which strongly speaks in favor of an uninterrupted *Aussprachetradition*. This is corroborated by the fact that it was the names of rather unfamiliar kings which suffered from significant misreading already in Hieratic or Demotic king-lists (Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, *passim*; Fecht, “Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu Manetho”). Cf. for the remains of Demotic king-lists Quack, “Papyrus CtYBR”; Ryholt “Egyptian Historical Literature”; and for Greek (Christian) king-lists Popko and Rücker, “Königsliste”; Colomo, et al., “Die älteste Weltchronik”; Weiß, “Weltchronik”; Bilabel, *Griechische Papyri* (s.v. *Papyrus Baden* 4, no. 59); cf. also the next note.

¹⁵² Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 52–53. It is remarkable that the names Chephren and Redjedef do not belong to the same grammatical pattern. One should therefore accept that both patterns—*theonym*—śdm=fcircumstantial (e.g., Ranke, *Personennamen* II, 257–58; Schweitzer, *Schrift und Sprache*, §§ 332, 413) and śdm=fsubjunctive/perfective—*theonym* (e.g., Brunner, “Zur Aussprache”; Schenkel, *Tübinger Einführung*, 342–43)—were in use at the same time. Redjedef’s name in its preserved form is hence either a late *Neubildung* or it is the constant *Aussprachetradition* of this name, which was sufficient for preserving the grammatical pattern. The former is, however, highly improbable because the pattern *theonym*—śdm=fcircumstantial was no longer productive in the late 2nd and 1st millennia BCE, and royal names starting with the theonym *R^w* were furthermore exceptionally rare (cf., e.g., Fecht, “Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu Manetho,” 119). Consequently, one should expect that a name without a longstanding *Aussprache*-

*Πάτωτις, whereby the loss of an Egyptian word-final labial immediately before the Greek inflectional ending -ς is not uncommon.¹⁵³ In *Πάτωτις, the consonantal sequence -τ-τ- was dissimilated to -τ-σ-, thus providing *Πάτωτις, which was possibly endorsed by the Greek aversion (typical for Attic-Ionic and the Koine) against *-ti- (regularly *-ti- > *-si-). In addition, *Πάτωτις suffered from the misspelling *-ω- → -οι- and from an itacistic scribal error *-ις → -ης, which was perhaps triggered by Mycerinus' and Baka's names ending with (*)-ρης.¹⁵⁴ In another line of tradition, *Πάτωτις was affected by the mistake *-τ- → -γ-¹⁵⁵ thus producing Pseudo-Apollodorus'/Pseudo-Eratosthenes' variant Παῦωσις.

According to Manetho, the fifth king of the Fourth Dynasty was called Βίχερις; Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes gives the variant Βιῦρης. Either of these forms can be traced back to Egyptian¹⁵⁶ *B3-k3=j*, to which, again, the theonym *Rw* was added (*B3-k3=j* → *B3-k3-Rw*). One may thus reconstruct the following development:¹⁵⁷ *B3-k3-Rw* ~ **Bi3-kā3-Rī'uw* > **Bi3-kō3-Rī'ē* > **Bi3-kō-Rī'* > **Bi3-kō-Rē'* ~ **Bixóρης*. Accordingly, Manetho's Βίχερις shows only

tradition was integrated into a recent, productive, and commonly acknowledged pattern. The name *Rw-jdd=f* should thus have been transformed to *Dd(j)=f-Rw*, e.g., by analogy to the more common name *Hj=f-Rw*, but this did not happen. For the vocalization of Redjedef's name and of the circumstantial *śdm=f*, cf. the personal name *Nb=j-wnn=f* as preserved in the toponym *T3-hw.t-(nj.t-)nb=j-wnn=f* > Θυναβουνου, wherein *-nb=j-wnn=f* may be reconstructed as *-*nib(w)y-wānānāf* > -ναβουνου (Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 139, n. 231, 153, n. 257, 398, n. 452; Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen*, § 25; Schenkel, "Zur Formenbildung" and *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 89; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, 127 and Tebtunis Papyri I, 62; cf. also Quack, "Über die mit 'nh gebildeten Namenstypen"; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–362; cf. also n. 251 below).

¹⁵³ Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 139, n. 231; Gundacker, *Studien* I, 56, n. 307.

¹⁵⁴ Redford's emphatic statement (Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 237, n. 24) that "Πατοίσης is not Redjedef" is thus simply wrong.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. for these mistakes, which are typical for Greek uncial, West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore n. 56 above and the conjecture proposed by von Gutschmid (Gelzer, "Diorthose," 269).

¹⁵⁶ The reading of the first sign of this name, which was found in the step pyramid at Zawyet el-Aryan (PM III.1, 313; Barsanti, "Zaouiét el-Aryān"; Lauer, "Sur l'âge"; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *Piramidi menfite* v, 10–40), is, extremely controversial: concerning the "stork" (Gardiner sign-list G29) proposed by von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 54–55 and *Chronologie*, 158, numerous alternative readings have been suggested; cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 211–12; Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," 380; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 64, n. 229; Theis, "Zu den an der Pyramide Lepsius."

¹⁵⁷ Cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 150–54, 176–78; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, 11, 380, n. 56; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62. Cf. for the addition of the theonym *Rw* Ryholt, "Seneferka," 166–67; cf. also n. 68 above, and nn. 165 and 167 below.

the replacement of the singular *-χο- with the plural *-χε- and an itacistic error which affected the word-final theonym -ρις ← *-ρης. The form preserved in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes may have suffered from some kind of misspelling, possibly *-x- → -γ-,¹⁵⁸ and the loss of a vowel (*Βιχόρης/*Βιχέρης → *Βιυόρης/*Βιυέρης → Βιύρης). It is, however, more likely that *Βιχόρης/*Βιχέρης was contaminated with the name of prince Baufre (*Bȝw=f-Rȝw*), who in some lines of popular tradition¹⁵⁹—as reflected in a graffito found in the Wadi Hammamat¹⁶⁰—was considered a king. The name of Baufre should have developed as follows: *Bȝw=f-Rȝw* ~ **Bȝwȝf-Rȝcȝw* > **Bȝwȝf-Rȝcȝē* > **Bȝwf-Rȝcē* > **Bȝff-Rȝcē* ~ *Βίφρης ~ Βιύρης.¹⁶¹ It is thus plausible that the list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes was compiled from an Egyptian source which either was influenced by some such popular tradition and thus had amalgamated the historical Baka and “king” Baufre or which, perhaps, had replaced the name of king Baka (→ Bakare) with that of prince Baufre.¹⁶²

The penultimate king of the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty is Σεβερχέρης, whom Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes omitted. The hieroglyphic equivalent is Špss-kȝ=f,¹⁶³ which must have undergone a process of analogical alignment. Thereby, the suffix pronoun =f was replaced with the theonym *Rȝw* similar to the addition of this element¹⁶⁴ found with other names of the Third and Fourth Dynasties.¹⁶⁵ One may therefore propose that Shepseskaf’s name developed¹⁶⁶ Špss-kȝ=f → Špss-kȝ-*Rȝw* ~ *Šupsis-kȝ-*Rȝcȝw* > *Šupsis-kȝ-*Rȝcȝē* >

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Fecht, “Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu Manetho,” 119.

¹⁵⁹ Prince Baufre, whose name was reshaped from *Rȝw-bȝ=f* (Ranke, *Personennamen* II, 257–58), also appears among the storytellers in Papyrus Westcar (cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 159–61; Hays, “Historicity”; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 17–18, n. 32; cf. Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*; Lepper, *Untersuchungen*).

¹⁶⁰ Drioton, “Liste des rois.”

¹⁶¹ Cf. for the individual elements’ vocalization Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, 90, II, 380, n. 56; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62; Smith, *Papyrus BM 10507*, 119; Gundacker, “Etymology,” 44; cf. for the interchange of f and w n. 117 above.

¹⁶² Cf. Excursus II and section 6 below.

¹⁶³ Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 54–55.

¹⁶⁴ Von Beckerath, “IV. Dynastie,” 115; Ryholt, “Turin King-List,” 149 and “Seneferka,” 166–67.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Ryholt, “Seneferka,” 166–67. This may be explained as a process covering two phases: First, to the bipartite names was added the theonym *Rȝw*, and second, suffix pronouns, which referred to Re anyway, were also replaced with the theonym *Rȝw*.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 176–78; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, II, 380, n. 56; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 89; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62. The vowel pattern chosen for Špss ~ *Šupsis is extremely tentative and selected only by analogy to the semantically identical and closely related adjective Špȝj ~ *Šupsȝj, which later even may have replaced Špss; cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 150; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 159.

*Šepšēš-*kō-Rē* ~ *Σεψεσχόρης (or perhaps a simplified variant *Šepš-*kō-Rē* ~ *Σεψχόρης). The outcome of this development was perhaps reshaped via the analogical replacement of the singular *-χο- with the plural *-χε-,¹⁶⁷ simplified via the dissimilatory loss of one of the three consonants -σ-, and finally affected by some kind of scribal error *-c- → -p-.¹⁶⁸ As a result, Špss-*k3=f* → Špss-*k3-Rw* > *Σεψεσχόρης was thus transformed to Σεβερχέρης as is preserved.¹⁶⁹

Manetho's Fourth Dynasty includes yet another king, whom he calls Θαμφθίς; Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes knows of no such king. Due to the lack of hieroglyphic equivalents, this name can only be interpreted conjecturally. The most promising interpretation proposed to date is certainly *Ddj=f-Pth*,¹⁷⁰ although Ptah is hardly ever attested prior to the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁷¹ If this interpretation is correct, one may propose the following development:¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ Cf. nn. 68 and 145 above. One should also remember the fluctuation of ε and ο in Greek transcriptions in order to denote Egyptian shwa-vowels (Lacau, *Études* 1, 131–36) and the common scribal error ε ~ ο (cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore n. 56 above).

¹⁶⁸ Could this be viewed as a slip of memory, which occurred by way of shifting boundaries of some kind of a makeshift segmentation in order to memorize this name in the process of copying the *Aegyptiaca* or the Epitome *Σεψεσ-χερής → Σεβ-ερχέρης?

¹⁶⁹ It is instructive to point to king Shepseskare (Fifth Dynasty), whose name Špss-*k3-Rw* should also have resulted in *Σεψεσχόρης or—with preservation of *-λ- or homogenization of unstressed vowels (especially *-ι- and *-ϋ-) in the neighborhood of sibilants (cf. Fecht, *Wortakzent*, 248, n. 382; Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 14, II, 386, n. 72, 880–81 (Nachtrag zu n. 163); Schenkel, *Einführung*, 88)—in *Σιψισχόρης, which was similarly truncated to *Σισχόρης → Σισφῆς according to Fecht, “Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu Manetho,” 119. Cf. also the truncation which affected the name of Djoser-teti: Τόσορθρος ← *Τοσόρθορος (cf. section 3.1 and, in particular, n. 75 above).

¹⁷⁰ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 244–46; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* 1, 66; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 212; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 25; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159 and “IV. Dynastie,” 116; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 75; In this name, *ddj* “to endure, last” is much more appealing for semantic reasons than *dd* “to say” (cf. *Wb* v, 618: 9–625: 2, 628: 6–629: 12; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 1092–94; Allen, *Inflection*, §§ 728, 738). As opposed to Redjedef’s name, Djedefptah’s name looks like a late *Neubildung*; cf. n. 175 and Excursus II below. Differently O’Mara, who interpreted Θαμφθίς as the regular rendering of *Rw-jdd=f* (O’Mara, “Manetho and the Turin Canon,” 59), but this is in open contradiction to all the linguistic data available.

¹⁷¹ Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 141.

¹⁷² Cf. for the individual elements’ vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 139, 251, n. 356, 333; Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen*, § 25; Osing, *Papyrus BM 10808*, 32–36 and *Nominalbildung* 1, 156; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 165 and *Einführung*, 112–13.

(*)*Ddj=f-Pth* ~ **Dvdjif-Pitāḥ* > **Dvdif-Pitāḥ* > **Dădippitāḥ* > **Dădiptāḥ* ~ *Θατιφθαῖς.¹⁷³ Most probably, this was corrupted by several scribal errors,¹⁷⁴ but all attempts to explain Manetho's Θαμφθίς in greater detail¹⁷⁵ remain highly tentative.¹⁷⁶

5.2 *The Lengths of Reigns*

The highest contemporaneous dates from Snefru's reign belong to his 24th census (*rnp.t sp 24*).¹⁷⁷ From the notoriously underrepresented odd years

¹⁷³ Cf. for the Greek practice of rendering word-final -h# with -ι(-) Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 30, n. 58. The initial Θ- is, however, irregular—one would expect T- instead; perhaps some kind of assimilation *T- → Θ-, which was triggered by *-φθαῖς → -φθίς (cf. n. 175 below), operated. Cf. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 79–90; Schenkel, “Ist Mythos,” 554–55; Gignac, “Pronunciation,” 196–97.

¹⁷⁴ West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore n. 56 above.

¹⁷⁵ First, -τι- was perhaps misunderstood as -ι- (*Θατιφθαῖς → *Θαμφθαῖς), and second, the word-final group -αιc# was misread as -cc#, which in Greek is not possible in word-final position and was thus immediately conjectured to -ic# (*Θαμφθαῖς → *Θαμφθαῖς [sic] → Θαμφθίς). Alternatively, and more plausibly, a copyist may have interpreted -αις# as a misplaced and faulty dative plural ending, because the only other kings' names ending with -αις# (cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 28–35, 102–03, 108–09, 112–13, 116–19; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F2–F3) are Οὐσαφαῖς (Den) in the First Dynasty and Ἀρμαῖς (Haremhab) in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Both of them suffered from scribal errors: Οὐσαφαῖς was misspelled Οὐσαφαῆς in one of the manuscripts transmitting Eusebius' version, and it was erroneously replaced with the genitive Οὐσαφαῖδος in Africanus' version; Ἀρμαῖς was misspelled Ἀρμεσῖς in Africanus' version. This clearly indicates that names ending with -αις# were easily affected by mistakes in the course of textual transmission. Word-final -αις# was therefore probably reshaped in order to form an unambiguous nominative via eradication of -α- (-αις# → -ις#).

One should also remember that *Ddj=f-Pth* is certainly a late replacement of an earlier **Pth-jdd=f*, which, perhaps during the New Kingdom (early Ramesside Period?), was created in order to replace the name of *Hrw-jdd=f* in the king-lists of the Memphite tradition. Both **Pth-jdd=f* and *Hrw-jdd=f* may thus be expected in the Saqqara king-list (cf. *Excursus II* below). Whereas *Hrw-jdd=f* was a name in constant *Aussprachetradition* because of the famous instruction circulating under this name (cf. nn. 151–152 above, and 222, 242, 253 below), **Pth-jdd=f* obviously was not. It was thus replaced by a younger substitute which was created in the course of handing down the Egyptian king-lists (cf. nn. 151–152 and 159 above, 251 and 259 below).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. for implicit hints favoring the explanation given in the preceding note section 6 below.

¹⁷⁷ All of them were found at the Red Pyramid; cf. LD—Text I, 206; Stadelmann, “Länge der Regierung Snofrus,” 234–35, 240; Sourouzian, “Marques et Graffiti,” 389–90; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 54–56. Cf. also Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 367, “Contemporaneous Evidence,” 130, and “System of Dating,” 26.

(*rnp.t m-ht sp*), six are unambiguously attested.¹⁷⁸ Because of the fact that it is unknown when Snefru carried out his first cattle count—in the year of his accession (*rnp.t sm3-T3.wj*, for chronological purposes, this is year “0” of his reign),¹⁷⁹ in his first, or in his second complete year—, every attempt to reconstruct the length of his reign remains somewhat precarious. One must also keep in mind the possible slip of an odd year between Snefru’s 7th and 8th census as the Palermo Stone might implicate. Furthermore, it is undecided whether Snefru’s *rnp.t sm3-T3.wj* “Year of the unification of the Two Lands” and his year of death, which of course remained incomplete, were calculated accurately and converted into years, months and days, or whether only the accession year, or both his accession and last years, were dropped, or whether either of them was counted as if they were complete years of their own. There is thus a range of several years which cannot even be estimated.

On the basis of the contemporaneous data, it is at least possible to propose a simplified approximation of 24 census-cycles corresponding to almost 48 years.¹⁸⁰ The 29 years found in the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty are usually

¹⁷⁸ These are: *rnp.t m-ht sp* 6 (Palermo Stone, recto vi.2, cf. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, fig. 1; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 9–10), *rnp.t m-ht sp* 10 (a graffito from the pyramid at Meidum, cf. Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti,” 20, pl. 8 A.30; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 39), *rnp.t m-ht sp* 13 (a graffito from the pyramid at Meidum, cf. Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti,” pl. 8 A.32; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 41), *rnp.t m-ht sp* 15 (a graffito from the pyramid at Meidum, cf. Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III*, 9, pl. V.6; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 42–43), *rnp.t m-ht sp* 16 (a graffito from the pyramid at Meidum, cf. Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti,” 20, pl. 7 A.3; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 43), and *rnp.t m-ht sp* 18 (a graffito from the pyramid at Meidum, cf. Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti,” pl. 8 A.28; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 45).

¹⁷⁹ This is actually attested for the reign of Merenre (Sixth Dynasty; Baud and Dobrev, “De nouvelles annales,” 47), but the inscription is so badly worn that it is impossible to deduce whether this was counted as the first census or whether it was given some special name (e.g., *tnw.t (rnp.t) sm3-T3.wj* “counting [scil. of cattle, etc.] (of the year?) of the unification of the Two Lands”). Unfortunately, this event is only known from this annalistic record: *rnp.t sm3-T3.wj tnw.t jh.w* “Year of the unification of the Two Lands, counting of cattle” (This may, however, be viewed as a piece of evidence in favor of some kind of a special name for the census in the year of accession, because it lacks an ordinal number!). The first complete year of Merenre’s reign may thus have been his *rnp.t m-ht sp* 1 “Year after the first occurrence”; but if the census of his accession year was not counted as the first of his reign, it may have borne some special name hitherto unattested, e.g., **rnp.t m-ht sm3-T3.wj* “Year after the unification of the Two Lands” (Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 321; cf. Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, “Royal Annals,” 24).

¹⁸⁰ Cf., e.g., Stadelmann, “Länge der Regierung Snofrus”; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 373–75.

explained as the result of a Greek scribal error $\kappa\theta' \leftarrow * \kappa\epsilon'$ ~ 25 years.¹⁸¹ These 25 years are probably the result of an original *24 years, XY months, and AB days via rounding up, but in this case, of course, the “years” are simply unconverted census-cycles (maybe from a misunderstood date of death). It is remarkable that this is exactly the figure found in the Royal Canon of Turin.

According to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, Σίριος’ reign lasted 18 years, which does not fit the evidence found in the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty. The units make these 18 years suspect of being the result of an intentional reduction *48 → 18 years, and the same may be true for the 30 years found with Σήφουρις in Manetho’s Third Dynasty (*48 → *28 → 30 via rounding up).¹⁸²

The highest contemporaneous dates of Cheops’ reign are *rnp.t m-h̄t sp 11* “Year after the 11th occurrence,”¹⁸³ *rnp.t m-h̄t sp 12* “Year after the 12th occurrence,” and *rnp.t m-h̄t sp 13* “Year after the 13th occurrence.”¹⁸⁴ One would thus expect—in a simplified mode of calculation—approximately 26 regnal years for Cheops. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus (relying on Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera) both ascribe to Cheops 50 regnal years,¹⁸⁵ which

¹⁸¹ A mistake common in Greek uncial; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 157; cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore n. 56 above.

¹⁸² This particular instance of reduction may have formed part of a general process of *nivellement* of significantly differing figures which was triggered by a sequence of figures ranging between 10 and 29 containing only a few outliers. Alternatively, Jewish and Christian chronographers, who sought to align Egyptian and Biblical chronologies, should be considered as initiators of this kind of alteration at a large scale (cf., e.g., Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 81–83; Wacholder, “Biblical Chronology”; Cohen, “History and Historiography”; Jaeger, “Greeks and Jews”; Larsson, “Chronology of the Pentateuch”; Hornung, “Introduction,” 3–5). Cf. furthermore n. 121 above.

¹⁸³ Abubakr and Mustafa, “Funerary Boat,” 11 fig. 6; this date is inscribed on one of the slabs which were used to cover one of the boat pits south of Cheops’ pyramid. Redjedef’s name, which is found on these blocks forming part of basilophorous names of workmen gangs, tempted some scholars (e.g., Stadelmann, “Länge der Regierung Snofrus,” 239; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 375; Vallogia, “La descenderie,” 419, 421, n. 9; Dobrev, “La IV^e dynastie,” 19–20; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 71–72; Verner, “Contemporaneous Evidence,” 132 and “System of Dating,” 27) to attribute this date to Redjedef. However, it would appear terribly strange if a king erected or at least sealed a boat pit containing the funerary barge or a sun boat of his predecessor 11 census-cycles after the funeral. It is thus more likely that the stone slabs were prepared by Cheops himself, to whom this date should thus be attributed, but that it was Redjedef who ordered his workmen crews to put them into place soon after Cheops’ funeral and thus early in his own reign (cf., e.g., Helck, *Geschichte*, 54, n. 6; Spalinger, “Dated Texts,” 215; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 85).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. for these inscriptions of expeditionary forces found in the Libyan desert, Kuhlmann, “Wasserberg.”

¹⁸⁵ Differently, but certainly wrong, Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, III, 72–73.

is clearly a figure displaying the secondary addition of multiples of 10 and the subsequent loss of the units.¹⁸⁶ A comparable addition of tens happened to the 63 years which Manetho ascribes to Σοῦφις in his Fourth Dynasty, but, in this case, the units were correctly preserved. Owing to the introduction of the name Σαῶφις into the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, his 29 regnal years are also suspect of belonging to this line of tradition. If so, they must have suffered from misspellings, *e.g.*, *κρ' → κε' (perhaps with intermediate steps).¹⁸⁷ The common figure of 23 years also fits the one found in the Royal Canon of Turin, where Cheops is given 23 regnal years, which is suspect of an early addition of a ten, thus mirroring the 13 census-cycles attested.

To Σοῦφις' duplicate Σώϋφις, which can be found in the Third Manethonian Dynasty, 16 years are assigned, and to Χνοῦθος, Cheops' first and original equivalent in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, 22 years are ascribed, which can be traced back to *26 years (scribal error (*ΚΦ' → ΚΒ', perhaps with intermediate steps).¹⁸⁸ The 16 years found with Σώϋφις can easily be traced back to an original *26 years if one assumes the loss of a ten (perhaps in late Hieratic, Third Intermediate Period or Late Period, ί → Α).¹⁸⁹

For Chephren, the following figures are preserved: Σοῦφις 66 years (Fourth Manethonian Dynasty), which is closely related to the 56 years mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus (relying on Herodotus and Hecataeus of

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 55; von Beckerath, "iv. Dynastie."

¹⁸⁷ It is particularly difficult to judge this figure because it may have been influenced by the figure of the *Vorlage* which was the source for the "Herodotean Giza-group" now found in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes. Conclusively, these 29 years may have been altered after the model of Snefru's figure in that *Vorlage*, or they are a distorted double of the original entry found with Χνοῦθος: (*ΚΦ' → ΚΒ' → κε'.

¹⁸⁸ Perhaps (*ΚΦ' → (*ΚΕ' → ΚΒ'; Digamma lost its original Form F in the 3rd century BCE and started to develop towards its final form, so-called "stigma," ι. The various appearances of digamma may have caused confusion when a king-list containing this sign in an archaic variant was copied after F had changed to ι and after the older variant F had fallen out of use. Then, it was totally up to the actual scribe to identify archaic F and to replace it with a contemporary equivalent. Cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte II*, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; cf. also n. 56 above.

¹⁸⁹ Möller, *Paläographie II*, nos. 623–624, III, nos. 623–624. This scribal error, if accepted as a *lapsus calami* based on the similarity of the numerals involved, is confined to Hieratic (but the latest stages of Hieratic avoided ligatures and made use of almost Hieroglyphic numerals, cf. Möller, *Paläographie*, III, 64, n. 1; moreover, the Demotic numerals 10 and 20 are also markedly distinctive, cf. Johnson, *Thus wrote*, § 72; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* § 82). One may thus surmise that this mistake was made by a Late Period scribe who had problems with the ancient numerals when copying a manuscript from the late New Kingdom or the Third Intermediate Period.

Abdera),¹⁹⁰ Κερφέρης 26 years (Third Manethonian Dynasty), Σαώφις β' 27 years (Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes). It is more than obvious that all these figures can be traced back to *26 years, XY months, and AB days. In some instances, 26 was altered by adding multiples of ten,¹⁹¹ but the 27 years of Σαώφις β' are simply rounded up (from *26 years, XY months, and AB days).¹⁹² The Royal Canon of Turin is unfortunately damaged in this place, but a figure of 26 years is furthermore supported by the contemporaneous evidence (the highest dates known for Chephren are *rnp.t sp I2* “Year of the 12th occurrence” and *rnp.t sp I3* “Year of the 13th occurrence”).¹⁹³

Herodotus¹⁹⁴ and Diodorus Siculus (relying on Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera)¹⁹⁵ both provide no explicit figure for the length of Mycerinus’ reign, they simply relate that Μυκερίνος (Μεγχέρινος) eased the burden of pyramid building for the Egyptian people, which contradicted the gods’ will. He was then foretold that, because of his act of mercy towards the people, he would not reign as long as his predecessors, but would live for only six more years and die in the seventh. This is of course nothing more than an aetiological explanation for the fact that Mycerinus’ pyramid is significantly smaller than are those of his predecessors.¹⁹⁶ Hence, Mycerinus’ reign can be numbered only $x+6/7$ years (with $x \leq 42/43$).¹⁹⁷ Manetho seemingly missed data on Mycerinus’ length of reign in his *Vorlagen* and therefore ascribed 63 years to Μεγχέρης. This is equally useless for chronological purposes, because Manetho seems to have simply repeated Cheops’ length of reign, thereby rejecting Herodotus’ aetiological myth and accusing him of being a liar. Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes ascribes 31 years to Μοσχερῆς, which is obviously a figure independent of those provided by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Manetho. However, this remains problematic, because the unfortunately damaged Royal

¹⁹⁰ Differently, again, but certainly wrong, Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, III, 74.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 55; von Beckerath, “iv. Dynastie.”

¹⁹² Differently Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 54, who supposed that this figure once belonged to a king of the Fifth Dynasty.

¹⁹³ Masons’ graffiti found on blocks belonging to the mastaba of Akthihotep and Meritites, G.7650; Smith, “Inscriptional Evidence,” 119, 127–28; cf. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 71–73, 96–98, 288.

¹⁹⁴ Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.133.

¹⁹⁵ Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus I*, 220–23, (s.v. I.64.7); cf. Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIA*, no. 264 F25.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, III, 83–84.

¹⁹⁷ Herodotus does not attribute 6/7 years to Mycerinus, as is wrongly claimed by most scholars, e.g., Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 6; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, III, 82; and many others. This is only the span of time remaining after he was informed about the will of the gods to which his behavior did not conform.

Canon of Turin attributes [1]8, [2]8 or [3]8 years to Mycerinus. And in view of the contemporaneous evidence—the highest dates are *rnp.t sp II* “Year of the 11th occurrence,”¹⁹⁸ *rnp.t m-h̄t sp II* “Year after the 11th occurrence,”¹⁹⁹ and *rnp.t sp I2* “Year of the 12th occurrence”²⁰⁰—one is inclined to accept a length of reign of 28 years.²⁰¹ 31 cannot be traced back to 28 by assuming a simple scribal error, regardless of whether in a Hieratic/Demotic or a Greek document. It is thus necessary to assume a more complex origin, if one is willing to take this figure seriously at all. Helck²⁰² considered the 31 years a displaced figure of one of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty, who otherwise are totally neglected in this king-list. However, it is reasonable that the 31 years are actually a combination of Mycerinus’ and either Shepseskaf’s or Djedefptah’s figures. Their entries, or one of them, were possibly eliminated from the king-list when Cheops ($\Sigma\alpha\hat{\omega}\varphi\varsigma$) and Chephren ($\Sigma\alpha\hat{\omega}\varphi\varsigma\beta'$) were relocated and finally inserted directly preceding Mycerinus in order to rearrange the kings to form the “Herodotean Giza-group.”²⁰³ It is thus possible that to an original figure of *28 or—should an original *28 years, XY months, AB days have been rounded up—*29 years, the figure of Djedefptah was added, which, accordingly, can be determined as 2 years. Shepseskaf’s entry was subsequently lost, either in order to let the Fourth Dynasty correspond to the number of kings given by the *Vorlage*, or merely accidentally together with the entire Fifth Dynasty.

According to the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty, ‘Ρατοίσης ruled 25 years, Ραῦωσις, his equivalent according to the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/

¹⁹⁸ A mason’s graffito associated with workmen gangs whose basilophorous names contain the *nomen* of Mycerinus was found on a block which probably belonged to mastaba G.VI.S = M.VII. However, the block bearing this inscription was not found *in situ* but displaced, and the attribution of this date is therefore not secured beyond doubt. Cf. Junker, *Giza* x, 75 fig. 35.10, 77 no. 9; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 73, 255–58, 262.

¹⁹⁹ Gebelein rouleau IV; Posener-Kriéger, “Les papyrus de Gébelein,” 215–16; cf. furthermore the concluding publication by Posener-Kriéger and Demichelis, *Gebelein*.

²⁰⁰ Testament of Nikaure in Rock tomb LG 87 = G.8158; PM III.1, 232–33; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 368–72. Cf. for the attribution to Mycerinus’ reign Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 21–23; Strudwick, *Administration*, 107; Spalinger, “Dated Texts,” 294; Gundacker, “Mykerinos,” 32–33; cf. for an alternative attribution to Chephren’s reign Baud, “Les frontiers,” 128; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 378, n. 139, “Contemporaneous Evidence,” 134, n. 91, and “System of Dating,” 28, n. 10.

²⁰¹ E.g., Gardiner, *Geschichte*, 493; Arnold, “Überlegungen,” 28; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 84, 379 and “Mykerinos.” By assumption of an irregular census, an 18 year reign has been proposed by, e.g., Barta, “Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie,” 23; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 383; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 73 (albeit finally hesitant and ambivalent).

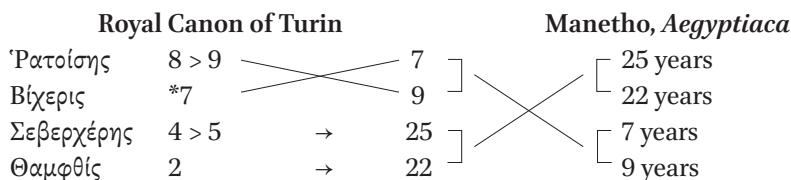
²⁰² Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 54.

²⁰³ Cf. the conclusions in section 6 below.

Pseudo-Eratosthenes, 13 years. The Royal Canon of Turin assigns 8 years to Redjedef, which cannot be verified with contemporaneous data. The only dated inscription from Redjedef's reign is a mason's graffito found on a block of his pyramid at Abu Rowash which reads *mp.t sp I* "Year of the 1st occurrence."²⁰⁴ Manetho's and Pseudo-Apollodorus'/Pseudo-Eratosthenes' information can be traced back to a common figure, *i.e.*, 15 years. In order to get the 25 years provided by Manetho, a ten was added to these 15 years, whereas the 13 years in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes suffered from a scribal error (*ιρ' ← *ιε'* or—should the original figure *15 years, XY months, AB days have been rounded up to *16 years—*ιρ' ← *ιF'*).

Manetho assigns 22 years to Βίχερις, Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes 10 years to Βιῦρης. Wolfgang Helck²⁰⁵ already postulated that Manetho's 22 years derived from an original 2 years improved by two tens; Pseudo-Apollodorus'/Pseudo-Eratosthenes' 10 years should be interpreted as 2 years to which a ten was added before the units were lost (*2 → *12 → 10). The figure in the Royal Canon of Turin is lost, and there are not any known contemporaneous dates. All building activities at Baka's pyramid at Zawyet el-Aryan stopped when the superstructure had hardly been started,²⁰⁶ so his reign must have been very short. Manetho's figure thus preserves a hint for determining Baka's true length of reign, which perhaps lasted for only approximately 1–2 years.

Shepseskaf (Σεβερχέρης) and Thamphthis (Θαμφθίς) are said to have ruled 7 years and 9 years respectively. Helck and Jürgen von Beckerath proposed a chain of exchanges which finally led to the figures attested for the last four kings of Manetho's Fourth Dynasty:²⁰⁷



This scenario is, however, rather doubtful because an inattentive scribe may have switched the figures of two kings in the process of copying—but how should two blocks of figures have swapped positions? Moreover, the figures

²⁰⁴ Vallogia, "La descenderie," 419.

²⁰⁵ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 53.

²⁰⁶ PM III.1, 313; Barsanti, "Zaouiét el-Aryān"; Lauer, "Sur l'âge"; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 140–41; Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," 380–81.

²⁰⁷ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 53; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 157 and "IV. Dynastie," 117.

of Redjedef and Baka have already been explained differently, and an original figure of 7 years for Baka seems unacceptably high.²⁰⁸ After all, an alternative explanation for Shepseskaf's and Djedefptah's figures is required. This alternative solution will, however, become evident only if the introduction of "king" Djedefptah, who actually never reigned, into the various Egyptian king-lists can be explained.²⁰⁹

Excursus II The Third and Fourth Dynasties in the Royal Canon of Turin

The Royal Canon of Turin (Papyrus Turin 1874 *verso*)²¹⁰ is the only extant ancient Egyptian king-list containing both the kings' names and their lengths of reign. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of preservation renders it particularly difficult, on the one hand, to reconstruct the sequence of kings and the lengths of their reigns and, on the other hand, to trace the line of tradition of the king-list itself. Kim Ryholt²¹¹ suggested that the historiographical sections²¹² of the Royal Canon of Turin were composed with the aid of five sources in the early New Kingdom (Eighteenth Dynasty):²¹³

Source	Period	Characteristics (reckoning of years)
A	First–Second Dynasties	years, months, days; age of king
B	Third–Sixth Dynasties	years
C	Seventh–Tenth Dynasties	years, months, days
D	Eleventh Dynasty	years
E	Twelfth–Eighteenth Dynasties	years, months, days

²⁰⁸ Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159; Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," 380–81.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Excursus II and section 6 below.

²¹⁰ Farina, *Papiro*; Gardiner, *Royal Canon*; Ryholt announced a new edition of and commentary on the Royal Canon of Turin, but this study is still in preparation. Cf. furthermore Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 1–18; Roccati, "Turiner Königspapyrus"; cf. also Málek, "Original Version"; Helck, "Anmerkungen"; von Beckerath, "Bemerkungen"; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 9–33, "Turin King-List," and "Royal Canon."

²¹¹ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 32–33, "Turin King-List," 145–47 and "Royal Canon," 28–30.

²¹² Cf. for the dynasties of gods, demigods, and spirits recounted before the human kings according to Egyptian tradition Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 3–21; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 1–8; Ryholt, "Turin King-List," 139 (with further references).

²¹³ If the king-list once covered Egyptian history down to the Nineteenth Dynasty (Málek, "Original Version"; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 30), it is necessary either to assume a correspondingly late date of compilation or, which seems by far more plausible, to assume at least one stage of actualizing or expanding a *Rumpfliste* by adding those kings who ruled in the more recent past.

Especially if one considers the immediate *Vorlage*, which can be reconstructed on the basis of the distribution of the formula²¹⁴ *jrj.n=f m njwjj.t* “he exercised kingship,”²¹⁵ this appears too simple. With Djoser’s reign (col. 4.5), which actually opened a column in the deduced *Vorlage*, the words *rnp.t* “year,” *ʒbd* “month,” *hrww* “day,” and *ḥw=f m ‘nḥ* “his lifetime,” are repeated. This makes sense only if the slavishly working copyist expected further data which would require these points of reference for *ditto*-marks. It is thus plausible that this scribe, or maybe already one of his immediate precursors, simply left out information on months and days of the lengths of reign and the kings’ lifespan in larger sections, perhaps resuming to include months and days after a break or the next day.²¹⁶ Moreover, it cannot be proven that all five sources were combined in a single act of composition. An older *Rumpfliste* which included only the kings until the early Middle Kingdom, which later on was supplemented in several steps, may thus be proposed already for the Twelfth Dynasty, in particular for the reign of Sesosstris I.²¹⁷ This thesis is founded on two observations:

- (1) The early Twelfth Dynasty in particular developed a substantial interest in the past in order to legitimate its own rule and to connect itself ideologically to the Old Kingdom.²¹⁸ This becomes obvious, e.g., in royal funerary architecture,²¹⁹ in the re-adoption of Pyramid

²¹⁴ Cf. Castle, “Further Observations.” The grammatical interpretation depends on that of the dedication formula *jrj.n=f m mnw=f* “He made (as) his monument,” which is disputed (Leahy, “Predicates”; Castle, “Dedication Formula”; Vittmann, “Weiheformel”; Kruchten, “Phrase Coupée” vs. Grallert, “Bauen,” 39–40; Jansen-Winkel, “Objekt,” “Vermerke,” *Text und Sprache*, 82–90, and *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, § 165; Peust “Wie fokussiert”).

²¹⁵ This formula was found in the immediate *Vorlage* of the Royal Canon of Turin only with the first entry of a column or the first king of a dynasty, whereas all other entries displayed only a *ditto*-mark. The scribe who copied the Royal Canon of Turin inattentively reproduced his *Vorlage* without adjusting this formula’s position to the changed outline of his copy. Cf. Málek, “Original Version”; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 30–31.

²¹⁶ This cannot, of course, replace Ryholt’s observation that changes in the mode of presenting lengths of reign and dynastic divisions largely coincide (the transitions themselves are, however, lost and there are exceptions contradicting Ryholt’s conclusions, e.g., king Teti at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty), but it may supplement his proposal (cf. the immediately preceding note).

²¹⁷ Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 66, n. 372, 81, n. 433.

²¹⁸ Cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 147–63.

²¹⁹ E.g., the mortuary temple of Sesosstris I (Arnold, *Lisht 1* and *Lisht 3*), which is an almost perfect copy of the mortuary temples built during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *Piramidi menfite*; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*).

Texts arranged in an Old Kingdom manner,²²⁰ in numerous references to old and venerable sources when authoritative decisions concerning the administrative and political organization had to be made,²²¹ and in literary texts, which mention a king or a legendary sage who lived (or is said to have lived) in the Old Kingdom, and establish thereby a setting in the “good old days.”²²²

- (2) It is important to point out two phenomena which until now have not received appropriate attention. On the one hand, Sesostris I imitated the mode of dating known from Old Kingdom documents, *i.e.*, naming years after the census. One of his edifices belonging to the temple of Amun in Karnak bears an inscription which begins *rnp.t-sp m-ht 9 3bd 4 prjt św 24* “Regnal year after the 9th, fourth month of winter, day 24.”²²³ This is evidently an unsuccessful attempt to proclaim a date in the fashion of the Old Kingdom, because *m-ht* “after” should have followed *rnp.t* “year” and preceded *sp* “occurrence.” The authors of this inscription were without a doubt unaware of the biennial nature of census-cycles,²²⁴ and

²²⁰ *E.g.*, the Pyramid Texts of Sesostris-anhk, which, in fact, are nothing but the reused text corpus of king Unas in its first draft (*cf.* Hayes, *Texts in the Mastaba of Se'n-wosret-'ankh*; Kahl, “Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Verhältnis”). These texts were most probably prepared for king Sesostris I himself but abandoned for unknown reasons. Finally, they were used by Sesostris-anhk, who was probably responsible for research on and the preparation of this text corpus (Gundacker, “Königliche Pyramidentexte”).

²²¹ *E.g.*, land surveying and defining the boundaries of nomes and districts according to ancient writings as is recorded in the (auto)biography of Chnumhotep II of Beni Hasan (lin. 39–46, *cf.* Newberry and Griffith, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. xxv; *Urk.* VII, 27: 11–16; Kamrin, *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*).

²²² *Eg.*, didactic literature such as the instructions said to be composed by Ptahhotep (Žába, *Ptahhotep*; *cf.* for the problem of authorship Moers, “Der ‘Autor’ und sein ‘Werk’”), Hordjedef (Helck, *Lehre des Djedefhor*; Posener, “Lehre des Djedefhor”; *cf.* n. 238 below), Kagemni (although the beginning is lost, one can conjecture that the instructing father and his addressed son share the name Kagemni; Jéquier, *Papyrus Prisse*; Gardiner, “Instruction”), *etc.*, or the *Forecast of Neferty* (*cf.* Helck, *Prophezeiung des Neferti*). The *Instruction for Kagemni* and the *Forecast of Neferty* are set in the reign of Snefru, who, because of his name Šnfrw ~ “benefactor” (Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 185; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 176; *cf.* nn. 113–117 above), was worshipped as a philanthropic and charitable god (*cf.* for the cult of Snefru, Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 104–52; Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 141–58; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 83–101, 247–52; *cf.* also n. 121 above). *Cf.* AEL I.

²²³ Gabolde, *Grande château*, 40–42.

²²⁴ That knowledge of the nature of the eponymous census had ceased with the end of the Heracleopolitan Dynasties (*i.e.*, Ninth to Tenth, *cf.* Seidlmayer, “Zwei Anmerkungen”)

furthermore the word *rnp.t-sp*, in the Old Kingdom a genitival syntagma “Year of the occurrence,” had become a *terminus technicus* for “regnal year” via univerbation and lexicalization.²²⁵ It was therefore no longer feasible to split up the, now, *juxtapositum rnp.t-sp* in order to insert the preposition *m-h̄t* “after.” On the other hand, the Royal Canon of Turin displays a totally haphazard distribution of the words *rnp.t* “year” and *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year” when introducing the actual lengths of reign, which particularly affects the entries of the Third and Fourth Dynasties.²²⁶ This may have had its roots in two phenomena: (a) The king-list was compiled from different sources, some of which provided the actual lengths of reign as periods of time (thus introduced with simple *rnp.t* “year”), while others mentioned the kings’ dates of death (thus introduced with *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year,” originally *rnp.t sp* “Year of the occurrence” and *rnp.t m-h̄t sp* “Year after the occurrence”). (b) Inattentive scribes subsequently transmitting the king-list mixed up the words *rnp.t* “year” and *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year”. The most obvious reason for doing so was certainly that those figures denoting lengths of reign bore a great resemblance to proper dates and, at least to a certain degree, *rnp.t* “year” and *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year.” had become synonymous.²²⁷

furthermore becomes evident when an inscription of Tuthmosis III in his Jubilee Temple (*3h-mnw*) is considered (cf. Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou*; Pecoil, *L'Akh-menou*). At the very beginning of this inscription, the date recorded reads *rnp.t-sp m-h̄t 23* “Regnal year after the 23rd” (*Urk.* IV, 1251: 11; cf. Gardiner, “Regnal Years,” 16). The Jubilee Temple (*3h-mnw*) replaced an older building, possibly from the Middle Kingdom, and this inscription of Tuthmosis III is thus probably nothing but a slightly revised copy of a Middle Kingdom text. In fact, to a great extent, it is *verbatim* identical to the text from Sesostris I’s edifice which contains the already mentioned date *rnp.t-sp m-h̄t 9* “Regnal year after the 9th.” The date found with the inscription of Tuthmosis III is thus another (indirect) witness for the lack of knowledge of Middle Kingdom scribes concerned with the study of ancient texts and the composition of archaizing texts. But this inscription proves furthermore that all knowledge about the Old Kingdom system of counting census-cycles instead of regnal years had been lost irreversibly by the time of the Twelfth Dynasty and that this knowledge was never regained again.

²²⁵ Cf. Fecht, “Lesung von Regierungsjahr”; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 331–38.

²²⁶ Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, 15, n. 1.17 b, 16, n. III.2 b.

²²⁷ There is not the slightest trace of *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year” outside dates, i.e., used in order to denote properly spans of time. It is, however, imaginable that the simple *rnp.t* “year” was at least used informally instead of *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year” in order to denote the year in dates. Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 334. In addition, Fecht emphasized that the “circular threshing floor covered with grain”

In fact, either phenomenon is easily imaginable, and most probably both took place in sequence: To begin with, diverse sources (*Teillisten* and archive materials) provided two fundamentally different sets of data for rather short sequences of kings. On the surface, these sets of data were only distinguishable through the variation *rnp.t* “year” (lengths of reign) *vs.* *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year” (dates of death).²²⁸ The significance thereof was minimal for all entries of kings belonging to the Middle Kingdom and later periods,²²⁹ and the regnal years of all kings belonging to the First to Third Dynasties, who did not count census-cycles, but instead named their regnal years after diverse eponymous events, needed to be counted anyway (*e.g.*, from the royal annals or comparable year-lists).²³⁰ But the records of the kings of the Old Kingdom, *i.e.*, the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties,²³¹ were severely affected by this confusion of dates of death and lengths of reign: dates of death (census-cycles) should have been converted into lengths of reigns (regnal years), which, owing to the fact that already Sesostris I was unable

(Gardiner sign-list O50) may easily have been confused with the “sun disk” (Gardiner sign-list N5), which indeed would be an appropriate determinative (Fecht, “Lesung von Regierungsjahr,” 90). It is thus difficult to decide whether, in the Royal Canon of Turin, *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year” was used to denote the lengths of reigns or whether it was included by error, because current knowledge of the *termini technici* of Middle and New Kingdom chronography and of their application is too sketchy.

²²⁸ Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 66–67.

²²⁹ With respect to the kings of the Middle Kingdom, the then used system of *ante*-dating would cause a date of death mistakenly recognized as a length of reign to elongate the actual reign: If, *e.g.*, a king died in his 10th regnal year, he actually reigned 8 full years [years 2–9] + the incomplete accession year [year 1 in the Middle Kingdom] + the incomplete year of death = *c.* 9 years. The date of death wrongly reinterpreted as a reign covering 10 full years plus the months and days defined by the date of death would yield a length of reign exceeding the historically correct length of reign by about one and a half years; exceptionally short accession and death years may increase this mistake to almost two years, rather long ones may diminish it towards nil). Cf. Gardiner, “Regnal Years”; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 10–11; Hormung, Krauss, and Warburton, “Methods of Dating,” 46.

²³⁰ It is unpredictable how periods like the Second Dynasty (Kahl, “Dynasties 0–2,” 107) were treated, which principally knew regular census-cycles and years named after them (even years), but in which all odd years were still named after a great variety of eponymous events (*cf.* the royal annals, Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, *passim*; Baud, “Les frontiers”).

²³¹ And probably also the kings of the early First Intermediate Period (Seventh to Tenth Dynasties), who adhered to the Memphite tradition, *cf.* Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, “Methods of Dating,” 46; Fecht, “Lesung von Regierungsjahr.”

to correctly replicate an Old Kingdom date formula, cannot have been done in the Middle Kingdom. As a consequence, census-cycles were misinterpreted as regnal years, thereby shortening the actual lengths of reign—in the worst case by 50%. One should nevertheless keep in mind that there might have been short king-lists (*Teillisten*) covering rather limited sequences of kings, which were compiled prior to the Middle Kingdom and thus converted correctly, or corrected by means of comparison with excerpts from or copies of the Old Kingdom royal annals, although, at the moment, this remains mere speculation.²³²

An examination of the passage concerning the Third and Fourth Dynasties as found in the Royal Canon of Turin will reveal the importance of this observation:²³³

- RCT 4.4 [njšwt-]bjt Nb-k³<-Rw> <jrj.n=f m njšwjj.t> 19 [rnp.wt-sp]
 King of [Upper] and Lower Egypt Nebka<re>; <he exercised
 kingship for> 19 [regnal years].
- RCT 4.5 njšwt-bjt Dśr-jt jrj.n=f m njšwjj.t 19 rnp.wt-sp ȝbd.w hrww.w
 ȝh^w=f m ȝh [///]
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt Djoser-it; he exercised king-
 ship for 19 regnal years, XY months, AB days, his age: [///].
- RCT 4.6 [njšwt-bjt] Dśr-tj <jrj.n=f m njšwjj.t> 6 <rnp.wt-sp>
 [King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Djoser-ti; <he exercised
 kingship for> 6 <regnal years>.

²³² This is of particular importance if the change between the Old Kingdom mode of *post-dating* (accession year = mathematically year 0, counting of census-cycles) and the Middle Kingdom mode of *ante-dating* (accession year = year 1, counting of regnal years) is a difference between the Memphite-Heracleopolitan tradition (Fourth to Tenth Dynasties) and the Theban tradition (Eleventh to Twelfth Dynasties) as seems probable (Gardiner, "Regnal Years"; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 10–11; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, "Methods of Dating," 46). The endeavor of the Twelfth Dynasty to connect itself to the Memphite-Heracleopolitan tradition may thus have caused some kind of fusion and confusion of those two main traditions. The Royal Canon of Turin is accordingly expected to contain elements of either line of tradition. Cf. section 6 below.

²³³ Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, pl. II; Farina, *Papiro*, pl. III; The designations of columns and lines follow Helck, "Anmerkungen" and Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 9, n. 9 and "Turin King-List," 136. Cf. furthermore section 6 below.

- RCT 4.7 *njśwt-bjt [Hw-]dʒ<jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> 6 rnp.wt-sp*
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt “lost”; <he exercised kingship for> 6 regnal years.
- RCT 4.8 *[njśwt-]bjt Hw[nj] ՚nḥ.w wdʒ.w śnb.w <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> 24 rnp.wt-sp [jw=f] <m> pʒ-jkdw Śšm-[//]*
 King of [Upper] and Lower Egypt Huni, may he live, be sound and healthy, <he exercised kingship for> 24 regnal years; He is the builder of Seshem-[//]
- RCT 4.9 *[njśwt-]bjt Śnfr<w> <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> 24 rnp.wt-sp*
 King of [Upper] and Lower Egypt Snefru; <he exercised kingship for> 24 regnal years.
- RCT 4.10 *[njśwt-bjt Hwj=f-wj] <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> 23 rnp.wt-sp*
 [King of Upper and Lower Egypt Cheops;] <he exercised kingship for> 23 regnal years.
- RCT 4.11 *[njśwt-bjt R'w-jdd=f] <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> 8 rnp.wt-sp*
 [King of Upper and Lower Egypt Redjedef;] <he exercised kingship for> 8 regnal years.
- RCT 4.12 *[njśwt-bjt] Hj[=f-R'w] <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> [26?] rnp.wt*
 [King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Che[phren;] <he exercised kingship for> [26?] years.
- RCT 4.13 *njśwt-bjt [B3-k3-R'w] <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> [2?] rnp.wt*
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Bakare;] <he exercised kingship for> [2?] years.
- RCT 4.14 *[njśwt-]bjt [Mn-k3.w-R'w] <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> [2]8 rnp.wt*
 [King of Upper] and Lower Egypt [Mycerinus;] <he exercised kingship for> [2]8 years.
- RCT 4.15 *[njśwt-bjt Śpss-k3-R'w] <jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> 4 rnp.wt*
 [King of Upper and Lower Egypt Shepseskaf;] <he exercised kingship for> 4 years.
- RCT 4.16 *[njśwt-bjt *Pth-jdd=f]<jrj.n=f m njśwjj.t> 2 rnp.wt*
 [King of Upper and Lower Egypt Djedefptah;] <he exercised kingship for> 2 years.

As was noted by Alan Gardiner,²³⁴ the Fourth Dynasty is divided into two groups, one of which is rather close to the Third Dynasty, displaying figures introduced with *rnp.t-sp* “regnal year” (Nebkare (4.4) to Redjedef (4.11)), while the other displays figures introduced with simple *rmp.t* “year” (Chephren (4.12) to Djedefptah (4.16)).²³⁵ It is of paramount importance to stress that these groups are reflected in both Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* and Pseudo-Apollodorus’/Pseudo-Eratosthenes’ king-lists.²³⁶ The entries of the earlier group, at least those of Snefru to Redjedef, must therefore be regarded as containing figures which are actually census-cycles misinterpreted as plain years.²³⁷ In contrast, the figures of Chephren to Djedefptah reflect truthfully regnal years which have been converted correctly from census-cycles. These remarkable peculiarities allow one to get a first impression of what the process of composing the section of the Royal Canon of Turin which contains the entries on the Third and Fourth Dynasties may have looked like.²³⁸

Unfortunately, the section of the Royal Canon of Turin on the Fourth Dynasty is preserved in a regrettably bad condition, which produces additional difficulties: First, the only names of kings belonging to the Fourth Dynasty which are preserved at least partially are those of Snefru (4.9) and Chephren (4.12). Nevertheless, the missing names can be reconstructed by aid of the contemporaneous evidence, which at least allows for the determination of the sequence of kings.²³⁹ Second, Nebka (4.4), Baka (4.13), and Shepseskaf (4.16) must have been mentioned by their younger name forms (*Nb-k³* → *Nb-k³-R⁹w*,²⁴⁰ *B³-k³=j* → *B³-k³-R⁹w*, *Špss-k³=f* → *Špss-k³-R⁹w*) based on the form of the entry of Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, whose name is preserved as [*Wšr-*]*k³-[R⁹w]* ← *Wšr-*

²³⁴ Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, 15, n. 1.17 b, 16, n. 111.2 b.

²³⁵ Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 66, n. 372, 85, n. 433.

²³⁶ Cf. sections 4.2 and 5.2 above.

²³⁷ Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 89–92.

²³⁸ Cf. the additional conclusions in section 6.

²³⁹ Cf. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 239–56; Reisner and Smith, *Hetepheres*, 1–12; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 156–59; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 66–74; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 103–314, 371–72, “Genealogie” and “Genealogie Teil 2”; Spalinger, “Dated Texts”; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” “Contemporaneous Evidence,” and “System of Dating”; Callender, *In Hathor’s Image*.

There are a few king-lists from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties themselves which are found on monuments of members of the royal family or of high officials. However, these have not been composed as historiographic documents, but for other individual purposes. Cf. the brief discussion in n. 321.

²⁴⁰ The “sun disk” (Gardiner sign-list N5) was left out erroneously together with the opening of the cartouche; cf. Farina, *Papiro*, 23–24; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 57; Ryholt, “Turin King-List,” 149; cf. furthermore n. 165 above.

*k3=f.*²⁴¹ Third, the Royal Canon of Turin unquestionably lists an additional king at the very end of the Fourth Dynasty, who followed Shepseskaf. Unfortunately, the name of this king is lost without a trace, but he is usually equated with Manetho's Θαμφθίς (Djedefptah; *(*)Ddj=f-Pth ← *Pth-jdd=f*).²⁴² This assumption should, however, be viewed critically as long as there are no comparable personal names which were graecized in a comparable manner.

The historicity and identity of Djedefptah are highly dubious, and, in fact, there probably never existed a king of this name. A crucial piece of evidence²⁴³ is the *Prunkscheintür* of Ptahshepses from Saqqara, which displays an early example of a(n) (auto)biographical inscription. This remarkable text is arranged in eight columns, each of which corresponds to a stage of Ptahshepses' life. The composition and layout of this inscription suggest that each column was furthermore linked to the reign of a king under whom Ptahshepses lived. The names of the first four kings, (1) Mycerinus, (2) Shepseskaf, (3) Userkaf, and (4) Sahure, are preserved, those destroyed are (5) Neferirkare, (6) Shepseskare, (7) Neferefre, and (8) Newoserre. Ptahshepses was appointed priest in Newoserre's solar temple, but most probably did not outlive the latter's reign. Newoserre can thus be determined to be the last king mentioned in Ptahshepses' (auto-) biography.²⁴⁴ The layout and intention of this inscription demonstrate that Ptahshepses included in his (auto)biographical inscription all the kings whose reigns he saw in order to demonstrate his exceptional renown and prestige at the royal court. One may therefore deduce that there was no king Djedefptah (Θαμφθίς) whose reign could have intervened between those of the kings Shepseskaf and Userkaf.²⁴⁵ Moreover, this is substantiated by the fact that not the slightest trace of Djedefptah has been found to date, no inscriptional

²⁴¹ Royal Canon of Turin 4.17, cf. von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 209; Ryholt, "Turin King-List," 149 and "Seneferka," 166–67.

²⁴² Baud's suggestion (Baud, *Famille royale* II, no. 186 [p. 548]; cf. also Helck, "Gedanken") that the Royal Canon of Turin mentioned Baufre and Hordjedef as the last two kings of the Fourth Dynasty must be rejected (cf. Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 17–18, n. 32). As long as there is no hint pointing to the omission of Shepseskaf, he should be considered as the penultimate king of the Fourth Dynasty according to the Royal Canon of Turin (cf. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 64–65). This is moreover in line with the Manethonian tradition, which also adds only one king after Shepseskaf.

²⁴³ PM III.2, 464; Mariette, *Mastabas*, II2–13, 451–53; Urk. I, 51: 11–53: 13; Baud, *Famille royale* II, no. 68; James, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 17, pl. xvii; Dorman, "Inscription of Ptahshepses"; Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 15–16, 52, 86, 113, 129–33, 151–54, 157, 159, 161–63, 237, 243, 247, 251, 258–60, 284–85; Baud, "The Birth of Biography," 95–96.

²⁴⁴ Dorman, "Inscription of Ptahshepses," 107–10.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," 384–85; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 74.

mention of him, of his funerary monument or any domain he founded, not even a single seal impression—simply nothing.²⁴⁶

The origins of “king” Djedefptah (Θαμφθίς) must therefore be searched for elsewhere. It has indeed been suggested²⁴⁷ that this “king” originated in the popular tradition as manifest in the stories of Papyrus Westcar (Second Intermediate Period),²⁴⁸ a graffito found in the Wadi Hammamat (Twelfth Dynasty),²⁴⁹ and the Abusir king-list (Nineteenth Dynasty).²⁵⁰ The graffito from the Wadi Hammamat mentions, in this sequence, the kings Cheops (*Hwj=f-wj*), Redjedef (*R'w-jdd=f*), Chephren (*Hj=f-R'w*), Hordjedef (*Hrw-jdd=f*),²⁵¹ and Baufre (*B3<w>=f-R'w*, but apparently spelled as if *R'w-b3=f* was intended), which is almost exactly the sequence of *dramatis personae* in Papyrus Westcar: king Cheops listens to the stories of his sons, princes Redjedef, Chephren, Baufre, and Hordjedef.²⁵² Redjedef and Chephren actually ascended to the throne, Hordjedef was venerated as the author of an

²⁴⁶ Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 385.

²⁴⁷ E.g., Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 24–25, 52–53 and “Gedanken”; Roccati, *Littérature*, 55–56; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 25, 237; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 384–85; cf. the critical remarks of Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 159–61, 164–67, 212.

²⁴⁸ This particular version of the stories itself must predate this copy, but it is unclear when it was composed (perhaps in the Thirteenth Dynasty; cf. Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 69–70 and n. 310 further below). Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 159–61, 212; Hays, “Historicity”; Mathieu, “Les contes du Papyrus Westcar”; Goedicke, “Thoughts”; Jenni, “Papyrus Westcar”; cf. also Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*; Lepper, *Untersuchungen*.

²⁴⁹ Drioton, “Liste des rois”; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 25.

²⁵⁰ LD 11, 152d; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 25–26.

²⁵¹ This name can be assigned to the same grammatical pattern as Redjedef’s on grounds of its graecized form: *Hrw-jdd=f* ~ **Hárūw-jádádāf* > **Härē-dádāf* > **Här-dádēf* > **Här-dódēf* ~ -αρτώτης (preserved in Πετεαρτώτης ~ *P3-djw-Hrw-(j)dd=f*, cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 312; Foraboschi, *Onomasticum* IV, 251; cf. for Demotic attestations Tait, *Papyri from Tebtynis*, 33–35; Aufrère, “Les anciens Égyptiens et leur notion de l’antiquité” and “Manéthon de Sebennytos, médiateur,” 332–33). However, *Hrw-jdd=f* must not be confused with *Hrw-Dhwij* ~ **Hárūw-Dvháwtij* > **Här-Dhōwtē* ~ Ἀρθώ(υ)της, Ἀρθώ(υ)θης (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 47; Foraboschi, *Onomasticum* I, 47–48), which always displays an aspirate -θ- (<-dh-, cf. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 84; Schenkel, “Ist Mythos,” 560, 573) but otherwise looks quite the same. Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 185; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 174; cf. for the verbal form (circumstantial *śdm=f*) section 5.1 (in particular nn. 151–152) above and for the suppression of word-final labials in Greek transcriptions n. 153.

²⁵² Cf. Christophe, “Les quatre plus illustres fils”; Baud, *Famille royale* 11, no. 186 [p. 548]; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 17–18, n. 32; Seidlmayer, “Dynasty 3.”

instruction,²⁵³ but Baufre is otherwise unknown.²⁵⁴ If Hordjedef had already been viewed as king by the time of the Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty), one would expect him to be addressed as king in his instruction, which was part of the official Middle Kingdom corpus of literature. This is evidently not the case, so that neither Hordjedef nor Baufre are expected in the Middle Kingdom version of the Royal Canon of Turin. They may, however, have been incorporated in this king-list during the late Second Intermediate Period or New Kingdom. One would then expect Baka ($B3-k3=j \rightarrow B3-k3-Rw$) and Baufre ($B3w=f-Rw \leftarrow Rw-b3=f$) to have been amalgamated because of the similarity of their names²⁵⁵ and that Hordjedef was added either in the position assigned to him in the Wadi Hammamat graffito or, even more likely, at the very end of the Fourth Dynasty. Accordingly, one would expect a “king” Hordjedef in the Royal Canon of Turin, but Helck²⁵⁶ pointed out that the dynasty of gods at the very beginning of the king-list must have undergone some kind of redactional adaptation in the New Kingdom (Ramesside Period). As a result, the goddesses of the Heliopolitan Ennead, who once formed part of the First Dynasty of gods, were deleted, and the supreme Memphite god Ptah was inserted in the first place as the universal creator god.²⁵⁷ In the course of this process, Hordjedef's name was altered to Djedefptah by substituting Horus with Ptah.²⁵⁸ The result

253 Helck, *Lehre des Djedefhor*; Posener, “Lehre des Djedefhor.” A divine cult in favor of Hordjedef had started at his tomb in Giza (mastaba G.7210/20) already in the late Old Kingdom, cf. Junker, *Giza VII*, 26–27 and “Ein neuer Nachweis”; Goedicke, “Verehrer des Weisen *Ddfhr*”; von Beckerath, “Djedefhor”; Ritter, “Hordjedef.”

254 Cf. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 64–65. There is, however, a wooden tablet from the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (KHM Äos 3924, verso 4; el-Kholi, *Papyri und Ostraca*, 59–61) which records in a list of personal names a man called $B3w=f-Rw$. Since this name and this type of personal names are otherwise unknown, this instance must represent an allusion to the stories found in Papyrus Westcar, even though the reason for this as well as the details of literary reception and tradition remain unknown.

255 This would require a rather early addition of the theonym Rw to Baka's name, which is totally in line with the hypothesis proposed above that bipartite names were altered first. Cf. furthermore n. 165.

256 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 4–8; cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 1, 186.

257 The theological concept described in the text known from the Shabqa Stone (Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*), which is perhaps a creation of the Ramesside Period, similarly describes Ptah as the universal creator god substantiating all other cosmogonical myths as well. Cf., e.g., Luft, *Historisierung der Götterwelt*, 146–52; Allen, *Genesis*, 43–44; Hawary, *Wortschöpfung*, 92–111 (with numerous additional references).

258 Cf. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt I*, 66.

of this, Hordjedef → Djedefptah (with at least one intermediate step),²⁵⁹ is still found in Manetho's *Aegyptiacā* (Θαυρθίς).²⁶⁰

With the inclusion of Hordjedef (→ Djedefptah) into an earlier version of the Royal Canon of Turin, another principal problem arose: This newly introduced king required a length of reign. There were basically three options for providing Hordjedef (→ Djedefptah) with a figure:

- (a) the deletion of another king in order to assign the then spare figure to Hordjedef (→ Djedefptah),
- (b) the division of another king's figure in order to assign him and the newly introduced Hordjedef (→ Djedefptah) the shares, which furthermore would have the advantage of keeping correct totals for the respective dynasties, and
- (c) simply to invent a figure and to recalculate the totals afterwards.

Alternative (a) can be excluded because there is no king of the Fourth Dynasty missing, and alternative (c) is, although possible, unlikely with respect to the overall scrutiny with which the king-lists were treated. This leaves only alternative (b), and, in fact, there even is positive evidence in favor of this option: Shepseskaf's reign is numbered 4 years in the Royal Canon of Turin, but 7 years by Manetho. All contemporaneous evidence is, unfortunately, inconclusive, because the highest attested date is *rnp.t m-h̄t sp tpj* "Year after the first occurrence."²⁶¹ Shepseskaf's funerary monument, the Mastaba Faraun,²⁶² is rather modest in size, but its superstructure, a Butic mastaba, and the mortuary temple were finished as intended.²⁶³ The preparation of the building site and the subterranean chamber system, which in this case was built in an open pit prior to the erection of the superstructure, are usually considered as taking

²⁵⁹ Djedefptah (*Ddj=f-Pth* ← **Pth-jdd=f* ← *Hrw-jdd=f*, cf. n. 175 above) is thus an apparent *Neubildung* of the New Kingdom (Ramesside Period?), which also replaced the older grammatical pattern *theonym-śdm=f^{circumstantial}* with the younger pattern *śdm=f^{subjunctive/perfective-theonym}*; cf. nn. 151–152 above.

²⁶⁰ Redford's suggestion (Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 237) that Thamphthis is yet an additional person of popular tradition is thus proven wrong. Cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 164–67, 212; Christophe, "Les quatre plus illustres fils."

²⁶¹ Decree in favor of Mycerinus' pyramid complex, cf. *Urk.* I, 160; *KD*, 13–20; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 15, 31, 103, 278 no. 1, pl. 19b; Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," 383; Jánosi, "Schepseskaf" and *Giza*, 73–74.

²⁶² PM III.2, 433–34; Jéquier, *Le Mastabat Faraoun*; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *Piramidi men-fite* VI, 134–66.

²⁶³ Thus Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, 154 contra Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," 384.

two years.²⁶⁴ Even though the volume of masonry of the Mastaba Faraun is only one tenth of that of Mycerinus' pyramid, it seems unachievable to finish the funerary complex within only two more years. It is thus plausible to assume that an original figure of *6 years, XY months, and AB days was first simplified to 6 years and then split up in the Royal Canon of Turin. Of these, 4 years were assigned to Shepseskaf, and 2 years were assigned to Hordjedef (→ Djedefptah). In another line of tradition, the original figure of *6 years, XY months, and AB days was rounded up, thus providing the 7 years recorded by Manetho.²⁶⁵

The figures found in the Royal Canon of Turin require yet another remark: The lengths of reign assigned to the kings of the Third and early Fourth Dynasties influenced one another and finally produced pairs of equal figures: Nebka(re) (4.3) and Djoser-it (4.4) are each assigned 19 years, Djoser-ti (4.5) and the king (4.6) whose name was lost ("Hudjefa," i.e., Neferka(re)) are each assigned 6 years, Huni (4.7) and Snefru (4.8) are each assigned 24 years; it is furthermore interesting that Cheops (4.9) is assigned 23 years, which may be influenced by the figures of his immediate predecessors. It is highly improbable that these six (seven) figures are accurate and chronologically correct as they stand. In fact, Djoser's reign, which probably lasted for a period of 29 years,²⁶⁶ suffered the erroneous transfer of a ten to Nebka's original 9 years. Huni's reign may furthermore be traced back to an original 14 years, which then became wrongly aligned to Snefru's 24 years (< cencus-cycles).²⁶⁷ It is unfortunately impossible to date these mistakes of *nivellement* or intentional alterations because the later king-lists of Manetho and Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes suffered persistently from the addition and subtraction of tens. However, at least some of them must already have occurred in the early stages of handing down the Middle Kingdom *Rumpfliste* of the Royal Canon of Turin.

²⁶⁴ Stadelmann, "Länge der Regierung Snofrus," 234. It is unclear why the chamber system was left in an apparently unfinished state (this is emphasized as an argument in favor of a reign which lasted only 4 years by Verner, "Archaeological Remarks," 384). Given that it was manageable to prepare the chamber system, after its shell had been finished and while the superstructure of the Butic mastaba was under construction, this unfinished state more probably indicates some kind of revision of the outline or the design of the chamber system than the inability of achieving the intended aim because of the king's early death.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 86–87.

²⁶⁶ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 53; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, "Royal Annals," 23–24.

²⁶⁷ Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 79.

6 Manetho the Compiler and His Sources

The reexamination of the names and figures provided in the king-lists of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, and of the Royal Canon of Turin revealed a notable discrepancy concerning the figures of Snefru, Cheops, and Redjedef. On the one hand, the kings of the Third Manethonian Dynasty, the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, and—except for Snefru, Cheops, and Redjedef—the kings of the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty, and of the Third²⁶⁸ and Fourth Dynasties in the Royal Canon of Turin apparently show figures of regnal years which were correctly converted from census-cycles. But on the other hand, bare numbers of census-cycles are ascribed to Snefru, Cheops, and Redjedef in the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty and in the Royal Canon of Turin. This allows for the following provisional reconstruction of the sources used for the compilation of the king-lists of Manetho and Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes respectively (*cf.* Table 4.1).²⁶⁹

This synopsis reveals that the *Vorlagen* used by Manetho²⁷⁰ for his Third and Fourth Dynasties were, on the one hand, closely related to the *Vorlage* of the king-list quoted by Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes and, on the other hand, to the Royal Canon of Turin. It becomes obvious from the names of the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes that the “Herodotean Giza-group” is a secondary alteration either by the compiler of this list or an early copyist. It is, however, remarkable that only the names of Cheops (Σαώφις) and Chephren (Σαώφις β') were introduced anew, whereas the entry of Mycerinus was left in its correct position in the list. Mycerinus served thus as a fixed point, and it is for that reason that those three kings, now forming the “Herodotean Giza-group,” are located towards the end of the Fourth Dynasty.²⁷¹ This, and the duplicate of Cheops (Χνοῦθος), which remained in place, allows for the conclusion that, even to the newly construed

268 During the Third Dynasty, the kings still named their regnal years after eponymous events. The lengths of reign were therefore not calculated, but determined by counting the years as recorded in archives, annals, etc.

269 Explanatory notes for Table 4.1: Numbers in brackets preceding the kings' names allow for the equation of kings between the king-lists. The sequence of kings of the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes and of Manetho's *Vorlage A* follow the reconstructed double columns, *cf.* section 4.1 above.

270 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 19–26, 52–56, 85; Fecht, “Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*,” 117, 119.

271 On the contrary, Manetho used Cheops as the point of reference and thus kept him in place. He then relocated Chephren and Mycerinus and formed his “Herodotean Giza-group” right at the beginning of his Fourth Dynasty.

TABLE 4.1

Pseudo-Apollodorus/ Pseudo-Eratosthenes	Manetho A (Third Dynasty)	Manetho B (Fourth Dynasty)	Royal Canon of Turin	
(1) Μομχειρί	79 (1) Νεχερωφής	28 (2a) <i>Netjerichet</i>	?? (1) <i>Nb-k3<-R'w></i>	19
(2) Γοσορμήνης	30 (2) Τοσέρτασις	19 (2b) <i>Djoser</i>	?? (2) <i>Dśrjt</i>	19
	(3) Τόσορθρος			
(3) Στοῖχος	6 ḥ Τύρεις	7 (3) <i>Djoser-teti</i>	?? (3) <i>Dśr-tj</i>	6
(4) Μάρης	26 (5) "Αχγης	42 (4) <i>Neb/Neferkare</i>	?? (4) [Hw-]dʒ	6
(5) Άνωϋφις	20 (4) Μέσωχρις	17 (5) <i>Huni</i>	?? (5) <i>Hw[nj]</i>	24
(6) Σίριος	18 (6) Σήφουρις	30 (6) Σώρις	29 (6) <i>Śnfr<w></i>	24
(7) Χνοῦβος	22 (7) Σώφις	16 (7) Σοῦφις	63 (7) [Hwj=f-wj]	23
(8) Παῦωσις	13 (9) Κερφέρης	26 (9) Σοῦφις	66 (8) [R'w-jdd=f]	8
(9) <i>Chephren</i>	27 (11) <i>Mycerinus</i>	?? (11) Μεγχέρης	63 (9) <i>Hj[=f-R'w]</i>	??
(10) Βιῦρης	10 (8) <i>Redjedef</i>	?? (8) Πατοίσης	25 (10) [B3-k3-R'w]	??
(11) Μοσχερῆς	31 (10) <i>Baka</i>	?? (10) Βίχερις	22 (11) [Mn-k3.w-R'w]	??
(12) <i>Shepseskaf</i>	?? (12) <i>Shepseskaf</i>	?? (12) Σεβερχέρης	7 (12) [Śpss-k3-R'w]	4
(13) <i>Djedefptah?</i>	?? ???	(13) Θαμφθίς	9 (13) [*Pth-jdd=f]	2

"Herodotean Giza-group," the figures previously found with the original entries of Cheops and Chephren were assigned. Cheops' original mention was then overlooked and erroneously remained in the text. As a consequence, one king, *i.e.*, Djedefptah, needed to be dropped in order to keep a predefined number²⁷² of kings. And ultimately, Shepseskaf's mention was lost accidentally, perhaps when the entire Fifth Dynasty fell away for an unknown reason.

Manetho's *Vorlage A*, although closely related to the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, was independently emended as may be deduced from the position of Μέσωχρις when compared to that of Μάρης in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes. Μάρης was reintroduced into the king-list in his proper place, thereby replacing the ancient Egyptian *terminus technicus* "wśf" "left out," which is still found in the Royal Canon of Turin as "king" *Hw-dʒ* and in the Abydos king-list as "king" *Śdś*; both names are faulty conjectures of a scribe who misread and misinterpreted this ancient Egyptian *terminus technicus* of textual criticism.²⁷³ Manetho's *Vorlage A*,

²⁷² Cf. section 4.2 above.

²⁷³ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 14–16, 85; Goedcke, "King *Hwdj?*"; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 14–16; Fecht, "Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu Manetho," 117; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 10–11 and "Turin King-List," 147–48; cf. furthermore n. 104 above.

however, listed Μέσωχρις as the last king of the Third Dynasty, who was introduced either from a gloss *in margine* or from another king-list. The latter is more plausible insofar as the double entry *Τόσορθρος ἡ Τύρεις/*Τοσόρθορος ἡ Τύρεις is certainly the product of collating two sources in the course of the compilation of *Vorlage A* itself. In light of Manetho's orthographic conventions, Τύρεις' Hieratic (or Demotic) entry was also supplied with an early Greek gloss. It is thus interesting to discover that *Vorlage A* itself did not conform with the dynastic divisions as found in Manetho's text, but that one of the sources of *Vorlage A* must have done so, because otherwise the position of Μέσωχρις would be inexplicable. Moreover, this was the main reason why Manetho failed to divide the sequence of kings from *Vorlage A* correctly into two dynasties and, finally, why he included three kings of the historical Fourth Dynasty in his Third Dynasty. The sequence Σώϋφις—Κερφέρης implies once more that, in *Vorlage A*, the kings of the Fourth Dynasty were also arranged according to the "Herodotean Giza-group" with Cheops as its fixed point. Consequently, one would expect to find at least Mycerinus and an additional king, in all probability Redjedef, to be the successors of Κερφέρης according to Manetho's *Vorlage A*, but Baka and Shepseskaf may also have formed part of this king-list.

Manetho's *Vorlage B* is closely related to the Royal Canon of Turin, as is proven by the figures denoting unconverted numbers of census-cycles for Snefru, Cheops, and Redjedef. This resembles, furthermore, the correct historical sequence of kings and proves that the rearrangement of Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus in order to form the "Herodotean Giza-group" is the result of a late intervention.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ It is highly probable that the "Herodotean Giza-group" is indeed the result of Herodotus' histories (c. 450 BCE). The impact of his work on genuine Egyptian historiography cannot have occurred within a short time, and, in fact, some Hieratic or Demotic king-lists (Quack, "Papyrus CtYBR"; cf. nn. 79, 151 above) in Egyptian temple libraries (cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 214–29; Osing, *Tebtunis Papyri I*, 17–23) might never have been affected. It is, however, prudent to assume a considerable influence, even if only rather late, perhaps towards the end of the 4th century BCE, when Alexander the Great conquered Egypt and the Ptolemies founded their kingdom. Hecataeus of Abdera may have advanced this Herodotean phenomenon and one may therefore conclude that the immediate predecessors of Manetho, or perhaps he himself, reshaped some of the Egyptian king-lists. One may even doubt whether Manetho's *Vorlagen* were Hieratic/Demotic papyri or early Greek transcriptions/translations of local king-lists. One may, however, infer that Manetho himself converted both his *Vorlagen* from Hieratic (with some Greek and Demotic glosses) into Greek, especially when one takes into account the various instances which explicitly mention Egyptian writings as Manetho's sources (cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 213–14), e.g.: γέγραψεν γάρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν πάτριον ἴστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν <γραμμάτων> "for he wrote the history of his native country in Greek from the sacred <scriptures>" (*Contra Apionem I*, 73; Jacoby, *FrHistGr IIIC*, no. 609 T7a; cf. n. 26 above), ὁ γάρ Μανεθὼς οὗτος ὁ τὴν Αἴγυπτιακὴν ἴστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν ὑπεσχημένος "This, then, is

Above all it is puzzling that Manetho stopped including kings of the Fourth Dynasty into his Third Dynasty with Chephren, right in the middle of the “Herodotean Giza-group.” However, two reasons may have been decisive: On the one hand, Manetho may have kept to predefined numbers of kings (from *Vorlage B*) directing him towards the addition of three kings to his Third Dynasty.²⁷⁵ On the other hand, *Vorlage A* must have shown a change of pages between Chephren and Mycerinus because otherwise the misreading of the double column, which resulted in Manetho’s sequence of kings, would be inexplicable. In addition, Manetho failed to identify Snefru, Cheops, and

Manetho who faithfully translated Egyptian history from the sacred scriptures.” (*Contra Apionem* 1, 228 = Waddell, *Manetho*, 118–19; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 T10a; cf. n. 26 above); Flavius Josephus confirms this even in polemical passages, e.g., Μανεθώς ἔως μὲν ἡκολούθει ταῖς ἀρχαῖσις ἀναγραφαῖς, οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημάρτανεν “as long as Manetho followed the ancient records, he did not go far astray from truth” (*Contra Apionem* 1, 287; Waddell, *Manetho*, 146–47; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F10a; cf. n. 26 above), etc. This is moreover supported by the consistent Manethonian orthography, which indicates that he graecized the entire king-list at once (cf. nn. 57, 79, 151 above). The original version of the king-list known from the writings of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes was perhaps one of the latest pieces of Egyptian historiography not having suffered from this particular Greek influence. Anyhow, even this king-list was finally adjusted to the *communis opinio* of Greek historiography, but neither the time nor the models—perhaps Manetho, genuine Greek authors (Herodotus, Hecataeus of Abdera) or otherwise unknown king-lists similar to the so-called *Leipziger Weltchronik* (cf. Popko and Rücker, “Königsliste”; Colomo, et al., “Die älteste Weltchronik”; Weiß, “Weltchronik”; cf. also Bilabel, *Griechische Papyri* (s.v. *Papyrus Baden* 4, no. 59), etc.)—can be determined with certainty.

²⁷⁵ Redford’s assumption (Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 235–36; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 201) that Manetho added names to each dynasty of his first book more or less randomly and relentlessly, only seeking to get nine [*sic!*] kings for each of his dynasties, can thus be rejected (the first six dynasties according to the Epitome of Manetho’s *Aegyptiaca* comprise 8 kings, 9 kings, 8 kings, 8 kings, 9 kings, and 6 kings respectively, cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, 26–57; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F2–F3; There is also no plausible explanation for the fact that Manetho did not assign 8/9 kings to his Seventh to Eleventh Dynasties, which also formed part of the first book of the *Aegyptiaca*). Helck and Fecht have already demonstrated with the examples of the First and Second Dynasties that Manetho felt obliged to keep numbers of kings already found in one of his *Vorlagen* (perhaps in *Vorlage B*). In order to do so, Manetho omitted those names which he perceived as erroneous duplicates (Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 9–19; Fecht, “Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*,” 118), and combined the remaining names in a new king-list. The unparalleled number of 8 kings in Manetho’s Third Dynasty should accordingly be viewed as the result of Manetho’s failure to identify the names of *Vorlage A* with those of *Vorlage B* in combination with a change of pages in *Vorlage A*.

Chephren in *Vorlage A* with their counterparts in *Vorlage B*.²⁷⁶ Be that as it may, he chose the highest figures known to him for the kings of his Fourth Dynasty and thus dropped the figure of Mycerinus from *Vorlage A*.²⁷⁷ Manetho then copied the figure given with the name of Redjedef in *Vorlage A* in his Fourth Dynasty and assigned it correctly to Ὁτοῖσης. Next he ascribed the figure found with Ὁτοῖσης in *Vorlage B*, 9 years (< 8 years, XY months, AB days via rounding up), which matches closely the Royal Canon of Turin's 8 years, to Djedefptah at the very end of the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty.²⁷⁸ The 7 years ascribed to Σεβερχέρης are also taken from *Vorlage A*, which can thereby be proven to cover the entire Fourth Dynasty, maybe with the exception of Djedefptah. Shepseskaf's and Djedefptah's figures in *Vorlage B*—possibly 4 years and 2 years respectively—were thus replaced with the figures of *Vorlage A*, 7 years and 9 years (a leftover from Redjedef's entry) respectively. Manetho stopped using these two sources with the end of his Fourth Dynasty for an unknown reason. Maybe *Vorlage A* came to an end at this point, or Manetho succeeded in identifying the kings of both his *Vorlagen* from here onwards, but, ultimately, the exact reasons remain mere conjecture.²⁷⁹

In summary, the following concluding reconstruction of the sources of the *Vorlagen* of the king-lists of Manetho and Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes may be provided (*cf.* Table 4.2).²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Perhaps because of Demotic glosses terminating with the end of this column/page? Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 80.

²⁷⁷ The reason for this was of course his rivalry with Herodotus, whom Manetho criticized explicitly with respect to Cheops' name. He furthermore increased Cheops' figure to 63 years and thus surpassed Herodotus again.

²⁷⁸ Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 91–92.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 19–26, 52–56, 85; Fecht, “Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*,” 117, 119. One may suppose that, from Mycerinus onwards, the entries in the Hieratic *Vorlage A* no longer displayed Demotic (and, very exceptionally, Greek) glosses, which made it easier for Manetho to identify the plain Hieratic kings' names as long as they were not misspelled.

²⁸⁰ The kings' names are given in their final form after Manetho and Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes (*cf.* sections 4.1 and 5.1). Figures with an asterisk are corrected according to sections 4.2 and 5.2 above; for the majority of instances, it is impossible to determine when a certain number of tens was added and whether this was done at once or in a process consisting of several steps. The overall practice can, however, be identified as covering three phases, to which additions of tens may tentatively be assigned:

(1) alterations prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty, *i.e.*, around the time of the composition of the Royal Canon of Turin or in the subsequent course of copying it: Nebka(re) *9 → 19; Huni *14 → 24; Cheops *13 → 23; *cf.* also the loss of a ten in the case of Djoser *29

TABLE 4.2

Pseudo-Apollodorus/ Pseudo-Eratosthenes	Manetho A (Third Dynasty)	Manetho B (Fourth Dynasty)	Royal Canon of Turin	
(1) Μομχειρί	*19 (1) Νεχερωφής	*19 (2a) <i>Netjerichet</i>	?? (1) <i>Nb-kȝ-Rȝw</i>	19
(2) Γοσορμής	*19 (2) Τοσέρτασις	19 (2b) <i>Djoser</i>	?? (2) <i>Dȝsr-jt</i>	19
		(3) Τόσορθρος		
(3) Στοῦχος	6 ḡ Τύρεις	7 (3) <i>Djoser-teti</i>	?? (3) <i>Dȝsr-tj</i>	6
(4) Μάρης	*16 (5) Ἀχῆς	*24 (4) <i>Neb/Neferkare</i>	?? (4) [Hw-]dfȝ	6
(5) Ἀνωϋφίς	*24 (4) Μέσωχρις	17 (5) <i>Huni</i>	?? (5) <i>Hw[nj]</i>	24
(6) Σίριος	*48 (6) Σήγφουρις	*48 (6) Σῶρις	*25 (6) <i>Snfrw-Rȝw</i>	24
(7) Χνοῦβος	*26 (7) Σώϋφις	*26 (7) Σοῦφις	*23 (7) [Hwj=f-wj]	23
(8) Παῦωσις	*15 (9) Κερφέρης	26 (9) Σοῦφις	*26 (8) [Rȝw-dd=f]	8
(9) <i>Chephren</i>	27 (11) <i>Mycerinus</i>	?? (11) Μεγχέρης	?? (9) <i>Hȝ[=f-Rȝw]</i>	*26
(10) Βιῦρης	*2 (8) <i>Redjedef</i>	*15 (8) Πατοίσης	*9 (10) [Bȝ-kȝ-Rȝw]	*2
(11) Μοσχερής	*29 (10) <i>Baka</i>	*2 (10) Βίχερις	*2 (11) [<i>Mn-kȝ-w-Rȝw</i>]	*28
(12) <i>Shepseskaf</i>	?? (12) <i>Shepseskaf</i>	*7 (12) Σεβερχέρης	*4 (12) [<i>Špss-kȝ-Rȝw</i>]	4
(13) <i>Djedefptah?</i>	*2? ???	(13) Θαμφθίς	*2 (13) [* <i>Pth-jdd=f</i>]	2

→ 19 (*cf.* the Royal Canon of Turin and Excursus II [end]), the alteration affecting the figure of Neferka(re) *6 → 16 could belong here or to the next phase;

- (2) the addition of tens before or around the time of the compilation of the writings of Greek historiographers; Herodotus: Cheops *23 → *53 → (with subsequent loss of the units) 50, Chephren *26 → 56, Manetho: Cheops *23 → 63, Chephren *26 → 66, etc., the alterations found in the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes: Nebka(re) *19 → 79, Djoser *19 → *29 → (with subsequent rounding up) 30, Neferka(re) *16 → 26, Baka(re) *2 → *12 → (with subsequent loss of the units) 10, etc.;
- (3) interventions by Jewish and Christian chronographers in order to align the Biblical and Egyptian chronologies (*cf.* Wacholder, "Biblical Chronology"; Cohen, "History and Historiography"; Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews"; Larsson, "Chronology of the Pentateuch"; Hornung, "Introduction," 3–5; *cf.* also Gruen, *Heritage*; Gager, "Some Thoughts"), among which at least some of the remaining additions must belong.

One should also keep in mind that scribal errors and unintentional *nivellement* of figures which were somehow reminiscent of one another (*e.g.*, because of identical units and close proximity or even immediate sequence within the king-list) may have contributed to the deterioration of the individual figures (*cf.* section 5.2 [end]). It is, however, extremely difficult to distinguish between intentional and unintentional alterations. Cf. in general Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 56, 81–83; Fecht, "Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu Manetho," 121; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 9–33.

Excursus III The Abydos and Saqqara King-Lists

The Abydos king-list is known from two copies, one in the temple of Sethos I²⁸¹ and another in the temple of Ramesses II.²⁸² Both copies are identical with respect to the first 76 kings of which Sethos I is the last, but Ramesses II added, of course, his own name. The Saqqara king-list is found in the tomb of Tjuloy, a contemporary of Ramesses II,²⁸³ and consists of 58 names copied in retrograde sequence. Both lists neglect, for the greater part, the First and Second Intermediate Periods, but the Abydos king-list mentions ten kings of the late Sixth to Eighth Dynasties, which even the Royal Canon of Turin lacks.²⁸⁴ It thus becomes obvious that the Abydos and Saqqara king-lists contain independent historiographical information, although their compilers may have used *Teillisten* which are also known from the Royal Canon of Turin. Both king-lists are only extracts²⁸⁵ of more elaborate king-lists, but they are highly valuable for the determination of Manetho's sources for his Third and Fourth Dynasties (*cf.* Table 4.3).

In the case of the Third Dynasty, the Abydos king-list reveals once more that it was compiled from at least two sources. King Sedjes (Śdś), whose name is the result of a misunderstood *terminus technicus* indicating a lacuna in the *Vorlage*,²⁸⁶ was correctly identified with Neferkare from another *Vorlage* rather close to the Saqqara king-list, but, perhaps by mishap, Sedjes (Śdś) also remained in the king-list. As a result, Huni, the immediately subsequent king, was removed from the sequence of kings, possibly because of a predefined

281 PM v, 25; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 18–20; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, *passim*; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 23–28, 215; Gardiner, *Geschichte*, 489–501.

282 PM v, 35; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 20–21.

283 PM III.2, 666; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 21–24; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, *passim*; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 23–28, 216; Gardiner, *Geschichte*, 489–501.

284 Cf., e.g., Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 30–34; Fecht, "Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*," 119; Gardiner, *Geschichte*, 496–97; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 19–24; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 148–49; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 10–11 and "Turin King-List," 144.

285 The Abydos and Saqqara tables of kings contain the names of those kings who were especially worshipped in the local ancestor cult, but they are based on king-lists *proprio sensu*. The Theban Table of Kings (PM II, II2; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 29), which served the same purpose, was possibly a list of kings whose statues were present in the temple of Karnak, which deprives this table of kings of any historiographical value. Cf. Maspero, "Notes sur le rapport," 281 and "Notes sur les objets," 189–90; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 60–62; Arnold, "Bemerkungen zu den frühen Tempeln von el-Tôd," 178; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 29–34.

286 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 14–16, 85; Goedicke, "King Hwdf"; cf. also Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 14–16; Fecht, "Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*," 117; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 10–11 and "Turin King-List," 147–48; cf. n. 104 above.

TABLE 4.3

Abydos king-list	Saqqara king-list
Third Dynasty	Third Dynasty
(15) <i>njśwt Nb-k3</i>	
(16) <i>njśwt [///] Dśr-sš</i>	(12) <i>njśwt Dśr</i>
(17) <i>njśwt Ttj</i>	(13) <i>njśwt Dśr-ttj</i>
(18) <i>njśwt Šdš</i>	(14) <i>njśwt Nb-k3-RcW</i>
(19) <i>njśwt Nfr-k3-RcW</i>	(15) <i>njśwt Hwnj</i>
Fourth Dynasty	Fourth Dynasty
(20) <i>njśwt Šnfrw</i>	(16) <i>njśwt Šnfrw</i>
(21) <i>njśwt H<wj>=f-wj</i>	(17) <i>njśwt H<wj>=f-wj {f}</i>
(22) <i>njśwt-RcW-jdd=f</i>	(18) <i>njśwt-RcW-jdd=f</i>
(23) <i>njśwt Hj=f-RcW</i>	(19) <i>njśwt Hj=f-PcW</i>
(24) <i>njśwt Mn-k3.w-RcW</i>	(20) [<i>njśwt B3-k3-RcW</i>]
(25) <i>njśwt Špss-k3=f</i>	(21) [<i>njśwt Mn-k3.w-RcW</i>]
	(22) [<i>njśwt Špss-k3=f</i>]
	(23) [<i>njśwt *Pth-jdd=f</i>]
	(24) [<i>njśwt *Hrw-jdd=f</i>]

number of kings. If this is correct, one has to conclude that the Abydos king-list is compiled from a *Vorlage* which, already by the time of the New Kingdom, knew a dynastic division between Huni and Snefru. The Saqqara king-list either never suffered from the lacuna in the Third Dynasty or it was emended correctly. Whatever the case, one would expect it to have displayed five kings, with Nebkare (\leftarrow Nebka) and Neferkare (\leftarrow Neferka) immediately preceding Huni. The layout of the present Saqqara copy suggests, however, that the scribe was running short of space²⁸⁷ and started skipping kings he had originally intended to include. Owing to the approximate homophony²⁸⁸ of Nebkare

287 Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 21–24; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, *passim*; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 23–28, 216; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 85.

288 Cf. Seidlmayer, “Die staatliche Anlage,” 198–99 and “Dynasty 3,” 120; cf. section 4.1 with n. 92.

(← Nebka) ~ **Něb-kō-Rīčē* and Neferkare (← Neferka) ~ **Nāf-kō-Rīčē* ~ **Něf-kō-Rīčē*, he might thus have reduced them to a single entry. It is nevertheless unclear when the scribe noticed his troubles and started skipping kings. Obviously, he did not feel forced to do so in the Fourth Dynasty, and except for the absence of Neferkare (~ Nebkare) there is no hint that he did so at the end of the Third Dynasty. It is important to remember that he finally failed to conclude his retrograde king-list with the first king of the First Dynasty, Menes. Therefore, the scribe must have started skipping kings too late and hence he abridged the sequence of kings only from the Second Dynasty backwards, which also explains the lack of greater parts of the First Dynasty. The Third Dynasty may thus be viewed as complete when compared with the *Vorlage*, which means that the reduction of the almost homophonous entries of Nebka(re) and Neferka(re) must have occurred earlier and within the main line of tradition of the Saqqara branch. Nevertheless, taking the position of Neferkare and/or Nebkare before Huni and the presence or absence of Nebkare (← Nebka) immediately preceding Djoser as indicators for the relations between the king-lists should only be done with great caution and appropriate restraint, because, with the secondary reintroduction of Neferkare (← Neferka) into the Abydos king-list, the local traditions were contaminated with one another anyway.²⁸⁹

The same seems true with regard to the name of Djoser-teti. It may be merely accidental that the Abydos king-list mentions this king as Teti (*Ttj*) while the Saqqara king-list names him, similarly to the Royal Canon of Turin (*Dśr-tj*), Djoser-teti (*Dśr-ttj*). Both variants are well-known from commemorative inscriptions,²⁹⁰ and it is thus impossible to decide which of the two variants was original to Manetho's *Vorlage A*. One is, however, inclined to deduce that the variant Τύρεις ~ *Trj* ← *Ttj* is original to the Abydene line of tradition, to which Τόσορθος was added from another one, possibly the Memphite line

289 A truly instructive example is the section on the kings belonging to the late Sixth to Eighth Dynasties. The Abydos king-list provides ten names unknown to the Royal Canon of Turin, which, according to the space available, stated simply “*wsf*” “lost,” as if it were a single king whose entry had gone missing. This loss has recently been attributed to the immediate *Vorlage* of the Royal Canon of Turin (Ryholt, “Royal Canon,” 27 and “Late Old Kingdom”), but it must be considerably older because the Royal Canon of Turin does not display an irregularity in the distribution of the formula *jnj.n=f m njwjj.t* “he exercised kingship.” It is thus the copyist of the Royal Canon of Turin’s immediate *Vorlage* who, at the least, must be held responsible for the representation of ten missing entries as a single remark, “*wsf*” “lost.” Cf. also Ryholt, *Political Situation*, II; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 29–32; Gardiner, *Geschichte*, 495–97; Málek, “Original Version”; cf. furthermore n. 104 above.

290 Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 96–100.

of tradition closely related to the Saqqara king-list. If this holds true, the following scenario may be supposed: An early version (Nineteenth Dynasty) of Manetho's *Vorlage A* called Djoser-teti simply Teti (*Ttj*); to this, an alternative variant Djoser-teti (*Dśr-ttj*) was secondarily introduced (New Kingdom?) from another, perhaps the Memphite line of tradition. The order of these two variants was reversed at an unknown point of time (**Ttj* – *Dśr-ttj* → **Dśr-ttj* – *Ttj*), perhaps by a scribe who noticed that Teti (*Ttj*) is nothing but a *hypocoristicum* of Djoser-teti (*Dśr-ttj*) (perhaps late New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period?). Subsequently, the misspellings **Dśr-ttj* → *Dśr-trj* and **Ttj* → *Trj* occurred, which are expected to have happened at the same time; it is, however, also possible that only *Dśr-ttj* or *Ttj* were misspelled (either **Dśr-ttj* – *Ttj* → **Dśr-trj* – *Ttj* or **Dśr-ttj* – *Ttj* → **Dśr-ttj* – *Trj*), which was secondarily emended by an attentive scribe who noticed the unexpected discrepancy, but chose the corrupt variant as the model for his conjecture (Third Intermediate Period, Late Period?).²⁹¹ Finally, the gloss (**Túps(īç)*—be it as an annotation *in margine* or as a supralinear note—was added to *Trj* (4th/3rd centuries BCE), whereas *Dśr-trj* was transcribed by Manetho himself as **Tōσόρθορος* (→ *Tόσορθρος*).²⁹²

In the case of the Fourth Dynasty, the Abydos king-list is obviously abridged, but it is impossible to determine with certainty how many kings and which kings were skipped. Most probably, however, only Baka is missing, perhaps because of the ephemeral nature of his reign; Djedefptah thus never formed part of the Abydos king-list. The Saqqara king-list contains nine compartments which are dedicated to the Fourth Dynasty, one more than any other king-list. This is even the more remarkable as, in its present appearance, the Saqqara king-list is the result of problems with space.²⁹³ Of those nine kings mentioned, the last five names have unfortunately been damaged, and it is only by conjecture that the

²⁹¹ According to Möller, there are hardly any ligatures found in manuscripts postdating the Twenty-Second Dynasty (Möller, *Paläographie* III, 64, n. 1). The alleged misreading of *tt* → *tr* must thus have occurred either before those ligatures fell out of use or some time after they had fallen out of use when a manuscript showing the ligature *tt* was copied by a scribe no longer used to apply such ligatures (Möller, *Paläographie* II, nos. 38–39). The latter seems more plausible, especially if one considers the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, which had developed a special interest in Egyptian classical literature (cf., e.g., Helck, *Lehre des Djedefhor*; Quack, “Aus einer spätägyptischen Sammelhandschrift”; Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, 39, n. 52; Hoffmann and Quack, *Anthologie*, 234, n. 366, 290, n. 415; cf. Gestermann, “Bezeugungen” and *Überlieferung*; cf., also n. 257 above) and history (cf., e.g., Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 203–06; Tiradritti, *Egyptian Renaissance* (especially Liptay, “Past Imperfect”; Pischikova, “Pharaonic Renaissance”); Quack, “Reiche”).

²⁹² Cf. n. 79 above.

²⁹³ Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 21–24; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, *passim*; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 23–28, 216; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 85.

sequence of kings may be reconstructed. It is, however, most likely that eight of the nine kings in the Saqqara king-list are identical with those eight kings known from Manetho's king-list and the Royal Canon of Turin. The ninth king may thus be identified with another prince of the popular tradition²⁹⁴ reflected in the Wadi Hammamat graffito and the stories of Papyrus Westcar, *i.e.*, either Baufre or Hordjedef. However, one would expect Baufre to have been merged with Baka (→ Bakare); if so, Hordjedef appeared twice in this king-list: once in the reshaped form of Djedefptah (← Ptahdjedef), which one also expects in an early variant of the Royal Canon of Turin (perhaps as *Ptahdjedef), and a second time as Hordjedef. This second mention was perhaps added secondarily from yet another king-list or possibly even directly from popular tradition after the first amendment had been changed to Djedefptah (← Ptahdjedef ← Hordjedef).²⁹⁵

When the Royal Canon of Turin, the reconstructed *Vorlagen A* and *B* of Manetho's king-list, the *Vorlage* of the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, and the Abydos and Saqqara king-lists are compared to one another, the following relations between them can be observed.²⁹⁶

First, Manetho's *Vorlage A* and the *Vorlage* of the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes are closely related to each other and furthermore to the Abydos king-list. Although Manetho's *Vorlage A* and the *Vorlage* of the king-list of Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes share the figures for Snefru, Cheops, and Redjedef which were correctly converted from census-cycles, they nevertheless display the same lacuna in the Third Dynasty as all other king-lists. It is thus most likely that an early Middle Kingdom version of the Royal Canon of Turin came to Abydos as an official king-list, where it was adjusted by use of local archives and historiographical data.²⁹⁷ In the New Kingdom, the Abydene line of tradition was contaminated in a limited number of instances with the Memphite line of tradition close to the Saqqara king-list and resulted in the reintroduction of the name of Neferka(re). The most striking feature of the Abydene line of tradition is, after all, that even in Manetho's reception, it provides the correct lengths of reign for all kings of the Fourth Dynasty, including Snefru, Cheops, and Redjedef.²⁹⁸

Second, Manetho's *Vorlage B*, the Saqqara king-list, and the Royal Canon of Turin are equally closely related to one another. The original version of the Royal

²⁹⁴ Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 24–25, 52–53 and “Gedanken”; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 25–26; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 211; Hays, “Historicity”; Drioton, “Liste des rois.”

²⁹⁵ Cf. n. 175 above.

²⁹⁶ Cf. in particular Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 85.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 66, n. 372.

²⁹⁸ Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 85, n. 433.

Canon of Turin represents a Heliopolitan tradition to judge from its dynasties of gods which originally began with the Great Ennead of Heliopolis.²⁹⁹ However, if the Royal Canon of Turin was compiled as an official king-list in the early Twelfth Dynasty, as was suggested above, this may have been motivated by the status of Heliopolis as the traditional center of annalistic writings.³⁰⁰ At least one line of tradition was then adjusted to a Memphite background, as can be deduced from the rearrangement of the dynasties of gods in the actually preserved copy of the Royal Canon of Turin and in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (*Vorlage B*). Based on the ninth king found in the Fourth Dynasty according to the Saqqara king-list, there must also have existed a genuine Memphite tradition, which possibly interacted continuously with the Heliopolitan tradition due to the close vicinity of Heliopolis and Memphis. This may be furthermore substantiated with the differences at the very beginning of the Third Dynasty, which began with Djoser according to Manetho's *Vorlage B* and the Saqqara king-list, but with Nebka(re) according to the Royal Canon of Turin and the Abydos king-list. Manetho's *Vorlage B* thus displays characteristics of the Saqqara king-list (Nebka(re) missing at the beginning of the Third Dynasty) and the Royal Canon of Turin (addition of Djedefptah only).

7 Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*—Chance and Peril

As the preceding discussion has revealed, Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* must be viewed as being extremely complex, from its compilation to its scattered remains as found in medieval manuscripts. Nevertheless, it is Manetho's framework of thirty dynasties (at some stage, the Thirty-First Dynasty, *i.e.*, the Second Persian Domination of Egypt, was added),³⁰¹ which still forms the

²⁹⁹ Cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 4–8.

³⁰⁰ Cf. the canonical scene depicting the king accompanied by Thoth and Seshat who inscribe his name, his length of reign, the number of *Sed*-Festivals to be celebrated by him, etc., on the leaves of the sacred *jšd*-tree in Heliopolis (Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 81–82 [with further bibliographical references]).

³⁰¹ Lloyd, "Manetho and the thirty-first dynasty"; Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* consisted of three books (cf. Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F2, F3a–3b; Waddell, *Manetho*, 62–65, 152–55, 184–87). The first of these covered the dynasties of gods, demigods, spirits, and the First to Eleventh Dynasties of men, the second the Twelfth to Nineteenth Dynasties of men, the third the Twentieth to Thirtieth/Thirty-first Dynasties of men. It is, however, unclear whether the division into three books was intentional, and if so, which reasons were decisive (*e.g.*, Manetho may have followed the model of Berossus' *Babyloniaca* in the rivalry of the early Seleucid and Ptolemaic Empires and their quest for cultural and political hegemony, cf. *e.g.*, Waddell, *Manetho*, x; Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 95–97; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 195–96; against this assumption Adler, *Time Immemorial*,

backbone of ancient Egyptian chronology. This division of dynasties, as artificial as it may be,³⁰² is itself rooted in genuine Egyptian historiography. Already the Royal Canon of Turin, which thereby reflects the earliest available stage, displays some such divisions, but the First to Fifth Manethonian Dynasties are still an undivided unit.³⁰³ As became evident in the course of the evaluation of the position of the kings Nebka(re) and Neferka(re) within the Third Dynasty according to the king-lists of Abydos and Saqqara, there must nevertheless also have existed a dynastic order already much more similar to that of Manetho by the time of the New Kingdom. Even if Manetho may have introduced one dynastic division or the other just in order to achieve an ideal total of thirty dynasties, the main reasons for creating dynasties were probably

- (a) ruling families or houses according to Egyptian tradition,³⁰⁴
- (b) —especially for the Thinite Period and the Old Kingdom—the grouping of kings according to their burial places,³⁰⁵ and
- (c) changes in the system of naming regnal years as reflected in the royal annals of the Old Kingdom.³⁰⁶

60–65; Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis*, 240–43), or whether it was the result of practical conditions such as the average amount of text a papyrus scroll was capable of (*cf.* Pöhlmann, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* I, 87–88; Schubart, *Palaeographie*, 57–58, 64–65), etc. Cf. Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F2, F3a–3b, F25; Waddell, *Manetho*, 2–25; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 4–8; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 229–339; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 196–97.

³⁰² Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 198–202; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 241, n. 41; Málek, “La division de l’histoire”; Redford, “Writing”; Schneider, “History as Festival,” “Periodisierung,” and “Periodizing Egyptian History”; *cf.* also n. 291 above.

³⁰³ Cf. Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 32–33, “Turin King-List,” 139–43, and “Royal Canon,” 27–29. A similarly unbroken line of kings—perhaps covering the First to Sixth/Eighth Dynasties—is mentioned in the writings of Diodoros Siculus (perhaps quoting Hecataeus of Abdera; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 264 F25; Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus* I, 160–61, [s.v. 1.45.3]): ἔξης δὲ ἀρξαὶ λέγεται τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως τοὺς ἀπογόνους δύο πρὸς τοὺς πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἄπαντας ἐτη πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα “And it is said that the descendants of the aforementioned king (*scil.* Menes), altogether 52, reigned, one after the other, for more than 1040 years.” This remark indicates that, even at the dawn of the Ptolemaic Period, different and divergent dynastic systems existed side by side. It was perhaps the fame of Manetho’s framework of 30 dynasties which led to a uniform interpretation of Egyptian history and superseded all concurring models.

³⁰⁴ Ryholt, “Turin King-List,” 139–43 and “Royal Canon,” 27–29; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 200. *Cf.* also the supposed “house of Cheti” (Fecht, *Vorwurf*, 174–75; *cf.* Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 21; critical Gomáa, *Besiedlung*, 233, 356) and the conjectured “house of Sehetepibre” (Royal Canon of Turin, VI.4 = 7.4, Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, pl. III; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 210).

³⁰⁵ Málek, “La division de l’histoire.”

³⁰⁶ Baud, “Ménès, la mémoire monarchique,” 114–15 and “Les frontiers,” 39–43; Ryholt, “Royal Canon,” 31.

It is thus difficult to judge the value of Manetho's dynastic divisions and to explain their origins in detail, but they are certainly a piece of ancient Egyptian historiography.³⁰⁷ In this respect, the dynastic division separating the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties is a particularly instructive example: Manetho recorded Elephantine (*ȝbw*) as the place of origin of the Fifth Dynasty. This is certainly the result of some kind of corruption of his *Vorlagen* and may be traced back to *Śȝhw*,³⁰⁸ a town in the Nile Delta which is the place of origin of the Fifth Dynasty according to the stories of Papyrus Westcar.³⁰⁹ In the popular tradition found in those stories,³¹⁰ a dynastic division between Shepseskaf and Userkaf must have been known in the Second Intermediate Period at the latest, when the stories of Papyrus Westcar were written down in their actual appearance.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Mâlek, "La division de l'histoire"; Mathieu, "Les contes du Papyrus Westcar."

³⁰⁸ Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 153; cf. Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*, pl. ix.9.10.17.22; cf. also Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 140; Brunner, "Sachebu."

³⁰⁹ Cf Hays, "Historicity"; Mathieu, "Les contes du Papyrus Westcar"; Goedicke, "Thoughts"; Jenni, "Papyrus Westcar"; Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*; Lepper, *Untersuchungen*.

³¹⁰ The story telling of the birth of the divine triplets must itself be viewed as the combination of two variants of a single literary topic because, at first, Djedi foretells only two of the triplets to ascend to the throne, whereas the third is destined to become the high-priest of Re in Heliopolis (Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*, pl. ix.10–11), but, later on, when their mother Ruddjedet gives birth to them, all three boys are welcomed by the gods as future kings of Egypt (Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*, pl. x.17–xi.1). This second interpretation may be founded on some kind of historical parallel in the Thirteenth Dynasty, when this actual version of the stories was probably composed and when three brothers reigned one after the other: kings Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Sobekhotep IV (Franke, *Heiligtum des Hqai*, 69–70; Parkinson, *Poetry*, 182, 192, 295–96). Cf. for the historical background of the two homonymous queens, Chentkaus I and Chentkaus II, either of whom was the mother of two kings, and for additional references Baud, *Famille royale* II, nos. 186–87; Callender, *In Hathor's Image*, s.v. Khentkaus I, Khentkaus II.

³¹¹ Manetho's account of the Fifth Dynasty may have been even further influenced by this popular tradition. According to Fecht, "Review of Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*," 119, the name of Newoserre was replaced with Rewoser's, who is known as the husband of Ruddjedet and thus the stepfather of the divine triplets in the stories of Papyrus Westcar (cf. Morenz, *Beiträge*, 118, who suggests that Rewoser's name was created in order to allude to that of king Newoserre representing the prototypical king of the Fifth Dynasty). Most probably, Rewoser's name was originally a special kind of nominal sentence (pattern *substantive—adjective*, cf. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* II, § 948; cf. for the cuneiform rendering of the Egyptian personal name *Rw-nfr* ~ **Ri’ȝw-náfr* > **Ri/ȝ-á-náfā* as ^m*Ri/e-a-na-pa* Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, 18), but the adjective was secondarily replaced with a *pseudoparticiple*: *Rw-wśr* → *Rw-wśr.w* ~ **Ri’ȝw-wášrāw* > **Rēȝ-wášrē* > **Rāȝ-wóšrē* ~ **Paxōȝp̄t̄s* → *Paxōȝp̄t̄s* (with misspelling *-ȝoc- → *-ȝoθ-, metathesis *-ȝoθ- → -ooȝ- and itacistic corruption *-ȝs → -ȝ; cf. West, *Textual Criticism*, 25; Pöhlmann,

In the Royal Canon of Turin, which was copied in the Nineteenth Dynasty, the First to Fifth Dynasties are still considered a single undivided Dynasty. Therefore, largely differing systems of dynastic order must have existed already during the Second Intermediate Period.

Similar to Herodotus' account of Egyptian history,³¹² Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* was basically a king-list with narrative sections on events assigned to the reigns

Überlieferungsgeschichte II, 43–46; Schubart, *Palaeographie*; Kenyon, *Palaeography*, table of alphabets (after p. 128); cf. furthermore n. 56 above; cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 348–54; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21 and *Papyrus BM 10808*, 28; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62). It is, however, more plausible that the names of Rewoser and Newoserre had become homophonous, because the correct reading of Newoserre's name was uncontestedly *Nj-R^cw-wśr* “the strength belongs to Re” (cf. Satzinger, “Syntax der Präpositionsadjektive”; Jansen-Winkel, “Nisbeadjektiv und Partizip”; Jenni, “Zugehörigkeit und Besitz”; this also touches the so-called *Lamare-Problem*, which cannot be discussed here, cf. most recently Buchberger, *Transformation*, 619–31): *Nj-R^cw-wśr* → *Nj-R^cw-wśrw* – one has to suggest a secondary replacement of *wśr* with synonymous *wśrw*, cf. *Mn-nfr* ~ **Mín-näfär* > **Mínäfā* > **Mínfā* > **Mémfē* ~ Μέμφις, and with replacement of *nfr* with *nfrw*, *Mn-nfrw* ~ **Mín-náfrūw* > **Mín-náfrū* > **Mén-náfrā* > **Mén-nófrē* ~ Μενόφρεως (genitive, nominative *Μένοφρις, cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 81–84; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 36–48, 72, 127; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 162, 195; cf. also Popko and Rücker, “Königsliste,” 48–49; cf. for the Greek inflectional pattern, which speaks in favor of a toponym and thus declines the interpretation of *Μένοφρις as a king's name, n. 57) – *Nj-R^cw-wśr* ~ *(*Jā*)*nij-R^cšuw-wášrūw* > **nī-Rīč-wášrē* > **ñ-Rēč-wášrē* > **ñ-Rāč-wóśrē* ~ *Παυσόρης → Παθούρης (cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 32–33; Buchberger, *Transformation*, 624–30; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 20–21, 64–77, 314; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 194–97; Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 361–62; cf. for the reduction and, finally, loss of the unstressed *nisba* (*j*)*ny* in initial position *Nj-św-b3-nb-Dd(w)*.*t* ~ *(*Jā*)*nij-śuw-bī-nib-Dúdwyt* > **nī-ś-bī-nib-Dúdē* > **ñ-ś-b-ñb-Dédē* > **ě-ś-b-ñ-Dédē* ~ Εσβενδήτης > **s-m-ñ-Déd* ~ Σμένδης, cf. for the individual elements' vocalization Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 108; Fecht, “Namen ägyptischer Fürsten und Städte,” 114, n. 3, and *Wortakzent*, §§ 150–54, 176–78, 219, n. 352; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 265–67, 314; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 202 and “Ist Mythos,” 555; Buchberger, *Transformation*, 624–30). Παθούρης is thus most probably an amalgamation of Newoserre and Rewoser.

³¹² Herodotus states (Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.100.1): μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἱέες ἐκ βύθου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριγκοσίων τε καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτησι δὲ γενεῆσι ἀνθρώπων δικτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθιοπες ἥσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρίη, οἱ δὲ ὄλλοι οἱ ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. “And after him (scil. Menes), the priests read out of a book the names of another 330 kings. Among those generations of men were 18 Ethiopian kings, and one epichoric queen; but the others were Egyptian men.” Then Herodotus mentions 12 kings, including the “Herodotean Giza-group” (cf. Erbse, “Vier Bemerkungen”), the *Dodecarchy* (Third Intermediate Period) and the Saite kings until the Persian conquest. Hude, *Historiae*, s.v. II.99–III.13; Lloyd,

of the respective kings.³¹³ The most important of those events were possibly also included in the Epitome in the form of glosses.³¹⁴ Even though in the course of the transmission of the Epitome the glosses may have slipped into the wrong places because copyists worked thoughtlessly and too mechanically,³¹⁵ they still reflect Egyptian historical consciousness, and they thus preserve snippets from genuine Egyptian sources.³¹⁶ It is for that reason that Manetho's

Herodotus Book II, 1, 185–92, III, 1–6, *passim*; A similar statement is found with Diodorus Siculus, *cf.* nn. 7, 303, 316 s.v. (4).

313 Dillery, "Manetho and Greek Historiography"; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 229–30.

314 Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 212–14; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 208–10.

315 The gloss on Imhotep found with Τόσορθρος, the second king of the Third Manethonian Dynasty, is an example of a misattribution by Manetho himself (*cf.* Wildung, *Imhotep*, 33–32; Ryholt, "Late Old Kingdom" Quack, "Reiche," 15, with n. 47; Aufrère, "Imhotep et Djoser"). Since it was Manetho himself who misread the double column of his *Vorlage A*, thus producing a totally confused sequence of kings, one may conclude that he furthermore misattributed the historical events found in his *Vorlagen* with Djoser's name. If his *Vorlage* told him that the second king of this dynasty was a contemporary of Imhotep, he consequently would have treated Τόσορθρος (Djoser-teti) as Τοσέρτασις (Djoser). He also may have "corrected" the information of his *Vorlagen*, which he felt misleading and contradictory because of his own mistake. As a result, the compiler(s) of the Epitome must have found the information concerning Imhotep already in the wrong place. They then perpetuated Manetho's erroneous attribution by faithfully adhering to it because they were unable to recognize his mishap. On the contrary, Eusebius, or one of the copyists of the line of tradition providing him with the Epitome, must have failed in identifying Cheops. According to Eusebius, the third king of the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty was called Χέοψ by Herodotus and was responsible for the erection of the Great Pyramid at Giza. It thus becomes obvious that one of the scribes copied the names of the king-list and then added the glosses *in margine*, thereby confusing the homonymous kings Σοῦφις ~ Cheops in second place and Σοῦφις ~ Chephren in third place. The attribution of glosses to a specific king should thus always be treated with great caution, especially if there are two or more similar-named or even homonymous kings within a single dynasty.

316 It has been stressed (Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, 121–28, 140; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 82–89; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 212–14; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 208–10) that the glosses of the kings of the First to Third Dynasties prove the existence of a somewhat garbled knowledge of the Old Kingdom royal annals as late as the Graeco-Roman Period. Eponymous events and heights of Nile floods (*cf.* Seidlmayer, *Historische und moderne Nilstände*) were, however, misinterpreted on their long journey through time until Manetho included them in his *Aegyptiaca*. The following examples may illustrate this complex process (*cf.* for further suggestions, Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 85–89):

(1) The gloss on Menes (Μήνης), according to Eusebius, reads: οὗτος ὑπερόπιον στρατείαν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐκρίθη. ὑπὸ δὲ ἵπποποτάμου ἡρπάσθη. "He made a foreign expedition and was considered renowned, but he was carried off by a

- hippopotamus." (Waddell, *Manetho*, 30–31; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F3b). One may deduce that annalistic entries such as *śkj Jwntj.w* "smiting the bowmen" (Palermo Stone, *recto*, III.2, cf. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 106, cf. also the first part of the gloss attributed to the first king of the Third Manethonian Dynasty, Νεχερωφής, and n. 66 above) and *śtj.t h3b* "shooting the hippopotamus" (Palermo Stone, *recto*, III.8, cf. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 112, 114) formed the basis of this gloss, but the details are still unclear. Cf. for the death of Menes according to Manetho, Vernus "Ménés"; cf. for the significance of the hippopotamus, le Pape, "Crocodile"; Pardey, "Nilpferd"; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*; Störk, "Nilpferd."
- (2) According to Africanus, Manetho recorded for Athothis ("Αθωθις), the second king of his First Dynasty, the following gloss: ... ὁ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασίλεια οἰκοδομήσας, οὐ φέροντα βιβλοι ἀνατομικαὶ, λατρὸς γάρ ἦν. "... who built the royal citadel in Memphis, (and) under whom anatomical books were compiled, because he was a physician." (Waddell, *Manetho*, 28–29; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIC, no. 609 F2). Helck explained the first part of this gloss as a confusion of *jijj* "sovereign" in a conjectured designation **hw.t-jtjj* "sovereign's quarter" (or perhaps **h-jtjj* "sovereign's palace" or **pr-jtjj* "sovereign's house," all unattested, cf. for Demotic attestations of *jtjj* "sovereign" Johnson, *Demotic Dictionary* III, 239; Erichsen, *Glossar*, 46; Smith, *Papyrus BM* 10507, 61, n. d) and *Jt(t)j* (Athothis) ~ *Jtjj* (Djer) ~ *Jttjw* (Djet), the *nomina* of the second to fourth kings of the historical First Dynasty according to *Vorlage A*. Manetho found apparently three (almost) homophonous names in one of his *Vorlagen*, which he combined in a single entry "Αθωθις (cf. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Königsnamen*, 38–39 cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 9–10; Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 103–06; Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 20–21). The second part of this gloss, which is about the medical skills of Athothis, is probably based on an ancient Egyptian association of this king and certain medical writings. This ascription was perhaps made in order to increase the esteem of some kind of anatomical treatise, even though this attribution is totally unhistorical (cf. Grapow, von Deines, and Westendorf, *Grundriß* II, 61; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 42, 121–22; Westendorf, *Handbuch* I, 5, 27 n. 34).
- (3) King Djer's name according to Manetho's *Vorlage A* was replaced with that of *Wn-nfr* (Οὐενέφης, cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 17; Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 85–109), which is significant insofar as his tomb at Abydos was explained as that of Osiris-Wennefer from the Middle Kingdom onwards (Effland, "Grabe" and "Das Grab"; Effland, Budka, and Effland, "Studien"). A Manethonian gloss after Africanus states ... ἐφ' οὐλιμὸς κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον μέγας. οὗτος τάς περι Κωχώμην ἤγειρε πυραμίδας. "... under whom a great famine seized Egypt. He erected the pyramids at Cochome." The first part of this gloss resembles the Ptolemaic *Famine Stela* (PM v, 252; Barguet, *La stèle de la famine*; Gernier, "Stèle de la famine"; cf. Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 85–91; Aufrère, "Imhotep et Djoser") and, perhaps, the year compartment Palermo Stone *recto* III.4 (Sethe, "Die ägyptischen Ausdrücke für rechts und links," 203; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 86; cf. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 108–10, fig. 1). Helck pointed out that the second part of this gloss refers to the tombs of the Early Dynastic kings at Abydos (Helck, *Untersuchungen*

zu *Manetho*, 86), but it was Fecht who demonstrated that Κωχώμη is nothing but a distorted spelling of *Χῶ κάμη (cf. the Armenian version of Eusebius: Քով աւանան Kho^v awanawn “(at) the town Chov,” Aucher, *Eusebii chronicon* 1, 204–05; cf., Waddell, *Manetho*, 32–33; Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum*, 65, 252, n. 114) ← *Θῶ κάμη “Tho, the town” (cf. for the interchange of Greek aspirates/spirants n. 66 above). According to Fecht’s ingenious explanation (Fecht, “Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu *Manetho*,” 122), *Θῶ is a rendering of *θῷγ ~ *Tʰōw, the (Proto-)Bohairic equivalent of (-)ταυ ~ *Tāw, which is the late remnant of the old toponym *T3-wrj* “great/high land” (in Οὐσορεταύ “Osiris in Tawer (Abydos),” attested in a graffito of the nationalist Egyptian counter-king Horwennefer in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, Lefebvre and Perdrizet, *Les graffiti*, no. 74; Lacau, “Un graffito”; Pestman, “Haronnophris”; Pestman, Quaegebeur, and Vos, *Recueil II*, no. 11; Clarysse, “Hurgonaphor et Chaonophris”; Zauzich, “Neue Namen”; cf. for the individual elements’ vocalization Osing, *Nominalbildung* 1, 149; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbalen Nominalbildung*, 158; Fecht, *Wortakzent*, §§ 21–24, 68, n. 123): *T3-wrj* ~ *Tāz-wūrij > *Tāz-wūrē > *Tāwwūr > *Tāwwū > *Tāw ~ (-)ταυ > *Tōw ~ *Tʰōw ~ *θῷγ ~ *Θῶ “great/high land.” This toponym denoted both the town Abydos and its nome, which necessitated the addition of the distinctive expression κάμη “unwalled village” (cf. Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, 1017–18). Even though the kings’ tombs at Abydos are anachronistically called pyramids, the basic information is thus proven historically correct.

- (4) In the Second Manethonian Dynasty according to Africanus, a gloss on Sesochris (Σέσωχρις, i.e., in all probability Neferkasokar, whose name was contaminated with that of Σέσωστρις, cf. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 11–16; Fecht, “Review of Helck, Untersuchungen zu *Manetho*,” 118–19) reads... δς ὑψος εἶχε πηχών ε' παλαιστῶν γ' “... who was 5 cubits and 3 palms tall” (Waddell, *Manetho*, 36–37; Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIIC, no. 609 F2). This is certainly a misinterpreted record of a Nile flood height, which finds its parallel in the writings of Diodorus Siculus (perhaps quoting Hecataeus of Abdera, Jacoby, *FrHistGr* IIIA, no. 264 F25; Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus* I, 158–59, s.v. 1.44.4): τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρόνους ἀπαντας διατελέσαι βασιλεύοντας τῆς χώρας ἐγχωρίους, ὅνδρας μὲν ἔβδομήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις, γυναῖκας δὲ πέντε, περὶ ὧν ἀπάντων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἶχον ἀναγραφάς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων ἀεὶ τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδεδομένας, ὁπηλίκος ἔκαστος τῶν βασιλευσάντων ἐγένετο τῷ μεγέθει καὶ ὅποις τις τῇ φύσει καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ιδίους χρόνους ἐκάστῳ προχθέντα “And for the remaining time (scil. except for the Persian, Ethiopian and Greek Periods) it was natives ruling the country, 470 men and five women, about all of whom the priests held records in their sacred books from old times which were handed down continuously to their successors, (stating) however tall each of the kings had grown in height and of what kind his character was and what was accomplished by each of them during the respective reigns.” This passage states explicitly that, even in the 1st century BCE (or the late 4th century BCE, if this is part the text of Hecataeus of Abdera), a late and partly misunderstood version of the royal annals was still known, possibly from papyrus copies (Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 65–96 [with numerous references]).

In contrast, the glosses attributed to later kings are mostly concerned with Egyptian—Greek (e.g., the Argivian myth of Io, cf. Aufrère, “Dualism”; Memnon, Eos’ son and king of

Aegyptiaca, however garbled and distorted the sparse remains may be, do supplement significantly all other chronologically relevant data available. As far as the Third Dynasty is concerned, critical evaluation of the contemporaneous evidence³¹⁷ recently led to a more precise picture and revealed that the Third Dynasty consisted of five kings in the following sequence:

<i>Nomen</i>	Horus Name
<i>Dśr</i>	<i>Ntrj-h.t</i>
<i>Dśr-ttj</i>	<i>Śhm-h.t</i>
<i>Nfr-k3 (?)</i>	<i>Hj-b3</i>
<i>Nb-k3</i>	<i>S3-nht</i>
<i>njśwt Hwj(w)</i>	<i>K3j-hd.t</i>

Adopting this sequence of kings and thus correcting inaccuracies in the sequence of kings as reflected in the royal annals' fragments, the Egyptian king-lists, the Epitome of the *Aegyptiaca*, and the king-list according to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes, one may propose the following tentative reconstruction of the Third historical Dynasty (*cf.* Table 4.4):

Ethiopia who supported Troy and was associated with the sounding colossi of Amenophis III; *cf.* Griffith "Origin"; Hartmann, *Relikt*, 202–10; Bernand and Bernand, *Inscriptions*; Rosenmeyer, *Julia Balbilla*; or the fall of Troy, *cf.* Moyer, *Egypt*, 112–13) or Egyptian—Biblical synchronisms (above all, the themes of Israel in Egypt and of the Exodus, *cf.* e.g., Cohen, "History and Historiography"; Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews"; Feldman, "Pro- and Anti-Jewish"; Gruen, "Use and Abuse" and *Heritage*; Hendel, "Exodus"; Collins, "Reinventing Exodus"; Raspe, "Manetho on the Exodus"; Pucci Ben Zeev, "Reliability"; P. Schäfer, "Exodus Tradition"; Gager, "Some Thoughts"; *cf.* n. 26 above; *cf.* for early manifestations of anti-Semitism Assmann, "Antijudaismus"; Laqueur, "Manethon"; P. Schäfer "Manetho-Fragmente" and *Judaephobia*; Collins, "Anti-Semitism"; *cf.* for Jews in Egypt Meleze Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt* and for Egypt as reflected in the Old Testament Russel, *Images of Egypt*; Levy, Schneider, and Proppp, *Israel's Exodus* [with numerous bibliographical references]), and are thus essentially different; *cf.* Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 207–13; Gozzoli, *Writing of History*, 208–11; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, I, 185–92; Quack, "Reiche," 4–7.

³¹⁷ Dreyer, "Der erste König"; Baud, *Djéser*, 48–70; Seidlmayer, "Die staatliche Anlage" and "Dynasty 3"; Ćwiek, "History of the Third Dynasty"; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*; *cf.* also Swelim, *Some Problems*; Weill, *La 11^e et la 111^e Dynastie*. The stela bearing the Horus name *K3j-hd.t* could be a piece of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Pätznik, "Qahedjet") or of the Third Intermediate Period (Claus Jurman, personal communication).

TABLE 4.4

Third Dynasty Evidence (contemporaneous)	Manetho (Epitome)	Ps.-Apollodorus/ Ps.-Eratosthenes	Regnal length
<i>Dśr(-jt/s³), Ntrj-h.t</i>	Τοσέρτασις	Γοσορμίής	29 years
<i>Dśr-ttj, Ślm-h.t</i>	Τόσορθρος		
	ἢ Τύρεις	Στοῖχος	6–7 years
<i>Nfr-k³ (?), H^j-b³</i>	Μέσωχρις	Μάρης	6–7 years
<i>Nb-k³, S³-nht</i>	Νεχερωφής	Μομχειρί	8–9 years
<i>njśwt ḥwj(w), K^j-hd.t</i>	Ἄχης	Ἀνωϋφίς	14 years

One should also remember that the sequence of the kings of the Third Dynasty is furthermore reflected in the popular tradition as found in the stories of Papyrus Westcar.³¹⁸ The stories told by Cheops' sons are set in the time of Cheops' predecessors; the first in Djoser's reign and the second in Nebka's reign. The relative position of Nebka within the Third Dynasty as found in the stories of Papyrus Westcar would—on its own—be insufficient for the determination of his actual position in the sequence of kings, but when regarded in light of the contemporaneous data and the other king-lists, this is an excellent example of source research, textual criticism, and critical evaluation. Even though the stories of Papyrus Westcar have sometimes been regarded as historically insignificant,³¹⁹ historical facts and literary *decorum* are unquestionably blended together in the stories of Papyrus Westcar.

Due to the rearrangement of kings as found with the “Herodotean Giza-group,”³²⁰ the sequence of kings provided by Manetho and Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes is certainly not historically correct. The sequence of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty may, however, be reconstructed

³¹⁸ Seidlmayer, “Dynasty 3,” 116, 118.

³¹⁹ E.g., Wildung, *Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 56.

³²⁰ It is, however, impossible to infer the misreading of a double column, as was done by Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, 26, in order to improve Manetho's sequence of kings:

Σâρις	ABC
Σοῦφις	Σοῦφις
Μεγχέρης	Πατοίσης
Βίχερις	Σεβερχέρης
XYZ	Θαμφθίς

Which kings should have taken the positions marked with ABC and XYZ? This proposed double column cannot explain the sequence of kings as found in the Fourth Manethonian Dynasty, and it must therefore be discarded.

on the basis of, and with the aid of, the royal annals of the Old Kingdom and other contemporaneous data (*cf.* Table 4.5).³²¹

³²¹ The sequence of kings is usually discussed within the broader context of dynastic and genealogical history: *cf.*, e.g., Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 239–56; Reisner and Smith, *Hetepheres*, 1–12; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 156–59; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 66–74; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 103–314, 371–72; Spalinger, “Dated Texts”; Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” “Contemporaneous Evidence,” and “System of Dating”; Gundacker, “Genealogie” and “Genealogie Teil 2”; Callender, *In Hathor’s Image*; *cf.* n. 239 above. In recent years, the genealogy of Reisner has lost its almost dogmatic authority, but the overall sequence of kings has nevertheless remained unchanged. It is thus not too daring to state that the historically correct sequence of kings has indeed been uncovered.

Cf. also the following monuments of members of the royal family or of high officials recounting several kings in the historically correct sequence even though the chain of kings need not be uninterrupted (Baka is missing in all of them, perhaps because he failed to organize his mortuary cult in a way which would have allowed for the endowment of numerous cult personnel and an elaborate offering cult; *cf.* also n. 239 above):

- (1) The “stela” of Meritites I mentioning her (quasi-)conjugal affiliation with Snefru and Cheops (*wrt-h̄tš nj.t Šnfrw, wrt-h̄tš nj.t Hwj=f-wj* “‘the one great of admiration’ of Snefru, ‘the one great of admiration’ of Cheops”) and her cultic reverence by Chephren (*jm3hw.t hr H̄j=f-Rw* “revered by Chephren”) (PM III.1, 187; Jánosi, *Königinnenpyramiden*, 10; Baud, “The Birth of Biography,” 96–97; Gundacker, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Snofrus*, 265–70; Callender, *In Hathor’s Image*, 53–62);
- (2) a fragmentary inscription of an otherwise unknown official who was “overseer of the treasury of Snefru, overseer of the treasury of Cheops, overseer of the treasury of Redjedef, and overseer of the treasury of Chephren” (*jmj-r3 pr-hd nj Šnfrw, jmj-r3 pr-hd nj Hwj=f-wj, jmj-r3 pr-hd nj Rw-jdd=f, jmj-r3 pr-hd nj H̄j=f-Rw*); the monument may have been donated by offspring of the unknown official (perhaps middle to late Fourth Dynasty, PM III.2, 760; Strudwick, *Administration*, 169–70 and “Three Monuments,” 45–51, pl. IV; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 29–30, 39 [= pl. 5]);
- (3) an inscription found in the tomb of prince Sekhemkare (LG 89 = G.8154) calling him “revered by his father, the king, by the Great God, by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Chephren, by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Mycerinus, by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Shepseskaf, by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkaf, and by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Sahure” (*jm3hw hr jtj=f njšwt, hr ntr-3, hr njšwt-bjt H̄j=f-Rw, hr njšwt-bjt Mn-k3.w-Rw, hr njšwt-bjt Špss-k3=f, hr njšwt-bjt Wsr-k3=f, hr njšwt-bjt Š3h-wj-Rw*) (PM III.1, 233–34; LD II, pl. 42a and LD—Text I, 109–10; Urk. I, 166; Junker, *Giza* II, 32; Hassan, *Giza* IV, II9–20; Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 64; Strudwick, *Administration*, 59; Harpur, *Decoration*, 268; Baud, *Famille royale* II, no. 218; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 375–79);
- (4) an inscription of Nisutpunetjeri calling him “possessor of reverence by Redjedef, possessor of reverence by Chephren, possessor of reverence by Mycerinus, possessor of reverence by Shepseskaf, possessor of reverence by Userkaf, and possessor of reverence by Sahure” (*nb jm3ḥ hr Rw-jdd=f, nb jm3ḥ hr H̄j=f-Rw, nb jm3ḥ hr Mn-k3.w-Rw, nb jm3ḥ hr Špss-k3=f, nb jm3ḥ hr Wsr-k3=f, nb jm3ḥ hr Š3h-wj*).

TABLE 4.5

Nomen	Horus Name
<i>Snfrw</i>	<i>Nb-m3t.t</i>
<i>Hwj=f-wj(-Hnmw)</i>	<i>Mddw</i>
<i>Rw-jdd=f</i>	<i>Hpr</i>
<i>Hj=f-Rw</i>	<i>Wsr-jb</i>
<i>B3-k3=j</i>	[unknown] ³²²
<i>Mn-k3.w-Rw</i>	<i>K3-h.t</i>
<i>Spss-k3=f</i>	<i>Spss-h.t</i>

The sequence of kings as given above is found in the Royal Canon of Turin, the Saqqara king-list, and the Abydos king-list, the latter of which, however, lacks Baka. Taking apart the “Herodotean Giza-group” and positioning the individual kings in their proper places will return the Epitome of the *Aegyptiaca* and the king-list according to Pseudo-Apollodorus/Pseudo-Eratosthenes to the historically correct sequence of kings. Compared to the contemporaneous data, the

Rw) (PM III.1, 278; *Urk.* I, 166; Junker, *Giza* III, 51; Harpur, *Decoration*, 268, 582; Baud, *Famille royale* II, no. 138), and

- (5) the (auto)biographical inscription of Ptahshepses from Saqqara describing his life during the reigns of the kings Mycerinus, Shepseskaf, Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare, Shepseskare, Neferefre, and Newoserre (cf. Baud, *Famille royale* II, no. 68; Dorman, “Inscription of Ptahshepses”; cf. Excursus II and n. 243 above).

The last king mentioned in these inscriptions is indicative for dating them (the only exception being, perhaps, no. (2)).

³²² Although Baka is usually considered the immediate successor of Chephren, he has recently been interpreted as Chephren's predecessor on grounds of architectural similarities between his pyramid at Zawyet el-Aryan (cf. n. 206 above) and the pyramid of Redjedef at Abu Rowash (Edwards, “Chephren's place”; Dobrev, “La IV^e dynastie,” 20–21). However, architectural features alone are insufficient for establishing the chronological sequence, as may be shown with the following examples: Redjedef's pyramid resembles Snefru's pyramid at Meidum more closely than the pyramid of Cheops, and Chephren's pyramid resembles Cheops' pyramid more closely than the pyramid of Redjedef. It is therefore audacious and adventurous to place Baka before Chephren solely on the grounds of his pyramid's architecture and in contradiction to all king-lists. Cf. for a great variety of theories concerning the sequence of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty, the overview given by Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 242–45. Cf. also Verner, “Archaeological Remarks,” 380–81; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 64–65; cf. also the beginning of n. 321 above.

royal annals, and the Abydos and Saqqara king-lists, this allows for the following tentative reconstruction of the Fourth historical Dynasty (*cf.* Table 6.6):³²³

TABLE 6.6

Fourth Dynasty Evidence (contemporaneous)	Manetho (Epitome)	Ps.-Apollodorus/ Ps.-Eratosthenes	Regnal length
<i>Snfrw</i>	Σήφουρις,		
	Σώρις	Σίριος	48 years
<i>Hwj=f-wj(-Hnmw)</i>	Σώύφις,	Χνούβιος,	
	Σοῦφις	Σαῶφις	26 years
<i>R'w-jdd=f</i>	‘Ρατοίσης	‘Ραῦωσις	15 years
<i>Hj=f-R'w</i>	Κερφέρης,		
	Σοῦφις	Σαῶφις	26 years
<i>B3-k3=j</i>	Βίχερις	Βιῦρης	1–2 years
<i>Mn-k3.w-R'w</i>	Μεγχέρης	Μοσχερῆς	28 years
<i>Špss-k3=f</i>	Σεβερχέρης	[missing]	7 years

In conclusion, Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* must be considered an indispensable source for information on ancient Egyptian chronology. The complex history of the *Aegyptiaca* and the scattered text transmitted demand that every investigation is carried out with great attention to detail. Only particularly careful examination will allow for the differentiation between historical facts and intrusions such as fabulous elements of popular tradition, politically motivated alterations, religiously aggravated amendments of pagan Egyptians—as well as Jews and Christians—, unintentional scribal errors of Egyptian and Greek scribes, simple misunderstandings, and folk-etymological or eloquent and learned reinterpretations. The results of such critical investigation will make accessible all the priceless information contained in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*. If then the *Aegyptiaca* is viewed and analyzed together with all other data as a whole, it will contribute appreciably to the study of ancient Egyptian chronology.

Regardless of its later accretions, the very essence of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* is worth being searched for. It is thus an unparalleled challenge for Egyptologists and scholars of neighboring disciplines to examine it meticulously and, finally,

³²³ Djedefptah, who, according to the contemporaneous evidence and the scenario proposed above, never reigned (*cf.* Excursus II and section 6 above), is excluded from this table.

to strive to lift the veil of time which has fallen upon it. This decent task has possibly been best described by Murnane:³²⁴

[T]he “Manethonian skeleton” is a genuine conceptual artifact from ancient Egypt itself. This doesn’t mean it’s perfect... [But] above all, let us not give up on the “old” problems (such as Manetho) while we are still in the process of exploring them.

Addendum

Since the completion of this contribution, several studies have been published which advance some of the ideas put forward or develop alternative thoughts. From the latter group, two articles must be mentioned that deal with matters of the Third and Fourth Dynasties: Theis, “Bemerkungen zu Manetho” and “Pseudo-Eratosthenes.” Among the earlier group, Gundacker, “Eigennamen,” deals with the linguistic peculiarities of the names of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty in great detail, Gundacker, “The Names of the Kings,” does so with the names of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty, and Gundacker, “Fragment Berlin no. 1116,” reconstructs a hitherto largely unrecognized king-list close to the Heliopolitan line of tradition as found in the Papyrus Westcar and the Wadi Hammamat graffito. The Egyptian king-lists thus prove to be a still unexhausted source of information on Egyptian history and chronology.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

<i>AEL I</i>	M. Lichtheim. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i> . Volume I: <i>The Old and Middle Kingdoms</i> . Reprint of the first edition with a new foreword by A. Loprieno. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2006.
<i>AeLeo</i>	<i>Aegyptiaca Leodensia</i>
<i>AfRg</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
<i>ÄL</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>

³²⁴ Murnane, “Millennium Debate,” 17.

<i>ASS</i>	<i>Archivio Storico Siciliano</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>CHE</i>	<i>Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne</i>
<i>ÉAO</i>	<i>Égypte, Afrique & Orient</i>
<i>EdP</i>	<i>Études de papyrologie</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>Europäische Hochschulschriften</i>
<i>EQÄ</i>	<i>Einführungen und Quellentexte der Ägyptologie</i>
Gardiner	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised. London:
sign-list	Oxford University Press, 1969.
<i>HA</i>	<i>Histoire Antique</i>
<i>HaT</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
<i>HoR</i>	<i>History of Religion</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>The Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEgH</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
<i>JÖByz</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JoPh</i>	<i>Journal of Philology</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>KD</i>	H. Goedicke. <i>Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich</i> . <i>ÄA</i> 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967.
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>LD</i>	C.R. Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 6 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–1859.
<i>LD—Text</i>	C.R. Lepsius. <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien—Text</i> . 5 vols., E. Naville, K. Sethe, and W. Wreszinski, eds. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897–1913.
<i>LdÄ</i>	E. Otto, W. Westendorf, and W. Helck, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–1991.
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i>
<i>Or NS</i>	<i>Orientalia Nova Seria</i>
<i>PLBat</i>	<i>Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava</i>
<i>PM</i>	B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> . 8 vols. in part 2nd edition revised and augmented by J. Málek, ed. Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1928–2010.
<i>PMJ</i>	<i>Pennsylvania Museum Journal</i>
<i>RhM NS</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum, Nova Seria</i>

<i>SicAr</i>	<i>Sicilia Archeologica</i>
<i>SSEA</i>	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
<i>ThLAE</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i>
<i>TJR</i>	<i>The Journal of Religion</i>
<i>TPAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>Urk. I</i>	K. Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1933.</i>
<i>Urk. II</i>	K. Sethe. <i>Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums II. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904.
<i>Urk. IV</i>	K. Sethe and W. Helck. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1914–1961.
<i>Urk. VII</i>	K. Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums VII. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1935.</i>
<i>WA</i>	Writings from the Ancient World
<i>Wb</i>	Erman, A. and H. Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 6 vols., reprint, Berlin/Leipzig: Akademie Verlag, 1982.

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CHAPTER 5

The Entextualization of the Pyramid Texts and the Religious History of the Old Kingdom

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Abstract

Flaws in the historical model called “the democratization of the afterlife” give cause to re-assess the role played in Old Kingdom history by the Pyramid Texts, because they are central to any understanding of events in religion at that time. This essay crystallizes the democratization theory and the chief points against it. It then situates the Pyramid Texts in the context of Old Kingdom history.¹ Its argument is that the Pyramid Texts, meaning the corpus of hieroglyphic religious texts found in royal tomb chambers in the latter part of the Old Kingdom, participated in a contemporaneous, growing interest in religious knowledge. Inquiry is made here as to how the Pyramid Texts were converted, or *entextualized*, from portable scrolls to hieroglyphic monumentalizations. Of importance is entextualization, meaning something having to do with the transfer of an orally delivered text (scrolls bearing the recitations reflected in the Pyramid Texts) to a more durable medium (hieroglyphic writing on stone). Consideration of the transfer of media, from ritual script to monumental decoration, leads to the perception of a shift in purpose: the text went from being something held in the hands during the performance of cult and became an ornate representation of words on an architectural surface. The text became more of a text as such, stripped of its accustomed ritual contexts of performance. This was a shift from the deed of ritual to the word of text. Just such a shift can be found, *mutatis mutandis*, in a completely different register of texts, a set of statements from elite tombs in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties—to be encountered more than once in what follows.

¹ This essay highlights some of the major points from two works by the author: Hays “The Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife” and *Organization of the Pyramid Texts*.

1 The End of the Democratization Theory

According to the old model, the Pyramid Texts were intended for exclusively royal use, and the beliefs they represent were applicable only to those who displayed them. The key reason for this notion was that Pyramid Texts were not used as decoration by elites in their tombs during the Old Kingdom, though they were later on, in the Middle Kingdom. This later body of texts was dubbed the *Coffin Texts* by James H. Breasted, a term chosen for the typical medium on which the later corpus appears. In similar fashion, the term *Pyramid Texts* alludes to the location where the Old Kingdom corpus appears. Returning to the differing demographics of textual attestation, one may only say that they constitute both the support and the object for the theory. During the Old Kingdom, when the Pyramid Texts appear in royal tombs, there is a lack of such texts in non-royal tombs. Afterwards in the Middle Kingdom, Pyramid Texts finally occur in non-royal tombs, often in the immediate proximity of newer Coffin Texts. The democratization theory interprets this disparity of display by asserting an exclusivity of access in the Old Kingdom. Here is where it goes beyond the evidence, precisely in adducing negative evidence. Thereby, it excludes the king's subjects from the ideas in the Pyramid Texts and, indeed also, from whatever practices they might have been associated with. That is how the old democratization theory gave the Pyramid Texts a history. As a corpus, what they signify is social exclusion. They make a story of "Haves and Have Nots." Later on, in the Middle Kingdom, as with an expanded right of suffrage, the exclusion is dissolved, and the "Have Nots" now have, too. Now, putatively, all may benefit from the beliefs and practices with which the Pyramid Texts were concerned.²

That is the theory *in nuce*. But a series of scholars have recently written forcefully against it, notably Mark Smith, Harco Willems, Bernard Mathieu, Katarina Nordh, David P. Silverman, and Peter Jürgens.³ They have drawn attention to several crucial points that do not fit the theory.

² For the original presentation of the theory, see Gardiner, in Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (No. 82), 55; Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, 99, 257, and 272–73; Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* 1, vii–viii. For further detail on the theory as presented by these three scholars, see Hays, "The Death of the Democratization of the Afterlife," 116–17.

³ Smith, "Democratization of the Afterlife"; Willems, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 131–228 and "Die Frage"; Mathieu, "Que sont les Textes des Pyramides?," 20 and "La distinction entre Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages," 256–58; Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses*, 168–72; Silverman "Nature of Egyptian Kingship," 80–82 and "Coffin Texts," 140–41; Jürgens, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte*, 86.

(1) To begin with, the old model does not fully take into account the fact that in the Middle Kingdom there is a reverse demographic with the display of mortuary texts. During the Middle Kingdom, only elites use religious texts to decorate surfaces in close proximity to the dead; no king established such a tradition. If the logic of the democratization theory were applied to this circumstance, one would have to understand, strangely, that the king now had no access to such texts, since not he, but some other social group, was displaying them.⁴ But that can hardly be so. Instead of struggling around this point, as one must with the old democratization theory, a proposal may be made that is consistent with all the facts, including the reversal: differences in display between social groups reflect processes of social distinction,⁵ and the differentials of display can certainly change over time, even as fashion changes. Simply this: certain kinds of iconography and certain kinds of texts were not shared between the classes in decorating certain areas of the tomb, as a matter of what John Baines would call *decorum*.⁶ Governed by opportunity and fashion, the differences changed over time. During the Old Kingdom, elites did not decorate their tombs with Pyramid Texts simply because that kind of decoration was particular to the royal family (while some other things were common for elites, e.g., stereotyped scenes of mortuary service; see below). The First Intermediate Period disrupted this royal practice. After that hiatus, mortuary texts again appear in Middle Kingdom tombs, but now they were not in the tombs of kings, but in those of queens and high officials.

(2) Figure 5.1 seeks to show the intensity of interest in having mortuary texts during the Middle Kingdom, based on dates given to coffins and tombs by Harco Willems.⁷ It was during the Eleventh Dynasty that such collections of texts began to appear, most notably in the Deir El Bahri tombs of two queens of Mentuhotep II, Ashayt (T3C)⁸ and Nefru (TT

⁴ Mathieu, "Que sont les Textes des Pyramides?", 20 and "La distinction," 257.

⁵ Cf. Alexanian, "Tomb and Social Status," 8, with n. 24.

⁶ See Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 277, referring to a set of rules which "bar certain types of representation from associating freely and occurring freely in different contexts."

⁷ *Passim* in Willems, *Chests of Life*.

⁸ The coffin of Ashayt was found "under walls belonging to the third building phase of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri, and is thus dated firmly to the period shortly before the unification of Egypt by that king," according to the remark of Willems, *The Coffin of Hegata*, 1–2.

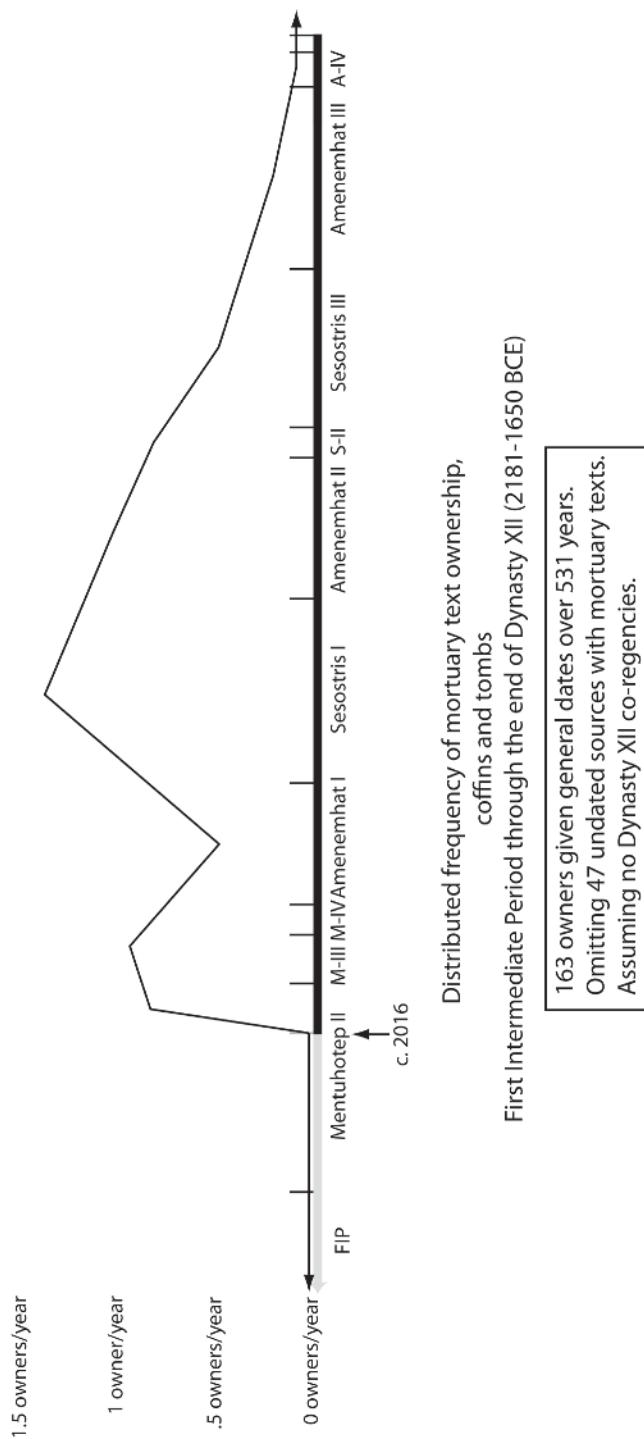


FIGURE 5.1 *Distribution of Middle Kingdom mortuary texts over time.*

319),⁹ along with the high official Meru (TT 240).¹⁰ But there are others from this same period; from Thebes alone in the Eleventh Dynasty there are also the tomb of Harhotep (T1C), the tomb and coffin of Ima (T1L), the limestone coffin of Dagi (T2C), and the coffin of Buau (T9C). For knowledge of the contents of kingly sepulchers, one must look toward pyramids of the Twelfth Dynasty. They did not decorate their subterranean chambers with Pyramid Texts or Coffin Texts, and one may suppose that this was simply because non-royals had already taken up that practice vigorously. It would have been to imitate a custom wedded to a lower social level.

(3) Furthermore, the theory does not take into account the fact that some Pyramid Texts were evidently drawn from non-royal collections of texts. The ones I refer to are those that use the term *ni-sw.t* “king,” to refer to someone other than the royal text owner.¹¹ Those Pyramid Texts are meaningful only when it is understood that they were drawn from an archive intended to serve not just kings, but his literate subjects as well. The contents of an archive are what one sees with these kinds of texts, an archive to which non-royal elites had access, and to which they contributed. The authors and originally intended audience of these kinds of texts? Non-kingly.

(4) Further still, the democratization theory is in conflict with the fact that scenes of mortuary service are of the same stereotyped structure for both elite and king already in the Old Kingdom. Here one sees the deceased presented at the center of on-going religious practice above-ground. An example of the pictorial formula that is meant can be found in a Fourth Dynasty image of Khafkhufu (Fig. 5.2). The formula consists of the seated tomb owner, table with offerings, and offering items, often with an accompanying grid-like offering list and ritualists. Such scenes with these generic components are found for both kings and elites throughout pharaonic history. For the Old Kingdom, the most clearly preserved royal instance stems from the pyramid temple of the Sixth Dynasty

⁹ See the bibliography in Allen, “Some Theban Officials,” 18–19, with nn. 80 and 84.

¹⁰ Allen, “Some Theban Officials,” 18, with Fig. 3, sees Meru as active from the years 41–51 of Mentuhotep II through years 1–10 of Amenemhat I.

¹¹ Wente, “Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?,” 176, n. 118. See also Smith, “Democratization,” 7; Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn*, 66; Kákosy, “The Pyramid Texts and Society,” 4–5, 9–10.



FIGURE 5.2 *Mortuary service for Khafkhufu*. After Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 32.

King Pepi II (Fig. 5.3), whose tomb also happens to offer up copious Pyramid Texts. The above-ground cult-place was the site of these stereotyped scenes. Their position at the cultic focal point is a common denominator among mastabas and pyramid temples:¹² the scenes occur at the *sanctum sanctorum*, the principal sanctuary for the person concerned. These are obvious connections across social boundaries. Though a king was abundantly different in so many other ways from his subjects, in this particular instance he was on level ground.

¹² On the architectural and iconographic components of the pyramid temple sanctuary in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, see Jánosi, "Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes," 156–57.

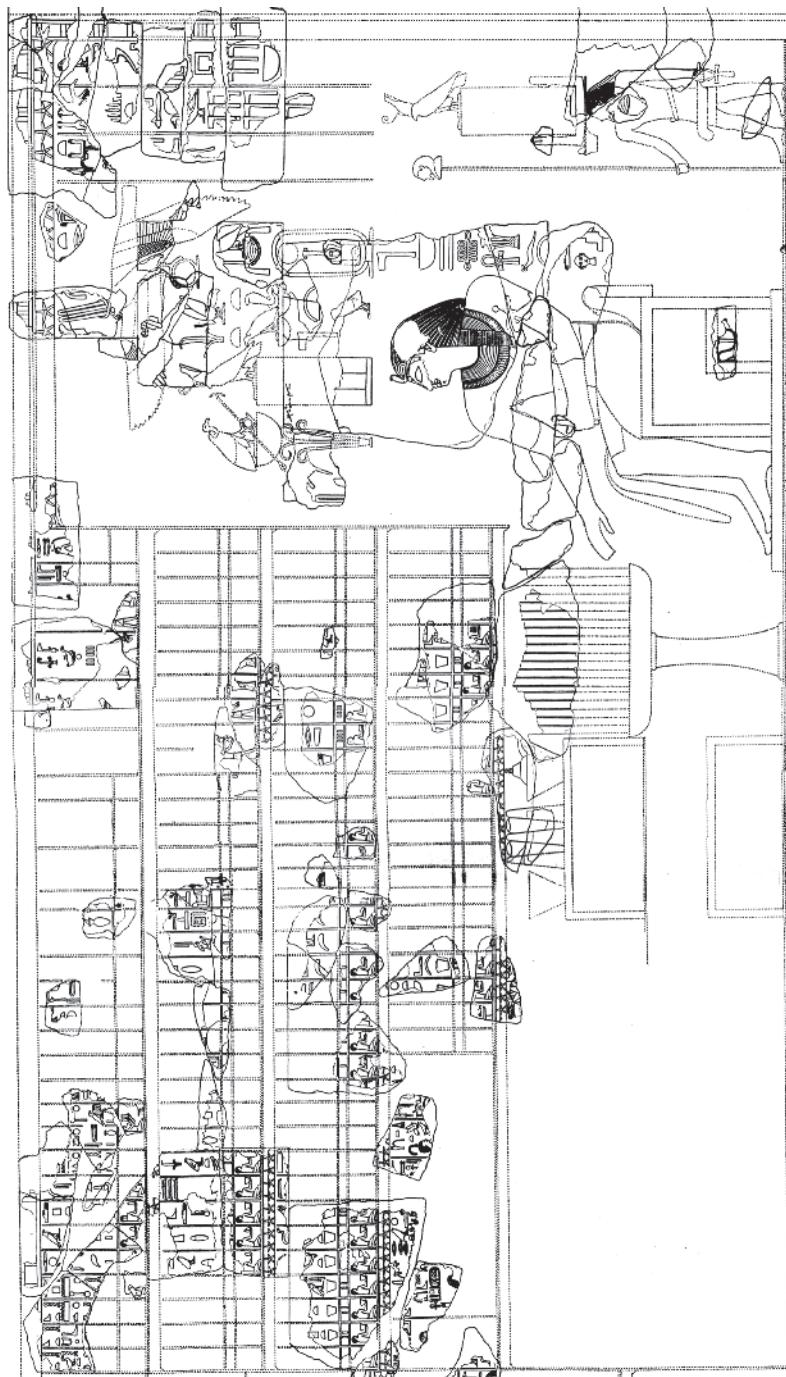


FIGURE 5.3 *Mortuary service for Pepi II*. After Jéquier, C. *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, pl. 61.

(5) And finally, statements in several non-royal Old Kingdom tombs assert that their owners knew the means of becoming an *ȝh*, or “spirit,” and that the rituals by which one attains that state had been performed for them.¹³ One such statement deploying concern for both ritual and knowledge is from the tomb of Shenay, at the latest datable to the end of the Sixth Dynasty:

*ink ȝh iqr | iw(=i) rh.k(i) h̄k3 nb ȝh n=f m hr̄it-ntr | iw ir n(=i) h.t nb(.t)
ȝh(.t) n(y)*

for I am an effective *Akh*, and I know all the magic by which one becomes an *Akh* in the necropolis, and every ritual has been performed by which one becomes an *Akh* has been performed for me.¹⁴

The two critical statements both deploy an instrumental *n* “because of (which),” thereby hinging ritual (*iḥ.t*) and knowledge (*rh*) instrumentally to the status of being an *Akh*. The speaker, Shenay, knows how to attain the desired state, and what needs to be done to achieve it has been done for him. As a rule, these kinds of statements appear in the above-ground parts of the tomb. Unlike the sealed-off Pyramid Texts, they were meant to be read by any literate visitor, often as the substantiation of a threat.

Their sphere of encounter was different than the Pyramid Texts, and that means the term *Akh* is deployed differently here than in the pyramids. But far more important is that the term, in the Pyramid Texts, appears frequently and is what designates their main goal. It appears about 175 times throughout the corpus, making it very significant indeed.¹⁵ In effect, the non-royal statements

¹³ On statements of this kind, see Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie*, 25 and “Inschrift des Jzj aus Saqqara,” 113; Englund, *Akh*, 128; Demarée, *The ȝh iqr n R^c-stelae*, 193, 210; Silverman, “Nature of Egyptian Kingship,” 81; Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses*, 171; Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 116–19; Smith, “Democratization of the Afterlife,” 3, 7–8.

¹⁴ *Urk. 1*, 263: 13–15 = Frankfort, “Cemeteries of Abydos,” pl. 20.3.

¹⁵ The passages most clearly styling the text owner in that state are: PT 216 §151d; PT 217 §152d, 154d, 156d, 158d; PT 222 §212a; PT 224A §221a; PT 260 §318c; PT 274 §413a–b; PT 364 §621b; PT 365 §623a; §625b; PT 366 §633a; PT 422 §752b, 754c PT 437 §793b; PT 457 §859d; PT 468 §903d; PT 473 §930f; PT 506 §1095a; PT 512 §1167c; PT 513 §1172b; PT 553 §1354a; §1357a; §1360a; PT 556 §1385c; PT 582 §1567a; PT 593 §1637a; PT 603

lay claim to instrumentalities for reaching the main goal found in the Pyramid Texts—just as one might otherwise have assumed, based on the shared stereotypical scenes of mortuary service. But the democratization theory has no explanation for the convergence. It would have to assume that somehow the instrumentality of attaining *Akh*-hood was different between classes. In that case, the means for the elites would be something lost, and here once again one would find the theory pointing into a maw of negative evidence, but this time saying something must have once been where now there is nothing: the somehow different manner by which elites were supposed to become an *Akh*.

To view the glass from the other perspective attains an easier and more satisfying result. The elite tomb owner lays claim to knowledge and ritual by which one becomes an *Akh*, and the Pyramid Texts constitute that very knowledge and represent the rituals concerned. So as with the stereotyped mortuary ritual scenes, so also here. Some cultural practices and beliefs were shared between king and elite. Understanding the Pyramid Texts to be the objects of knowledge and instruments of ritual mentioned in the statements allows the religious life of elites to be better understood.

The display of religious texts in below-ground tombs is not the same as above-ground access to archives, ritual performances, and memory. The Pyramid Texts preserved in royal tombs must constitute only part of a wider body of literature, one whose currency must have interfaced with more perishable manners of transmission. The Pyramid Texts, a fraction of a larger body, happen to have been preserved because they were recorded in stone and below-ground. Meanwhile, the source documents from which they were transcribed, the recited words of priests in the cult-place (like that of Pepi I or Debeheni), and everything in between, has been lost. Fortunately, the Pyramid Texts can still yield information about their situation in the Old Kingdom world around them. The general shape of much of their meaning can be sketched out by what has survived.

The Pyramid Texts had circulated in different media, a detail known with certainty since the hieroglyphic Pyramid Texts contain transcriptional errors showing that they had been converted from hieratic source documents.¹⁶ It

§1676c; sPT 627A §1771a; fPT 634 §1793; fPT 665A §1911b, 1912d; fPT 666 §1921b, 1921d; fPT 666A §1929b; PT 670 §1986b; fPT 691 §2120b–c; §2121b, 2123b–c, 2124b; sPT 694A §2145c; fPT 717 §2228a; fPT 718 §2233d.

¹⁶ On mistakes in the Pyramid Texts showing that they had been transcribed from hieratic, and therefore from papyrus or leather master copies, see Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* iv, 125–27.

is by an accident of preservation that the Pyramid Texts have survived at the expense of other, more perishable forms. The recent discovery of a fragment of an inscribed wooden chest with a Pyramid Text of a queen of Pepi I serves as a reminder of how much has been lost.¹⁷ In short, while we are necessarily transfixed by the hieroglyphic display of the Pyramid Texts, it is crucial to remember that they were transcribed to monumental walls from perishable and portable source documents. These source documents would have been suitable for use in the actual ritual practices they concern. Remembering that the Pyramid Texts were circulated in a portable form apart from their monumentalizations, one can make a distinction between a) now-lost operative scripts, documents for recitation in order to bring about some circumstance or event, and b) monumental documents—the Pyramid Texts we actually have—which would have served a different purpose than their operative progenitors.¹⁸

The differences may be accounted for by the differences in media. The operative ritual script is a document serving as cue to a performance, and on a scroll it is eminently readable. In contrast, the hieroglyphic, monumental inscription has more to do with visual aspect, hence the graphic details imparted to individual signs in carved stone. And the monumentalization is much more difficult to read, since now writing is being applied to a surface whose shape was not determined by readability. One would need lamps and a ladder to read texts in a pyramid's gables, for instance. Less read word-by-word, monumental inscriptions are concerned with large-scale visual effect.

The democratization theory is rightly regarded as obsolete. But a problem emerges now concerning the social significance of their advent. Previously they played a role in a social history: first only the king had exclusive access to the afterlife and then, later on, non-royal persons had access, too. Now that this story is gone, the Pyramid Texts lose the main role they used to play on the historical stage. Countless histories of the Old Kingdom, when introducing the Pyramid Texts, immediately remark upon their exclusivity of afterlife beliefs and practices. What can now be said about the Pyramid Texts if that is no longer true? If not as a mark of exclusion, then what does their advent mean? This

¹⁷ Leclant and Labrousse, "Découvertes récentes," 108, Fig. 4. See also PT 217 on *face A* of Maff Papyrus T 2147, with a possible date in the area of the Sixth through Eleventh Dynasties; Berger-el Naggar, "Textes des Pyramides sur papyrus," 85–89, with n. 13 and Fig. 1.

¹⁸ Cf. Roeder, "Rituelle Texthandlungsklassen," 27, for the division between "operative Texte" and "Schrifttexte."

space can be filled, and it is toward that end that the rest of the present essay now turns.

2 The Entextualization of the Pyramid Texts

To find out about the meaning of the Pyramid Texts, large-scale phenomena must be taken into account. The connection between Pyramid Texts and an important kind of offering list will first be discussed. Then the grammatical person of the texts corresponding to the lists will be considered, and connections made to other Pyramid Texts. Next, facts about changes wrought on another category of texts will be presented. Finally, two different categories of texts will have been isolated. For reasons differing between the two categories, it will emerge that the subterranean chambers where the texts happen to be attested were not the first place they were used. They had been entextualized from ritual scripts to serve a new purpose, in monumental decoration. The historical significance of this detail is worth pursuing. Getting at the ritual component is important, since it provides useful background knowledge concerning origins, and it also helps understand the effect of transposing texts to the tombs.

2.1 Offering Lists and Sacerdotal Texts

For the majority of the Pyramid Texts, there is a fundamental difficulty in situating their real-world meaning for the ancient Egyptians, and that is a lack of editorial comment. This is to say that the individual texts receive neither titles nor notes as to their meanings and uses. However, there is one set of texts that is well anchored to a particular social situation, and through their characteristics one can associate many other texts to similar settings. Since the time of Gaston Maspero,¹⁹ scholars have noted the intimate connection between a set of texts found on the north walls of the royal sarcophagus chamber and items named in Old Kingdom offering lists, like that shown in Figure 5.4.²⁰ The texts

19 Maspero, "La table d'offrandes," 276–77.

20 Tomb of Debeheni (Giza, LG 90). For the tomb, see Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, 159–84, esp. 176, Fig. 122 for the particular scene. The specific type of list which Debeheni has is dubbed the "Listentyp A" by Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, 47–50. Precursors to this list already occur in Dynasty Four, with one example given above as Fig. 5.2; see Hays, *Organization of the Pyramid Texts*, 128–29; Smith, "Democratization of the Afterlife," 9; Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, 47–50; Junker, *Giza II*, 85–96.

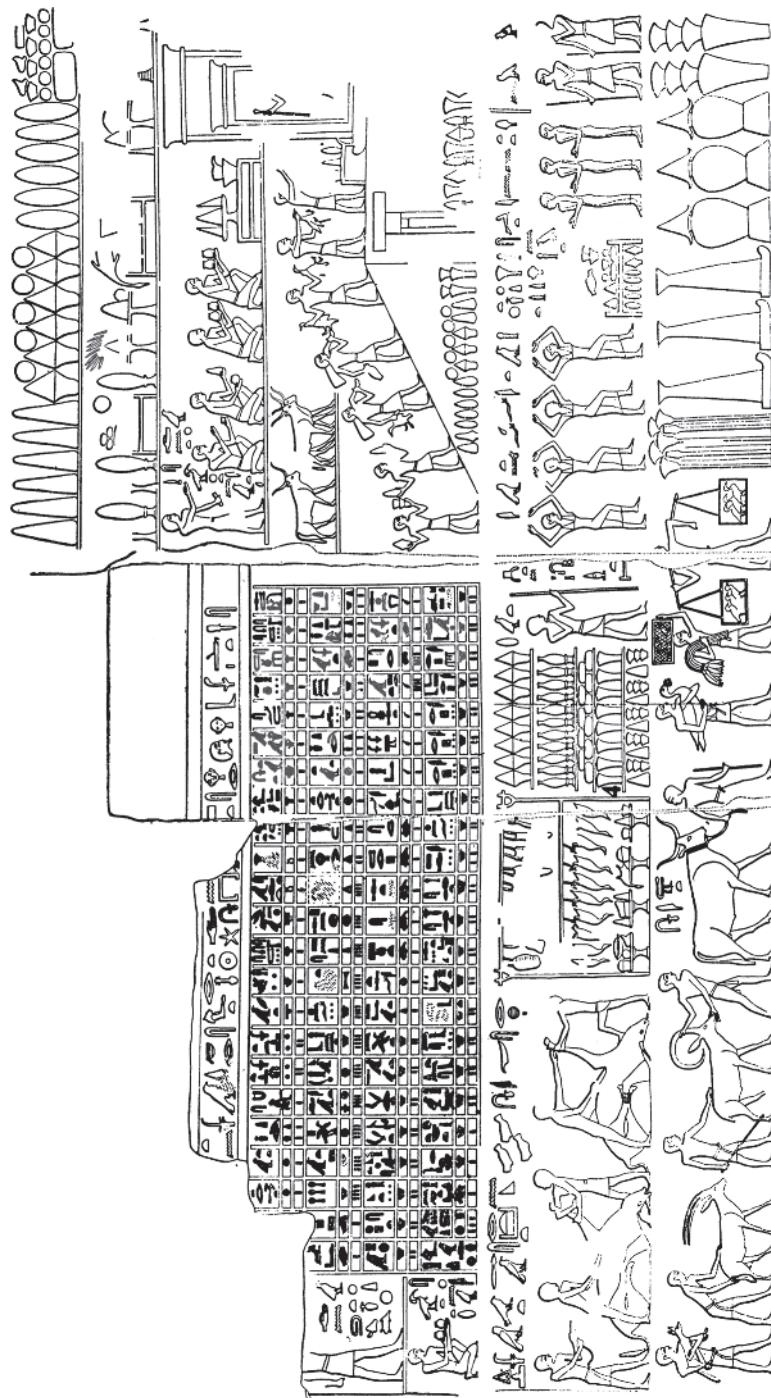


FIGURE 5.4 Funeral rituals for Debeheni. Tomb of Debeheni (Giza, LG 90); after Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, in turn after LD II, pl. 35

include what is to be recited and then instructions, namely the specification of items to be manipulated. For example, PT 72 and 73:

O Osiris Unas, with oil have I filled your eye for you.
Ceremonial-scent oil.

O Osiris Unas, take the outflow from his face.
Hikenu-oil.

The items *sti-h3b* “ceremonial-scent oil,” and *hiknw* “Hikenu-oil,” key in with two items consecutively named in the offering lists. Beginning with PT 72 and going on to finish with PT 171, the specifications of the texts occur in the same order as in the offering lists. The connection is crucial, because the normal location for the offering lists is in the above-ground cult-place of tombs, for king and subject alike, as part of the stereotyped scenes discussed above. Since the offering lists are generally accompanied by pictorial representations of priests performing ritual acts such as reciting from scrolls and presenting vessels and bread, and since the lists are regularly found juxtaposed to false doors and offering slabs, the meaning is unmistakable on two points. First, the Pyramid Texts represent the recitative dimension of the rites specified in the lists. Consequently the lists are themselves representations indicating not merely desired items, but rather they enumerate what rite is supposed to be performed when. An offering list, in short, represents a ritual consisting of many individual rites.²¹ Second, the place where those rites were performed was exactly where the lists are found, in the above-ground cult-place.

These texts had their original use in practices performed above-ground as part of the cult. Since the lists predate the Pyramid Texts—with precursors already occurring in the Fourth Dynasty (see Fig. 5.2)—it follows that their transferal to the below-ground burial place was an adaptation and expansion of practices that had already enjoyed use for, indeed, centuries.

One may go further still. Careful examination of the texts matching the items of the offering lists reveals that they refer to the beneficiary in the second person (*e.g.*, O Unas . . . for you), or sometimes in the third person “he.” What is excluded is to situate the beneficiary in the first person “I.” Upon reflection this seems natural enough: during the cult rituals the living priest addresses a deceased beneficiary in the second person or speaks about him in the third, but the deceased, being dead, has no speaking part.

²¹ Similarly, Willemse, “Social Aspects of Funerary Culture,” 350 and *Chests of Life*, 203; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* IV, 157.

Grammatical person is not a trivial detail. In directing a statement at another person, a speaker makes him into a listener, while the lexical elements of a statement are shaped according to the situation. Though the attributes of participants in a communication act are more complex than those constructed by the dyad of speaker and addressee, it is still true that natural languages encode these two roles in simple pronominal systems—"I" and "you."²² The voicing of a text, its format of interpersonal deixis, contributes to its centering, the place to which a text is culturally anchored.²³ The position of the speaker in respect to grammatical person creates a poetical *lexis*, speech, the situation of enunciating, to which Plato refers in the third book of the *Republic*, and in which the ultimate substrate of classical discussions of genre is to be found.²⁴

In seeking for a setting in life for other Pyramid Texts, one has a solid anchor with the set matching the offering lists. As they were originally meant to be performed in an above-ground place, it stands to reason that other Pyramid Texts similarly casting the beneficiary in the second person had a similar place of performance. Leveraging this detail, along with history of transmission and shared propositional content, one can associate 494 texts to a category that may be called "sacerdotal." It is called that since the term alludes to the manner of performance: living ritualist acting as priest for an inert, non-speaking beneficiary.

It is important to highlight their ritual character. As best seen from the use of the imperative in the texts quoted above—"O Osiris Unas, take the outflow from his (*sc.* Osiris's) face"—Pyramid Texts were not meant to inform or communicate so much as they were intended to bring about a result. The imperative was to coerce an ostensible effect, and the application of oil tied in with the recitations had a situational meaning. With ritual texts, the performed, situational sense is more prominent than the communicative or informative. The recitation of the text becomes more of an act by a ritualist on a patient than a transmission of information from a sender to a receiver. It is subjective, because it fashions a (one-way) dialogical situation, and because something

²² See Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 551: the first and second persons normally refer to people in the field of perception shared by speaker and listener; "their meaning is defined by the act of speaking."

²³ Hanks, "Texts and Textuality," 106–07.

²⁴ See the discussion and critique thereof in Genette, *The Architext*, 8–23, 33–34, and 61, esp. p. 12. To be precise, he shows that the classical division of poetry into three genres is the result of a collective misreading of Plato and Aristotle, and is, in his opinion, a manner of analysis which should be dispensed with. But his bold assertion does not hold for the Pyramid Texts.

is expected to happen to a particular person as a result of the text's recitation. This is in distinction with, and contrast to, objective texts, like textbooks for instance, which are expressly meant to inform. With objective texts the author will rarely address his or her audience, and, if this occurs, it will be for discursive effect. Moreover, the change the textbook seeks is in the knowledge level of a wide audience, not a singled-out person as with the Pyramid Texts. This is all to say that, in their original contexts of performance, sacerdotal texts had comparatively less interest in objectively informing and comparatively more in subjectively performing. They were not teachings but coercions.

Returning to the burial chambers where the Pyramid Texts are inscribed, one is struck by a disjunction. While the co-presence of list, image, and cultic door above-ground lets one see that the Pyramid Texts' recitations were to be done there, it is difficult to imagine that the same texts could have been performed in the below-ground part of the tomb. For one thing, aside from the monumental presence of the texts themselves, there is no solid evidence to suggest it, and neither should one expect there to be. Standard representations of the offering ritual often show a great many officiants involved, manipulating a plethora of instruments and objects. A performance below-ground is not possible for practical reasons.²⁵ Furthermore, any performance of rites in the burial chambers would have ceased from the moment stone portcullises were dropped to seal off the subterranean apartments. Meanwhile, the significance of their above-ground performance would have been regularly reinforced after the burial through the continuous execution of rites in the cult-place.

It is imperative to have underscored this disjunction—to separate our knowledge of how sacerdotal texts were once performed versus their below-ground manifestations. The role played by a text cannot have been quite the same between the two places. The ritual script has a meaning different than the monumentalization in hieroglyphs, and that is precisely due to a recontextualization—the transposition from archival scroll to tomb wall. More below will be said on how the meaning of a text changes depending on where it is deployed.

2.2 *Personal Texts and Their Entextualization*

As sacerdotal texts form one category of Pyramid Texts, personal texts form another. The most obvious sign that one is reading a sacerdotal text is when it figures the beneficiary in the second person "you." Meanwhile, the personal texts originally figured the beneficiary in the first person "I." For instance in PT 227:

25 Cf. similarly Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte*, 18.

Recitation.

The head of the bull, the great black one, will I cut off.

O serpent, against you do I say this.

O god-beaten one, O scorpion, against you do I say this.

Overturn yourself; slither into <the earth>, for I have said this against you.

In this text the speaker is the one who expects to gain from the performance of the text, unlike PT 72 and 73, cited above. In those PT, someone else was meant to recite them, and their recitation was meant to benefit the “you” mentioned in them. But here, as written, the speaker addresses himself to a hostile being, and he secures the benefits of the recitation through his own action, his speech, applying coercion against an enemy. Since such a recitation requires the beneficiary’s own action, it can be said to possess a personal structure. This same structure is to be found in most texts of New Kingdom Books of the Dead.

But as simple as it may seem from the example of PT 227, things are considerably more complicated in the pyramids. As is well known, many originally first-person Pyramid Texts were edited, especially to the third person. As a result, texts uniformly casting the beneficiary as the speaker are actually quite rare in the pyramids. Only a few Pyramid Texts preserve it throughout.

To understand the history of the corpus, the texts which were edited away from the first person must be identified. There are two steps to the process. First is the isolation of texts with tangible signs of editing. The second step is predicated by the very existence of the program of editing. Since we only know about the program through scribal error—the source of the signs of editing—it must be assumed that some texts had been edited completely, leaving no trace. These must be identified through consultation of their history of transmission and shared propositional content.

The phenomenon of editing is well attested through four signs. By them one is able to identify many texts which were originally composed in the first person: 1) The clearest indication that a text was edited is where a passage was physically recarved. After its initial chiseling upon a tomb wall, a passage could be reworked, leaving a final version superimposed upon the earlier. 2) Some texts slip back to the first person from the third, vacillating in grammatical person. Incomplete editing overlooked or did not grasp the significance of the slender reed leaf or absence of pronoun and mistakenly let the text stand. 3) A related phenomenon is the doubling of the first person pronoun with the third person pronoun of the proper name. In such instances, the first person of the transcriptional source was inadvertently maintained alongside an added proper name or third person pronoun. 4) A phenomenon closely akin to doubling is residue of the original first person, evidenced in the expressed final *-y*

or *-i* of verb forms from third weak verbs, which otherwise show a third person subject; these forms generally appear when the subject is the first person.

With several texts showing more than one sign of editing, altogether there are 98 Pyramid Texts that were certainly originally in the first person. But are there connections among these texts beyond their structure of performance? Yes. Edited texts are often found together in the same recurring series, short fixed units of transmission, in which none of the sacerdotal texts appear. Furthermore, they share propositional content which is utterly absent from sacerdotal texts. There are numerous important motifs—stock phrases—which are repeated in great abundance among them, and which are completely absent from sacerdotal texts. As a result of the correlations, it is evident that a differentiation initially made on the basis of grammatical form actually also concerns transmission and content: different avenues of analysis converge. It is a matter of a genre of discourse morphologically distinguishable along three empirically perceivable dimensions of analysis: person of the beneficiary, history of transmission, and shared content. The personal texts are distinct from the sacerdotal ones.

Since we only know about the program of modification due to scribal error, it must be assumed that many texts were completely edited and now stand in the third person. Leveraging the phenomenon of transmission history and exclusive propositional content, 215 additional texts can be assigned to the personal category, alongside those exhibiting signs of editing, for a total of 313 texts.

Taking into account the performed status of the personal texts, one observes that a text like PT 227, in its original form, was done by someone who was simultaneously the beneficiary of that performance. But the program of modification had the effect of converting such texts so that the text owner was no longer either ritualist or beneficiary. Instead, he was represented only as the object of benefit. This was achieved by conversion of the first-person pronoun almost always to the third person, either the proper name or pronoun. In the pyramids, the text's performance was no longer dependent on the beneficiary's involvement.

It is also of crucial importance to observe that the personal texts cannot have been composed for the purpose of decorating subterranean chambers. If that had been the case, there would have been no reason for their wholesale modification once they were put to that purpose. The fact of their ubiquitous conversion is the sufficient proof of their having been transposed from another situation into the tomb. Like the sacerdotal texts, the personal texts were not conceived of and composed to be monumental, subterranean decoration; that role was an adaptation.

What, then, was the place of the personal texts in their prior forms? To answer this question, one has a culturally emic, interpretive lens in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead. Its paratextual notations make it clear that learning and performing its texts in life were done in preparation for a desired afterlife. The same may be asserted for the personal Pyramid Texts: if not composed originally for the dead in the tomb, then they were for the living in anticipation of death. Prior to their transposition, the living learned personal Pyramid Texts through their recitation in order to become an *Akh* after death. This activity was separate from cultic action of the sort seen through sacerdotal texts. Whereas sacerdotal texts like those corresponding to the offering list were performed by teams of priests at a designated place, the personal texts belonged to the domicile or an appropriated public place.

These points coalesce as follows: the texts we have attested did not serve the same function on the subterranean wall as they did in living practice outside of the tomb. Inside the closed sepulcher, no priest was to approach the deceased, address him, or lift objects to him. More importantly, no eyes were to read the carved lines of hieroglyphs to remember what was to be said and done during the course of a rite. This is the crucial conclusion from the distinction between subterranean place of attestation and above-ground point of origin: although derived from operative scripts, ones meant to be recited, the texts chiseled in stone were not themselves operative scripts, were not meant to be recited. They are monumental *entextualizations* of rites that were done above-ground. They became representations of ritual in their monumental environment, rather than the instruments whereby rites were performed. In short, in the burial chambers, the Pyramid Texts no longer served as supports to the performances of their origin. The ritual script had become a decontextualized expression of ritual, something transformed into the visual medium of hieroglyphs.

Herein enters a paradox of paramount importance. While sacerdotal and personal texts were originally scripts for ritual performances, and in that capacity their coercive and performative components were at the fore, once removed from the ritual scroll to the stone monument, the role of the text shifted. It had gone from being a script for a rite to being a representation of it, a function now independent of human performance. In this way, the Pyramid Texts in their physical attestations are precisely akin to monumental presentations on coffins and chapel walls. Recontextualized as monumental adornment, their efficacy shifted from the spoken utterance during the event to the representational permanence of the word. Once the rite was frozen as a textual snapshot, it was removed from the play on all the senses as experienced in the flow of time. The significance of the texts was displaced: their performed perspective

was transmuted into an idealized conceptualization. Monumentalized in the tomb, the text went from being a deed to an idea.

This is in the nature of writing, since writing as such appears autonomous and stripped of context. Indeed, all written texts have a monumentality foreign to spoken language. Writing is hardened language, and it leads an existence independent from the act. Because context must be supplied by an individual reader, it always appears symbolic, with a solidity and apparent autonomy which defers its meaning. This is achieved through being moved out of the human context of face-to-face contact—away from being a script in a group or individual ritual performance. Outside of its original ritual role, where its social context was established by tradition, in the pyramid the text demanded a greater degree of interpretation on the part of any reader. He or she must construct communicative circuits around it. Simply put, writing is more detached from experience than the spoken word. By its nature, it pushes further into the abstract world than spoken language does.

The anthropologist Jack Goody has proposed that the development of writing has an impact on religious practices. For instance, it can have the effect of shifting the accomplishment of rites of passage and other collective changes in state from the act into written forms. In short, the proliferation of textuality can lead to a decay of ceremony, a movement from the practical accomplishment of religiously significant events to their metaphorical accomplishment.²⁶ It is a shift from the deed to the idea. It is the case that the Pyramid Texts made their advent at just the moment when monumental applications of writing were expanding, achieving their acme in Sixth Dynasty autobiographies, precisely during their flourit. The advent of the Pyramid Texts can be seen as part of the proliferation of uses of writing, paralleled in non-royal tombs by the introduction of offering lists to non-royal sarcophagus chambers at exactly the same time.²⁷ Perhaps not coincidentally, one of the effects of transcribing a ritual text to a monumental surface must be a shift from the act to the word just as Goody supposes.

3 From Ritual to Knowledge

Above it was argued that the Pyramid Texts were derived from ritual scripts, originally performed outside the tomb. The entextualization of these texts

²⁶ Goody, *The Logic of Writing*, 42–44.

²⁷ Dawood, “Animate Decoration,” 109–10, and further discussed below.

from hieratic source documents to the massive stone walls of the subterranean chambers of pyramids was a decontextualization, a removal of the texts from their original place of experience. And the effect of that was to move the texts away from acts of performance and over to an idea. The shift proposed, then, is one away from deeds and over to words. In that change, the Pyramid Texts as encountered below-ground became more of an object of knowledge rather than an instrument of practice.

This proposal keys in with evidence from outside the pyramids. Miroslav Bárta has noted the growing complexity of above-ground tomb design from the reign of Neferirkare onwards, with a reverse trend emerging in the reign of Teti. From Teti onwards, increasing attention is devoted to subterranean areas.²⁸ It is significant in this context to observe that the earliest decorated burial chamber for an elite is from the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, datable to the reign of Unas. Attention to the above-ground portions of the tomb suggest greater attention to the collectively performed ritual that took place there: more space was made available to the living who would come to perform cultic services for the dead. To shift attention to the burial chambers was to move focus to areas sealed off from the world of the living. Their decoration was in the close proximity of the deceased and his or her personal world. This trend appears to have reached its zenith in the reign of Pepi II, when above-ground cultic installations are stunted or absent from elite tombs, with more attention paid to the substructure.²⁹

Both royal and non-royal subterranean walls begin to be decorated during the reign of Unas, and from Teti onward there is increasing attention to subterranean areas. And now a further pivot for the reign of Teti: assertions by elite persons concerning efficacious rituals versus efficacious knowledge. At the beginning of this essay it was noted that many Old Kingdom elites made explicit claims to the instruments by which one became an *Akh*. It turns out that there is a temporal pattern to these statements.

There are two different kinds of statement. The first are those where it is claimed that *ritual* by which one becomes an *Akh* has been done (*iry iḥ.t 3ḥ.t ny*), for instance:

28 Bárta, "Architectural Innovations," 112, 117–18, 120.

29 Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 1–3.

One whom the king and Anubis loves is the lector priest who will perform for me the rite by which an *Akh* becomes an *Akh* according to that secret writing of the craft of the lector priest.³⁰

Six statements laying claim to efficacious ritual appear up to and including the reign of Teti, with only two thereafter. Sources bearing statements like these are:

Ti:³¹ Fifth Dynasty, second half; Saqqara
 Nima'atre:³² Fifth Dynasty, second half; Saqqara
 Kaikherptah:³³ Djedkare or later; Giza
 Nihetepptah:³⁴ Djedkare or later; Saqqara
 Ankhemahor:³⁵ Teti; Saqqara
 Mereruka:³⁶ Teti; Saqqara

Merefnebef:³⁷ Userkare/Pepi I; Saqqara
 Shen'ay:³⁸ late Sixth Dynasty (?); Abydos

The second type of statement are those where it is claimed that *knowledge* by which one becomes an *Akh* is known by the elite (*rḥ iḥ.t 3ḥ.t ny*), for instance:

I am an *Akh* more skillful than any *Akh*; I am an *Akh* more equipped than any *Akh*: I know everything skillful, by which an excellent *Akh* becomes skillful, and by which an *Akh* who is in the necropolis becomes an *Akh*.³⁹

Seven statements laying claim to efficacious knowledge come after Teti, with only two before. Sources bearing these kinds of statements are:

³⁰ Kaikherptah; see below with n. 35.

³¹ Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie*, 66–67.

³² Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, fig. 231.

³³ Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 56.

³⁴ Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah*, 7, fig. 13, and pl. 13.

³⁵ *Urk. I*, 202: 15–18.

³⁶ Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie*, 66–67.

³⁷ Myśliwiec, *Saqqara I*, 72–73 and pl. 33.

³⁸ Frankfort, “Cemeteries of Abydos,” pl. 20.3.

³⁹ Hezi; see below with n. 43.

Ti:⁴⁰ Fifth Dynasty, second half; Saqqara

Hezi:⁴¹ Teti; Saqqara

Merefnebef:⁴² Userkare/Pepi I; Saqqara

Nekhbu:⁴³ Pepi I; Giza

Ibi:⁴⁴ Pepi II; Deir el-Gebrawi

Idu Seneni:⁴⁵ Pepi II or later; el-Qasr wa'l-Saiyad

Tjetu I:⁴⁶ late Sixth Dynasty; Giza

Shen'ay⁴⁷ late Sixth Dynasty (?); Abydos

Bebi:⁴⁸ Sixth Dynasty or later; Giza

To judge by these accounts, there was more concern that ritual be done up to the reign of Teti, while afterwards there was comparatively less interest in that and more interest in laying claim to knowledge. In short, the elite discourse shifted its focus from action to knowledge as the crucial component in soteriology. This shift, taking place immediately after the advent of the Pyramid Texts, corresponds precisely with the effects of their entextualization: the ritual script was separated from action and made into an object of knowledge. What emerges, then, is that the elaborate display of religious texts in royal tombs was an authoritative center of changes relevant to elite and king alike.

4 Summation

The Pyramid Texts do have a history again. They were transposed from settings of ritual performance, and made into visual, hieroglyphic monumentalizations. They were made into representations of the events to which they had originally served as scripts. In that entextualization, their focus shifted from coercive performance and over to being a decontextualized thing to be

⁴⁰ Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie*, 66–67.

⁴¹ Silverman, “Threat-Formula,” 5, fig. 4b.

⁴² Myśliwiec, *Saqqara I*, 73–74 and pl. 33.

⁴³ *Urk. I*, 218: 4–6.

⁴⁴ Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. 23, with Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie*, 23, and Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi. Volume II*, 54 and pl. 54.

⁴⁵ Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, fig. 4.

⁴⁶ Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part I*, fig. 15.

⁴⁷ Frankfort, “Cemeteries of Abydos,” pl. 20.3.

⁴⁸ Capart, *Chambre funéraire*, pl. 5.

admired and read outside of ritual. It was a shift from deed to word, from practice to knowledge.

In the reign of Teti there is a shift in interest away from the elaboration of the above-ground parts of elite tombs, where ritualists would have gone. A growing lack of interest culminates in the reign of Pepi II, when cultic emplacements are comparatively perfunctory, compared to what may be seen in the Fifth Dynasty from Neferirkare onwards. Recontextualized from being ritual scripts into objects of displayed knowledge, the Pyramid Texts fit right in with the archaeological trend.

With Unas, Pyramid Texts appear right when an interest emerged in decorating the subterranean parts of elite tombs. The Pyramid Texts emerge at a time when religious interest was shifting away from ritual practice over to religious knowledge, as registered in statements made by elites. They were elaborate displays of archival texts, demonstrations of knowledge. Archives of ritual texts were transposed—and transformed—in the process.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

ÉAO	<i>Égypte Afrique et Orient</i>
LD	C.R. Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 6 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–1859
PT	Pyramid Texts
Urk. I	K. Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932–33

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CHAPTER 6

Shareholders: The Menkaure Valley Temple Occupation in Context

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Abstract

This article assesses the settlement structures in the Menkaure Valley Temple (MVT) in the wider context of settlement at the southeastern base of the Giza Plateau, including the Khentkawes Town (KKT), adjacent to the MVT, as well as domestic structures in other pyramid temples and enclosures, mainly those of Raneferef (Fifth Dynasty) and Wedjebten (Sixth Dynasty). I look at the hypothesis that the MVT and KKT together formed one pyramid town. From extensions of the KKT to the east, discovered in the last few years, doorways opened north to the adjacent Central Field East cemetery, which developed in a Fourth Dynasty quarry during the Fifth Dynasty, contemporary with the main occupation of the KKT and MVT. Seen in these wider architectural, settlement, and cemetery contexts, the occupation of the MVT court appears as one node, like that of the Raneferef court, in a complex network of affiliations of pyramid towns and temples, including a tight relationship between the foundations of Khafre, Menkaure, and Khentkawes I.

1 Introduction

When George Reisner excavated the Menkaure Valley Temple (MVT) between July 1908 and April 1910, he found packed into the central court a dense warren

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of small bins, round silo bases and walls defining small houses or apartments; “the general appearance was that of a poor modern village.”¹

Barry Kemp characterized this occupation as the “villagization of a monument,”² a process that must have started soon after Menkaure’s successor, Shepseskaf, finished the temple in mudbrick upon his predecessor’s death when all major stonework on this pyramid complex stopped.³

This article looks at the MVT “village” together with the nearby Khentkawes Town (KKT) and domestic structures at the pyramids of Raneferef (Fifth Dynasty) and Wedjebten (Sixth Dynasty). Like those settlements, the MVT was a node in a wider network of affiliations of pyramid towns and temples. Individuals who benefitted from the MVT node were buried in the Fifth Dynasty cemetery of the Central Field East, immediately north of the MVT and KKT.

Part 1 reviews the royal decrees for the Menkaure Pyramid and its town. Part 2 surveys the occupation structures in the MVT court. Part 3 compares the MVT settlement to occupation structures around the Wedjebten pyramid. Part 4 examines the secondary “houses” occupying the court of the Raneferef pyramid temple and relates those structures to textual information in the Raneferef papyrus archive. Part 5 reviews the hypothesis that the MVT occupation and the Khentkawes Town (KKT) functioned together as the pyramid town of Menkaure. Part 6 describes the extension of the KKT to the east, discovered in the last few years by teams from Ancient Egypt Research Associates (AERA) and looks at the possible relationship of the extended settlement to the cemetery in the Central Field East.

2 Decrees for the Menkaure Pyramid and Its Town

The impetus for the growth of a “village” inside the MVT was probably a decree issued by Shepseskaf, carved on a limestone stela, the earliest known example of a genre of royal decrees. Introduced by the formula, *ir.n-f m mnw-f*, “he made it as a monument,”⁴ the edict sets up *pekher* offerings in the pyramid of Menkaure and mentions *w'b* [purification] priests appointed forever.⁵

¹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 49.

² Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 207–09, fig. 74 and “Old Kingdom,” 93–94.

³ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 34–54.

⁴ Papazian, *Domain of Pharaoh*, 305 restores “[for] (the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Mn-k3.w-R'*).”

⁵ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 19b, d; *Urk.* 1, 160; *KD*, 16–21; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 97–98, no.16; Papazian, *Domain of Pharaoh*, 260–62, 305–06.

Phr, in the sense of “offerings” is derived from the verb *p̄hr* which means to “turn back” or “turn around”, that is reversionary offerings. [The document of Shepseskaf] endows the cultic foundation of Menkaure with the privilege of being a recipient of patronage, which would entitle it almost certainly to daily deliveries of provisions from the reigning administration.⁶

Reisner found fragments of the limestone stela bearing this Shepseskaf decree in the debris on the floor of the portico (space 7) of Menkaure’s Upper Temple, along with fragments of two other limestone stela, some of which appear to derive from two decrees of the Sixth Dynasty king, Merenre,⁷ showing that a cult for Menkaure had been continued or periodically renewed more than two centuries after Shepseskaf.

The attention of subsequent kings to the Menkaure pyramid complex is evidenced as well by the mudbrick wall built across the portico of the upper temple, screening it off from the open court, in effect separating the outer from the inner temple like the pyramid temples of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Some later king also ordered his builders to begin work on the new inner stone temple between the base of the pyramid and the back wall of the original temple, a work left unfinished.⁸ The find spot of the decree fragments suggests that people posted these stone-etched documents in the mudbrick screen wall, although on this point we should note that Reisner found the bottom right corner of the Shepseskaf decree⁹ in a pile of debris far to the east, just outside and north of the entrance corridor to the upper temple, at the end of the causeway.¹⁰

The later decrees indicate that the “village,” nestled down in the lower temple, like the upper temple, was renewed and sustained in the late Sixth Dynasty. This renewal came after a wadi flood destroyed the sanctuary, and after people abandoned the “first temple” as finished by Shepseskaf.¹¹ Near the end of his excavations in 1910, Reisner found in the entrance vestibule (space 377) of the Valley Temple the more complete decree of Pepi II, dated to his 31st occasion, inscribed on a limestone slab.¹² The addressee of the decree can be

6 Papazian, *Domain of Pharaoh*, 260–62.

7 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 15, pl. 19, e. i. g, h; *Urk.* I, 276; *KD*, 78–80, Abb. 6.

8 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 31–33.

9 *KD*, I7, Abb. 1.

10 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, I3, pl. 19d.

11 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 45; Lehner, Kamal, and Tavares, “The Khentkawes Town (KKT),” 178–79.

12 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 38, pl. A; *KD*, 148–80, Abb. 12; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 106–07, no.23; *Urk.* I, 277–78; Boston 47.1654.

restored as the Overseer of the Pyramid Town of Menkaure (named after the pyramid, “Divine is Menkaure”). The very first vertical lines below the address list three people and their titles: “the *iry-p^t* (Hereditary Prince, nobleman), eldest king’s son, Nemtyemzaf; the *ḥ3ty-*^c (count), Sole Companion, Charmed of Arm, Imapepy; and the *ḥ3ty-*^c, Sole Companion, Overseer of the *ḥntjw-š* (literally, “those at the head of the š, a basin, land tract, or precinct) of the *pr* ^c (literally Great House, the palace), Khnumhotep.

The royal decrees mandate royal offerings and provisions from reigning kings to Menkaure’s memorial, offerings that would revert in shares to the officials in charge of the pyramid town and its purpose. Indeed these individuals are placed foremost. Nigel Strudwick noted, “It would appear from this text that, in addition to the royal cult, three private cults were associated with the temple and benefited from it.”¹³ A certain paleographic detail may prove important to understanding the occupation structures within the MVT.

In his translation, Strudwick adds after each of the three listings, “(his) altar,”¹⁴ where Hans Goedicke has, “1 Kopie.” Goedicke understood a horizontal sign as the book roll,  (Gardiner sign-list Y1 or Y2), *md3t*, which Goedicke took to mean a copy of the official edict for each person.¹⁵ No horizontal sign appears below the three names plus titles in Reisner’s original drawing of the piece; he indicates the signs are worn away.¹⁶ Strudwick cites Ron Leprohon¹⁷ who permitted him to consult an unpublished copy of the text by Klaus Baer.¹⁸ Strudwick translates the horizontal signs as the offering slab,  (Gardiner sign-list R4), *htp*, “altar.” This may find its proof and explanation in the finds from the secondary enclosure around the Wedjebten pyramid (see below), which means the text refers to three physical altars in the MVT.

The three vertical columns containing the names and titles of the officials end at another horizontal register, “the Lector Priest, Scribe of the Phyle, Ishefi,” for whom no altar is given, although the text immediately below is worn away, while the lower text mentions both the pyramid and pyramid town of Menkaure.¹⁹

¹³ Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 106.

¹⁴ Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 107.

¹⁵ *KD*, 148–51, Abb. 12, n. 7.

¹⁶ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 13, pl. A.

¹⁷ Leprohon, *Stelae I*, 156–59.

¹⁸ Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 444.

¹⁹ *KD*, Abb 12; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 107.

3 Occupation Structures in the MVT Court

A review of the architectural setting of the MVT settlement, combining the MVT proper that Reisner excavated, the eastern Annex that Selim Hassan excavated,²⁰ along with the new findings from AERA's resurvey and targeted excavations,²¹ establishes how "on-high" and segregated was the settlement in the MVT court. This little settlement (between 18 and 20 m above sea level—asl) was perched some 6 to 8 meters above the flood plain of its time (estimated around 12 to 12.5 m asl).²² One ascended to the MVT on ramps and corridors, probably flanking a deep basin, similar to the layout east of the Khentkawes Town, discovered since 2007.²³ To reach the settlement in the court of the temple proper, one had to pass through two columned vestibules, each within their massive, fortified walls, and four doorways, each fitted with wooden doors on the evidence of the limestone thresholds with pivot sockets.

3.1 Occupation Phases

Reisner found three major horizons of small apartments, bins, and granaries in the MVT court interspersed with two layers of debris from plunder, neglect, and decay of walls.²⁴

20 Hassan, *Excavations at Giza iv*, 51–62, where he takes the Annex as the "Valley-Temple of Queen Khent-kawes.

21 Lehner, Kamal , and Tavares, "The Khentkawes Town (KKT)"; Lehner, "KKT-AI."

22 Lehner, "Capital Zone Walkabout 2006," 142.

23 See articles by Jones and Lehner on the KKT-E in GOP 5, 15–33. It is worth noting the similarity between the lower causeway corridor of the Menkaure complex, which meets the western back of the temple, turns south, then east around the southwest corner of the valley temple, and continues as a corridor running east, to that of the Khentkawes complex, which takes a turn north down the "Northern Lateral Ramp" (NLR), then east around the northwest corner of the Khentkawes valley complex (a terraced basin), to continue east as a corridor once framed by thick mudbrick walls. Both causeway corridors are close to 1.60 m in width.

24 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 50–53. In future seasons the AERA team hopes to move from re-clearing and studying the eastern third of the MVT and the Annex into the court and the structures of the settlement, which promise to be relatively intact and as Reisner left them, due to the fact that as he excavated the eastern MVT, he backfilled the court and western parts. In our Season 2012 our clearing of the wall between the eastern MVT and the court partially exposed the westernmost apartment in the court. Here I offer a preliminary assessment of the court settlement sequence and structure.

- **Occupation 1:** Small structures directly on the floor of the court and Annex (Reisner's *a* horizon, phase II.1).
- **Debris 1:** A layer of debris, which included fragments broken from Menkaure's statues, 40 to 70 cm deep at the sides of the court and sloping down to 20 cm deep over the central limestone pathway.
- **Occupation 2:** The most orderly and best preserved of the small structures built in the court, Reisner's *b* horizon, phase II.3. Reisner distinguished five residences, or apartments, in a fairly orthogonal, bonded complex of rooms in the southern side of the court. The occupants reserved the northern side of the court for "circular granaries and single rooms or pairs of rooms."²⁵ The small rooms may have been storage bins. The rebuilding of the magazine walls (rooms 355–371) south of Vestibule I probably belong to this period. Reisner gave them a different phase number (phase II.6), but ascribes them to the same general time as the apartments, bins, and granaries of phase II.3.²⁶
- **Debris 2:** Decayed mudbrick from the walls of Reisner's "first temple"—the "deposition of debris to a depth of 150–200 cm. in the magazines, and from 40–100 cm. in the court; the sanctuary apparently kept clear."²⁷ A flash flood "through the western wall of the offering room (1) and the formation of a surface of decay" contributed to this general horizon of debris.²⁸
- **Occupation 3:** Thin walls forming small rooms or bins, and more circular silos "over the walls of the first temple," less substantial and less orderly than those of Settlement 2 (Reisner's *c* horizon, phase III.10).
- **Debris 3:** Toppled, decayed mudbrick from the "second temple" walls formed a final "surface of decay" before sand covered the site (Reisner phase III.11).

The three major periods of settlement structures within the temple that Reisner delineated correspond nicely with three major mudbrick construction or rebuilding periods following on the monolithic core walls and foundation laid in under Menkaure (phase I). Reisner recognized only two major mudbrick building phases, his phases II and III of the "first temple" and "second temple." However, he indicated that during the Fifth Dynasty, people undertook significant works and additions in the MVT that amount to a sub-phase.

²⁵ Reisner *Mycerinus*, 51–52.

²⁶ Reisner *Mycerinus*, 53.

²⁷ Reisner *Mycerinus*, 54, phase II.8.

²⁸ Reisner *Mycerinus*, 54, phase II.9.

3.2 Occupation 2 and Reisner's Fifth Dynasty Building Sub-Phase

Of the settlement horizons within the MVT, we know best Occupation 2. People must have built these structures shortly after certain significant modifications and renewals in the MVT during the Fifth Dynasty.

Reisner recognized significant changes to the MVT proper in the Fifth Dynasty, but he did not assign them a major phase. Rather, he assigned them sub-phases of his phase II, "the first crude brick temple, erected by Shepseskaf."²⁹ Reisner's record shows this intermediate mudbrick and limestone building phase as a significant expansion of his phase II.2, to which he assigns the building of a mudbrick screen wall across the portico. This phase, probably dating to the Fifth Dynasty and taking in structures of the eastern Annex, is more substantial than Reisner saw.

Reisner noted that it was probably in the Fifth Dynasty (in his phase II.2) when someone built a thick mudbrick wall and doorway across the portico (room 1) of the MVT, a refurbishing of the original phase II (Shepseskaf) parapet wall retaining the high floor level of the portico (Fig. 6.1).³⁰ This screen wall was similar to the screen wall across the portico and offering hall in the upper pyramid temple, and to the thinner screen wall added to the portico of the chapel of subsidiary pyramid G111-a. Reisner believed the screen walls were added about the same time, he thought early in the Fifth Dynasty.³¹ In both temples, the wall effected a stricter separation of the inner from the outer temple, a separation we find in Fifth and Sixth Dynasty pyramid temples.

Reisner noted that the limestone threshold of the double-leaf doorway through the added screen wall, and a small stone ramp that rises .50 m up to it, must have been built at the same time as the screen wall, that is, in the Fifth Dynasty, as a replacement for an original ramp and threshold.³² He found a similar threshold for the doorway that once opened through the screen wall in the upper temple. The limestone ramp rises at the end of a limestone pathway that leads straight across the MVT court from the limestone threshold in the doorway between room 377, with four alabaster column bases (Vestibule 1), and the court (Fig. 6.1). In 2011 we cleared the eastern side of the latter threshold, but we have not yet seen the pathway across the court.

The limestone pathway across the central MVT court was most probably installed at the same period as the limestone pathway that crosses the open court (space 206) of the Annex to connect room 202 (Vestibule 2), with its

²⁹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 41, 53.

³⁰ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 41.

³¹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 32, 41.

³² Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 41.

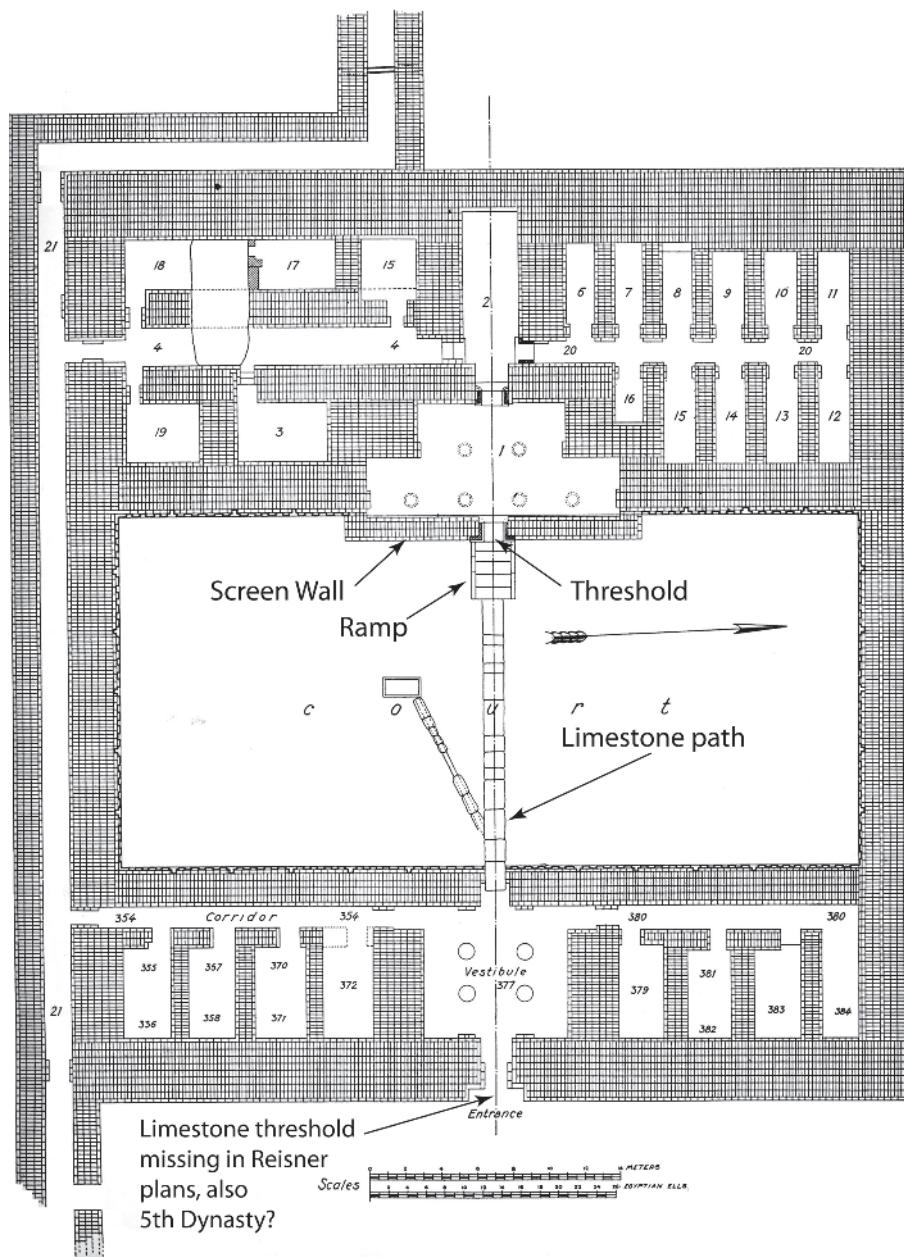


FIGURE 6.1 Reisner's reconstructed plan of the MVT "first temple," completed at the end of the Fourth Dynasty in mudbrick by Shepseskaf upon the platform of huge limestone blocks laid down by Menkaure's builders. Labels indicate elements probably added or renewed in the Fifth Dynasty.

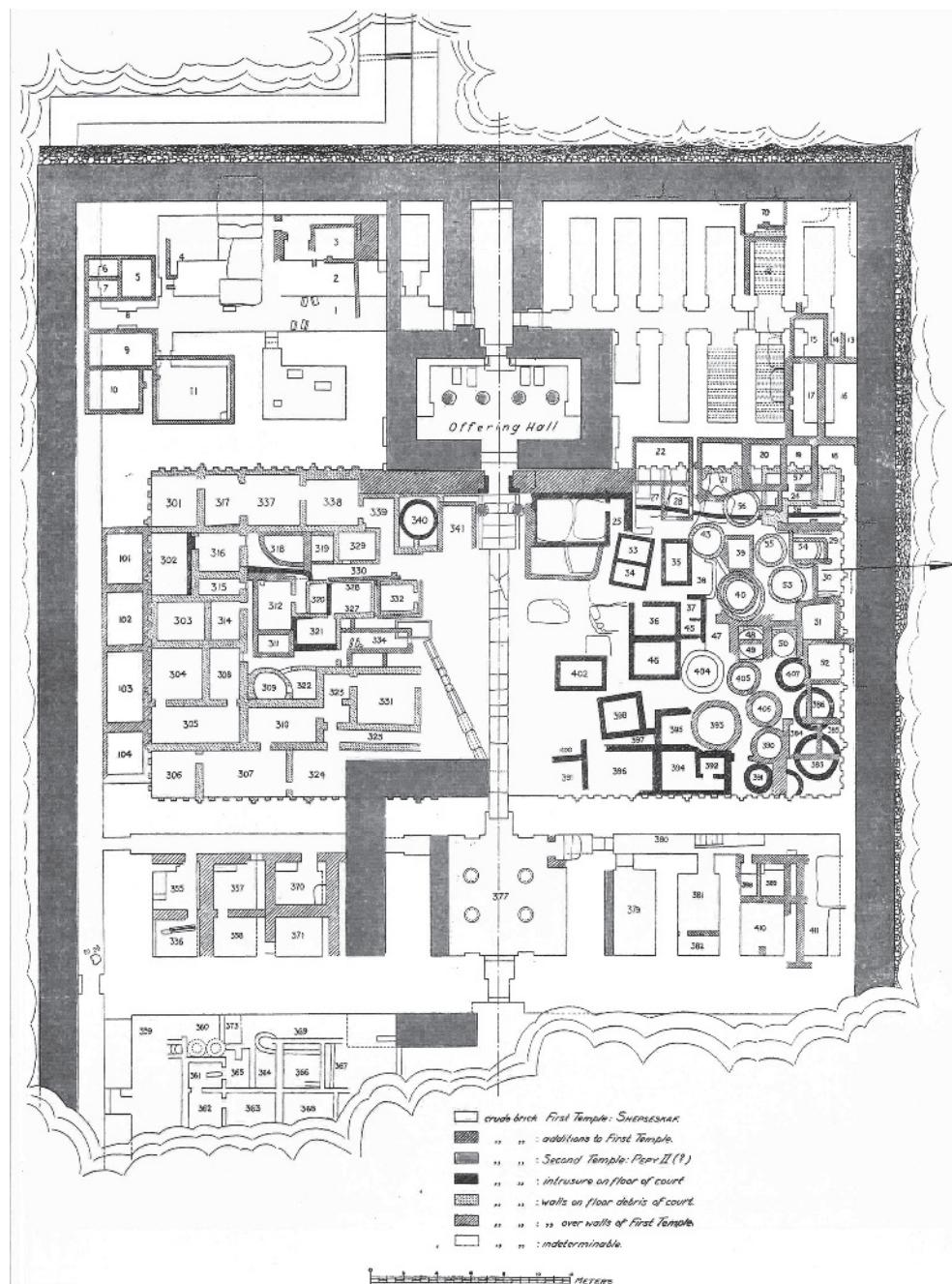


FIGURE 6.2 Reisner's (Mycerinus, plan VIII) multi-phase map of the MVT. Unshaded walls belong to the first (Fourth Dynasty) temple. Shaded walls belong to the "second (Sixth Dynasty) temple."

four alabaster column bases, which Hassan found in 1932, to the limestone threshold (missing in Reisner's plans) of the main, central MVT doorway.³³ We are still investigating the possibility that the two vestibules, with their identical sets of four alabaster column bases, 1-meter in diameter, were installed at the same time.³⁴ This would comprise the largest and costliest Fifth Dynasty addition.

Occupation 2 also followed on the rebuilding of the magazines in the southeastern corner of the MVT (see Fig. 6.2, rooms 355–336, 355–357, 370–371, and 372), immediately south of Vestibule 1 (377), and the closing of the magazines in the northeastern corner, north of Vestibule 1. The rebuilt walls are thinner than the original magazine walls of the "first temple" (Shepseskaf), but thicker than the walls of Occupation 3. The rebuilt walls of the southeastern magazines match the walls of the Occupation 2 "houses" in the court. Those who rebuilt the southeastern magazines founded the new walls directly on the remains of the broader, original magazine walls of the "first temple." They utilized the original doorways opening onto corridor 354, which gave access to and from the causeway corridor and Vestibule 1 (377).³⁵

Reisner noted that the builders of the "second temple" constructed the southern wall of the new portal structure (Vestibule 1 = 377) directly over the rebuilt walls of magazine 372, the northernmost of the southeastern set, as he also indicates on his phase plan (see Figs. 6.1 and 6.2).³⁶ He concluded that someone rebuilt the southeastern magazines long before the portal of the "second temple," but also sufficient time after the "first temple" that the roofs of these magazines had collapsed. He believed that people rebuilt the southeastern magazines about the same time, or just a little earlier, than the walls of the "houses" of the middle phase occupation in the southern central court.

As for the magazines north of Vestibule 1, which originally comprised a near-match to those on the south, Reisner stated: "The doorway into the northern magazine corridor [380] and the doorways of the northern magazines

33 Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, 55–57, fig. 1; Lehner, Kamel and Tavares, "The Khentkawes Town (KKT)," 26–27.

34 AERA, "A Hundred and One Years Later," 12 and "The Silo Building Complex," 8–9.

35 Reisner found it difficult it to assign the rebuilding of the southeastern magazines to one of his phases or periods, but this rebuilding was probably contemporary with, or followed shortly after, people built the bonded Occupation 2 complex in the southern court. "These rooms had undoubtedly been [re]built at a time when the walls of the first temple were still practically intact, although the roofs had fallen and the magazines become partially filled with debris. But the doors opened into the corridor (354), and this corridor must have been accessible, although not necessarily from both ends," Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 53.

36 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 53 and plan 8.

had been blocked with crude brick.”³⁷ He implies that people installed the corridor blocking and the blockings of the individual magazine entrances at the same time, though this might not have been the case. Reisner’s statement also implies that the inhabitants rendered the northeastern set of four magazines dysfunctional at the very time that their rebuilding kept the southeastern magazines in use:

But the end doorways of the southern magazine corridor and the doorways of the southern magazines had not been blocked. Thus a passage was left open from the exterior [causeway] corridor [space 2l] into the southern magazine corridor [space 354], from there into the anteroom [Vestibule 1 = 377], and thence into the open court. This passage appears to have formed the only entrance to the temple after the [eastern] entrance doorway was closed with brickwork.³⁸

I doubt that the blocking of the main, eastern MVT entrance into Vestibule 1 (377; see Fig. 6.1) happened so early in the sequence. All indications are that the floor level in Vestibule 1 (377) remained the same through all three periods of occupation, rather than rising on layers of debris, as did the ground level in the central court (see below, section 3.4). If the eastern entrance had been blocked before or during the disuse and blocking of the northeastern magazines, from that point on there would have been no need in the late period of the “second temple” for a new “portal structure.” Reisner found the massive frame wall of the second temple “portal structure” on the south, and traces on the east (Fig. 6.2).³⁹ A new portal structure makes sense only if this main entrance was still open. When the new portal structure was built, its southern wall completely blocked corridor 354 (Fig. 6.1) from the causeway corridor, as Reisner’s plan VIII (Fig. 6.2) and several of his photographs show.⁴⁰ The main blocking of the central eastern entrance, and perhaps that of the northern corridor, must have been among the final structures added to the MVT. This might have followed after the superposed walls of the “second temple” had been built. If the second temple builders did not clear out the southern causeway corridor from

37 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 40.

38 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 40.

39 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 48.

40 For example, Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 35a, or, better, Photograph A367P_NS taken by Bishari Mahfud on March 25, 1910, a view to the north showing corridor 354 running north passed the rebuilt southern magazines (right) from an opening in the southern causeway corridor to Vestibule 1 (room 377). The late-phase southern wall of the Vestibule 1 completely blocked the corridor.

sand and collapsed architectural debris⁴¹—and the location of Occupation 3 structures over the western end of this corridor (space 21) suggests they did not—the blocking of the main eastern entrance would have left no formal access into the MVT proper.⁴² If the northern access into the Annex remained open, the Annex would only then have become a separate entity onto itself, its southern part a *cul-de-sac*.

I suspect that the fact that inhabitants blocked the northern magazines, rendering them dysfunctional, while rebuilding the southeastern magazines, relates to the layout of and access to the middle-period Occupation 2, and possibly Occupation 3 in its earlier phase (see section 3.3).

On the vertical, stratified sequence of domestic occupation structures, Reisner also wrote: “the complete reconstruction of any one period was simply unattainable” due to the way that settlements aggrade gradually.⁴³ Reisner could not find the full footprint of the first settlement period. With that caveat, the most substantial and organized settlement appears to have been that of the middle period, Occupation 2.

As to the date of Occupation 2, in the debris layer under one of the rooms (302) of the southern court, Reisner found 35 complete pottery vessels. He felt that “the group, as a whole, corresponds rather to Dynasty v than to any other.”⁴⁴ Another datum for the date of this bonded complex came in the fact that “the northern room [338; see Figs. 6.2–6.3] was built against the screen wall of the portico and was later than that wall (Dynasty v).”⁴⁵

Thus, we can reckon that enough time passed between Shepseskaf’s initial endowments of the Menkaure pyramid complex, followed by the first occupation on the floor of the court, for 70 to 20 cm of debris to accumulate, debris that included fragments of Menkaure statues, indicating to Reisner some plundering of the temple magazines. We take into consideration that Occupation 2 followed after someone, probably on royal order, installed the new screen wall across the portico, and built the threshold, ramp, and probably the limestone path leading up to the doorway to the portico.

We also know that the bonded complex of Occupation 2 dates some good amount of time before Reisner’s “second temple,” that is the rebuilding in the Sixth Dynasty. As a datum for this, Reisner noted that the rebuilt, thick southern

⁴¹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 45

⁴² Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 47 wrote that of the time of the second temple: “The exterior corridor and the causeway corridor were certainly not in a condition to be used.”

⁴³ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 50.

⁴⁴ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 51, pl. 72b.

⁴⁵ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 51.

frame wall of Vestibule 1 (room 377), which belongs to the “second temple” phase (Fig. 6.2), passes directly over room 324, as well as over the rebuilt magazine 372 (the northern most of the magazines in the southeast corner of the temple). These magazines probably belong to the bonded Occupation 2 complex (see below).⁴⁶

The evidence suggests that at some point in the mid-Fifth Dynasty, the royal house carried out a program of major embellishment, renewal, and reorganization of Menkaure’s memorial foundation.

3.3 *The Organization of Occupation 2 (Fifth Dynasty)*

On the horizontal distribution of settlement structures within the temple, Reisner wrote:

...with the exception of the two rooms of the sanctuary and the very middle of the court, the whole of the Mycerinus valley temple within the walls of the later crude-brick temple was filled with small structures, rooms, and granaries of mudbrick.⁴⁷

However, we take the impression from his published record that the main concentration was in the court of the main temple. His Plan VIII (Fig. 6.2), to which he refers, shows a concentration mainly in the main temple court possibly due, in part, to the fact that the structures of the latest, uppermost horizon were not fully preserved, as Reisner suggested.⁴⁸

While I have termed this Occupation 2, and while Reisner designated it as his *b* horizon, phase II.3, it appears that this layout remained the same for a long time, from the period of Occupation 2 through that of Occupation 3. Reisner wrote that in the southern half of the court, “there were only two series of rooms,” meaning successive horizons of stratified settlement structures,⁴⁹ so that the more prominent and final phase here would be the layout we see as most regular and most apparent on Reisner’s, multi-phase plan VIII (Fig. 6.2), whereas “in the northwest quarter of the court, there are three distinct series of walls visible,”⁵⁰ to wit, those he adduced as settlement horizons *a*, *b*, and *c* (see above).

⁴⁶ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 53.

⁴⁷ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 49.

⁴⁸ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 50.

⁴⁹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 38 (entry for February 24–26, 1910).

⁵⁰ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 50.

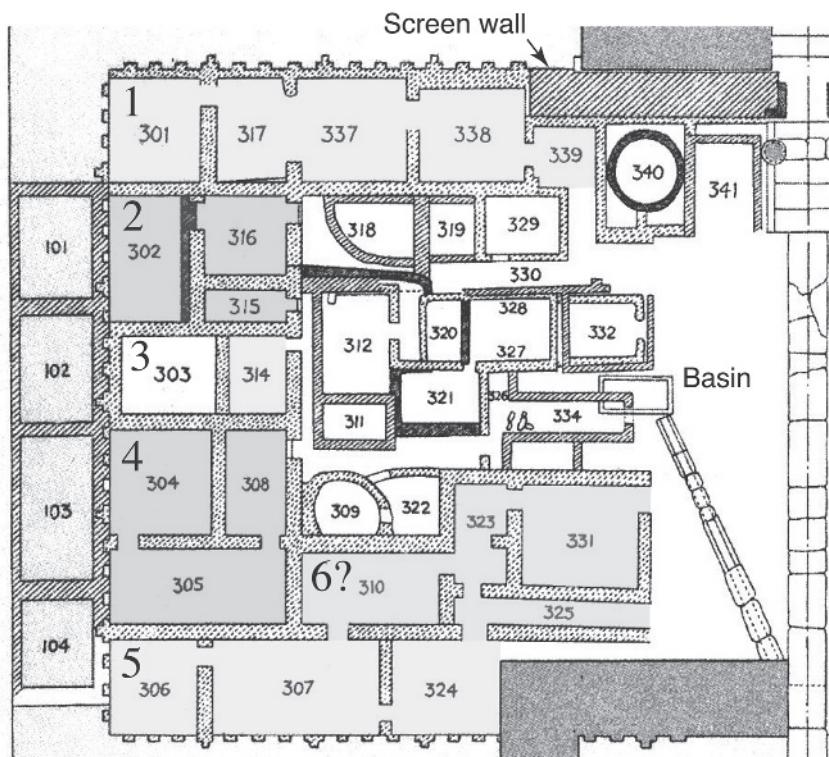


FIGURE 6.3 Extract from Reisner's multi-phase plan of the MVT southern court, showing Occupation 2 structures of his phase b. Reisner found a cache of Fifth Dynasty pottery under the floor of space 302.

Occupation 2 shows a certain degree of order,⁵¹ which Reisner already recognized.⁵² A bonded complex of rooms on the southern side of the court formed five separate apartments, each opening onto the court, while circular granary silos and single rooms or pairs of rooms, probably bins, took up the northern side of the court (Figs. 6.2–6.3).⁵³ Reisner suggested that at least some of these “rooms” served as bins for storage; he found pottery *in situ* in the rooms he numbered 57a–b, 58.⁵⁴

⁵¹ As Bussmann, "Siedlungen im Kontext," 26–27, and Lacovara, "Settlement Revisited," have pointed out. I would like to thank Peter Lacovara for sharing his draft with me.

52 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 51.

53 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 52.

54 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 52, pls. 32b.

The five apartments could relate to the five phyles that served in royal memorial temples as of the Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁵ We might see rooms 310, 323 and 331 as a sixth apartment, but Reisner had reason to believe that these chambers were a later addition onto the eastern unit (rooms 306, 307, 324). If so, we might imagine the proprietor of this apartment taking on a greater importance than those of the other units.

Someone built one of these units—or some equivalent, on the floor or the court in the time of Occupation 1. Reisner suggested that a building of his phase *a* under rooms 302 and 303 may have been an extra magazine.⁵⁶ Based upon the floor, this structure would have been founded soon after Shepseskaf's completion of the main temple in mudbrick. Rather than an extra magazine, this structure might have already been for an administrator or guard for the temple court, or for shareholders in the *p_{hr}* offerings endowed by Shepseskaf.⁵⁷ The northern wall of chamber 302 followed the alignment of one of the walls of this earlier Occupation 1 structure.

Peter Lacovara noted that the Occupation 2 structures leave open the space in the center of the court. He suggested the inhabitants could have used this for grain processing, while Richard Bussmann noted that the apartments form a "U" around the basin and court center.⁵⁸ Perhaps the occupants used the open area for monitoring and accounting for items and material taken out of bins and silos, similar to how people used open areas outside later Middle Kingdom granaries as represented in wooden models.

3.4 *The Organization of Occupation 3 (Sixth Dynasty)*

The structures of Occupation 3 (Reisner's phase *c*) suggest a later renewal and reorganization of Menkaure's foundation, probably in the mid- to late Sixth Dynasty, following a period of ruination and abandonment. We can imagine that this phase, if all its structures are nearly contemporary, came with an affirmation or renewal of Menkaure's memorial foundation in the Sixth Dynasty, commensurate with the decrees of Merenre or Pepi II, the latter posted in the Valley Temple itself (see above, section 1).

While stating that Occupation 3 once comprised "a very extensive series of walls,"⁵⁹ Reisner noted that rainwater washed away much the southern part

⁵⁵ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 77–85.

⁵⁶ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 51.

⁵⁷ Or, perhaps here was the "house of the *hm-ntr*" such as we find attested in the Raneferef papyri (see section 4.2).

⁵⁸ Lacovara, "Settlement Revisited"; Bussmann, "Siedlungen im Kontext," 26.

⁵⁹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 52.

of this highest, latest horizon.⁶⁰ Yet he shows structures of this phase south of the court and in the southwestern corner of the temple, built over the main walls of the “first temple” of Shepseskaf (Fig. 6.2). To reiterate, Reisner also indicated only two periods of occupation structures in the southern court, suggesting that the bonded complex of rooms dates from the time of Occupation 2 into the period of Occupation 3.⁶¹

What is left of Occupation 3 consists of thin-walled, rectangular chambers, which look more like bins and magazines than houses in his Plan VIII (Fig. 6.3). Notably, Reisner’s team mapped such structures, which he calls inter-bonded complexes, in the northeast, northwest, and southwest corners of the temple. These corners mark the locations of magazines in the original temple layout (Reisner’s plan IX, Fig. 6.1 here).⁶² However, the thin layer of Occupation 3 structures do not follow the walls of the original magazines or main walls of the “first temple,” but are situated directly above and across the main temple walls. Nevertheless, the Occupation 3 structures are strictly rectilinear. In fact, the chambers of this phase over the northwest and southern court are far more orthogonal and orderly than the underlying bins and silos of the earlier phases. They are oriented to the cardinal directions, like the overall temple enclosure walls.

New chambers (101–104), perhaps magazines, were also built over the old southern wall of the court. These were probably an expansion of the Occupation 2 apartments in the southern court, with which they align. This would attest to the longevity of use of those apartments. Recall that Reisner mentions finding “only two series of rooms” in the southern court, the series on the floor and these apartments, built on a layer of debris.⁶³

3.5 Stepping Up (to) Town

Did anyone actually live in these small apartments fitted one against another in the confines of the VT court? If so, how did they access the apartments after passing through the Annex, and from Vestibule 1 (377) in the MVT proper? If, as the decrees suggest, these containers took in portions of *pchr* offerings, how did the recipients and/or occupants of the apartments fill and remove material from the bins and silos?

60 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 50.

61 And so noted by Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 26–27.

62 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 52–53 for a description, plan VIII.

63 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 38.

Recall that Occupation 2 (Reisner's *b* horizon) walls were founded in the court on a "layer of débris of decay" that varied from 40 to 70 cm in thickness at the northern and southern ends sloping down to about 20 cm above the original floor toward the center of the court.⁶⁴ In the north, Occupation 3 walls were superposed on Occupation 2 walls, and on "about one meter of mud debris" which buried the limestone pathway across the court. Reisner wrote: "And those who crossed from the portal [room 377, Vestibule 1] must have walked upon the surface of decay formed by the debris in the court."⁶⁵ Reisner's profile drawing C-D in his plan x shows the limestone "pathway, first temple" at the same level as the floor of Vestibule 1 (room 377). It leads west to the limestone ramp that ascends to the portico (room 1). He shows in this profile that the "floor of court, second temple," had risen about one meter higher. The later floor actually slopes *down* from the east to the portico, rebuilt as the "offering hall." The floor begins on the east at the "Dyn. vi" wall built against the western side of the eastern court wall and based about 24 cm above the original floor level.⁶⁶

During the time of the "second temple" the floor level of Vestibule 1 (room 377), remained the same as it was in the "first temple," nearly flush with the bottom of the relief-carved circles in the alabaster column bases. Apparently Reisner found no superposed, higher Vestibule 1 floor during the time of the "second temple" and Occupation 3 (his *c* horizon). If Vestibule 1 was still used in the latest architectural phase and Occupation 3, how did people ascend the one-meter step-up from Vestibule 1 to the raised floor of the court?

I suggest that they turned north (right) into corridor 380 and ascended via the mud stairway built against the western side of corridor 380.⁶⁷ Reisner does not include the stairs in his plan of the "first temple" but does in his multi-phase plan (see Figs. 6.1 and 6.2). Reisner suggested the stairs led to the roof, but in the photograph of his plate 34e the stairs show no indication of ascending that high. Again, Reisner wrote that corridor 380, north of Vestibule 1, had

64 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 51.

65 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 47.

66 Reisner wrote in his diary on February 20, 1910 that the walls of the settlement structures in the southern court were built on a surface about 75 cm higher than the floor of the court. This may have been so for the house walls in the far south end, but near the center of the court the house walls that he later designated as "on floor debris of court," as well as the "second temple" (probably Sixth Dynasty) southern wall of room 377 (see Fig. 6.2, above) were founded on a surface only 24 cm higher than the floor of the court, as we saw when we re-cleaned the northern end of this wall where it stops at the limestone path in the court.

67 Reisner *Mycerinus*, 40, Plan VIII, pl. 34e.

been blocked in the late phase of the temple, while the southern corridor 354 remained open and “formed the only entrance to the temple after the [eastern] entrance doorway had been blocked.”⁶⁸ And to reiterate, the southern walls of Vestibule 1 added in the “second temple” blocked access into Vestibule 1 from corridor 354 during that phase.

During Occupation 2 (mid-Fifth Dynasty), after the northern and southern magazines flanking Vestibule 1 had fallen into ruin, and after the inhabitants rebuilt the southeastern set, they used the stairs for ascending the northeastern part of the eastern court wall in order to access from above the granaries and bins in the northern half of the court. These structures crowd close to the walls of the court, as Lacovara noted.⁶⁹ Even considering that Reisner’s plan VIII (Fig. 6.2) shows all phases at once, the crowding of the small structures leaves only the narrowest of paths for accessing the bins and silos from ground level.⁷⁰ As the court wall itself degraded, and the northern floor of the court rose with the successive rebuilding of the bins and silos, people might have filled these storage units from above.⁷¹ We have no information, yet, on how they removed grain, for which we might expect openings in the silos close to floor level.

The AERA team re-cleared the small stairway during our 2012 season. Although it had degraded since the time of Reisner’s exposure, we found the lower part of a thin mudbrick wall that connected the fourth step to the eastern wall of corridor 380, just at the northern edge of the entrance into magazine 381 (Figs. 6.2–6.3). This wall would have blocked off the northern part of corridor 380 that gave access to magazines 383, and 384.⁷² This blocking wall is not shown on Reisner’s plan VIII (Fig. 6.3), but it can be seen in his published photograph of the stairs.⁷³ The debris core, over which the steps were constructed, appears to have extended further north, filling the corridor. To the immediate right of the stairs, we found *in situ* a limestone threshold slab with a shallow pivot socket installed in the original doorway to magazine 381. The

68 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 40.

69 Lacovara, “Settlement Revisited.”

70 See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 34d.

71 For late Old Kingdom depictions of granary silos with stairs, see Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 40, fig. 44, 47, fig. 51. Several of these depictions show a canopy over the silos. Is it possible that a canopy covered those silos crowded against the walls of the MVT court?

72 We did record the superposition of the Occupation 3 wall, partitioning rooms 410 and 411, upon the older magazine wall between magazines 383 and 384.

73 Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 34c.

slab, 14 cm thick, is founded 30 cm high on debris of mud brick fragments and pottery sherds. The top of the threshold slab, about 44 cm above the original floor level, is also not shown on Reisner's plan VIII.

The point of giving these details is that they indicate that during some of the time when the northern end of corridor 380 was blocked, rendering magazines 383 and 384 dysfunctional, people could still use magazines 379 and 381/382, and this is likely in phase with Occupation 2 (Fifth Dynasty) and probably continuing into Occupation 3 (Sixth Dynasty). While these two northern magazines, and the southern set, remained in use, Vestibule 1, corridor 380, and the stairs provided the way to bring grain or other goods—and we infer the MVT occupants were shareholders—to fill from above the bins and silos crowded against the walls of the northern court.

4 Wedjebten: A Late Old Kingdom Parallel?

Were the southern MVT court structures really functioning apartments in the sense of where people lived—cooked, ate, and slept—day-to-day? Are these the remains of actual houses, or might they have functioned to a certain extent as token houses, equivalents of cenotaphs for tombs? And did Reisner find any associations with nearby tombs? I look for answers in comparable mudbrick structures that came to occupy the court of the Raneferef pyramid temple during the late Fifth Dynasty, and the enclosure around the Wedjebten pyramid in the late Sixth Dynasty. These parallels provide additional information in the way of texts on papyri (Raneferef) and small limestone monuments (Wedjebten). I begin first with the later example.

The pyramid of Wedjebten, a queen of Pepi II, was situated beside the southeast corner of the larger Pepi II pyramid enclosure. A vestibule and plain court led to a small offering chapel against the pyramid's center east side where Gustave Jéquier found an intact large alabaster offering table, with a *hetep* sign, bread loafs and vases carved in relief. It was inscribed with a line of text: "Invocation offerings for The Pyramid 'Nefer-ka-Re (Pepi II) is Established and Living,' the royal wife, whom he loves and whom all the gods praise, Wedjebten." The walls of the chapel were decorated with lightly incised and painted relief.⁷⁴

Jéquier found a fragment of a stone decree that Pepi II issued on the 33rd occasion, only a little later in his reign than the decree on the 31st occasion issued for Menkaure. Most probably this was to endow the memorial service

74 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 11–21.

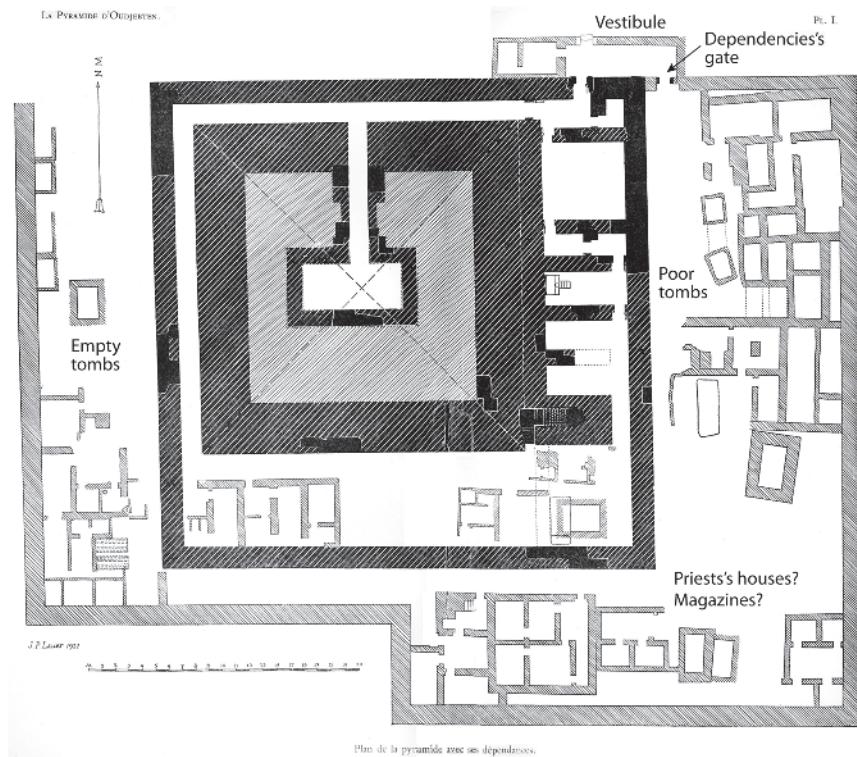


FIGURE 6.4 *Ground plan of the Sixth Dynasty pyramid of Queen Wedjebten, from Jéquier, La pyramide d'Oudjebten, pl. I.*

of Queen Wedjebten, as the earlier decree did for Menkaure. In the small fragment of the decree, the name of only one person, Ikeri, remains.⁷⁵ This same name reappears in the texts associated with the occupation structures in the outer enclosure.

Because of the glimpse it offers into the economics of a royal memorial endowment, the most remarkable feature of Wedjebten's pyramid is its secondary enclosure. A mudbrick wall, 1 m thick and still standing to a height of 2 m when Jéquier excavated, defined a court around the east, west, and south sides of Wedjebten's pyramid (Fig. 6.4). The enclosure is widest on the east, up to 14 m. A series of rectilinear chambers and compartments occupied this enclosure. Those on the east had been razed and rebuilt at least once, resulting in a confused and incomplete plan where one unit was built up against another. Parts of the eastern court, devoid of mudbrick walls, contained small, shallow

75 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 18, fig. 17; *KD*, 154–55, fig. 13.

burial shafts, located without order, and ending in small vaulted mudbrick chambers, several of which contained skeletons, but no burial goods. On the basis of their poverty, Jéquier thought they must date to the First Intermediate Period, but not long after the Sixth Dynasty.⁷⁶ More regular walls on the south, where the court was 9.90 m wide, appear to comprise a true house. From here to the west the court narrows to a simple corridor. Other chambers near the southwest corner resemble bins and magazines. Jéquier found the architectural remains much disturbed in the western part of the court.

Both the court of the pyramid, defined by its stonewall, and this secondary court were accessed through an oblong vestibule that was entered by a doorway opening north toward the king's pyramid (Fig. 6.4). Another doorway through the opposite stonewall gave access to the primary enclosure and the queen's chapel. A third doorway at the eastern end of the southern vestibule wall, which was still preserved for a height of 4 m, gave access to the secondary enclosure. Jéquier found the frame of this doorway intact (Fig. 6.5). People inscribed its limestone frame⁷⁷ to testify to their successive shares, that is, equity participation, in the funerary estates of Pepi II and Wedjebten (marked of course by their pyramid tombs). They documented these shares, in return for the parts they played in the memorial service of these sovereigns, as their estate (*dt*).

The lintel was inscribed with the name and titles of Wedjebten following the name of Pepi II's pyramid: "The Pyramid 'Nefer-ka-Re's (Pepi II) Life is Enduring,' Princess, Royal Wife, Beloved of Him, Great of Charm,⁷⁸ Wedjebten." The figure of the seated queen serves as the determinative for her name. The vertical text on the doorjamb just below her figure begins: *dt.s*, "her estate," a term derived from the word "perpetuity."

Then follow the name and titles of a priest named Hemankh, with the nickname Hemi. He was "Inspector of Priests (*śḥd hm(w)-ntr*), Overseer of Divine Things (*hry ht ntr*), Servant of the Seal (*hm (i)śt htm*)⁷⁹ and Revered with his Mistress (*imȝhw hr hnwt.f*)."⁸⁰ Hemi's own standing figure ends this column of text. He is followed by a smaller male figure labeled: "His son, Inspector of Priests whom he loves, Ikeri." Below the feet of Hemi and Ikeri a horizontal inscription labels the whole doorframe: "Gate of his Estate (*rwt nt dt.f*)."

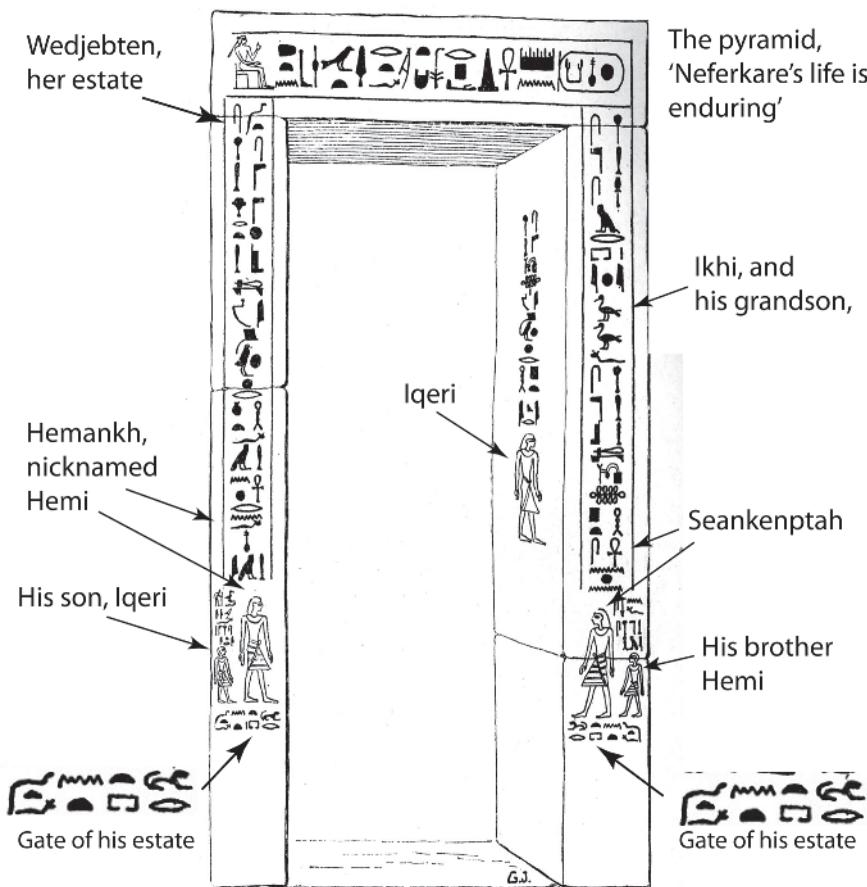
⁷⁶ Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 25.

⁷⁷ The jambs, each formed of two blocks of unequal length, and their lintel, were taken to the Cairo Museum, no. 49681. Total height of the frame: 1.81 m, width 1.05 m.

⁷⁸ Jones, *Index 1*, 401, no. 1476.

⁷⁹ Jones, *Index 1*, 590, no. 2160 for *hm htm*. I thank John Nolan for this reading and reference.

⁸⁰ Jones, *Index 1*, 34, no. 167, "revered with her/his spouse."



i. — Porte de la dépendance.

FIGURE 6.5 Limestone doorway into the outer enclosure around the 6th pyramid of Queen Wedjebten, from Jéquier, La pyramide d'Oudjebten, 22, fig. 28.

Probably later, Ikeri inscribed his name and titles, including "Scribe of the Phyle" and "Revered with Ptah" on the inside face of the opposite jamb.⁸¹ The southern, interior face of the opposite jamb is inscribed with the titles and name, "Inspector of Priests, Courtier (*śmr*), Overseer of the House (*imy-r pr*), Ikhi" and his grandson (*s3 s3.f*) Seankhenptah who, like Hemi, is also an "Inspector of Priests, Servant of the Seal, and Scribe of the Phyle." Seankhenptah's vertical text ends at his figure, followed by a smaller person labeled "His brother,

⁸¹ Jones, *Index* 1, 23, no. II2.

Inspector of the Priests, Hemi.” Like the opposite jamb, the bottom of this jamb is also labeled “Gate of his Estate.”

Here we have a family line of priests, from Ikhi, to his grandson Seankhenptah and to Seankhenptah’s (probably junior) brother Hemi, to Hemi’s son, Ikeri—all serving the cult of Wedjebten. This intact doorframe was not the only such doorframe to have stood within the Wedjebten enclosure. Jéquier found fragments of at least three more gates that once bore similar inscriptions “en plusieurs points de enciente et jusque dans le temple du roi.”⁸² The largest fragment is part of a right jamb, recut on the side to serve as a threshold; it bears the titles “Overseer of the *Per Shena* (*imy-r³ pr-šn'*),⁸³ Revered by His Mistress, Ameni,” whose figure was carved at the bottom of the column, followed by a son named Khenu. The upper left corner piece of a lintel appears to have been part of this doorframe. It bears the end of the name of the queen and the beginning of the vertical text of a left jamb, again *dt.s*, “her estate.”⁸⁴ Another piece, which formed the lower part of a left jamb, is inscribed with the name Roud and ending with, “his son.”⁸⁵ Below the main column is the image of a man followed by two shorter women, probably his daughters, whose names, Kesit and Nedem, are inscribed before their faces. Above the women appears the title, repeated twice, “Priestess of Hathor.” A column of text in front of the man reads: “his eldest, whom he loves (*śmśw mrjj.f*), Ikeri,” perhaps a different person of the same name as found on the *in situ* doorframe. The text columns ends, like the texts on the jambs of the *in situ* doorframe, “Gate of his Estate.”

The standing, intact doorframe may have replaced earlier frames after the partial destruction and rebuilding when dependencies were reoccupied.⁸⁶ As Jéquier recognized, the gates appear to have been legal documents etched in the stone at the very doorway of the family estate in question, testifying to rights, held by families, to partitions of goods dedicated to the funerary cult of Wedjebten, part of the queen’s own equity participation in the funerary estate of Pepi II. Their inscriptions documented these shares as parts of their “estates” (*dt*) in return for their service in the cults of the sovereigns. Jéquier understood the *dt* of the queen as this secondary enclosure, subdivided into multiple miniature “estates” of the priests—the bins and storage structures.

⁸² Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 23

⁸³ Labor establishment, storehouse, or department of stores, so Jones, *Index* 1, 125–26, no. 501.

⁸⁴ Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 24, fig. 29.

⁸⁵ Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 24, fig. 30.

⁸⁶ Jéquier, *Oudjebten* 23, and n. 1.

The economic background, no doubt, involved allocations of produce from fields, or shares from fields, as we know from the genre of royal decrees.⁸⁷

This picture of shareholders is confirmed by the cache of other small limestone pieces that Jéquier found in the debris just outside the door of the secondary enclosure, “jeté pèle-mêle,” mostly small limestone offering tables with the hieroglyph  (Gardiner sign-list R4), *htp*, “offering,” and small basins carved in relief, sometimes with two or three sets of *htp* signs and basins per single slab.⁸⁸ Many of these were so worn the names could not be read. One triple offering slab was inscribed with the names and titles of Hemi and Ikeri—the priests whose names are listed on the intact doorframe.⁸⁹ The third name, which was effaced, was likely Seankhemptah.

As described in section 1, the names of the three persons foremost on the Pepi II decree for the pyramid town of Menkaure are followed by “his altar,” written with the offering slab, . The limestone offering slabs that Jéquier found outside the Wedjebten enclosure are physical examples, the physical correlate of that term, nearly contemporary with the Pepi II decree for the Menkaure pyramid town. Although beginning with three other officials as beneficiaries, that decree makes Ishefi, a Scribe of the Phyle, responsible for implementing and maintaining the edict. In the texts from the Wedjebten compound, both Seankenptah and Ikeri hold the title “Scribe of the Phyle.”

In addition to the offering slabs, Jéquier found in the cache a unique kind of monument that he called a “house stela.” One example is shown in Figure 6.6. Each featured a rectangular base with vertical ends and sloping lateral walls that ended in a rounded top. Jéquier recognized these objects as miniature models of vaulted houses and/or contemporary tombs with vaulted tops such as he found in the cemetery around the Pepi II pyramid. Each model house had a false door carved in its facade, an image of the deceased at a table of offerings, and his/her name and titles. When dubbing these objects “house stelae” (*stèles maisons*), Jéquier understood them as images of the houses of the deceased, or of the tomb itself. Jéquier noted that the nearby necropolis contains many tombs with superstructures of similar shape.⁹⁰

87 *KD.*

88 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 25–31.

89 I am more optimistic than Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 21 inferring a connection between the prosopographic material and the mudbrick structures by way of the gate and its inscriptions.

90 For an example of such a tomb, Mastaba M^{IX}, Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, Pl. VI^{bis}, and 113–14 for house stelae outside from outside the Wedjebten enclosure.

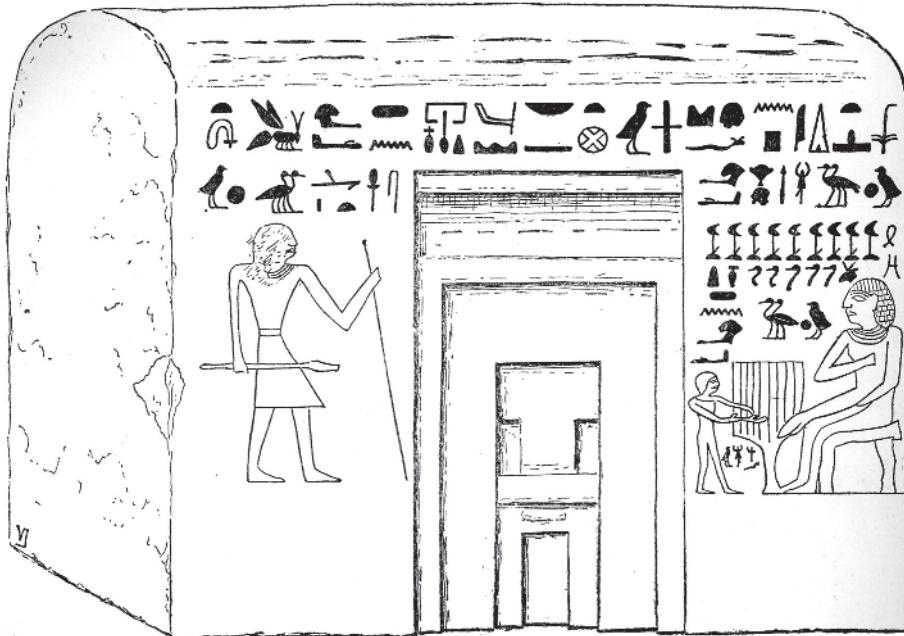


FIGURE 6.6 House stela of Khubau from the cache near the entrance to the Wedjebten secondary enclosure. From Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 34.

Jéquier could connect one of the house stela⁹¹ with the owner of a specific tomb, Mastaba M^v, belonging to a person named Khubau, who held the titles “Count (*h3ty-*’), Treasurer, (literally, “sealer”) of Lower Egypt (*sd3wt(y) bit(y)*), and Sole Companion (*smr w’ty*).” Gaston Maspero first excavated this tomb close to the southern side of the Wedjebten enclosure.⁹² Jéquier also found Khubau’s name on two small funerary obelisks: he found one near the house stelae, the other in the debris of a mastaba in proximity to that of Khubau and to the dependencies of Wedjebten (Mastaba M^v).⁹³ This association suggests the stakeholders in the Wedjebten/Pepi II funerary “estates” were buried in nearby tombs.

⁹¹ Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 27, fig. 34; Cairo Museum no. 49805, .53 x .28 x .46.

⁹² Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles*, 194 and 199, pl. I–IV; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, frontispiece (map), 30–32.

⁹³ Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 28, fig. 35.

Having been jettisoned out its front door, these small objects help us understand the village-like occupation of Wedjebten's secondary enclosure. By being honored (*im3hw*) before the queen, those who held office in her memorial foundation were allowed to share the endowment for her funerary estate, just as the queen's estate had a share in that of the pyramid of Pepi II. Arrayed around the queen's pyramid, each beneficiary received a chamber or a small courtyard, each framed, Jéquier thought, by an inscribed stone door, in which they set up their offering slabs, small obelisks, and house stelae, proxy symbols of their real households and tombs. It is possible that each small assemblage or miniature complex was a proxy, a token for the actual goods received, or as Jéquier thought, a kind of cenotaph. Or, is it possible that the goods themselves, at least some of the dividends of shares, came, as a ritualized meeting of economic need, into temporary storage in bins and silos occupying the secondary enclosure of the pyramid temple compound?

5 Raneferet: Mid-Fifth Dynasty Parallels

If it was in the mid-Fifth Dynasty that people built and used the apartments of Occupation 2 in the southern MVT court, that occupation occurred about 125 years before people built and used the structures in the secondary enclosure of Queen Wedjebten. The Wedjebten enclosure was nearly contemporary with Occupation 3 in the MVT, of which little remains. Nonetheless, comparison with Wedjebten's secondary enclosure raises some questions about the village-like occupation of Menkaure's Valley Temple court, even during Occupation 2.

One of the questions is: Are the secondary occupation structures in the MVT court the remains of actual houses, or might they have functioned as token houses, equivalents of cenotaphs for tombs?

5.1 *Token Houses or Houses with Tokens?*

In 2012 we cleared the eastern MVT to the eastern wall of the southern half of the court, exposing the doorway between rooms 307 and 324 in the eastern-most apartment in the southern MVT court (Fig. 6.3, apartment no. 5). Still intact with its small limestone lintel (Fig. 6.7), the doorway is only .47 m wide at the top just under the lintel, .52 m wide at mid height, and we estimate a mere 1.14 to 1.18 high.

The average person could move through this doorway, but not without turning the shoulders. We question whether such a narrow doorway saw repeated,



FIGURE 6.7 *Mohamed Ahmed Abd El-Rahman stands on the floor at the bottom of a probe through Resiner's backfill in front of the doorway between rooms 307 and 324 of the easternmost apartment in the southern court of the MVT. View to the southeast.*
AUTHOR'S PHOTO.

daily use.⁹⁴ Since Reisner did not sample and analyze material culture, other than artifacts and pottery, the way we do today, a proper assessment of daily life in these structures must await a full clearing and restudy of the MVT court. It may have been only guards, like modern *bowabs* (doormen), who stayed in these apartments, possibly in rotation. At the same time, these small apartments carried symbolic value, marking a claim to shares like the small mudbrick structures and house models of the Wedjebten compound.

We can weigh these ideas against the domestic structures in the Neferirkare and Raneferef pyramid temples, which are closer to Occupation 2 structures in the MVT in terms of both layout and date than those of the Wedjebten pyramid secondary enclosure. However, these Fifth Dynasty Abusir occupations are found in the upper temples next to the pyramids, for the reason that these pyramids each lacked a valley temple, and so the mudbrick structures for temple service personnel moved up to the upper pyramid temple.⁹⁵

The orthogonal mudbrick complex flanking the southern and eastern sides of Neferirkare's temple court and entrance hall appear to have been large, planned, functioning houses. Noting many fireplaces, pottery, and places for sleeping, Ludwig Borchardt concluded that these were real houses and not cult chambers.⁹⁶ Borchardt saw three or four true "houses" and suggested that here lived the more permanent staff, numbering around ten.⁹⁷ Kemp assigned 10 units to the outer mudbrick structures, designating as many as four south of the entrance hall.⁹⁸ Over time, people constructed brick walls between the wooden columns and the walls forming the court colonnade, creating chambers, possibly magazines.

In the pyramid temple of Raneferef, people also converted the colonnade into mudbrick complexes, similar to the intrusive structures of the Neferirkare court (Fig. 6.8). This transformation happened, at the latest, in the reign of Djedkare. The structures remained in use into the reign of Pepi I.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁴ We have found doorways or access openings through walls as narrow as 52 cm (a royal cubit), but many of the doorways in the Khentawes Town are close to 70 cm wide, see Lehner, "KKT-N," 378, Table 6.1. One of the doorways between mudbrick rooms N and O in the Raneferef court measured only 1 m high and 50 cm wide with a vaulted top, Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 73.

⁹⁵ Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 77–78; Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ír-ke³-re^c*, II, 36–37; Bussmann, "Siedlungen im Kontext," 21–22.

⁹⁶ Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ír-ke³-re^c*, II.

⁹⁷ Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ír-ke³-re^c*, 36–37.

⁹⁸ Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 203–05, fig. 72.

⁹⁹ Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 76–77; a clay sealing of Pepi I came from the floor deposit of room W.

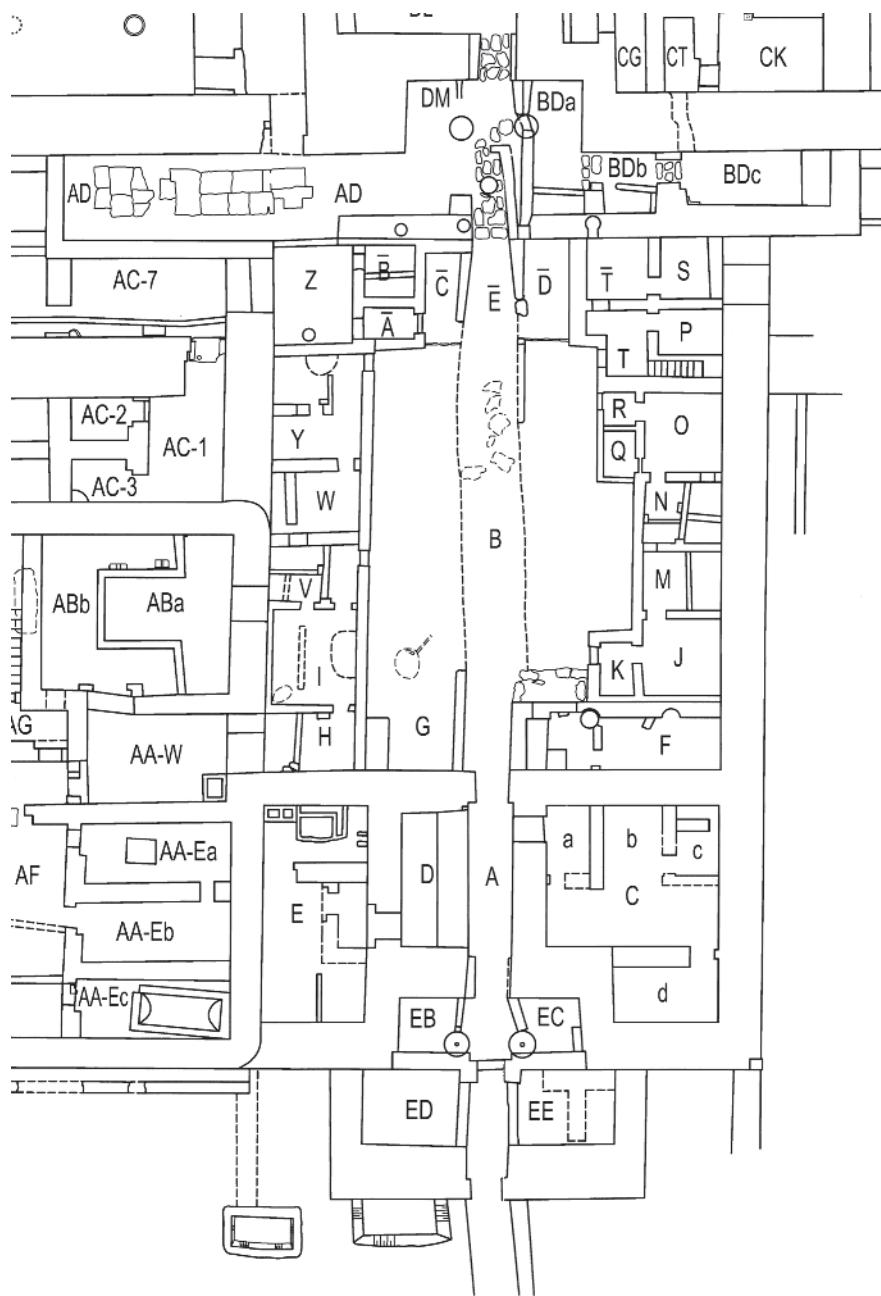


FIGURE 6.8 *The Court of the pyramid temple of Raneferef*. From Verner, Raneferef: The Archaeology, 29, fig. 1.2.1, 528, foldout. North is to the right.

colonnade initially consisted of 22 columns, presumably of wood, supporting an architrave and roofing slabs, possibly also of wood. No traces of the columns remain, except a couple of the limestone bases within the chambers F and Z of the mudbrick complexes on the north and south, respectively.

It appears that, except for unit F in the northeast corner, people removed the columns and replaced them with two bonded complexes of mudbrick walls in which Miroslav Verner identified seven apartments, three on the south and four on the north. Each apartment included a doorway that opened onto the court.¹⁰⁰ A pathway of beaten clay and flat limestone pieces ran east-west through the center of the court between the two complexes, similar to the slightly more formal limestone pathway through the MVT court. The apartments contained benches; chambers probably for sleeping; fireplaces (with several in a single unit); kitchens; bins;¹⁰¹ small basins; and wall sockets for fixing pegs, possibly for weaving or hanging pots.¹⁰² So these apartments were clearly “of a living character.”¹⁰³ As with the MVT Occupations 2 and 3, the excavators found at least one broken royal statue within this complex.¹⁰⁴

In contrast to the numbers of offering slabs and house stelae that Jéquier found in the Wedjebten compound, Verner reports only one roughly made limestone offering table from a layer of decayed mudbrick masonry near the entrance of apartment P-S-T in the northwest corner of the court.¹⁰⁵ He sees this object as out of place within the occupation structures of the court. However, considering the example of the offering slabs and house stelae associated with the occupation of the Wedjebten secondary enclosure, perhaps an offering table here is not so out of place after all. Note that the papyri from this temple suggest unit P-S-T was the house of the *hm-ntr* (see below).

Tokens found in the Raneferef apartments could relate to some aspect of accounting—the tokens standing for actual allocations. The excavators found objects that could be taken as tokens in almost all of the apartments in the Raneferef court, generally in an ashy layer over the floor, or upon the floor. These include clay cones, ball-shaped clay cores (in apartments F and A-B-Z),

¹⁰⁰ Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 70–78.

¹⁰¹ Rooms V and H in the southern complex included small walls, 35 cm high, partitioning “minor chambers”; cf. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ír-ke³-re^f*, 11, for sunken bins bordered by very low walls in two chambers south of the court (f, 4, 5) and Lehner, “Enigma of the Pedestal Building.”

¹⁰² Room Y, Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 76.

¹⁰³ Verner, *Raneferef: the Archaeology*, 71.

¹⁰⁴ In a pit in the floor of room Z; Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 77; Benešovská, “Statues,” 393–94, fig. 2.7.27A.

¹⁰⁵ Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 75, fig. 1.3.11.

tiny limestone balls (F), conical and cylindrical “gaming pieces” (J-K-M and H-I-V), model bowls (J-K-M and N-O-Q-R) and clay models of cattle (P-S-T).¹⁰⁶

Verner suggests some of these objects were “toys” and that the tiny clay cones served as cores for incense coating, which suggests ritual.¹⁰⁷ I do not know how unusual these objects might be for domestic contexts. Hana Benešovská reported:

Around twenty small clay objects have survived in the Raneferef pyramid complex... They include many different geometric shaped objects, tiny stylized human heads, and stylized statuettes of animals, above all the cows... The meaning of these small objects remains unclear. Rather than “toys” they may represent symbolic offerings or votive objects.¹⁰⁸

What is the meaning of these tokens for understanding the occupation structures in pyramid temples? The AERA team has found objects similar to some of these at the Fourth Dynasty *Heit el-Ghurab* (HeG) site, the so-called “Workers’ Town” at Giza. We interpreted the limestone balls as gaming pieces, but held out the possibility that the inhabitants might have used them as tokens, counters, or calculi,¹⁰⁹ a function we suggested for flat ceramic disks fashioned from pottery sherds. We have suggested that the occurrence of such objects on the HeG site relates to its special function as a barracks and infrastructure for pyramid building during the mid- to late Fourth Dynasty.¹¹⁰ Small clay objects such as cones, we generally or preliminarily understand as tokens connected to sealing material, so implicitly having to do with accounting and administration. The question is, then, the extent to which the use of tokens continued into the historical periods.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Benešovská, “Statues,” 425–30, figs. 2.7.68–70, and for distribution of clay figurines, 436, fig. 2.7.76. However, we see in this distribution plan no entry for the clay models of cattle Verner mentions for apartment P-S-T, only a dot in room R for 217/I/82, a stylized animal body drawn on 427, fig. 2.7.69, no.2.

¹⁰⁷ Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 71–76, fig. 1.3.5.

¹⁰⁸ Benešovská, “Statues,” 437, and n. 65 for references.

¹⁰⁹ Wagensonner, “Non-textuality in the Ancient Near East,” 36–37; Pollock, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 154: “Tokens are small objects, generally hand-modeled out of clay... often categorized as amulets, gaming pieces, or simply unknowns. Tokens come in a variety of shapes, most frequently geometric, but also in the form of animals, tools, or other goods.” See for Egypt: Meza, *Ancient Egypt Before Writing*, 27 ff.

¹¹⁰ Lehner and Tavares, “Walls, Ways and Stratigraphy,” 212–13.

¹¹¹ A series of wooden objects in the shape of bread loaves, likely of the Twelfth Dynasty, found at the Fort of Uronarti, Dunham, *Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*, 34–5, pls. 27–8 might

The southern central apartment H-I-V yielded unfinished cylindrical seals, and a pierced and an un-inscribed clay tablet.¹¹² We would not hesitate to associate these last two objects with administration and accounting, which might reinforce an interpretation of the clay cones, so-called “gaming pieces,” limestone balls, and possibly even the miniature bowls as related to accounting. Unfinished seals and an un-inscribed tablet suggest we are at the source of bureaucracy at a local level in the hierarchy. They also segue to the activities and service personnel in the temple and its court occupation.

5.2 Phyles and Families: Patron to Pater

The evidence is that people actually lived in in the secondary mudbrick structures occupying the Neferirkare and Raneferef pyramid temples. That is to say, they ate and slept there. But their stay may have been part-time and in rotation according to the Old Kingdom system of five named phyles (*zɜw*). The Abusir Papyri, administrative documents of the Neferirkare and Raneferef temples, suggest that the distribution of goods was by phyle. Is this in contrast to what is indicated in the Wedjebten complex, shares by family estate?

If people rotated in and out of service, and so in and out of residence in the temple apartments, texts showing the numbers of personnel on duty shed some light on the temple occupation. Verner estimated that if three persons stayed in each of the seven apartments in the Raneferef court the whole complex accommodated about twenty people, the number in a half phyle or section as documented in the papyri from the Neferirkare pyramid temple.¹¹³

have functioned like tags, tokens, or calculi for soldiers' rations; Kemp *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 176–79, fig. 62. According to Simpson “Two lexical notes,” 222: “They are plastered wood in long-tapering or short conical, lozenge, diamond, and disk shapes pierced with a single, and/or three smaller holes, presumably for hanging or attaching them. They bear inscriptions that label the objects *shɜ*, “record,” or “memorandum” and mention a specific number of *trsst* (or *tr-zzt*). From the texts it is clear that they refer to baked units of bread, perhaps in the shape of the objects themselves, and that these units or loaves were made from fixed quantities of barley and wheat assigned to or provided by the work force.” For *trsst* as rations, see Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*, 35; and for *trsst* as bread units supplying Hekanakht's journey and to sojourn in Thebes, see Allen, *Hekanakht Papyri*, 148.

¹¹² Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 76. I do not find these objects described in the Finds section. The seals catalogue consists of line drawings of the designs, and not the objects themselves. The pierced, uninscribed clay tablet may be in a class with those small clay tablets, “sample sealings,” or “tokens” on which letters were incised and seals impressed. See Pantalacci, “La documentation épistolaire” and “Organisation et contrôle,” 143.

¹¹³ Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 77 citing Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 573.

Subsequent study of the Raneferef papyri showed that the number of people serving in, or on behalf of, a phyle division was not constant, and could be half the numbers attested in service in the Neferirkare divisions.¹¹⁴ We are not certain if the numbers are those of the entire division, or only those selected for a particular duty.¹¹⁵ The difference is not due to different dates, as both sets of documents are thought to belong to the period of Djedkare.¹¹⁶

It is possible that the numbers do not reflect total membership in a phyle as a fixed group per temple. The phyles were broadly shared associations, from which authorities recruited personnel for a particular service, with the five phyles represented no matter how much smaller the overall numbers of people on duty at a given time in a royal memorial temple.

Despite the uncertainties, we can be reasonably confident about the following: First, the temple staff, at least some of whom must have occupied the court apartments, regularly checked the court, perhaps the access into it, and staff members sealed at least one room (P) of the apartment (P-S-T). Second, people rotated in and out of service in the temple on a monthly basis.¹¹⁷ This makes for an occupation very different from what we would imagine for a conventional village or settlement. Distributions of goods (grain, cloth, and meat), if by phyle in rotation,¹¹⁸ may have differed from distributions by family or estate (*dt*), as suggested in the Wedjebten secondary enclosure and its associated texts.

On the first point, regarding sealing of the access to the court settlement, or parts of it, the Raneferef papyri show that when personnel transferred temple service to another group affiliated with a different phyle, they checked carefully the court, which at the time of these documents included the seven apartments, and the apartment (P-S-T), identified as the place of the *hm ntr* priest, in the northwestern corner of the court. This checking was part of making certain that clay sealings remained secure on other parts of the temple.

¹¹⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 368.

¹¹⁵ Vymazalová, "Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes," 184–85, n. 34.

¹¹⁶ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 350.

¹¹⁷ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, where rotation is indicated in a number of the fragments, for example, 66–67, fragment 21H, 238, indicates a monthly rotation; 40–41, Pl. 8, 216–18 where the authors suggest the sealing had to do with two of the temple storerooms in the set of ten in the northwest corner of the temple, so that the rotation might not have involved checking or resealing the same space.

¹¹⁸ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 387–88.

Papyrus fragments 45–46 document the *imy-wrt* phyle finishing its turn of duty and transferring duty to the *st* phyle.¹¹⁹ The transfer involves reckoning or checking the sealings of temple parts that had been “in the hand of” the two divisions of the *imy-wrt* phyle, including (intact?) sealings on temple parts left by officials who represented the divisions of other three phyles (*w3dt*, *imy-ndš*, and *imy-nfrt*).

A following part (46A), with vertical text columns, lists seven places followed by an official’s title, in five cases followed in turn by the sign for “a sealing” (*sin*) and a stroke. Five of the places are the sort we would expect to be sealed and checked: the great treasury, the storeroom (*pr*) of fat, the storeroom of cloth, the abode (*pr*) of the statue, and the entrance of the storerooms. The hieroglyph for “sealing” plus stroke follows the entries for the treasury, storerooms of fat and cloth, and the statue chamber, but not the entrance to the storerooms. However, the latter entry is followed by “copper rings 3,” which probably refers to the rings on a wooden door leaf through which a wooden bolt was slid to close and lock the door.¹²⁰ So the check may have been on the closure mechanism without a clay door sealing.

The turn-over of responsibility involved checking two spaces that we might not expect to be sealed, the court—for this is where we find the invasive living quarters—and the room of the *hm ntr* priest, which can be identified with one of the chambers (P) of the apartment (P-S-T) in the northwestern corner, thanks to the entry in a different fragment, 4A, respecting “the door which is under the staircase of the *hm-ntr*-priest’s room” (*Šb3 hry-n rdw (nyw) ‘t (nt) hm-ntr*).¹²¹

Verner points out that in the entire temple, this doorway could only have been in apartment P-S-T, where room P featured a staircase that must have once given access to the temple roof.¹²² Taken strictly, the text does not indicate sealing one of the apartments, as such, rather it seals a door under the staircase. Verner states that a vault supported the stairs, and a niche, 110 cm long, 90 cm deep, and 70–105 cm high, was fashioned “under the staircase.” At some

¹¹⁹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 116–17, pls. 45–46, 262–64.

¹²⁰ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 340.

¹²¹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 32–33, pl. 4, 210, 339–40, 371.

¹²² Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 74–75. Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 72 does mention another staircase, perhaps a later addition, in the court and outside the entrance to room K in the northeastern corner. Perhaps no door could have existed under this staircase.

point the niche contained a hearth, so the door in question must be either that between rooms P and T, or more likely the doorway from the court into room T at the bottom of the stairs. In this case it is the door into the apartment as such that was sealed and checked, according to 46A. We have to wonder about life in a “house” that people sealed on some regular basis. This apartment may have been special, perhaps because here resided the person serving in rotation as *hm ntr*, “the highest official in the temple at that time.”¹²³ By sealing the entry to it, the staff could check on access to the roof, whence it might have been possible to access or break into the rear magazines and other parts without going through the ground plan. We can compare the staircase in room P with the staircase in the MVT, which probably ascended to the top of the northern court wall, giving access to the bins and silos (see above, section 2.4).

Fragment 4A specifies, in vertical columns, people on duty for guarding “the door which is under the staircase of the *hm-ntr*-priest’s room” and other places listed in the horizontal heading. Under the “door... of the *hm-ntr*-priest’s room,” we have five names with ranking titles: three *hm-ntr* priests, one *śm*-priest and Sole Companion (*śmr wty*—Rawer), and one Inspector of the Great House (*śhd pr-3*). Below each name-plus-title are listed: “his *dt*-servants” (*dt,f*, that is, servants of his estate),¹²⁴ or “his assistant” (*hry-čf*, for Rawer only), and, in a lower and smaller horizontal register, a “temple functionary” (*hry-nst*).¹²⁵ Throughout the publication, the authors of *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive* (Paule Posener-Kriéger, Miroslav Verner, and Hana Vymazalová) note that the lesser-ranked people acted as substitutes in temple service for those of high rank and title.¹²⁶ In fragment 4A a total of 10 people of lesser rank substituted for the five high-ranking names responsible for the “door, which is under the staircase of the *hm-ntr*-priest’s room.”

What we learn about the sealing of doors, or the checking of spaces and the access to them, from an archive that was probably nearly contemporary

¹²³ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 350.

¹²⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 32–33, pl. 4, 210–11; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 586–87.

¹²⁵ For this title, see Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 584–85. These individuals are thought to have been young men who carried out heavy work; Vymazalová, “Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes,” 193.

¹²⁶ Based on 5A² that lists half a dozen people in service at the exterior entrance, all with *dt* servants, the authors suggest the high ranking persons, while partaking of phyle membership, “ensured income linked with the function”—and perhaps ensured as well the connection with divinity—but “when the real menial work is to be done, they allow themselves to be represented by their deputies, the *dt* servants”; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 370.

with the occupation on the MVT, is critical to understanding the nature of the occupation in the MVT court.

To return to fragment 46A, no sealing is specified for the court (*wsht*), although here again we find for this entry “copper ring (*bȝ dbȝ*): 3.”¹²⁷ An entry for “wooden columns, 4,” with no sealing sign, forms the last column of text following the other entries. Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová note that by the time of these texts, nearly contemporary with the seven apartments in the court, the columns of the cloister would have been removed, so the four columns in question could only be the pair in the expanded main temple entrance and the pair in the entrance to the early temple.

In this case we have a check on sealings or on controlled access (peg and ring locks) at the principal parts of the temple (Fig. 6.9): the expanded temple entrance;¹²⁸ the court; the house of the *hm-ntr* that contained the stairway to the roof at the exit from the court into the inner (early) temple; the house of the statue, which the authors locate south in the old hypostyle hall; and the cloth and fat storerooms, which would be in the old magazines in the northwest part of the inner temple.¹²⁹ However, the listing in the document does not follow this or any other apparent order.

Of fragment 45–46A the authors note: “Interestingly, in the time from which this document dates, there were in the whole mortuary temple of Raneferef only eight rooms and four columns which were worth checking.”¹³⁰ Is it worth noting the near equivalence in number of the eight places checked in 46A, seven if we discount the “four columns” as a place, with the seven apartments or “houses” in the court? Fragment 46Ad-e, where the *imy-wrt* phyle turns over duty to “the hand” of the *śt* 2 phyle, lists seven *imy-wrt* men, starting with an “Under Supervisor of the *hm-ntr*-priests,” Sekhemra, followed by a *w'b*-priest Iha, two *hntyw-š* ‘Imaisi and Rudjisi, and Nydeb and Mermin without titles. Then, six men are listed for the phyle *śt*: an “attendant of the Great House,” Iri; Ihy and Abdu without title, two *hntiw-š* named Nyankhisi and Isimeru, and Ankhu without a title. A lacuna follows the last name, Ankhu, so the list might have also totaled seven.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 263.

¹²⁸ Though, if the reference is to the entrance we might have expected *rrt* or *rt hȝt*, see Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 338–39 for the complexity of the entrance area.

¹²⁹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 359 for a plan of the temple with locations of places mentioned in the archive.

¹³⁰ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 264.

¹³¹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 263.

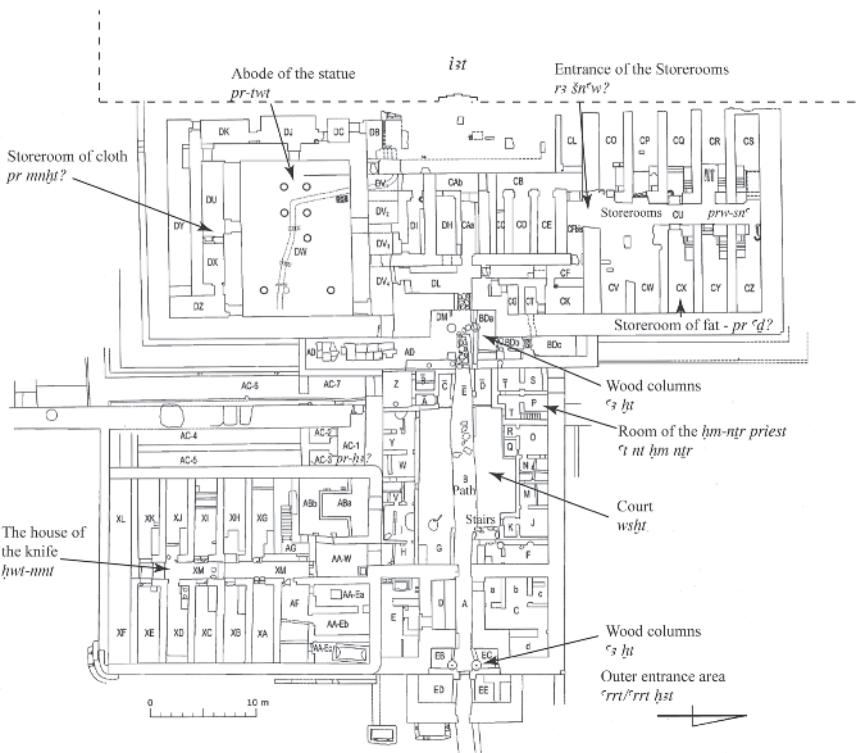


FIGURE 6.9 Plan of the Raneferef Pyramid temple with labels of parts mentioned in the Papyrus archive. From Verner, Raneferef: The Archaeology, 29, fig. 1.2.1, 528, foldout; and Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive, 359, plan.

Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová note “according to 45–46a a phyle *imy-wr* 2 was formed by seven persons and so was *śt* 2, too.”¹³² Did these men, some of whom performed duty on behalf of higher-ranking phyle representatives, stay in the seven court apartments? In other instances the total of phyle representatives numbered 10, or 13, which could still be easily accommodated in the seven court “houses.”

We find these same low numbers in fragment 14Ac, which Vymazalová cites for the distributions of products, cloth in this case.¹³³ The fragment names seven men of relatively high rank, two with the titles “Judge and Administrator” (*sȝb ḫd-mr*), two “Inspectors (*śhd*) of *hm-ntr*-priests,” and three

¹³² Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 368.

¹³³ Vymazalová, “Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes,” 187.

“(Royal) Companions” (*śmr*). Three of the names, plus titles, are followed by *dt* (-servant) plus a name, the other four are followed by one or two names without *dt* or other title, but which we might presume to have been underlings. If so, the total of people of lesser rank is eight, one more than the number of houses in the court.¹³⁴

Such distribution of goods by phyles in the Fifth Dynasty might have differed from the receipts of goods as part of a personal, heritable “estate” within a larger estate, as attested by the texts associated with the bins and houses in the secondary enclosure of the Wedjebten pyramid. Phyles, like the natural or artificial Greek “tribes”¹³⁵ whence our translation of the Egyptian, *z3*, derives, may have cut across family and lineage, or even across regional or tribal boundaries, as special purpose, non-kin associations that served to mobilize labor and military or expeditionary forces as needed,¹³⁶ in which case the phyle was the larger association (along the lines of a fraternity), from which work gangs were recruited.¹³⁷ The nature of phyle membership is still not entirely understood.¹³⁸

Perhaps a change in sharing reversionary offerings and goods from property endowed to royal memorial complexes is hinted at by the different uses of the root, *dt*, “servant” or “estate.” When designating persons employed in the Neferirkare temple papyri, Posener-Kriéger thought the term denoted a strong link between servant and patron.¹³⁹ The idea, even more widely supported by the Raneferef papyri, is that title-holders of some rank furnished—for temple service in given phyles—servants (*dt*) of their estates or households, *pr dt*, literally the “maison appartenant au corps de quelqu’un.”¹⁴⁰ The same or similar word *dt* can stand for the physical body of a person, for an estate or property domain, for a serf,¹⁴¹ for kind of servant, “he or she of the body,”¹⁴² as well as for

¹³⁴ The hypothesis that the underlings of phyle leaders lived in the houses of the court while carrying out the actual work and duty of the given phyle, might be strengthened by no overlap of names within the same monthly period.

¹³⁵ Trail, *The Political Organization of Attica*.

¹³⁶ Harris and Johnson, *Cultural Anthropology*, 165–66.

¹³⁷ Dobrev, “Administration of the Pyramid,” 30.

¹³⁸ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 61–75 on the nature of phyle membership.

¹³⁹ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 586–87.

¹⁴⁰ Allam, “Une classe ouvrière les merit,” 127.

¹⁴¹ Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 317–18.

¹⁴² Jones, *Index II*, 1011–12, no. 3747. Some Old Kingdom serving statues are labeled as *dt* of the tomb owner, Roth, “The Meaning of Menial Labor,” 111–13.

“eternity,”¹⁴³ perhaps connected to the hope that the *corpus*, as in corporation, (a body of people and property) will endure.¹⁴⁴

Posner-Kriéger found it doubtful that officials, however high ranking, would have arranged in their lifetimes phyles for their own memorial service in the chapels of their mastaba tombs, but we can be certain that they did so. She cites the evidence from the mastabas of six officials from the late to the early Sixth Dynasty.¹⁴⁵ Ann Macy Roth tabulated evidence of phyle organization in the memorial service of more than 30 individuals raging in date from the mid-Fifth to the early Sixth Dynasty.¹⁴⁶ She concluded this was “a passing phenomenon that flourished during the period around the change from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties.”¹⁴⁷ We know from sets of five storerooms with phyle names inscribed above the entrances to the individual chambers, like the storeroom of Meruruka in his tomb near the Teti pyramid at Saqqara, that these phyles carried the same names, and followed the fivefold canonical order of the phyles in the royal memorial service.¹⁴⁸

In the Abusir Papyri of the late Fifth Dynasty a titled individual, of middle to very high rank,¹⁴⁹ presumably a proprietor of an estate that encompassed people and property, furnished persons of his *dt* to serve in the phyles of a royal memorial service attached to a pyramid. Posener-Kriéger understood as “parasite phyles” those cases in the Neferirkare papyri where the phyle sign, *z3*, plus a counting stroke follows the names or titles of seven officials in a list, apparently referring to phyles from the memorial services of those officials. She termed these “parasite” because they entered into, and partook of the temple endowment goods in return for service in addition to the “regular” phyles. The names of four of the seven individuals remain: Kairisu, Ty, Rawer, and Khnumhotep.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch*, 1065.

¹⁴⁴ Do we not see here the notion attached to any large estate-holder that Ernst Kantorowicz explored for mediaeval concepts of kingship in his classic work, *The Kings Two Bodies?* The king was incarnate in a physical body, but also in an abstract body co-extensive with the land and people of his (e)state, that is to say, the *corporation* of his entire realm and community, and so when “the king is dead, long live the king.” As Kantorowicz states, the king thus comprised a “body natural” and the “body politic.”

¹⁴⁵ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* II, 569, n. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 91–108.

¹⁴⁷ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 118.

¹⁴⁸ At least, and possibly only, in the cemeteries of the Memphis capital zone: Giza, Abusir, Saqqara and South Saqqara; Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 112.

¹⁴⁹ Vymazalová, “Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes,” 185.

¹⁵⁰ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* II, 429–32.

Roth suggested that the Ty in this list was the owner of the beautifully decorated, well-known tomb no. 60 at Saqqara north, and that Rawer was the man of that name whose large tomb is well-known at Giza, in the Central Field East, just north of the Khentkawes Town.¹⁵¹ Estimates for the date of Ty's tomb range from Niuserre to the end of the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁵² If this Ty died at the end of the reign of Niuserre,¹⁵³ it would present a lag from the time of the papyrus text, if written in the reign of Djedkare, of 30 years or more.

The name Rawer has been found on several tombs at Giza and Saqqara.¹⁵⁴ The name occurs frequently in the Raneferef papyri, at the head of the *śt* phyle and with the titles *śm-priest* and *śmr-w^tty*. For example, in fragment 4A, Rawer is at the head of those in charge of “the door which is under the staircase of the *hm-nfr*'s room” (see above). The Rawer in the eastern Central Field East at Giza also held, among other titles, *śm-priest* and *śmr-w^tty*.¹⁵⁵ He lived during the reign of Neferirkare and his tomb texts were probably inscribed sometime before his death. If he died near the end of Neferirkare's reign,¹⁵⁶ he lived some 38 to 103 years before the reign of Djedkare, the time of the Abusir Papyri.

Posener-Kriéger saw in the writing a difficulty in taking these names as one of the contemporary, living phyle leaders. In her main example of a parasite phyle from the Neferirkare papyri, the proprietor in question, the Vizier Min-nefer, was probably dead at the time one or more (?) of his phyles—in one case (fragment 20–21) designated as the *imy-nfrt* phyle of Min-nefer—served in Neferirkare's pyramid temple.¹⁵⁷ We may think then that Min-nefer's estate

¹⁵¹ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 86.

¹⁵² Strudwick, *Administration*, 158, no. 157.

¹⁵³ Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 152, no. 564.

¹⁵⁴ Half dozen at Giza: see PM III.1, index, 374.

¹⁵⁵ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* 1, 1–61.

¹⁵⁶ Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 98–99, no. 300 dates Rawer's tomb to Neferirkare to the mid-Fifth Dynasty; Harper, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 186, places Rawer's tomb in the early Fifth Dynasty, Userkaf to Raneferef.

¹⁵⁷ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* 11, 488, 568–72. Min-nefer was a Vizier under Niuserre, known from text and relief fragments from the Niuserre temple, and by his sarcophagus in the Leiden Museum (Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*, 73, 76), while the papyrus fragments that mention his phyle in the Neferirkare temple probably date to the reign of Djedkare Isesi. The time span in question extends from less than 30 to 60 years. Posener-Kriéger saw in the writing a difficulty in taking the name Min-nefer as one of the contemporary, living phyle leaders. In her estimation, it was the Min-nefer's *phyle* itself that made a certain delivery, was held responsible for not returning an item, and was present in the temple when a section of wall fell, while the leader of this phyle (on behalf of Min-nefer's estate) remains anonymous.

dt, that is, his “corporation,” lived on after the founder passed away, *i.e.*, “Min-nefer is dead, long live Min-nefer.”¹⁵⁸

Can we ask if ranking, yet defunct, court members are somehow represented by the phyles of their estates during rituals in the temple of the deceased king?

To return to those seven names followed by a phyle sign and stroke, each entry is followed in turn by a note on a sealing imprinted by various unnamed officials. This series comes in an account and inspection of the sacred bark and possibly other cult objects.¹⁵⁹ Posener-Kriéger analyzed the term *tnt*, which follows the entry, “the phyle of Min-nefer,” as denoting a platform or pavilion delivered for the embellishment of the temple on the occasion of a feast or celebration.¹⁶⁰ Roth noted, for so-called “private mortuary cults,” special times when representatives of all the phyles came together, in particular for the ceremony of circumcision associated with induction into phyle membership, or for the feast of Thoth and the Wag feast.¹⁶¹

The Wag is a funerary feast. In tomb chapel texts the deceased asks to take part and receive offerings. Evidence from times later than the Old Kingdom indicates that the Wag feast involved glorification rituals (*sȝhw*) to make the deceased “effective.” Later texts concerning the Wag involve token or model boats and barks for the symbolic journey to Abydos. The Wag feast is mentioned several times in the Raneferef archive when large amounts of cloth

¹⁵⁸ In counterpoint to New Kingdom and later examples, such as the Nineteenth Dynasty Legal Text of Mose concerning the long-lasting entailment of the Neshi lands (Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mose*; Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb of Mose*; Allam, “Some remarks on the Trial of Mose”), scholars have commented that in Egypt’s earlier periods estates do not seem to have been long-lived. This may seem surprising in view of how characteristic large estates were for the way Egypt operated. Land, people, animals and other estate property, while sometimes held in trust, were eventually disbursed after the death of the householder, not only among family members, but also to *ka*-priests who enjoyed usufruct rights on the property and who could pass on these rights to their own heirs. In the early periods large household estates seem to have lasted no more than three or four generations, in counterpoint to, and perhaps prompting, the very notion, *pr dt*; Eyre, “Work and the organization of work,” 34; Baer, “An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer’s Letters to His Family,” 10. A basic pattern seems to be a local ruler and his wife as the center of a kin group linking one or two generations of ascendants and one generation of descendants, a “continuously repetitive cycle” of three or four generations (Lustig, “Kinship, Gender, and Age,” 62).

¹⁵⁹ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 429–39.

¹⁶⁰ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 390.

¹⁶¹ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 115, citing the chapel of *Nj-hft-k3i* where the *shdw hmw-k3* from four of the five phyles are shown in procession; and for circumcision, the chapel of ‘*nḥ-m-ḥr*, Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmāhor*, pl. 47.

were distributed to the phyles, some of it to adorn cult statues. The archive establishes that the Wag was celebrated twice during the year, falling on dates in two different calendars, possibly civil and lunar.¹⁶²

In the Ranefer papyri, fragments 11A–B, 12A, and 13, the phyles all come together with their divisions for the festivals of Wag and Thoth (*Dḥwtt*), insofar as they are tabulated in an account of textiles distributed for these festivals.¹⁶³ Fragment 11 is especially important for obtaining the complete list of phyle divisions.¹⁶⁴ In a horizontal register, the name of each phyle division is followed by the names of the Wag and Thoth festivals, which share a common determinative, a form of Gardiner sign-list Q6, the coffin sign, perhaps to indicate the funerary, memorial character of the celebration of these festivals in the temple. The name of each phyle representative comes next, followed by the amount of cloth reckoned.

If the phyles were associations that cut across lineage, family, and large estates, rather than the so-called “private” phyles being “parasite” or a mimicking of royal practice by individual estate proprietors of middle to high rank and status, is it possible that these were *the* phyles serving in both “private” and “royal” rotations? Service by phyle would then involve contributions of goods and service in both directions—king’s temple and endowment to official’s chapel and endowment—in a rotational system that interlaced the mortuary and memorial services of court and king, past and present.

The rotation through the royal temples of phyle representatives and their servants of the so-called “private” endowments would distribute the royal cult mystique and spirituality more than separate sets of individuals for each “private” tomb chapel and other sets of phyles for the royal temple. Perhaps a cross-cutting of phyle associations (like fraternities through separate universities) through households and estates, each of which contributed to the phyles rotating through the royal temples, is why we see no obvious overall director of all the phyles in the temple service, and why we yet see a range of trades identifying people in service, from cooks and potters to a physician of the Great House: “The papyri seem to indicate that they were the everyday occupations of men who happened to be enrolled in temple phyles and their occupations were no indication of what service they performed in the temple.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Posener-Kriéger, “Wag-Fest.”

¹⁶³ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Ranefer: The Papyrus Archive*, 46–47, pl. 11, 220–25; Posener-Kriéger, “Remarques préliminaires,” 35–43.

¹⁶⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Ranefer: The Papyrus Archive*, 366.

¹⁶⁵ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Ranefer: The Papyrus Archive*, 370.

Seeing the phyles as associations that crosscut household and family makes congruent phyles in temple, tomb and pyramid building. For making inferences about building the early, truly gigantic pyramids, which must have involved people in the thousands, Vassil Dobrev pointed to the limitations of the Abusir Papyri which account for 200–250 people at most serving the memorial service of a king.¹⁶⁶ But we know that authorities did organize by phyle the workforce for building the large pyramids of the early Old Kingdom.¹⁶⁷ In traditional societies it is a feature of broad sodalities crosscutting household, tribe and lineage that leaders draw upon these associations to form special purpose groups to make war, form expeditions, and carry out so-called “public works.”¹⁶⁸

In the Wedjebten case, an individual who received shares of the queen’s estate appears to have passed those rights down a family line. In this regard we might note an opposing desideratum, expressed in tomb chapel documents, that priests attached to the “private” memorial chapels be protected from the deceased’s family members “who might interfere with their rights to the fruits of the mortuary endowment.”¹⁶⁹ Or does this really amount to a material difference? We should note that phyles must have been operative in some way in the cult of Wedjebten, since the person, or two persons, named Ikeri held the title “Scribes of the Phyle” (*zš n z3*) as did Seankhenptah,¹⁷⁰ and this title is frequent in mastaba chapels since the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁷¹

If a transition occurred from service in chapels and temples in return for shares in endowments arranged by phyle, to an arrangement more by household or office, perhaps it is reflected in the transition away from the large ‘*prw*-crews attested in builders’ graffiti to work crews named after persons and officials who dispatched labor to build both royal and noblepersons tombs, a trend that began already in the Fifth Dynasty, with the latter system predominating by the time of Pepi I.¹⁷² However, builders’ graffiti with so-called “private” names and titles did not totally replace the ‘*pr* gangs named

¹⁶⁶ Dobrev, “Administration of the Pyramid,” 31.

¹⁶⁷ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 119–43.

¹⁶⁸ Harris and Johnson, *Cultural Anthropology*, 165–66. An issue to be explored further concerns the unnamed phyles of the provinces, against the attestation of the five named phyles (*wr*, *st*, *w3dt*, *nd3*, and *imyt-nfr*) found only in the Memphite cemeteries, Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 210–11.

¹⁶⁹ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 116, n. 102 for references to tombs in Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtinschriften*.

¹⁷⁰ Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 24, fig. 22, 24, fig. 30.

¹⁷¹ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 99–101, 104–06, 113.

¹⁷² Andrassy, “Builders’ Graffiti and Administrative Aspects.”

after kings, through which workers rotated according to their phyle, as such gang and phyle names have also been found in builders' graffiti from the Pepi I Pyramid.¹⁷³ In fact we see here in building, as in temple service, two facets of the same system: "a whole range of dignitaries of different social levels" contribute labor of their people to phyle formations subordinated to their authority as holders of certain rank and office.¹⁷⁴

6 MVT, KKT and Owners of Tombs in the Central Field East

The Neferirkare Papyri include the names of owners of the large mastabas at Abusir and Saqqara. In the Raneferef Papyri we find the name, Rawer, with the titles *śm-priest* and *śmr-w'ty*. We have evidence that links two owners of tombs in the nearby Central Field East cemetery to the MVT occupation, and one of these is a Rawer, with the same titles. We suspect a link between Central Field tomb owners and the MVT occupation, similar to the links between the Wedjebten compound and owners of tombs around the Pepi II complex. The Khentkawes Town (KKT) lies between the Central Field East and the MVT. The link to the second official, Irereu, draws our attention to the KKT, and to the possibility that they functioned together as one pyramid town.

The link to the tomb of Rawer, *śm-priest* and *śmr-w'ty*, in the Central Field East, while tenuous, involves the two matching sets of four alabaster column bases found in Vestibule 1 (room 377) inside the main entrance of the MVT and in Vestibule 2 (room 202) in the eastern Annex.

6.1 *Alabaster¹⁷⁵ Altars of Rawer*

Round column bases are more a feature of the Fifth Dynasty temples at Abusir than Fourth Dynasty temples at Giza.¹⁷⁶ Builders installed round limestone

¹⁷³ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 182, n. 21 citing personal communication with V. Dobrev.

¹⁷⁴ Andrassy, "Builders' Graffiti and Administrative Aspects"; Verner, "Abusir Pyramid Builders' Crews," 450.

¹⁷⁵ Here, until further analysis, I use the crude term "alabaster" and forgo the discussion of calcite, calcite alabaster, travertine, or gypsum; see Willems, *et al.*, "An Industrial Site," 295, n. 9. Saleh, "Excavations Around the Mycerinus Pyramid Complex," 138 characterized the stone in the industrial settlement southeast of the Menkaure Pyramid as "yellow-red calcite (or crystalline calcium) stones which resemble alabaster."

¹⁷⁶ The monolithic square pillars in the Khafre Valley Temple are the best preserved kind of pillar installed, or planned, for the upper pyramid temples of Khufu, Khafre, and the portico of Menkaure's upper temple. Egyptian builders certainly knew round pillars and

column bases, smaller than those in the MVT and Annex, in the porticos of the chapels of subsidiary pyramids GIII-a and GIII-c.¹⁷⁷ The “second temple” phase of the MVT featured two round limestone column bases flanking the rebuilt entrance to the offering hall and four more in the offering hall (Fig. 6.2).¹⁷⁸ However, being of alabaster, the large column bases in Vestibules 1 and 2 in the MVT find their closest parallels in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Rawer in the eastern Central Field at Giza.

In his autobiographical text found in his tomb, Rawer relates an incident in which he accidentally touched or tripped upon King Neferirkare’s staff, whereby the king exonerated the *śm*-priest and commanded that the incident be inscribed in this tomb.¹⁷⁹ Hassan found it in serdab no. 12, one of 25 serdabs, which, with 20 niches, contained some of the more than 100 statues of Rawer. The text confirms that this Rawer lived in the reign of Neferirkare.¹⁸⁰

Rawer’s workers set one of two round alabaster bases—both apparently used as altars, in a box-like frame of crude limestone slabs in the open court of his tomb.¹⁸¹ Like the alabaster bases in the MVT and Annex, the circle was fashioned in relief 8.5 cm high with beveled sides on a massive block. Located at the side of the court, against a wall, and encased with slabs, the base does appear to have been used as some kind of altar. Although a crude limestone-

bases before. See Phillips, *The Columns of Egypt*, 36, fig. 64 for “the earliest round stone column base” found in Egypt, in the Khasekhemwy enclosure at Hierakonpolis, with a circle of raised relief on a massive irregular square block meant to be set below floor level, similar to the form of the alabaster column bases in the MVT; Badawy, *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East*, 69–70. The engaged three-quarter, round columns of the Djoser Step Pyramid complex, representing ribbed or fluted columns in reed or wood, stood upon three-quarter round stone bases, for example, in the funerary temple and entrance hall, Lauer, *Histoire monumentale*, 101, fig. 30; 112, fig. 34, pls. 18–19. Firth and Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, 13 suggest the round bases may have copied beds of clay in which the lower ends of reed prototypes may have been set.

¹⁷⁷ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 57, plan iv; 67, plan v.

¹⁷⁸ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 47.

¹⁷⁹ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 18, fig. 13; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 305–06, no. 227.

¹⁸⁰ The date of the construction of the tomb is controversial. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 227 dated it to the reign of Shepseskaf, noting that the story of the encounter with the Neferirkare’s staff was inscribed on a stela that could have been inserted into the serdab later. The tomb, strung out on a long, downward slope from north to south, with tentacle-like lateral extensions along the way, must have been built incrementally, and not at one discrete period.

¹⁸¹ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 21, fig. 15 for position in plan, pl. 25.2.

block column was built upon it in recent times, I was able to measure the top diameter as 90 cm, on a base 130 × 150 × 44 cm.

Hassan found Rawer's other alabaster altar in a chamber at the southern end of the tomb, immediately north of another serdab (no. 23).¹⁸² The altar may relate to the statue in the serdab. This altar also took the form of a column base, but with the front of the base carved into a vertical relief panel that shows Rawer wearing the panther skin of a *śm*-priest and holding a staff and a stave, framed by text, giving, from top to bottom and down either side, his titles in double.¹⁸³

I note Rawer's use of alabaster because the name Rawer from the MVT was inscribed on fragments of an alabaster stela or other monument, and in light of the fact that his two column-base-shaped altars are alabaster, like the column bases in the MVT and Annex. Rawer favored alabaster for special purposes, though most of his statues are limestone. In addition to an alabaster statue, perhaps one of a series that stood in 5 niches in the offering hall at the northern part of the tomb,¹⁸⁴ art historians admire Rawer's alabaster stela, showing Rawer's face in fine sunken relief, some of his principle titles in hieroglyphs above his head, his body rendered in lines lightly etched.¹⁸⁵ Hassan found the stela *in situ*, set into a special niche (no. 14), accessed via a double-leaf door and steps.¹⁸⁶

6.2 *Rawer in the MVT*

Reisner found the name and title, Rawer, *śm*-priest, on fragments of an alabaster monument in the apartments occupying the southern half of the MVT court settlement (see Fig. 6.3).

In the middle of the court, a copper *hes*-vase, 34 cm. high; in room (I-320) a mass of fragments of an alabaster statue (no. 24b); in room (I-323) fragment of an alabaster stela ("the *sm*-priest, Rawer") and many fragments of statues, stone vessels, and pottery, including the arm of statue No. 18, found in the portico.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 31, fig. 24 for position in plan.

¹⁸³ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, fig. 25, pl. 32.

¹⁸⁴ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 10, pl. 10.

¹⁸⁵ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, pls. 27–28; Labb  -Tout  e and Ziegler, "Stela of Rawer."

¹⁸⁶ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 24–26, fig. 18 for position in plan.

¹⁸⁷ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 38.

Among the alabaster statue fragments in, or associated with, room 323 was an arm of one of the four life-size royal statues in alabaster placed in the offering hall, just west of the four column bases, flanking the door to the sanctuary (see Fig. 6.2).¹⁸⁸ The lack of detailed stratigraphic control of the finds within the deposits associated with the structures leaves us ignorant of more precise provenance—whether from the debris of collapse of the structure, in the post-occupation fill, on or under the floor. This is unfortunate because we would like to test the idea of a connection between the Central Field East tomb owners and the apartments in the MVT, the kind of connection we see between the Wedjebten pyramid and between the Abusir pyramid temples and owners of tombs in the nearby cemeteries at those sites.

Other than the aforementioned Rawer of the elaborate tomb in the Central Field East (Fig. 6.10), we know of at least four other tomb owners at Giza named Rawer.¹⁸⁹ This Rawer in the Central Field East starts his title strings with *śm-priest* or *śmr-w'cj* in lists with the beginnings preserved.¹⁹⁰ As far as I am able to ascertain, none of the other individuals named Rawer in tombs at Giza include the titles *śm-priest* or *śmr-w'cj*. The Rawer in the Raneferef papyri was also *śm-priest* and *śmr-w'cj*.

Let us focus more closely on the relief-carved alabaster stela fragment (II.716) with the name Rawer that Reisner found “in the upper part of the debris of decay” in one of the rooms (323) of Occupation 2.¹⁹¹ The Rawer fragment belonged to a scene of pairs of male figures who held staves in one hand and batons in the other.¹⁹² To the left, the name and title Rawer, *śm-priest*, are incised into the one baton head that shows. Between the two staves the text *wrw hb* is part of the title, *w'c (m) wr(w) hb*, “Unique One of the Greatest of the

¹⁸⁸ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, II0, no. 18d, plan VIII.

¹⁸⁹ PM III.1, 374 for index to references; Rawer I and II in the Western Cemetery, Junker, *Giza* III, 217–35; Rawer III in the Central Field West, west of the Khentkawes monument (=LG 94), Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza* v, 293–97; the small tomb of Rawer, Instructor of Singers in the Central Field East, Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza* I, 66–68. Also, there is the name Rawer, son of *Nj-wd3-Pt3*, inscribed on an offering stand, Abu Bakr, *Excavations at Gîza*, II6, fig. 95, pl. lviii.

¹⁹⁰ For example, at the beginning of the biographical inscription, or on the sculpted panel of the alabaster altar, Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza* I, 18, fig. 13, 32, fig. 25.

¹⁹¹ This would be rooms of Occupation 2, since in the southern part of the court Reisner found only two periods of secondary mudbrick structures, Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 38, entry for February 24–26, 1910.

¹⁹² Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 281, pl. 46g; MFA II.716, photo. No. B588_NS; AAWI721.

Festival,”¹⁹³ which Hassan found four times in the tomb of the *śm*-priest Rawer of the Central Field East. This title is included in the text on the front panel of the circular altar in the offering room of serdab no. 23.¹⁹⁴

Reisner’s team found yet another fragment of an alabaster inscription (11.716c), part of an altar or stela, in the sand filling a “thieves hole” in the northern wall of the court.¹⁹⁵ On this piece, text reading *Mn-nḥt* to the right of Rawer’s name has been taken as another name, Min-nakht, perhaps another *śm*-priest, since the *ś* of *śm* is preserved just below.¹⁹⁶ However, this is, in fact, another of Rawer’s titles, *ḥt-Mnw*, Khet-priest/Attendant of Min.¹⁹⁷

In sum, there is a good chance that the Rawer, *śm*-priest, whose name is inscribed on alabaster fragments from, or associated with, or in proximity to, the MVT occupation was the owner of the large tomb to the north, in the Central Field East (Fig. 6.10). This is just what Bertha Porter, Rosalind Moss, and Jaromír Málek concluded.¹⁹⁸ It is probable that this is the Rawer, *śmr-w^ctj*, listed, and probably once depicted, in the pyramid temple of Sahure at Abusir, as attested by fragments.¹⁹⁹

So did one of the MVT court apartments belong to Rawer? If the find spot of one of the stela fragments bearing Rawer’s name indicates this room belonged to him, he might have been the proprietor of apartments 5 and 6 (see Fig. 6.3). If, as Reisner thought, rooms 323, 331, 310, and corridor 325 were an enlargement of apartment 5 on the far east side of the court, the largest apartment (no. 5) would have belonged to Rawer.

Certainly inscribed objects can move about over time, as the dispersal of Menkaure’s statue fragments within the temple attest. However, we might consider the possibility that a stela, altar, or possibly a statue too, of Rawer was installed in the chambers of the southern court similar to the way such items were framed in mudbrick in niches and serdabs inside his sprawling tomb. The finds in the Wedjebten enclosure suggest we should at least consider that steiae or statues of so-called “private” persons of rank came to be included within

¹⁹³ Jones, *Index I*, 366, no. 1353.

¹⁹⁴ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 6, 32, fig. 25, 34, no. 11, 35, no. 21.

¹⁹⁵ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 281, pl. A, no. 7, MFA 11.716c, photo no. AAWI720, SC78842 for both fragments together.

¹⁹⁶ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 281; and The Giza Archives, <http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/people/asitem/Objects@25797/0?t:state:flow=ca9c9cb6-9d94-412d-b582-a613ef485349> (Oct. 25, 2013).

¹⁹⁷ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 2; Jones, *Index II*, 756, no. 2753.

¹⁹⁸ PM III.1, 269.

¹⁹⁹ Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sáhu-re*, Bl. 49.

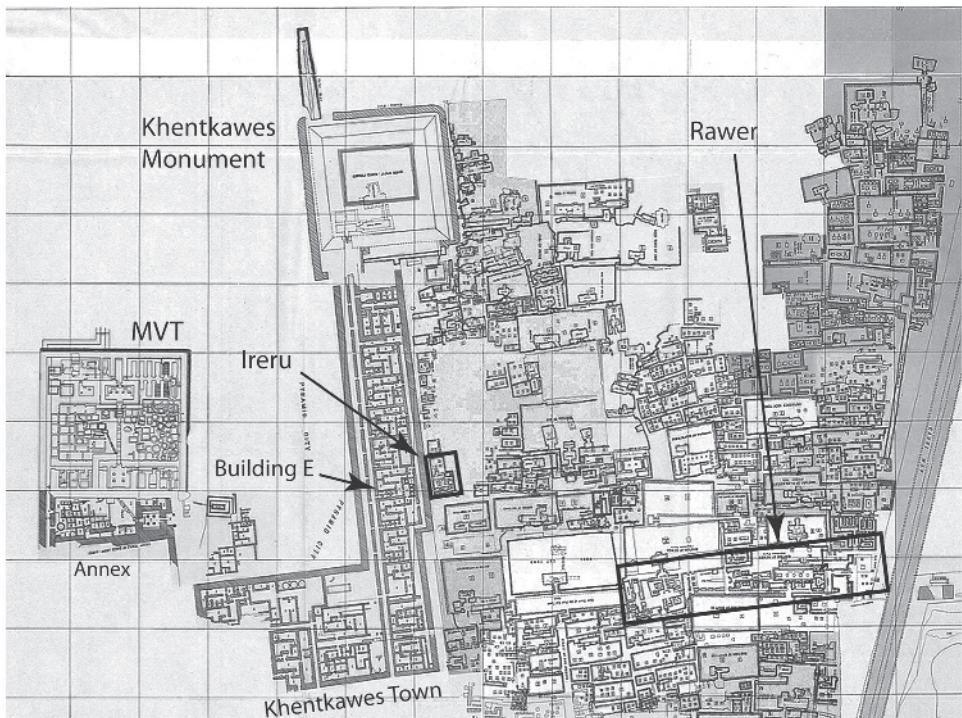


FIGURE 6.10 *Selim Hassan's map of the Central Field East, with the tomb complexes of Rawer and Ireru outlined, and the Khentkawes monument and town, the Menkaure Valley Temple (MVT) and its eastern Annex. From Hassan, Excavations at Giza IX, foldout plan. North is to the right.*

the temple. Perhaps these were the living or dead leaders of phyles as documented in the Abusir papyri, while those who spent time, in shifts, in such diminutive apartments as those in the MVT court were *dt*-servants and phyle members of their estates.

6.3 Ireru in Temple, Tomb and Town

Another name on an individual's inscribed monument found in the MVT suggests another link, tenuous but worth considering, with the Central Field East, as well as with the adjacent Khentkawes Town (KKT).

On March 29, 1910, Reisner wrote in his diary that he found in the western doorway of Vestibule 1 (room 377) a lintel "from the top piece of a door or false door with the common offering formula [he adds a sketch]. This comes from the tomb of a man named Iar(u) (or Ir-r(w)) or Ir-l(w), which appears to me

to be late in date....”²⁰⁰ Reisner connected the lintel with a square burial pit cut through the southern wall of the vestibule.²⁰¹ Like many offering formulae, the text invokes funerary offerings for the New Year, Thoth, and Wag festivals.²⁰²

Like the tomb of Rawer, the tomb of Ireru²⁰³ in the Central Field East was unknown when Reisner excavated the MVT. The tomb is dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty or the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.²⁰⁴ This Ireru bore the titles *rḥ-nzwt* or *lry ht nzwt* (One Known to the King),²⁰⁵ *w‘b nzwt* (Royal Purification Priest),²⁰⁶ and *imy-r³ pr-šn‘ i‘b-r nsht* (Overseer of the Storehouse of the King’s Repast).²⁰⁷ The lintel Reisner found in the MVT is carved in raised relief, while most of the scenes and texts in Ireru’s tomb, such as the false doors, are carved in sunken relief, but the offering scene in the tomb is raised relief. While we

²⁰⁰ Reisner Diary, 37, Tuesday, March 29, 1910; <http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/diaries/asitem/search@1/objectNumber-asc?tstate:flow=05919453-e8cb-45b4-80ae-ee2d01c58893>, February 19, 2014.

²⁰¹ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 281, stated that the two pieces of the lintel were in the same debris as the decree of Pepi II but lower down, about 30 cm above the floor (about the floor level of Occupation 2 in the court). On p. 38 he mistakenly states (the publication came 21 years after the excavation) that the decree of Pepi II was found on March 26 in the doorway between room 377 and the court. His photograph of the decree, pl. 34d, (Photograph CS2538_NS, taken March 24, 1910) shows the limestone slab lying in front of a projection or pilaster. The caption states the view is, “looking east,” which must make this one of the pilasters flanking the main MT entrance on the west side of the MVT eastern wall, or the east wall of room 377. Photograph C2539_NS, taken March 24, 1910 is a view to the south from what must be the southeastern interior corner of Vestibule 1 (room 377). The Pepi II stela (white, square object, lower left corner) lies in front of what must be the southern interior pilaster flanking the MVT main entrance. See Lehner, “Excavation Review: The Eastern Menkaure Valley Temple.” If I am correct in my correction, the Pepi II decree and the lintel turned up in the eastern and western doorways respectively of room 377. The note that the lintel lay at a lower level, possibly an underlying stratum, is stratigraphically significant in relating the lintel to Occupation 2, which was founded on a layer of debris 20 cm thick near the center of the court.

²⁰² Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 281, pls. A and pl. 64d-e where the photograph is mistakenly captioned “decree of Pepi II.” See The Giza Archives, http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/photos/C2868_NS,C2869_NS.

²⁰³ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza III*, 57–71.

²⁰⁴ PM III.1, 280; 70; Bolshakov, “Osiris in the Fourth Dynasty, Again?,” 71.

²⁰⁵ Jones, *Index 1*, 327, no. 1206, 493 no. 1841.

²⁰⁶ Jones, *Index 1*, 373, no. 1382.

²⁰⁷ Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, 53; Meulenaere, “Le signe de hiéroglyphe .” For *imy-r³ pr-šn‘*, Jones, *Index 1*, 125–26, no. 501.

have on the lintel only the title *rh-nzwt*, in PM III.1, the match of name is taken as sufficient to identify the owner of the lintel with the Ireru of the tomb in the Central Field East.²⁰⁸

Making an inference of longer reach, Hassan suggested that Ireru probably lived in the house (Building E)²⁰⁹ in the Khentkawes Town (KKT) directly in front of his mastaba (Figs. 6.10–6.12), for the reason that Hassan found in the northern reception area of this house the bases of four circular silos. He related the silos to Ireru's title, *imy-r³ pr-šn‘ i‘b-r nswt*, which Hassan took as "Overseer of the Granary."²¹⁰ Hassan mentions five silos, and there is certainly room for a fifth in the northwest corner of the L-shaped chamber (room 75+79 on Hassan's plan), which would make it a match with the five-silo chamber that the AERA team found in 2011–2012 east of the Khentkawes basin,²¹¹ in the Silo Building Complex (see below), albeit with the L-shaped chamber flipped so the short end is east. Once again we could think of the five phyles, on analogy with five storage magazines labeled with the five phyle names, as in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Meruruka at Saqqara.

The AERA team re-cleared this house, which we designated Building E, and found that the silos did not exist in the original layout and construction. They were installed during an intermediate phase, before a period of abandonment and a reoccupation commensurate with the "second temple" phase of the MVT, probably in the Sixth Dynasty.²¹² The installation of the Building E silos at some point between the late Fourth Dynasty founding of the KKT and the Sixth Dynasty reoccupation would fit temporally with the dating of Ireru's tomb to the mid- to late Fifth Dynasty, roughly contemporary with the Abusir Papyri, that is, the reigns Djedkare or Unas. Note that during the phase when people built the silos, they also blocked access to this room (numbered 75+79) from Building E, so that they could only access the silos from adjacent Building F. By blocking certain doorways, the houses "intermingled" or were conjoined. If Ireru were the proprietor of these silos, probably granaries, he

²⁰⁸ PM III.1, 280.

²⁰⁹ As designated in AERA's mapping of the KKT, Lehner, Kamal and Tavares, "Excavations: The Khentkawes Town," 8, fig. 2; see also figure 6.12, below.

²¹⁰ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, 38, fig. 1, foldout map.

²¹¹ Aeragram, "KKT-E+: The Buried Basin and the Town Beyond" and "Conundrums and Surprises"; AERA, "The Silo Building Complex."

²¹² Lehner, "KKT-N: Building E 2009 Introduction," and Yeomans and Mahmoud, "KKT-N: Building E"; Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaus Town," 158; Tavares and Yeomans, "A House Through Time."



FIGURE 6.11 Lisa Yeomans, Hanan Mahmoud, and crew work in Building E in 2009. The mastaba of Ireru, partially reconstructed, rises immediately north of House E. (The northern enclosure wall and corridor would have separated the house from the mastaba at the time both were functioning). View to the northeast.

would have commanded in his time the expanse of two of the modular houses north of the causeway.²¹³

We are following a chain of hypotheses, unfortunately based on facts all too few, but of heuristic value. Underlings who rotated in service, when they would occupy the small apartments in the MVT court, represented (“substituted” for) higher-ranking officials responsible for services, offerings, and redistributions in the MVT during Occupation 2. Perhaps the officials marked their claims with monuments installed within the court and its invasive structures, like those found in the enclosure of Wedjebten. These officials lived, at least during periods of service, in the significantly larger houses of the KKT. Some of them built inscribed tombs at Giza, some in the Central Field East, directly north of the KKT. This line of thought brings up two separate but closely related issues: the relationship between the MVT and KKT, and the relationship of both to the largely Fifth Dynasty cemetery in the Central Field East.

²¹³ Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaus Town,” 158.

6.4 *Combined Pyramid Town of Menkaure?*

In his seminal article and subsequent publications about pyramid towns, Rainer Stadelmann saw the occupation within the MVT court, the houses of the KKT, and the extramural houses off the northeastern corner of the MVT as a coherent ensemble, part of the pyramid town, “Menkaure is Divine” (after the name of the third pyramid), indeed the only excavated example of a pyramid town, with the valley temple as the administrative and cultural center.²¹⁴

The Pepi II decree is directed to the pyramid town of Menkaure (see section 1).²¹⁵ Therefore, some settlement in proximity to the Menkaure pyramid complex qualified as a member of that emic category, “pyramid town,” in the Egyptian lexicon of the late Old Kingdom. In a recent review of “pyramid town” as an entry in Egyptologists’ lexicon, Bussmann treats the MVT occupation and the KKT separately. He states “Das Wissen um die Pyramidenstädte des Alten Reiches gründet sich im wesentlichen auf das Dahshurdekret von Pepi I. aus dem Taltempel der Roten Pyramide.”²¹⁶ Bussmann sees the 13-ha²¹⁷ Middle Kingdom pyramid town of Senwosret II at Kahun as representative of what we might expect of a pyramid town of the Old Kingdom. He surveys the close parallels between Kahun and KKT,²¹⁸ and concludes that the provisioning structure and the ratio between house-sizes of a pyramid town should be based on the KKT (see below), but he rejects the KKT itself as a pyramid town on the basis of the much smaller size of the KKT compared to Kahun.²¹⁹ In sorting settlement structures associated with pyramids into his own strict

²¹⁴ Stadelmann, “La ville de pyramide,” 71–72, “Pyramidenstadt,” 9, and *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden*, 215. In the latter publication, Stadelmann takes the empty space between the MVT and KKT as part of the town yet to be excavated. The huge, compact mound of quarry debris that occupies this space could cover more settlement, but it is my impression that is a massive dump of quarry waste such as the KKT and MVT builders used to landscape and terrace the rest of the combined settlements, Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaus Town,” 146–47, fig. 3. Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 205–11 treats the MVT and KKT occupations as one combined settlement.

²¹⁵ KD, 153 and 16–21 for the decree of Shepseskaf, which might imply the existence of the pyramid town, if it does not specify the town, as opposed to the pyramid *per se*.

²¹⁶ Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 34.

²¹⁷ Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 211.

²¹⁸ Both exhibit town planning, thick enclosure walls, standardized units, and a position adjacent to the memorial tomb of a ruler, Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 36–37.

²¹⁹ Bussmann “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 20, n. 18, 37, citing Alexanian and Seidlmaier “Die Residenznekropole von Dahschur, Erster Grabungsbericht,” also argues for larger sizes for pyramid towns on the basis of the extent (6 ha) of settlement indicated in boreholes around the location of the valley temple of the northern Dahshur pyramid.

typological scheme (workers' settlements, work places, priests' settlements, and true pyramid towns), Bussmann judges the KKT and the MVT occupation as only priests' settlements.

Yet, if the Pepi II decree for the Menkaure Pyramid town, like the Pepi I decree for the Sneferu pyramid town, means we need a settlement of considerable size, 3 to 13 ha, as the referent for the pyramid town of Menkaure, where could it be? Until recently, those who comment on the question assume that settlement invaded the Annex and MVT court from the east, or that in this direction lay the real extent of the Menkaure Pyramid town.²²⁰ It is possible that the "foot" end of the L-shaped KKT turns again to extend farther east, as indicated by a turn eastward on Hassan's map to the KKT east enclosure wall. Part of the town may extend east, peninsular-like, between the Khentkawes basin and a basin fronting the MVT Annex.²²¹ Hassan's test trenches in the modern cemetery immediately east of Building M suggested the settlement continued just here.²²² But since we established that the Annex terrace, only 12 to 18.5 m wide, drops two meters on the east in a steep glacis, probably into a basin like that east of the KKT,²²³ it is doubtful that settlement extended immediately east of the MVT plus its Annex. It is also unlikely that the settlement extends south of the MVT, given the way the causeway corridor of the "first temple" or southern wall of the "second temple" close off this side.²²⁴ Stadelmann thought more of the town lay to the north-northwest of the MVT in the empty space between the MVT and the northern "leg" of the KKT along the Khentkawes causeway. This is likely a huge pile of quarry waste over bedrock.²²⁵

So, can we see the MVT and KKT as an urban and administrative unity (Fig. 6.12)? The short time-span between the reigns of Menkaure and Userkaf,

²²⁰ So thought Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 49. He stated that his team traced the southern wall of the "second temple" for 70 m east of the MVT. East of the MVT, the southern enclosure wall of the corridor of the first temple likely bounds the southern side of a deep depression or basin like that east of the KKT (see text). By the time of the southern wall of the second temple, built above the earlier wall, the basin might have been filled with sand like the basin east of the KKT, see Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 172–75, 178–79. Maragioglio and Rinaldi, *l'Architettura VI*, 76 also thought the Menkaure pyramid town could extend east of the Annex, and this is where Bussmann, "Siedlungen im Kontext," 34 implies the town could be.

²²¹ See Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 189–91, fig. 25.

²²² Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, 41.

²²³ Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 188–89, fig. 25.

²²⁴ See Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 183, n. 143, Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 36.

²²⁵ See Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 146–47, fig. 3.

the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty, requires that Shepseskaf had to finish his mudbrick works for Menkaure and that the Khentkawes Town had to be built in its L-shaped final form within seven years, and possibly in as little as two years.²²⁶ Practically, the two parts were built within the same timeframe. The mudbricks of Shepseskaf's works on Menkaure's causeway, temples, and queens' chapels are similar or the same as those of the KKT in its first phase.²²⁷

Also, we might note again the paucity of silos that could have served as granaries, eight or nine total, over the expanse of the KKT with some dozen or more houses and more than 160 domestic rooms (though some of the chambers in the southern foot of the town probably served as magazines).²²⁸ While the domestic rooms in the MVT—best known from Occupation 2 in the southern court and southern Annex, are quite small in number, from Reisner's multi-phase map (see Fig. 6.2) we can count 25 bins and silos from Occupation 1, 11 bins and silos of Occupation 2 (excluding the rooms of the apartments), and 37 small chambers, bins, and silos during Occupation 3 (counting all chambers). If the MVT and KKT functioned together, the MVT appears to have been the grain reserve.²²⁹

On the other hand, Bussmann takes the gridded, cell-like rooms (nos. 13–17 in Hassan's plan) of the building immediately east of the Khentkawes monument, that is, at the far western end of the KKT and the causeway, as a granary,²³⁰ along the lines of Kemp's analysis of the Middle Kingdom gridded-chamber granaries in the Meketre models, in the town of Kahun, and in the Nubian cataract forts.²³¹ Using Kemp's values for the caloric value of grain to determine the number of people that could be fed from a given capacity, Bussmann suggests that this grid of rooms served as central storage for enough grain to feed the entire KKT settlement. This is a worthwhile hypothesis, but hard to test. It would help to see other examples of such grid-granaries in the Old Kingdom. I know of no others before the Middle Kingdom. Rather, the central storage we have found in the "Royal Administrative Building" at the HeG (so-called

²²⁶ Verner, "Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology," 383.

²²⁷ The strong impression is that these vast mudbrick works took place after major quarrying and building in monolithic limestone and granite had stopped, though stonework continued on "private" tombs in the cemeteries; Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 180, 185–88.

²²⁸ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, fig. 1, rooms 165–66, 169–73, 176–79.

²²⁹ Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 184.

²³⁰ Bussmann, "Siedlungen im Kontext," 27–29.

²³¹ Kemp, "Large Middle Kingdom Granary Buildings" and *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 211–17, figs. 76–77, 240–41.

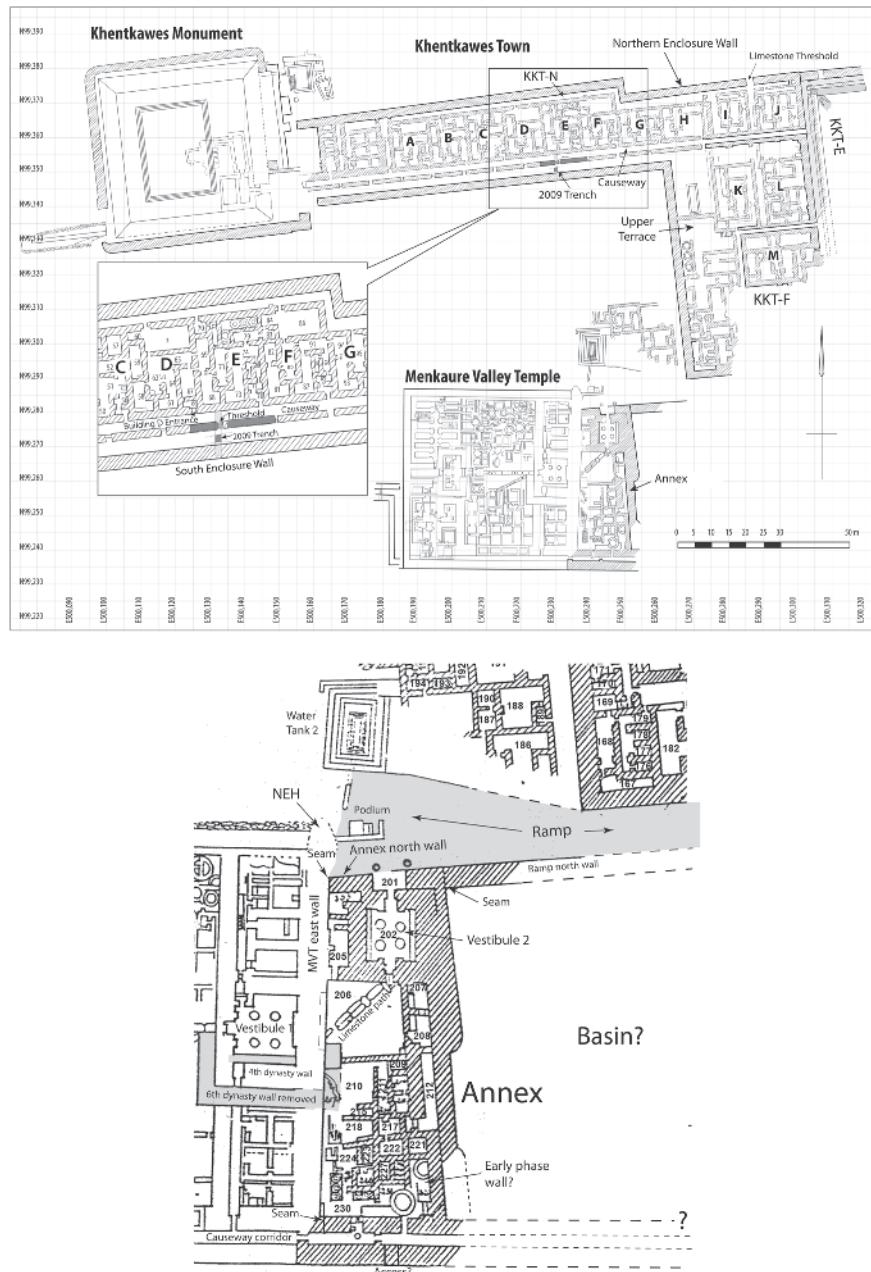


FIGURE 6.12 *Above (a). The Khentkawes Town and Menkaure Valley Temple adapted from Selim Hassan's plan. Below (b). Close-up of the MVT Annex, modified from Selim Hassan and Resiner's plans.*

“Workers’ Town”) site used large, round silos.²³² The alternative hypothesis is that the gridded room structure on the western end of the KKT served for the funerary services of the queen, being located exactly beside her chapel, basin, and courtyard along the eastern base of her monument.

If the MVT and KKT combined were the referent for the pyramid town of Menkaure, how might they have functioned together? Stadelmann and Felix Arnold suspected that *hm-ntr* priests resided in the causeway houses of the KKT.²³³ The Abusir Papyri hint that these priests enjoyed higher status than the *hntjw-š* or the *w'b* (purification) priests:

In many respects, *hm ntr*-priests and land tenants [*hntjw-š*] fulfilled the same tasks, yet the former seem to have been more privileged: *hm ntr*-priests had, for instance, direct access to the offering hall and the offerings which were presented there on the altar, whereas the land tenants and the *w'b*-priests took their shares in offerings presented beyond the intimate parts of the temple.²³⁴

It is not easy to map rank and status of titles onto houses, even if clear-cut strata were obvious from texts and titles. Hassan distinguished three house size classes:²³⁵ the “mansions” in the southern “foot” end of the L-shaped town (K-L-M), the medium size (A–F) houses north of the causeway to the west (not counting the last building on the west, which takes a different layout, and appears to consist of magazines; see above), and the smaller houses (G-H-I-J), lacking the northern reception area due to the southward jog in the northern enclosure wall (Fig. 6.12).

We can distinguish ten units north of the causeway. The six medium-size houses (A–F) show the greatest correspondence of plan or modularity. If Buildings E and F already functioned as one unit in the time the silos were installed,²³⁶ this would leave five units west of the jog, and we might again think

²³² Lehner, “The Pyramid Age Settlement,” 62–64, fig. 17.

²³³ Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden*, 214–15; Arnold, “Priesterhäuser der Chenkaus.” Arnold suggested that the eastern houses of the town may have been for the *hntjw-š*, because they lacked the constricted zig-zag entrances onto the causeway like those houses to the west, which he assumes housed *hmw-ntr*-priests. Arnold must have meant the smaller houses north of the causeway on the east (see fig. 23 here), and not the larger houses south of the causeway, see Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 27, n. 69.

²³⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 365.

²³⁵ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, 36 ff.

²³⁶ Yeomans and Mahmoud, “KKT-N, Building E,” 48–49; Tavares and Yeomans, “A House Through Time,” 11.

of the five phyles. On the other hand, six units plus Building G, which corresponds to the others to the west, but lacks the northern reception space, brings the number to seven, equal to the number of apartments in the Raneferef temple court. In Hassan's plan,²³⁷ buildings H, I and J show considerable variation from the units to the west. Buildings I and J show no access to the causeway corridor through their southern walls. Unfortunately, we can no longer check these variations, because most of the walls of these units had eroded away down to bedrock before our investigations began in 2005. However, enough remained for Lisa Yeomans to determine that I and J existed in some form before the causeway was laid out. This early layout may have been associated with MVT and the administration of Menkaure's building works.²³⁸

The six or seven more modular units of medium-size range correspond in number to the seven units in the Raneferef court temple (see Fig. 6.8), or the five to six apartments of Occupation 2 in the MVT court (see Fig. 6.3). We do not know whether this substantiates some standard number of units,²³⁹ or a correspondence to phyles or phyle sections. But we must note the correspondence.

Taking Building E as representative, the area covered by each of the modular units west of the jog in the enclosure wall measure 189 m². Of the units south of the causeway, Building K covers 213 m² and Building M, measured off Hassan's map, covers 319 m².²⁴⁰ These units are midrange between two houses

²³⁷ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, fig. 1.

²³⁸ Lehner, et al., "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 147–52.

²³⁹ Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 204–05, fig. 72, distinguishes on Borchardt's plan 10 units in the mudbrick additions to the southern and eastern sides of the Neferirkare temple, including one extra-large unit north of the entrance hall. From Borchardt's plan, in *Nefer-ír-ke3-Re* the room structure south of the entrance hall might also be taken as another exceptionally large unit. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ír-ke3-Re*, 36, stated that the walls here were so fragmentary that he could not determine the overall structure or function. His plan shows a rectangular feature enclosing a smaller rectangle in the southeastern corner of this complex. Of this space he wrote the following: "Ebenso weiß ich mit einer in der Südostecke (f,8) des Ganzen liegenden Erhöhung, bei der auch goldene Holzreste gefunden werden, nichts zu machen. Ob dort irgend ein Thron oder Baldachin gestanden hat?" And: "Auch an der merkwürdigen Stufe in der SO-Ecke (f,8), die dort eine quadratische Vertiefung umschließt, kann ich nicht Erklärung geben"; Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ír-ke3-Re*, 12 and 36. Borchardt recognized five units of four size classes, but concluded that unrecognized units south of the entrance hall might have brought the total to 10, along the lines that Kemp designated.

²⁴⁰ Bussmann, "Siedlungen im Kontext," 27 gives 320 m² for the large southern eastern houses, and 160 m² for the 10 houses north of the causeway. Differences depend on whether one includes walls or which walls, when contiguous units share walls. For Building E, I have included the width of one wall on one side and one end, since the units share walls.

in the HeG site south of the Wall of the Crow, the Eastern Town House at 100 m², and House Unit 1 at 400 m², which is the largest the AERA team has so far excavated at Giza.²⁴¹

Comparing the areas of these KKT houses to the apartments in the MVT (Fig. 6.3), the largest, unit 1, is 49.62 m², whereas the smallest, unit 3, is 16.80 m²; and mid-range, unit 4, is 38.44 m². If we combine unit 5 (37.12 m²) with unit 6 (39.69 m²), as Reisner suggested, it would be the largest at 76.81 m².²⁴² The areas of these units are comparable to the apartments in the Raneferef court (Fig. 6.9); for example, F on the northern side is 16.76 m²; H-I on the southern side is 26.75 m²; and apartment P-S-T, the “house of the *hm ntr*-priest,” is 27.93 m².²⁴³

As we have pointed out elsewhere,²⁴⁴ Ian Shaw’s house groups 9 and 10 of “important administrators” at Amarna range 400 to 500 m².²⁴⁵ A proper account of areal size and status should take into account the number of people per roofed floor space, which was most probably not constant,²⁴⁶ and in the case of temple towns, we might also consider possible rotation of residents. Perhaps we should expect smaller sizes for accommodations that were only temporary for persons (but maybe not household staff) in rotation. Of course, the idea of residency in rotation defeats individual proprietorship like that Hassan suggested for Ireru and Building E (see above).²⁴⁷

Also, the small apartments of the MVT and Raneferef temple courts and the houses of KKT fall into a range between small and large housing units at Avaris. Manfred Bietak discusses increasing differentiation in the areal size of house plans at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and through the Thirteenth Dynasty at Avaris, a time when house sizes tended to increase overall.²⁴⁸ He notes that during phase E-3 “ordinary” tripartite houses in area F/I, “which seems to be an upper class quarter,” range between 68 and 280 m². Except for Building M, the

The small differences, such as those with Bussmann’s values, do not affect the general comparisons.

²⁴¹ Lehner, “KKT-N,” 36.

²⁴² Measured off Reisner, *Mycerinus*, plan VII. Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 26 gives 15 to 40 m² for these units.

²⁴³ Measured off the foldout map in Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*.

²⁴⁴ Lehner and Tavares, “Walls, Ways and Stratigraphy,” 211.

²⁴⁵ Shaw, “Ideal Homes in Ancient Egypt.”

²⁴⁶ Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, 218–21, fig. 79.

²⁴⁷ Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 27 cites hearths and grinding stones as evidence of residence, but suggests household proprietorship and families would characterize a true pyramid town and distinguish it from a priests’ settlement, which he judges KKT to be.

²⁴⁸ Bietak, “Houses, Palaces and Development of Social Structure,” 17–19.

KKT houses correspond to the high end of this range. The size range of the MVT apartments overlaps with the size range 50–82 m² of smaller two-chamber houses of the same part and period of Avaris, while the Raneferef apartments fall below this range. Bietak suggests these smaller houses “could have been owned by the serfs of the residents of the bigger houses.”²⁴⁹

The point of comparison with Bietak’s analysis of Avaris housing is that the KKT houses correspond in area to the houses at the larger end of the scale, while the apartments in the Raneferef and MVT courts correspond to the smaller end of the scale.

For the sake of heuristics, we try to relate these house size classes to status and title. In spite of three house size classes noted by Hassan, Bussmann saw two groups.²⁵⁰ We might imagine that it was not individuals of high rank who stayed in the MVT court apartments, but rather their *dt* servants or other subordinates.²⁵¹ So, for example, in Raneferef fragment 46A (see above), we might expect it was such officials, including a Judge (*z3b*), an Inspector of Scribes (*shd sšw*), and a Lector Priest (*hry-hb*), who appear after the recorded check on sealings, who stayed in the larger KKT houses. On the other hand, we might see the phyle members of lower rank, such as the two *w'b*-priests and two *hntjw-*^g²⁵² who stayed, during their month of duty, in the very diminutive “houses” or apartments in the MVT court, which in Occupation 2 numbered five or six, compared to the seven apartments in the Raneferef court.

Still, at least one of the apartments in the Raneferef temple court belonged apparently to the *hm ntr*-priest, and served as a kind of administrative center

²⁴⁹ The smaller houses at Kahun range around 56.25 m², Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 36. In the late Hyksos Period, with “an internal compression of the [Avaris] settlement,” Bietak cites small houses of 25, 33.5, 50, 100 and 127 m². The houses of the MVT and Raneferef courts fit the lower end of this range. Over time, people built ever-larger houses at Avaris. “Some houses expanded more than 300 m² and display such strong walls that an upper story is conceivable, although no staircase has been found”; Bietak, “Houses, Palaces and Development of Social Structure,” 18–19, figs. 15–18. We might consider the possibility of a second story for Building M with its extra thick walls (fig. 6.12). Bietak graphs house sizes against those of Amarna, which shows a normal fit in the range from 12.5 m² to about 320 m².

²⁵⁰ Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 36–37, looking at titles from Kahun, suggested that workers, “Sealers” (*htmw*), an “Overseer of a Phyle” (*mtj-n-z3.w*), a “gewöhnlicher” Lector Priest (*hry-hb-šš*), and a Guard of the Temple Door (*z3w-š hwt-ntr*) lived in the smaller Kahun houses and correspond in rank to the residents of an Old Kingdom pyramid town.

²⁵¹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 370.

²⁵² Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 116–17, pl. 46, 263.

during the time of the papyri (Djedkare to Unas). One room of this apartment was checked and sealed as one of eight places so monitored in the temple.²⁵³ Then again, consider Raneferef fragment 6C, where a *hm ntr*-priest was rostered to be on-duty on the roof terrace of the temple—perhaps accessed through the stairs in the room of the *hm ntr*-priest—but instead of performing this duty himself, he sent a *dt*-servant to meet his obligation.²⁵⁴

Or consider fragment 4A, which specifies in vertical columns people on duty for guarding the *hm-ntr*-priest's room and other places listed in the horizontal headings (see section 4.2). Such individuals with high ranking titles—three *hm-ntr* priests, one *sm*-priest and Sole Companion (*smr wty*—Rawer), and one Inspector of the Great House (*shd pr-3*)—most likely did not stay in the small houses of the MVT court. Rather, here stayed persons like those whose names and titles are listed below: a *dt*-servant,²⁵⁵ an assistant (*hry-^cf*), and a temple functionary (*hry-nst*).²⁵⁶

We might expect persons of high rank, or their representatives who supervised the phyles, or the Overseer of the Pyramid town, or some official with overall charge,²⁵⁷ to have stayed in one of the three larger houses (K, L, M) in the foot of L-shaped KKT, south of the Khentkawes causeway. Posener-Kriéger suggested on the basis of the Neferirkare papyri a *shd* and an *imy-ht ntr* oversaw each phyle section.²⁵⁸ She cited the possibility that a *hrp imjw-z3* (Director of Members of a Phyle)²⁵⁹ could have overseen all the phyles in service together, but the title, known otherwise only from Giza, is attested only once in the Neferirkare Papyri.²⁶⁰ She touched on the subject again in relation to the titles *sš ‘prw* (Scribe of the Crews) and *imy-r3 sšw ‘prw* (Overseer of

²⁵³ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 340.

²⁵⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 372, while yet another fragment has the *hm ntr*-priests as porters, though perhaps of the divine offerings.

²⁵⁵ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* II, 586–87.

²⁵⁶ For this title, see Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* II, 584–85. These individuals are thought to have been young men who carried out heavy work; Vymazalová, “Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes,” 193.

²⁵⁷ Though there are some indications that the priests of a pyramid were administratively independent of the authorities of a pyramid town, Bussmann, “Siedlungen im Kontext,” 35, n. 98, citing Helck, “Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstädten,” 95 and Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*.

²⁵⁸ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, II, 573.

²⁵⁹ Jones, *Index* II, 697, no. 2546.

²⁶⁰ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, II, 574.

Scribes of the Crews),²⁶¹ but neither the Neferirkare nor the Raneferef archives resolve the question.²⁶²

The building we have designated M in particular, is the largest of all in the KKT. This building features extra-thick walls, some with painted decoration.²⁶³ Here we might imagine an official in charge of the whole urban complex. In this regard, we should note definite stratigraphic evidence that the north-south complex of buildings (I, J, K, L, and M), which came to comprise the eastern part of the KKT plus the “foot” of the town, existed before builders laid out the Khentkawes causeway. We can only guess that this early layout, coming within 30 m of the MVT, may have functioned as some kind of administrative residence during building activities under Menkaure.²⁶⁴

Against the idea that the MVT and KKT functioned together as one unified settlement, we have found no obvious, formal access between the walled KKT and the MVT. *Hm ntr*-priests enjoyed direct access to the offering hall and the offerings that were presented there on the altar. The proprietors of buildings A–H had direct access to the Khentkawes causeway—in the earlier phase of the occupation²⁶⁵—but we see in Hassan’s plan (Fig. 6.12) no such direct access from any of the KKT houses onto the broad ramp leading up to the northern doorway of Vestibule 2, the Annex, and thence into MVT. Hassan could not retrieve the far southeastern corner of the “foot” end of the KKT, and the AERA team could only re-excavate the southern KKT enclosure wall from its corner here for another 1.5 m east. An immense embankment for the modern road around the modern cemetery prevents us from clearing further east. So some access could have existed through this southern wall of the KKT, possibly at the end of the corridor running north-south along the west of building M. (It would have been a step down onto the lower-lying broad ramp leading to the northern Annex door). That corridor turns east-west at the northwest corner of Building M, and communicates with the “Southern Lateral Ramp” (SLR), which we found ascending to the Khentkawes causeway threshold, so here may have been the connector. The different orientations of the MVT and

²⁶¹ Jones, *Index II*, 843, no. 3076.

²⁶² Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 369.

²⁶³ Hassan, *Excavation at Giza IV*, 41.

²⁶⁴ Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 146–53; Jones, “Lower Buried Building,” 21.

²⁶⁵ But not after some of the doorways that gave access into the houses from the causeway were blocked, see Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 154–60.

KKT, the former to the cardinal directions and the latter about 6° west of north, are brought together in the broad ramp and Annex.²⁶⁶

The causeway corridors provide one point of similarity between the MVT and KKT. Both corridors measure about 1.60 m wide. Just as the Menkaure causeway corridor of the “first temple” turned south, and then extended east along the southern side of the MVT and beyond the temple to the east, so the KKT corridor once turned north via the “Northern Lateral Ramp” (NLR), and ran due east beyond the KKT.²⁶⁷ Unlike the SLR, which provided a loop back into the KKT via the corridor running along the north and west of Building M, the northern corridor of the Khentkawes valley complex extended 45 m to the east. In 2011–2012 the AERA team found the termination of this corridor at a corner shared with another large enclosure and settlement complex, the Silo Building Complex (SBC; see below).

7 Khentkawes Town East, Central Field East

It is expected from titles in tombs proximal to pyramid causeways and valley complexes that at least some of the proprietors of these tombs served in the pyramid temples.²⁶⁸ The material from the MVT discussed in section 5, as well as the extension eastward of the KKT northern corridor, flanking a terraced basin, reinforces the hypothesis that a connection existed between the MVT and KKT, and between the early occupation of the KKT with the development of the Central Field East cemetery immediately to the north through the Fifth Dynasty. In order to set the overall context for these connections between settlement clusters, I describe briefly in sections 7.1 and 7.2 our most recent finds east of the KKT.

²⁶⁶ Dash, “North by Northwest”; Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 189–90, fig. 25, with a correction to that text: It is the *southern* wall of the broad ramp that was built to the same orientation as the *southern* enclosure wall of the KKT.

²⁶⁷ Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 160–61, figs. 14–15, 169–70, fig. 18 where the authors suggest the NLR was added late in the use of the lower Khentkawes basin and approach structures. See also Jones, “Lower Buried Building,” 22–23. We are not certain of the temporal relationships of the NLR and northern corridor that extends further east along the Khentkawes basin.

²⁶⁸ Stadelmann, “Pyramidenstadt,” 10 and “La ville de pyramide,” 69.

7.1 *Enclosures Back-to-Back: The KKT Valley Complex and the Silo Building Complex (SBC)*

Between 2007 and 2009 the AERA team found a previously unknown lower eastern approach up into the Khentkawes settlement. This approach consists of ramps, stairs, and corridors along the northwest corner of a deep basin.²⁶⁹ In 2011 we discovered the northeast corner of this basin, which may have functioned, perhaps seasonally, as a small ceremonial harbor connected to the Nile via a canal or waterway that yet eludes us. Beyond the basin and the enclosure wall bounding it, we uncovered traces of grain silos and courtyards.²⁷⁰

When it first came to light in 2011, it seemed likely that this “Silo Building Complex,” SBC as we dubbed it, stored offerings for Queen Khentkawes. Personnel of her estate could have delivered these offerings to the queen’s monument via the 45-m long corridor along the north side of the basin, then up into the KKT via the NLR, and finally through the KKT via the causeway to the chapel on the southeastern corner of the Khentkawes monument, or into the storage magazines in the southern “foot” of the settlement. A niche at the eastern termination of the east-running corridor appeared to be a doorway into the SBC, blocked at some period.

However, in 2012 excavation supervisors Hussein El-Rikaby and Rabee Eissa found that the SBC builders set this complex into the northwestern corner of a very thick enclosure wall of an older building period (Fig. 6.13). The builders of the Khentkawes basin enclosure founded the thick northern and eastern walls flanking the basin upon limestone debris that they banked up against the older enclosure to the east. So we had, back-to-back, the northeast corner of the Khentkawes basin enclosure and the northwest corner of the SBC enclosure. It was unexpected that the *older* enclosure, which must date earlier in the Fourth Dynasty, should lie to the east of the Khentkawes basin, which the builders must have dredged out between the old enclosure and the western bedrock edge of a deep quarry. The eastern enclosure wall of the KKT runs exactly along this edge.

Also unexpected, we established by structural relations, pottery, and sealings that the SBC itself was built later than both enclosures, in the Fifth Dynasty, with a core domestic room structure similar to that of the ten houses (A–J)

²⁶⁹ Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 160–75; Lehner, “KKT-E: A Valley Complex for Khentkawes I,” “KKT-E: SLR: Elevation View,” and “KKT-E: Notes and Reconstructions”; Jones, “Lower Buried Building.”

²⁷⁰ Aeragram, “KKT-E+: The Buried Basin and the Town Beyond”; AERA, “The Khentkawes Basin.”



FIGURE 6.13 *The Silo Building complex, discovered in 2011–2012, east of the Khentkawes basin, discovered between 2007–2009. View to the northwest.*

north of the KKT causeway, albeit here flanked by long bakeries on the north and east.²⁷¹

The SBC must have replaced an older installation within the older enclosure. As of this writing our excavation down to floor level in the SBC has been limited to a few small trenches. In a trench that half-sectioned the fill of one of the silos, Ahmed Orabi found a clay sealing impressed with the title “Overseer of the Pyramid, Great is Khafre” (*imy-r³ Wr-H^cfR^c*)²⁷² between serekhs of the Fifth Dynasty king, Niuserre (*Ir Št-ib-t3.wy*) and the title “Custodian of the King’s Property Who Makes the Right Judgment” (*iry-h^t-ny-św.t śm^{3c} [wd^c-mdw]*).²⁷³ It is possible that the vertical column between the serekhs with the title *imy-r³ Wr-H^cfR^c* continued, after the break, with the *niwt* sign for town or city, in which case the title would have been that of “Overseer of the Pyramid Town of Khafre.”

²⁷¹ Aerogram, “Conundrums and Surprises”; AERA “The Silo Building Complex.”

²⁷² Jones, *Index I*, 103–04, no. 419.

²⁷³ Nolan, “Fifth Dynasty Renaissance,” 4.

Is it possible that the second enclosure, older than both the SBC and the Khentkawes basin enclosure, belonged to the pyramid town of Khafre? Our clearing east, which exposed the SBC, comes to within 75 m of the southwest corner of the Khafre Valley Temple (KVT). And yet, the newly found corner containing the SBC opens to the southeast, not to the northeast, the direction of the KVT. Perhaps the Khafre pyramid town took a turn, like the L-shaped footprint of the Khentkawes Town, so that if we push on east, the thick northern enclosure wall and town will turn north, opening toward the KVT.

Prior to 2012 I guessed that it was Niuserre who was responsible for those significant additions to the MVT and the Annex, including the two sets of four beautiful alabaster column bases in Vestibules 1 and 2. At that time, 2011, we knew from Reisner's work only eight clay seals with royal names from Menkaure's pyramid complex.²⁷⁴ All eight sealings came from the upper temple. They bear the names of kings Menkaure, Niuserre, Isesi, Teti and Pepi I. To these we might add the royal names Merenre and Pepi II found on stelae fragments in the upper and valley temples respectively. We were missing names of the early Fifth Dynasty kings—Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare, Shepseskare, Raneferef. We are also missing Menkauhor and Unas at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

Now, in their review of 144 impressed and incised sealings retrieved in 2012 from the newly found area east of the KKT (which we designate KKT-E+), including 56 formal sealings of office (*Amtssiegel*), John Nolan and Ali Witsel have identified sealings of Userkaf (4), Sahure (1), and Raneferef (5) in addition to those of Niuserre (20), which, from our limited 2012 excavations are in the majority.²⁷⁵

I had also suspected Niuserre may have ordered the screen wall across the portico and the expanded inner part of Menkaure's upper pyramid temple.²⁷⁶ One entered the new inner part of the upper pyramid temple by way of a small square antechamber (Reisner's room 26) with a single pillar, a feature that we otherwise find for the first time as part of the route to the inner offering halls of pyramid temples in the Fifth Dynasty temple of Niuserre's pyramid at Abusir. This element, the small square antechamber, was incorporated into all subsequent pyramid temples.

²⁷⁴ Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 176, n. 92, 178, n. 117, 180.

²⁷⁵ Nolan, "Report on the 2013 Sealings Season."

²⁷⁶ Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 175–76. AERA, "A Hundred and One Years Later," 12–13.

At Abusir in the mid-Fifth Dynasty, Niuserre (with a reign perhaps exceeding 30 years) acted like Shepseskaf at the end of the Fourth Dynasty. Whereas during his short reign of several years Shepseskaf finished in mudbrick the five memorial temples of Menkaure and his three queens, plus Menkaure's causeway and very possibly the enclosure wall, town, and lower approach of the Khentkawes complex, Niuserre evidently completed in mudbrick the pyramid temples of his father, Neferirkare, his mother Khentkawes II, and his older brother, Raneferef, who may have reigned less than two years.²⁷⁷

That Niuserre's builders carried out the embellishment of the Annex and the MVT proper might bring Occupation 2 of the MVT (see section 2) contemporary with the occupation (Djedkare to Unas) of the Raneferef temple court.

7.2 *Doorways to the North: Town and Tombs*

Five doorways that open through the northern enclosure wall of the extended Khentkawes complex, including the newly found valley approach, gave access from the KKT directly to the Fifth Dynasty cemetery developing in the Fourth Dynasty quarry of the Central Field East. This access may provide an additional link between the cemetery, the KKT, and the occupation of the MVT court.

With the lower approach and basin complex that we found between 2007 and 2009 east of the KKT, plus the older enclosure farther east containing the younger SBC, we have added nearly 65 meters to the 150 m extension of the L-shaped upper town that Hassan cleared in 1932 (Fig. 6.14). This entire length is bounded on the north by a thick enclosure wall, 2.57 m wide located north of the Khentkawes upper town, 2.4 m wide along the corridor running east along the northern side of the basin in our area KKT-E+, widening to 2.8 m near a large limestone threshold of a doorway near its eastern end, and 3.10 m wide at the corner where it turns to run south and abuts the corner of the older SBC enclosure. The northern wall of the SBC enclosure continues even farther east, bounding the SBC on the north, at a width of 2.05 m.

Five points of access opened through this combined northern enclosure wall (Fig. 6.14). Starting on the west, the first opening through the enclosure wall led to a ramp cut in bedrock leading down into a large rock-cut tank. This opening led from a square open court between the western end of the KKT and the Khentkawes chapel. The western jamb was formed by a protrusion of the bedrock forming the core of the enclosure wall along the eastern side of the Khentkawes monument.²⁷⁸ The eastern jamb was simply the beginning

²⁷⁷ Verner, *Raneferef: The Archaeology*, 101, 105–06.

²⁷⁸ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, 32. The fact that the builders made this part of the enclosure wall in bedrock shows that the eastern base of the bedrock pedestal was formed,

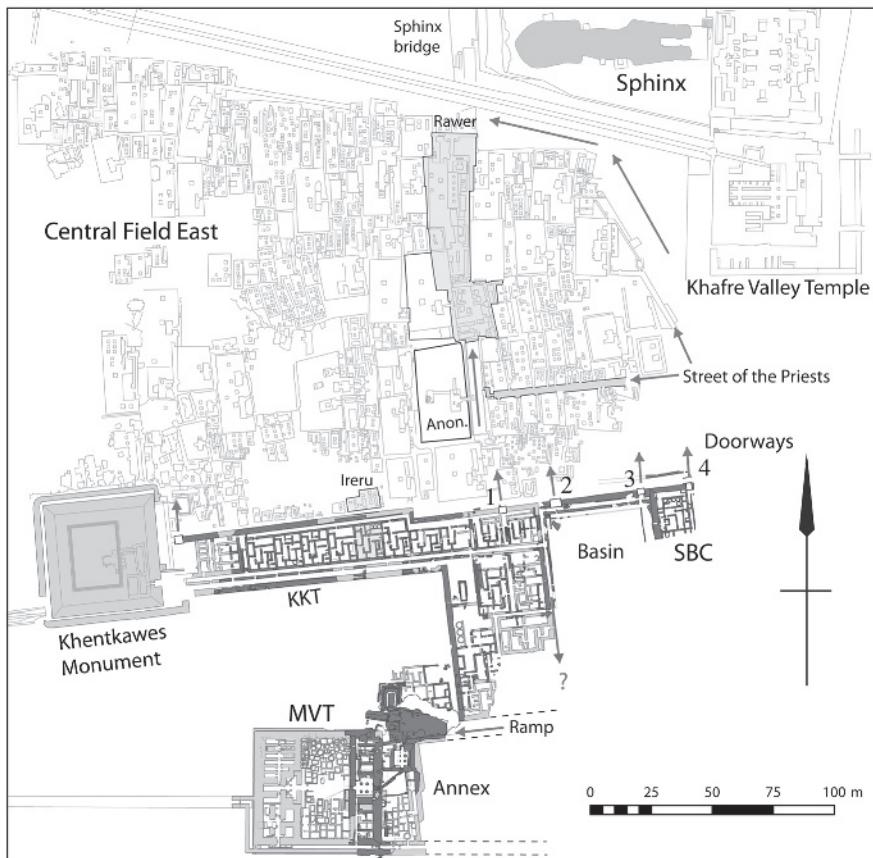


FIGURE 6.14 Major access points or doorways open from the north into the Khentkawes Town and its extension to the east as the lower approach, basin and the Silo Building Complex. To the immediate north lies the Central Field East cemetery largely created for Fifth Dynasty officials in a Fourth Dynasty quarry. Adapted from Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, using AERA GIS, by Rebekah Miracle.

of the enclosure wall built in mudbrick. It is not likely that a door closed this access.

A large limestone threshold marked the second opening to the east, Doorway 1.²⁷⁹ This opening gave access into the north-south street that town

at least in part, with the enclosure wall in mind. This stands in contrast to the evidence that the major part of the pedestal must have been formed over long-term quarry work, perhaps over three generations.

279 Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, 39.

builders probably made in the earliest phase of the KKT eastern layout, before the Khentkawes causeway was laid out, after which masons cut a stepped tunnel into the bedrock to pass underneath. Hassan mentions two pivot sockets that would testify to double-leaved wooden door that closed this access. By the time AERA first cleared this spot in 2007, the enclosure wall had completely weathered down to bare bedrock, leaving the threshold standing alone. We recorded only one pivot socket on the east and the moulding for a jamb on the west.²⁸⁰ The threshold is set into a shallow channel-like cut into the bedrock marking the width of the street. In 2007 Lisa Yeomans found silty soil filling the cut for at least 1.30 m north. The rock-cut and masonry built tombs of the Central Field East cemetery pick up only several meters farther north (Fig. 6.14). This north-south street and its doorway align with what had been an open path through the quarry and Central Field East cemetery. The tomb of Rawer, discussed in sections 5.1–5.2, filled this broad path. The KKT street and Doorway 1 align roughly with the bedrock ridge running west of the Sphinx ditch, and, much farther north, with the street between the first and second rows from the west of the large mastaba tombs in the Eastern Cemetery of the Khufu Pyramid. Perhaps, early in the Fourth Dynasty quarrying and building, one continuous road existed along this axis.²⁸¹

The first construction to close this roadway across the necropolis was the Khafre causeway, the masonry walls of which would have prevented any crossing from the western Sphinx-bridge to the area of the KKT. In the Fifth Dynasty, Rawer the *śm*-priest built his tomb, probably incrementally, to fill this broad pathway, marked on the west by his own bedrock and masonry mastaba tumulus, and, immediately to the south, a large, anonymous rock-cut mastaba and tomb.²⁸² The southernmost wall of Rawer's complex, still standing 7 courses high, actually closed off this broad way at the northeast corner of the large, anonymous mastaba, but Rawer's builders left a window or funnel-shaped channel from his Serdab 23,²⁸³ one of Rawer's many serdabs, flaring out to the south through this wall, as though to permit Rawer to pass south virtually into the priests' settlement. Later, the broad way along the eastern front of the large anonymous mastaba was made into a court, the eastern side of which was decorated with a niched and paneled mudbrick casing.²⁸⁴ This casing also

²⁸⁰ Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 151–52, fig. 8.

²⁸¹ Lehner, Kamal and Tavares, "Excavations: The Khentkawes Town," 11.

²⁸² Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1*, 89–91; PM III.1, pl. XXII, D–E/8–9.

²⁸³ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1*, 31, fig. 24.

²⁸⁴ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1*, frontispiece, 90, fig. 152.

closed off the southern end of the court, another obstruction to the old cross-necropolis avenue.

Immediately south of the large anonymous mastaba, and only 8 m north of the KKT Doorway 1 marked by the limestone threshold, the surface drops more than 3 meters into a large, quarried pit. The tombs of Wep-em-nefert and Ni-maat-re were both partly rock-cut and partly masonry-built into the west and east sides of this deeper quarry.²⁸⁵ We might expect that this pit, in such proximity to the KKT, would have been cut much later than the north-south street opening at the limestone threshold into the KKT. PM III.1 dates the tombs of Wep-em-nefert and Ni-maat-re to the mid- to late Fifth Dynasty.²⁸⁶

Such minor quarrying and stone cutting for tomb-building probably accounts for the blocking up and encumbrance with limestone debris of Doorway 2, which we found in 2009 through the northern enclosure wall in its extension east of the KKT proper. Doorway 2 was a monumental access, 3.15 m wide, with some kind of ramp or stairs descending 1.07 m from a floor north of, and outside, the enclosure wall down to the terrace lining the Khentkawes basin. Stratigraphy shows that builders created this opening before they had built the corridor running east from the NLR, which sloped down from the Khentkawes causeway threshold.²⁸⁷ When builders did make that corridor, they completely blocked Doorway 2 with mudbrick fill, and closed off the southern side of the opening with an accretion onto the southern face of the enclosure wall. Originally, this access opened onto the area of the Central Field East cemetery that contains scattered small tomb shafts, and the mastabas of Impy, Weser, and Fifi along the southern side of the rock-cut “Street of the Priests,” as Hassan called it, after he excavated this channel between 1929 and 1931. A massive fill of limestone chips and debris banked up high against the enclosure wall and blocking of Doorway 2, completely burying the northern face. This debris was no doubt the cast-off from the nearby minor quarrying and stone cutting for making tombs. The tomb of Duare, a *ḥm-ntr* of Menkaure, lies several meters to the northeast, just outside this Doorway 2.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ Hassan *Excavations at Giza II*, Wep-em-nefet: 179–201, fig. 212 for façade; Ni-maat-re, 202–25, fig. 223 for façade.

²⁸⁶ PM III.1, 281–84.

²⁸⁷ Lehner, *et al.*, “Re-examining the Khentkaues Town,” 159, fig. 13, 161, fig. 15, 168; Lehner, “KKT-E: Notes and Reconstructions,” foldout 3, no. 5 for 2009 when we had not yet determined the eastern side and full width of the doorway, and “KKT-E+: Khentkawes Town East,” 10, no. 3; Olchowska, “KKT-E (North)” for 2011 data structure report.

²⁸⁸ PM III.1, 287–88; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IX*, 59–62.

We found Doorway 3, 2.24 m wide, during our 2012 season, marked by a broad threshold formed of five limestone slabs, 2.5 m west of the eastern end of the northern enclosure wall (Fig. 6.14). The slabs retain moulding for the bottom of jambs, probably of wood or mudbrick. A semi-circular feature in the silty floor at the southwest corner of the threshold may mark a pivot socket. These features suggest a wooden door closed this access. This doorway formed a cross-shaped intersection with the corridor coming east from NLR, a niche at the far eastern end of the corridor, and a probable passage leading from Doorway 3 down into the basin. Doorway 3 aligns roughly with the head of the Sphinx to the far north, and, closer, the eastern end of Hassan's "Street of the Priests" leading west into the cemetery and ending at the court in front of the anonymous mastaba.

AERA team members found Doorway 4 in 2012 marked by another limestone threshold that opens through the northern enclosure wall of the SBC. The width of both the western and eastern wall segments on either side expands from 2.05 to 2.30 m because of jambs projecting inward (to the south). A pair of jambs also projects into the opening, narrowing the doorway from 1.05 to .66 m. This doorway aligns roughly with the eastern limit of the tombs that Selim Hassan excavated in the Central Field East, and roughly with the opening of the bedrock cut channel leading northwest, then west to the rock-cut and masonry-built mastaba of Kaw-niswt.²⁸⁹ Doorway 4 gave access into the SBC via a corridor running south to an opening in the eastern wall. At some date, people blocked this entrance. However, Doorway 4 may have still served to let people into spaces to the east, beyond our excavations.

Over time these doors opening north, or the corridors that led from them, were either blocked or rendered dysfunctional, possibly because of the expansion of the cemetery and the quarry and stone cutting waste from preparing tombs, which built up the surface and threatened to expand into the extended settlement. Less than 5 m north of the SBC we exposed a fieldstone retaining wall. We have cleared only 1.5 m north of this wall, which retains very compact silty sand with embedded pottery, like settlement debris. The fieldstone wall, and the possible raised surface, must end at some point to the west, before the 3.15-meter wide Doorway 2. Opposite this doorway, the AERA team cleared back more than 5 m to the north, to a depth of a meter, finding only clean sand with modern inclusions—paper, plastic, wire—probably all fill of Hassan's 1932 excavation.

289 Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 75–86; PM III.1, 274–75, plan XXIII, C/10.

The fieldstone wall and raised surface north of the SBC blocked free movement between the settlement and cemetery. People (and possibly donkey) traffic would now have to flow laterally, east to west, before being able to enter any still-functioning doorways into the SBC, the Khentkawes basin, and the KKT upper town. But initially these doorways may have served for movement from these settlement enclosures to and from the work and services proceeding in the developing Fifth Dynasty cemetery of the Central Field East.

7.3 *Occupying the Central Field East*

The tombs of the Central Field East cemetery occupied a Fourth Dynasty quarry, roughly triangular in plan, between the Sphinx and the Khentkawes monument. Quarrymen did not exploit this patch of bedrock as deeply as that of the Central Field West, which they took down to a depth of 10 to 30 m. Here they procured the bulk of core stone for Khufu's Pyramid.²⁹⁰ The Central Field East and West take up the northern half of an even greater "circle of quarrying." The less deeply worked triangular part between the Sphinx and Khentkawes monument is the northeast quadrant. Because the quarrymen never exploited this quadrant so deeply, they left the broad channels defining huge quarry blocks, the size of large mastabas, which they then subdivided with smaller channels to obtain a given size of smaller block, including the monolithic core blocks of the Khafre and Menkaure temples.²⁹¹ Many or most of the "mastabas" of the Central Field East utilized these rectangular blocks of bedrock.²⁹² The anonymous mastaba²⁹³ just southwest of Rawer's tomb is a good example. The back west side shows narrow channels, just wide enough for one man, which quarrymen had begun but left unfinished to subdivide this block.²⁹⁴ These channels came through to the eastern façade, where masons began to fill and patch the slot closest to the tomb entrance. The plan of the Central Field East

²⁹⁰ Lehner, "Giza, A Contextual Approach," 152, "Development of the Giza Necropolis," 121–22, and *Complete Pyramids*, 207.

²⁹¹ Lehner, *et al.*, "Re-examining the Khentkaues Town," 184–85, fig. 24 where the main text refers mistakenly to this part as the "southeastern" quadrant; Lehner, "Giza, Overviews and Ground Truths."

²⁹² While not as regularly spaced as the mastabas fields east and west of the Khufu Pyramid, these are not entirely haphazard. Quarrymen isolated series of adjacent bedrock blocks in a west-east row starting northeast of the Khentkawes monument.

²⁹³ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1*, 89–90.

²⁹⁴ See the photograph of this quarry block in Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 207.

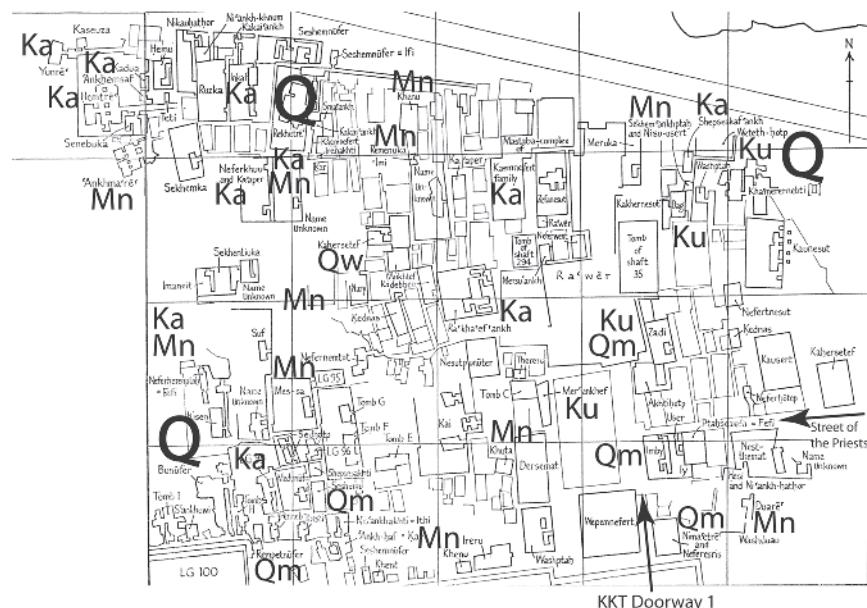


FIGURE 6.15 *The Central Field East quarry cemetery, after PM III.1, plan XXIII. Q = queens tombs; Qm = titles associated with queen-mother; Qw = titles associated with royal wife; Ku = titles associated with Khufu; Ka = titles associated with Khafre; Mn = titles associated with Menkaure.*

cemetery in PM III.1 neatly takes in this northeastern quadrant of the Central Field quarries (Fig. 6.15).²⁹⁵

The suspension of quarry work offered, epiphenomenally, bedrock "mastabas"—or the possibility of a foundation combined with a masonry built superstructure—for tombs. Tomb builders and proprietors began reoccupying the Central Field East quarry in the late Fourth Dynasty, but mostly in the Fifth Dynasty. Peter Jánosi suggested that important people of the late Fourth Dynasty built tombs gradually in the Central Field, depending on whether quarry work continued or was stopped, and based upon the availability of useable rock exposures.²⁹⁶

In addition to the gigantic tomb of Khentkawes I, which projects saliently southward from the southwest corner of the tall-standing bedrock of the Central Field East, three of the six or seven tombs that Jánosi sees as oldest

295 PM III.1, plan XXIII.

296 Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 302.

in this quarry cemetery²⁹⁷ belonged to queens: Khamerernebti I and/or Khamerernebti II at the eastern point,²⁹⁸ Rekhitre near the northwest extremity,²⁹⁹ and Bunefer³⁰⁰ at the southwest corner of the cemetery, opposite the northeast corner of the Khentkawes I monument (Fig. 6.15). The tomb of Hemetre, an “Eldest Daughter” of a king thought to be Khafre, and the tomb of Yuenre, “Eldest Son of His Body of Khafre,” are located in the far northwest part of the Central Field East quarry.³⁰¹ Jánosi calls our attention to the dispersal across the Giza cemeteries of tombs of royal family members in the reign of Khafre in contrast to the dedicated zones of regular mastabas for royal family members planned and begun during Khufu’s reign, and to the fact that Khafre provided no pyramids for queens in his funerary complex.³⁰²

7.4 *Contiguous and Cross Cutting Cults*

No exclusive, or near-exclusive relationship can be demonstrated between the KKT (or the combined KKT + MVT) and the titles of tomb owners in the Central Field East cemetery. This should come as no surprise given the wide distribution of titles connected to the Giza pyramids in the various Giza cemeteries, a topic beyond this presentation. In tomb chapels of the Central Field East cemetery, titles relating to the Fourth Dynasty Giza kings, mostly but not exclusively *hm-ntr* titles, are nearly equally divided, about 11 each for Khafre and Menkaure. Again, keeping in mind that the corpus from the Central Field East certainly does not exhaust the distribution of such titles across the Giza cemeteries, figure 6.15 presents a cursory survey from PM III.1 and Hassan’s listings of the tombs in the Central Field East.

The textual and archaeological contexts of royal names appearing on objects and as part of titles suggest a good deal of mixing it up between memorial foundations. It is well known that individuals could serve as *hm-ntr*-priests in more than one pyramid complex. So, from the Central Field East, Irenakhti served as *imj-ht hmw-ntr* in the Khafre Pyramid, and *śhd hmw-ntr* in the Menkaure Pyramid.³⁰³ Neferherenptah (Fefi) served as *hm-ntr* for both Khafre

²⁹⁷ Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 302–07, Abb. 72.

²⁹⁸ Janosi and Callender, “Tomb of Queen Khamerernebty II”; PM III.1, 273.

²⁹⁹ PM III.1, 249; Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza VI*, 3–8.

³⁰⁰ PM III.1, 256; Callendar, *In Hathor’s Image I*, 134–35.

³⁰¹ PM III.1, 243–44; Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza VI.3*, 31–34, 43–65; Callendar, *In Hathor’s Image I*, 154–58.

³⁰² Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 302–07.

³⁰³ PM III.1, 250; Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza VI.3*, 9–29.

and Menkaure.³⁰⁴ On the idea that cemeteries proximal to pyramid complexes reflect denizens of pyramid towns, the Central Field East cemetery could be taken as the late Fourth Dynasty though the Fifth Dynasty counterpart to either the pyramid towns of Menkaure or Khafre. At least four individuals held titles (*hm-ntr*-priest or “Overseer of Scribes”) of the Khufu Pyramid (Fig. 6.15).

At least five individuals buried in the Central Field East held titles connected with the Royal Mother. The fact that the tomb of Renpetnefer, who held the title *hm-ntr mwt nswt*, opens within a few meters of the northeastern corner of the Khentkawes monument and its enclosure wall, directly onto the rock-cut tank connecting with the eastern chapel and court,³⁰⁵ fortifies the inference that this title reflects service specific to the Khentkawes complex, although the queen mother’s name is not specified. The tomb of Shepses-akheti, who held the title *śhd hmw ntr nw mwt nswt*, lies a short distance farther northeast and higher into the bedrock outcrop.³⁰⁶ Vivienne Callender takes it as given that these were *hm-ntr*-priests of Khentkawes I, and from this follows the inference she was the proprietor of a *hwty-k3*.³⁰⁷

In his tomb, which lies just outside the main access (Doorway 1) into the KKT north-south street (see Fig. 6.14), Ni-maat-re lists the title: [*tny-*]r³ w⁴bw *mwt nswt*, “Overseer of the Purification Priests of the King’s Mother.” He also served as *w⁴b*-priest in the Pyramid of Neferirkare.³⁰⁸ A scene on the width of the right side of the entrance to Ni-maat-re’s chapel shows, in a register below him and his wife, the personification of an estate fronted by a cartouche with the sun disk at top and the lower part erased, and three vertical registers that refer to the bringing of reversionary offerings (*wdb-rd*) by “the mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt....”³⁰⁹ On the basis of a “nouvelle copie faite après une révision minutieuse de l’original,” Bernhard Grdseloff restores the cartouche to that of Menkaure, and the name of the queen mother, based on a preserved *r*, as Khamerernebty.³¹⁰

³⁰⁴ PM III.1, 253; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* v, 279–87.

³⁰⁵ PM III.1, 257; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* v, 166–75.

³⁰⁶ PM III.1, 260; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* III, 93–97.

³⁰⁷ Callender, *In Hathor’s Image* 1, 143, 149. Callender states that Khentkawes I was the first queen to have *hm ntr*-priests attend to her memorial complex, later so did Khentkawes II. See for references to the title *hm-ntr mwt nswt*, as referring to Khentkawes I, Jones, *Index* 1, 517, no. 1934.

³⁰⁸ PM III.1, 282; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* II, 211; Callender, *In Hathor’s Image* 1, 143; Ogdon, “Family of Priests.”

³⁰⁹ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* II, 232, fig. 14.

³¹⁰ Grdseloff, “Deux Inscriptions Juridiques,” 52–53, fig. 6.5.

The other title relating to the royal mother concerns *hmw-k3* (*ka*-servants) rather than *hmw-ntr*, so these titles could relate to queen mothers other than Khentkawes I. The other queen known with this title is Khamerernebty I, whose tomb (with that of Khamerernebty II)³¹¹ lies a bit closer to Ni-maat-re, on the north, than the tomb of Khentkawes I to the west. On the other hand, both *hmw-ntr* and *hmw-k3* are known for Khentkawes II.³¹² In the Central Field East we have *imy-r3 hmw-k3* held by Imby³¹³ and Akhet-hotep, who was also “Overseer of the Scribes of the Pyramid, Akhet Khufu.”³¹⁴ Note that these two tombs flank the entrance from the east-west path that Hassan called “Street of the Priests” into the niche-decorated court in front of the anonymous mastaba (which Jánosi places as one of the earliest structures in the Central Field East cemetery).³¹⁵ These tombs also flank the eastern side of the early north-south quarry path, later filled by the extended complex of Rawer, the *sm*-priest, and the court of the anonymous mastaba (see above, section 6.2).

In view of these titles from the Central Field East relating to Khafre, Menkaure, and the Queen Mother, we look back to Rawer, *sm*-priest, and note that nothing in his titles reflects an association between him and service in the MVT (Sections 6.2, 6.4). Yet Rawer seems to have enjoyed the fruits of estates of Khafre, Menkaure, and Shepseskaf. The names of these estates are preserved on fragments of longer lists in his tomb.³¹⁶ At the same time, we should note for the idea that this Rawer, *sm*-priest and *smr-w'ty*, is the same as the Rawer, *sm*-priest and *smr-w'ty*, responsible (post-mortem?) for lower-ranking phyle members serving in the Nerferirkare and Raneferef temples, that we see no estates of those Abusir kings in his tomb, nor in the tombs of other leaders of so-called “parasite phyles” to the extent they can be identified with tomb owners.³¹⁷

And while we cannot be certain that the *sm*-priest and *smr-w'ty* Rawer of the Central Field East and the Raneferef papyri are the same, it is the case that we find in the Raneferef archive one or more *hmw-ntr* priests of Khafre among other officials, including a *hm-ntr* priest of Raneferef, responsible for

³¹¹ Jánosi and Callender, “Tomb of Khamerernebty II.”

³¹² Callender, *In Hathor's Image I*, 176.

³¹³ PM III.1, 284; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 91–95; for references to the title, Jones, *Index I*, 177–78, no. 675,

³¹⁴ PM III.1, 284; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 91–95; Ogdon, “Family of Priests.”

³¹⁵ See Hassan's frontispiece, *Excavations at Giza I*, and final plan, *Excavations at Giza IX*; Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*, 302.

³¹⁶ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 11–12, fig. 7, pl. 6; Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines*, 267–69, no. 29G5.

³¹⁷ As Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 86, points out, citing Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 616.

sealing parts of the Raneferef pyramid temple. Specifically, the Priest of Khafre shares responsibility for the ceremonial way around the unfinished pyramid of Raneferef.³¹⁸

Pyramid complexes shared offerings as well as priests. The impression is that the exchange could go in both directions. A particular pyramid temple could act as giver and receiver, as in the relationship between Neferirkare's and Raneferef's pyramid temples, both of which received offerings from *Dd-Śnfrw*, Sneferu's Meidum pyramid establishment. The amounts are sometimes strikingly small, perhaps because they are episodic, one-day donations, or only token. Altogether, the picture is one of "a busy redistribution of probably only small quantities of offerings among the pyramid complexes themselves."³¹⁹

In this network of exchange, goods moved from the Giza pyramids to the Abusir pyramids: for example, a *dś*-vase, a jug of beer, and one unit of bread from the *R3-ś* of Khufu went to the temple of Neferirkare, by way of the Residence.³²⁰ Attestations of other deliveries from Giza to Abusir bring us right back to the MVT and its settlement, most probably during the very time of Occupation 2. Raneferef fragment 14C lists linen cloth apparently donated by the Pyramid of Menkaure.³²¹ Fragment 75A lists the name of Menkaure's pyramid flanked by Raneferef's funerary domain, *Śb-[T]sī* followed by the names of three individuals and a mention of the temple roof or terrace.³²²

As for pyramid complexes, and probably the pyramid towns they included, Kaaper and Neferkhu attested in their shared mastaba in the Central Field East that they were both "Overseers of the Pyramid Great is Khafre," the title we found on a sealing of Niuserre in the SBC (see above, section 6.1).³²³ Akhet-hotep, while serving as "Overseer of the Scribes of the Pyramid, The

³¹⁸ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 112–13, pl. 44A, 260–62.

³¹⁹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 383.

³²⁰ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives I*, 302, 304–05. *R3-ś*, literally, "mouth of the basin," most probably referred to the large flood basin and delivery area fronting the pyramid complex; Stadelmann, "Die *HNTJW-Ś*" 163–64; Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 230–31. Somewhat larger numbers and amounts of goods came in as daily offerings from the *R3-ś* of *K3k3i*, Neferirkare's own complex, the Residence, the Sun Temple *Śt-ib-R'*, and the houses of the royal son, *Iri-n-R'*, and the Royal Mother, Khentkawes, mostly probably the Abusir Khentkawes (11); Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives I*, 305–10.

³²¹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 52–53, pl. 14C, 229, 351.

³²² Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*, 174–75, pl. 75A, 229, 351.

³²³ PM III.1, 248–49; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI.3*, 155–62.

Horizon of Khufu," asks on the architrave of his chapel "that there may be offered to him every good thing of the Necropolis, of Dedu, of Abydos (and) of the Pyramid (named) Great is Khafre."³²⁴

Hermann Junker and Wolfgang Helck believed that lists of witnesses to property transactions mentioned in certain texts reveal the more common residents of pyramid towns.³²⁵ Uvo Hölscher found one such legal text literally etched in stone directly in front of the Khafre Valley Temple during his 1909 excavations.³²⁶ The text records the sale of a house by a scribe named Tjenti to another man who paid in cloth and a wooden bed equaling ten units of copper; a stonemason and three ka-servants (*hmw-k3*) are listed as witnesses.³²⁷ The find spot suggests the house in question was located near the Khafre Valley Temple, which, according to Stadelmann's vision,³²⁸ would be the heart of the Khafre pyramid town. Those concerned may have posted the legal notice at the front of the Khafre Valley Temple. Yet the text states that the transaction "was sealed in the land registry in the presence of the court of magistrates of the Pyramid, [Horizon] of Khufu, and many witnesses of the phyle of [a man named] Kaiinpu."³²⁹ So Helck took these people as residents of the pyramid town of Khufu.

With our discovery of the eastward extension of the KKT in the (KKT-E) valley approach and basin, and of the SBC farther east, within 75 m of the southwest corner of the Khafre Valley Temple, it is quite possible that continuous settlement extended diagonally, northeast to southwest, from the southern side of the Khafre Valley Temple, to the SBC, all the way to the MVT. Overall, these adjacent foundations comprised a continuous conurbation (as in several "towns" merging) dedicated to the foundations of Khafre, Menkaure and Khentkawes. Individuals could serve more than one of these foundations, which were contiguous on the ground, but demarcated by massive enclosure

³²⁴ Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 77–78, fig. 136. PM III.I, 284, dates Akhet-hotep's tomb from the early Fifth to the early Sixth Dynasty.

³²⁵ Junker, *Giza VI*, 22–23; Helck, "Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidstädten," 92. In addition to the house sale, they refer to Wepemnefert assigning a tomb shaft to his son, Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 191.

³²⁶ Hölscher, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, III–12, Abb. 164.

³²⁷ Junker and Helck (see note 388 below) see more witnesses, including a butcher, brick-layer, and two assistant directors of phyles, reflecting uncertainties in translation. *Urk. I*, 158; see Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften*, Taf. XVI, 149–73 for references up to 1970; Menu, "Ventes de maisons"; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 205–07, no. 121.

³²⁸ Stadelmann, "La ville de pyramide," 71.

³²⁹ Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 206.

walls such as those forming back-to-back corners between the Khentkawes basin and the older enclosure in which Fifth Dynasty people built the SBC, and distinguished in text by the names of the Menkaure and Khafre Pyramids and/or their towns.³³⁰

Thus, the settlement in the MVT, plus the KKT and the complexes enclosed by those walls flanking the SBC, would find yet another parallel with Abusir, where Verner suggests the combined settlements, sprawling diagonally from northeast to southwest, from the Neferirkare temple court, the Khentkawes II settlement, and the Raneferef court (as of the reign of Djedkare) all together comprised the pyramid town, “Neferirkare-,” or “Kakai-is-the soul-ba.”³³¹ On the other hand, we have reason to believe that at Giza, waterways or basins intervened between the southeastern settlement conurbation and settlement farther east and north, around the location of the Khufu Valley Temple, as indicated by the late 1980s AMBRIC core drillings and trenches.³³² To the east and northeast, we might expect a wide, more spread-out settlement, perhaps enlarged from the pyramid town of Khufu, along the lines of what Verner suggests for a second pyramid town attested at Abusir, “Enduring are the Cult Places of Niuserre.” Massive mudbrick walls, not unlike those around the SBC and Khentkawes I basin enclosure, outline an embayment that thrusts west between the Valley Temples of Sahure and Niuserre. These walls, Verner suggested, could enclose this Niuserre pyramid town.³³³

330 Aside from the flint wand inscribed for Khufu, which could have heirloom value, Reisner found in the MVT court a silver cylinder seal of Khafre incised with a formal design including his Horus, Golden Horus, and cartouche names. The seal came from the debris of one of the small bins (54) of the “second temple” period (when walls were built over the walls of the first temple) in the far northwest corner of the court. Because it was not in a primary context, and bore Khafre’s names, Reisner concluded, “No very plausible deduction can be made from this finding of this silver seal of an official of Chephren in the Mycerinus valley temple.” Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 234.

331 Verner, “Pyramid Towns of Abusir,” see fig. 1.

332 Lehner, “Capital Zone Walkabout 2006,” 105–06; Hawass, “The Workmen’s Community at Giza”; El-Sanussi and Jones, “A Site of Maadi Culture.”

333 Verner, “Pyramid Towns of Abusir,” see fig. 1, although the walls could delimit a harbor basin, or, like the situation east of the Khentkawes I town, a basin and further settlement flanking it—perhaps the denotative referent of *ḥntjw-š*, which term makes its more formal appearance in the time of Sahure.

8 Conclusion: MVT Occupation as a Network Node

While the starting point for this essay was the occupation in the MVT court, the larger context of settlement and cemetery at the low southeastern base of the Giza Plateau shows this cluster as a node, like that in the Raneferef court, in a complex network of affiliations of pyramid towns and temples. We have hints of a relationship between the MVT occupation and the Central Field East cemetery; between that cemetery and the adjacent Khentkawes settlement (KKT); and between the Khentkawes complex and the cults of Khafre and Menkaure. The Khentkawes complex, revealed for its true length, makes for a spatial continuity with both the Khafre Valley Temple (KVT) and the Central Field East cemetery, and a chronological and architectural intimacy with the MVT.

In the Fifth Dynasty, the Giza royal memorial foundations became part of an even larger network, extending to other pyramid sites. Some 50 years after Shepseskaf completed Menkaure's Valley Temple, a Fifth Dynasty king, most likely Niuserre, refurbished the MVT with additional structures in its eastern Annex, and rebuilt the entrance, limestone pathway, and ramp and screen wall leading up to the sanctuary. Occupation 2, the best preserved in the MVT court, came later in the Fifth Dynasty, possibly around the same time as the apartments in the Raneferef court.

The small apartments of Occupation 2 in the MVT court mark claims of high ranking people, and their estates, to shares in the temple offerings in return for service in the pyramid temples. Servants or substitutes occupied these apartments, like those in the Raneferef court, probably in rotation, carrying out temple work on behalf of their patrons or their patrons' estates.

It is possible that estate representatives of higher rank, *hmw-ntr*-priests or *hntjw-š*, as well as administrators, who occupied houses of the KKT were attached to Menkaure's foundation and supervised those who rotated through duty in the MVT court. This inference would be more probable if we could accept that together the KKT and MVT comprised the pyramid town of Menkaure's pyramid. However, the KKT houses connected spatially and architecturally directly to the causeway and chapel of the Khentkawes I memorial, while we so far lack a direct, formal access from the KKT to the MVT and its Annex.

Patrons who supplied time and labor, either of servants or substitutes from their estates, for participation in temple service could hold responsibilities, and rights to shares in more than one pyramid temple. The MVT occupation formed one component of a conurbation in southeast Giza that took in the pyramid towns of Menkaure, Khentkawes, and probably that of Khafre.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

AERA	Ancient Egypt Research Associates
<i>AERAgram</i>	Ancient Egypt Research Associates, <i>Newsletter</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
ÄL	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archive Orientální</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
Gardiner	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
sign-list	
GOP 2	Giza Occasional Papers 2 = M. Lehner, M. Kamel, and A. Tavares, eds. <i>Giza Plateau Mapping Project Season 2005 Preliminary Report</i> . Boston: AERA, 2009
GOP 3	Giza Occasional Papers 3 = M. Lehner, M. Kamel, and A. Tavares, eds. <i>Giza Plateau Mapping Project Seasons 2006–2007 Preliminary Report</i> . Boston: AERA, 2009
GOP 4	Giza Occasional Papers 4 = Lehner, M., M. Kamel, and A. Tavares, eds. <i>Giza Plateau Mapping Project Season 2008 Preliminary Report</i> . Boston: AERA, 2009
GOP 5	Giza Occasional Papers 5 = M. Lehner, ed. <i>Giza Plateau Mapping Project Season 2009 Preliminary Report</i> . Boston: AERA, 2011
GOP 6	Giza Occasional Papers 6 = M. Lehner, ed. <i>Giza Plateau Mapping Project Seasons 2011–14 Preliminary Report</i> . Boston: AERA, forth- coming.
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
KD	H. Goedicke. <i>Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich</i> . AA 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967.
KKT	Khentkawes Town
LdÄ	E. Otto, W. Westendorf, and W. Helck, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–1991
MVT	Menkaure Valley Temple
NLR	Northern Lateral Ramp
PM III.1	B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings III. Memphis, Part 1 (Abu Rawâsh to Abûsîr)</i> . 2nd edition, revised and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974
SLR	Southern Lateral Ramp
<i>Urk. I</i>	K. Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1933
WA	Writings from the Ancient World

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CHAPTER 7

Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition Contributions to Old Kingdom History at Giza: Some Rights and Wrongs

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Abstract

This paper summarizes the work and achievements of the Giza Archives Project at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, over ten years (2000–2011), supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Examples illustrate the value of the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition’s massive archaeological archive for reconstructing aspects of Old Kingdom history. Some of the pitfalls for researchers arising from the Expedition records created by George Reisner and his staff are also highlighted. Current progress by the Giza Project at Harvard includes ongoing archaeological efforts by an international Giza consortium, as well as new modes of presenting Giza in 3D as a research and teaching tool.

1 Introduction

The symposium that is the subject of this volume was conceived to focus on big picture topics related to Old Kingdom history and research. For the site of Giza, I would like to consider some of the approaches the Giza Project has been experimenting with in recent years. Until recently, our focus has centered on the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, directed by George A. Reisner between 1905 and 1942. The goal of Reisner’s excavations, as he saw it, was—first and foremost—to enhance our knowledge of Egyptian history: “The main purpose of the expedition has always been historical research. The objects found, although necessary for the continuation of subscriptions, have always been regarded by the expedition as a by-product of historical research.”¹ In the pages that follow I will summarize five discrete topics relating to the study of Giza, past and present: 1) Some HU–MFA contributions

¹ Reisner, “Egyptology 1896–1928,” 242.

to Giza research; 2) HU–MFA data problems; 3) Small research details with larger historical implications; 4) Visualization as a research tool; and 5) “Giza international,” a plea for data sharing.

2 Some HU–MFA Contributions to Giza Research

Aspects of social and mortuary development demand a reasonably large dataset to provide meaningful conclusions (Fig. 7.1). The Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition corpus was in its time the largest collection of archaeological data from Giza, and is rivaled today only by the assemblage compiled by Mark Lehner and his team from Ancient Egypt Research Associates, although of course with a contemporary, interdisciplinary, and thus very different, focus.² The Giza cemeteries are so large that, in order to avoid documentary chaos, Reisner numbered the cemeteries east and west of the Great Pyramid. This four-digit numbering system is still in use today, and remains one of his most practical contributions to accessing the site.³ Streets progress from lower numbers (1000s) in the west to higher numbers in the east (7000s).⁴ By this method one can discern instantly that G 1000–6000 numbers represent Western Cemetery tombs, while any tomb with a G 7000 number belongs in the Eastern Cemetery (Fig. 7.2). Major mastabas bear “round numbers” such as, moving from south to north: G 4410, G 4420, G 4430, G 4440, with the next row (further east) increasing by a factor of one-hundred: G 4510, G 4520, G 4530, G 4540. Subsidiary and/or intrusive

² See <http://www.aeraweb.org>, with lists of publications collected there.

³ Some tomb renumbering has, nevertheless, introduced some confusion into the Western Cemetery. For example, the Cemetery en Echelon, the nucleus cemetery closest to the Khufu Pyramid, was renamed from the 2000s to the 5000s, e.g., Seshemnefer II's tomb was originally mastaba G 2200, but now bears the number G 5080. Similarly, part of the cemetery east of the large mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23) was originally given G 2000s numbers that duplicated those further west, excavated in 1915 by Clarence Fisher and published in *The Minor Cemetery at Giza*; see Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 3: “Confusingly, Giza mastabas numbered from 2086 through 2099 occur in Clarence Fisher's 1924 publication of the tombs he excavated at the far west end of the Western Cemetery, duplicating the numbers of mastabas in the cluster studied here. Reisner apparently renumbered Fisher's mastabas as 3086 through 3099 after their publication. All of Reisner's notes and records, as well as subsequent publications by other scholars (including the Porter and Moss *Topographical Bibliography*), use Reisner's numbers.”

⁴ One exception is the G 6000 cemetery, occupying its own space southwest of the mastaba of Hemiunu (G 4000); see Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*.



1905–1906
(B772)



April 4, 1936
(A7558)

FIGURE 7.1 *General view of the Western Cemetery at Giza at different stages of excavation by the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition. Above: photograph by A.M. Lythgoe, 1906 (B772_NS = B7243_NS). Below: photograph by Mohammedani Ibrahim, April 4, 1936 (HU–MFA Expedition photograph A7558_NS).*

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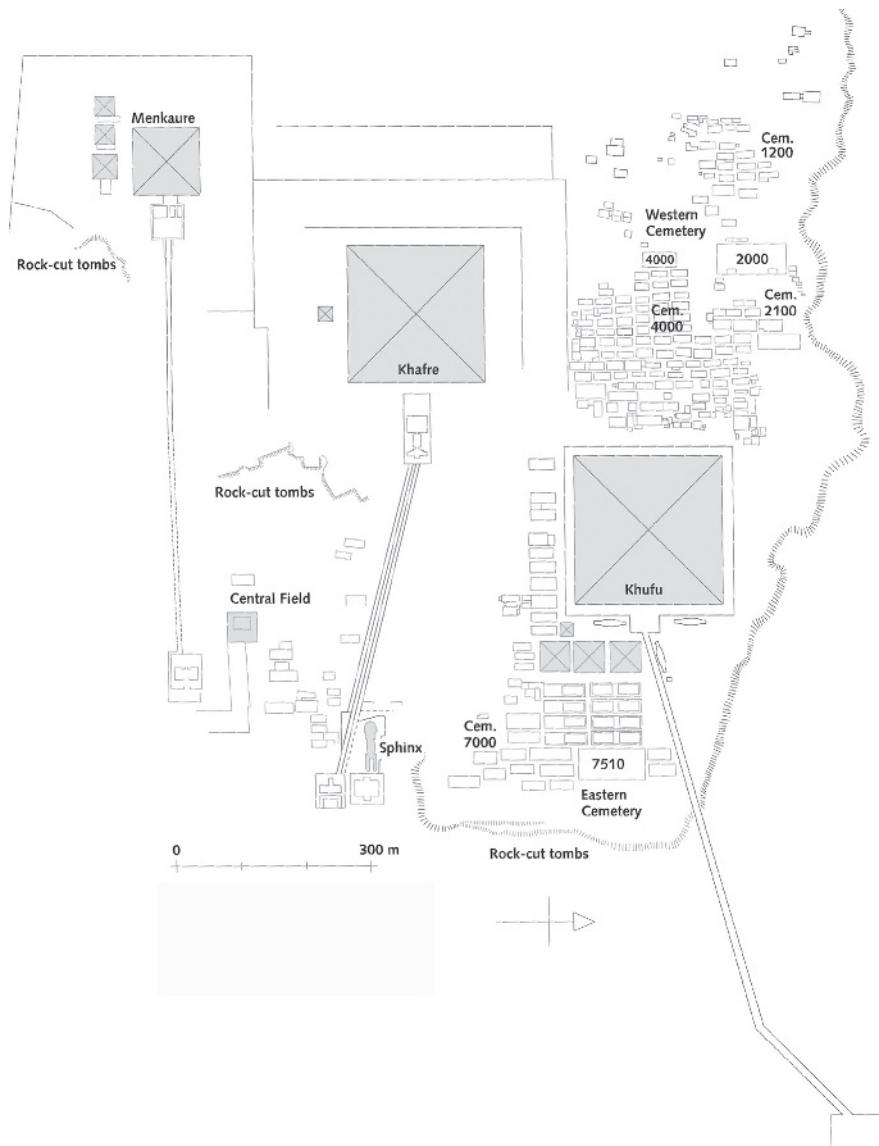


FIGURE 7.2 *Overview plan of Giza.*

DRAWING BY ELISABETH MAJERUS WITH ADDITIONS BY THE AUTHOR.

mastabas from later periods received intercalary numbers such as G 4511, G 4518, G 4523, etc. Reisner lettered burial shafts belonging to original mastaba constructions from the front of the alphabet (A, B, C), while exterior or later, intrusive shafts received letters from the end of the alphabet (Z, Y, X).⁵

⁵ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 61–62.



September 13, 1913 (A1076P_NS)



May 28, 1938 (A8030_NS)

FIGURE 7.3 General views from the top of the Khufu Pyramid, showing the Central Field at Giza before and after excavation. Above: photograph by Mohammed Shadduf, Sept. 13, 1913, (HU-MFA Expedition photograph A1076P_NS). Below: photograph by Dahi Ahmed, May 28, 1938 (A8030_NS).

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In the course of work aimed at increasing accessibility to Giza Plateau scholarship, staff from the Giza Project, based first at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and subsequently at Harvard University, have tried to extend the logic of Reisner's tomb-numbering system to areas outside of the original HU–MFA Expedition concession. The Central Field, excavated primarily by Selim Hassan, is the largest zone requiring such structured tomb numbers. With the blessing of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, we have now labeled this as the G 8000 Cemetery, with famous monuments, such as those belonging to Khentkaus (G 8400), Rawer (G 8988), Khamerernebt II (G 8978), and Debehen (G 8090) fitting well into the system (Fig. 7.3). The G 9000 cemetery is now the area just to the north of Khafre's causeway; Campbell's tomb, for example, takes the number G 9500 (= Lepsius 84).⁶ Other zones that still require four-digit number assignments include, but are not limited to, the rock-cut tombs at the eastern edge of the Eastern Cemetery, currently under investigation by the Russian Archaeological Mission, directed by Eleonora Kormysheva;⁷ the Abu Bakr tombs of the far Western Cemetery, in recent years re-examined by the Cairo University–Brown University Expedition under Tohfa Handoussa and Edward Brovarski;⁸ and the mastabas excavated by Wahiba Saleh in the 1990s to the northwest of the Khentkaus Pyramid.

3 HU–MFA Data Problems

There can be no dispute about the magnificent contribution of the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition to our understanding of the Giza Plateau. For example, early in his tenure at Giza, Reisner apparently became the first to discern the significance and identification of the Sphinx with Khafre. (Some are not aware today that Auguste Mariette never made the

⁶ PM III.1, 290–91 (currently available online at <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/topbib.html>), plan 3; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* IX, folded plan, R/S-4/5, not drawn; Montagno-Leahy, “Wahibreemakhet at Giza.”

⁷ See Kormysheva and Malykh, “Lepsius Tombs in the Giza Necropolis Rediscovered”; Kormysheva, Malykh and Vetokhov, *The Tomb of Khafraankh G 7948* [Giza I] and *Minor Cemetery* [Giza II]; Vetokhov and Kormysheva, “The door of the tomb of Khafraankh reconsidered”; Kormysheva, “Minor cemetery on the eastern edge of the eastern necropolis in Giza,” “Report on the activity of the Russian archaeological mission at Giza, tomb G 7948...1998,” and “Report on the activity of the Russian archaeological mission at Giza, tomb G 7948...1999.”

⁸ Abu Bakr, *Excavations at Giza*; Brovarski, “The Washerman of the God, Senenu,” 145, 163.

connection of the Khafre Valley Temple with that king's mortuary complex).⁹ Based upon his excavations of the Menkaure Valley Temple in 1908 and 1910, Reisner compared the mortuary statuary of that king with the Sphinx, and the Valley Temple's location east of the Menkaure causeway with the similar layout of the Khafre complex.¹⁰ Unfortunately, his conclusions led to wild interpretations in the popular press that he never quite lived down (Fig. 7.4). But despite so many new insights into Giza's history and development, Reisner's interpretation of the dataset has in some contexts become unnecessarily complex for purposes of research. His nucleus cemetery concept helped bring order to the chaos of certain sections of the cemeteries east and west of the Khufu Pyramid. But here his four-digit numbering occasionally created an artificial modern divide between tombs that should be considered in the same nucleus or cluster. For example, Reisner numbered the large mastaba G 2220 due to his belief that it stood apart from the tombs immediately to the south. In actuality it belongs to that very nucleus cemetery G 2100, to the south, but this misnumbering has separated it conceptually for modern scholarship.¹¹ It deserves a number in the 2100 range.

Reisner's predilection for typologies led to the systematic "dismemberment" of his finds, in direct contrast to the more holistic approaches taken by Hermann Junker and Selim Hassan at Giza. While the latters' publications contained chapters devoted to individual mastabas in their entirety, Reisner's magnum opus, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I* (dated to 1942, but owing to the Second World War not actually appearing until 1946) presented typologies and charts devoted to mastaba casings, chapel types, burial shafts, canopic equipment, and other sub-elements of mortuary architecture and material culture. Some of these categories have proved immensely resilient, and are still in use today. Others have fallen by the scholarly wayside. Reisner planned additional volumes, wherein detailed examination of individual tombs would appear, but his death in 1942 prevented him from moving these *Giza Necropolis* volumes beyond the manuscript stage.¹² Nevertheless, one wonders at the wisdom of this strategy and sequence; would it not have made more sense to provide the entire excavation record of an individual mastaba in a single location, and

⁹ Corteggiani, *The Great Pyramids*, 49–52.

¹⁰ Reisner, "Solving the Riddle of the Sphinx," and "The Dawn of Civilization in Egypt."

¹¹ Manuelian, *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G 2100*, 33, 427–54. Tombs G 2135 and G 2155 may have been "pushed" further south due to the existence of G 2220.

¹² Reisner's *Giza Necropolis II, III, and IV* are available, in multiple versions and in manuscript form, on the Giza Project website, at this writing located at www.gizapyramids.org.



FIGURE 7.4 *Fantastical and distorted press coverage of George Reisner's identification of the Sphinx with Khafre, 1912.*



FIGURE 7.5 *Mastaba G 2139, shaft A, human remains, looking east. Photograph by Mohammedani Ibrahim, Sept. 17, 1913 (HU-MFA Expedition photograph C5245_NS).*
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FIGURE 7.6 *Mastaba G 2131, shaft B, burial chamber, collapsed wood coffin, looking west. Photograph by Mohammedani Ibrahim, Sept. 17, 1913 (HU-MFA Expedition photograph C5254_NS).*
COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

then to proceed with interpretive analyses, typologies and categorizations afterwards?

In addition to the extreme parsing of the Giza data, the long-running success of the HU–MFA Expedition created its own legacy of challenges for modern scholars. This derived no doubt from the personnel turnover and inevitable communication gaps arising from four decades of near-continuous excavation (1904–1947), and not just at Giza but at twenty-three sites up and down the Nile.¹³ For example, portions of the Giza Necropolis were first excavated by the Expedition during one decade, and then re-cleared, most often for purposes of clarification, completion, and publication, during another. Without modern databases and search algorithms, it was often hard for Expedition staff to determine which areas or shafts had already been explored. In the Western Cemetery, shaft A of tomb G 2139 is first described in Reisner's Expedition Diary on March 17–20, 1912. Human remains were found in the burial chamber, and an Expedition photograph documented them on Sept. 13, 1913 (Fig. 7.5). The bones were then removed. However, this area was reexamined much later, on May 5, 12, and 14, 1938. At that time shaft A is described in the Reis's diary as "open and empty." The association with the human remains, and indeed the earlier examination in 1912, seems never to have been made. Nor is this an isolated occurrence. Shaft B of mastaba G 2131 preserved large amounts of planks from a wood coffin, photographed on Sept. 17, 1913 (Fig. 7.6). This shaft too was re-cleared in 1936 and described in the Reis's Diary as "open and empty."

While Reisner had developed a meticulous system for creating field numbers and recording each object in his ledger-sized Object Registers, it seems that the human remains are perhaps the most inconsistently recorded of all objects retrieved by the Expedition. Giza skeletal remains from the HU–MFA Expedition are now in Berkeley (Hearst Museum), Cambridge, MA (Peabody Museum, Harvard University), Giza (storage magazines), and Cairo (Qasr el Aini medical facility). Efforts as of this writing are still incomplete in uniting and recording all the human remains, and it remains a *desideratum* of Giza scholarship.

Beyond the problem of accurate osteological recording, modern researchers should also beware the origin of some of the Expedition's early field numbers. Some of these seem to have been arbitrarily retrofitted to objects discovered at a time when no object register books were being kept. This applies, for example, to the 1906–07 excavation of the Menkaure Pyramid Temple. The earliest excavation of this temple dates to fall 1906, but the earliest extant diaries date

¹³ For Reisner's Nubian work, see now the excellent summaries in Fisher, Ikram, Lacovara, and D'Auria, *Ancient Nubia*.

to three years later: 1909. The Menkaure Valley Temple was cleared between 1908 and 1910. In Reisner's *Mycerinus* publication, the 1908 excavation description of the Valley Temple corridor, where the famous triads appeared, seems to be reconstructed on dated excavation photos.¹⁴ One particular photograph was omitted from the stack used for this reconstruction, which led to inaccuracies in the excavation description. Objects were given field numbers, such as 08-7-1 (= 1908, month of July, object number 1, unfinished diorite statuette, now MFA II.731)¹⁵ solely for the publication, when in fact no such object register for 1908 existed. An annotated concordance of the *Mycerinus* publication, noting and correcting these problems would be highly desirable.¹⁶

One final item that might cause confusion in the HU–MFA Expedition archives are the numbers assigned to the excavation photographs. The Expedition's primary series of glass plate negatives came in three sizes, A (18 × 24 cm), B (13 × 18 cm), and C (9 × 12 cm).¹⁷ But in the course of his many decades of work, Reisner came to renumber the archive. Thus an "Old Series" and a "New Series" of glass plate negatives exist, and the renumbering seems to have taken place around 1905. Old Series A100 might represent a burial at Deir el-Ballas, while new Series A100 could show a Giza mastaba. My best explanation for this change derives from the transformation of Reisner's Hearst Expedition into the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition.

Even more confusing is a renumbering of New Series negatives that took place around the same period. The result is that many thousands of images taken around 1905–06 have two negative numbers, and often the Photographic Register lists them under one sequence, while their physical location in storage cabinets lies under the other sequence. Both numbers must therefore remain with these images in perpetuity. For example, Fig. 7.7 shows men at work in the area of G 2003 and G 2002, not far from the great anonymous mastaba G 2000 (= Lepsius 23). This image, taken by Albert M. Lythgoe in 1905–06, bears two numbers: C1217_NS and C12009_NS. Yet another image, C12009_OS (Fig. 7.8), taken by Reisner in 1905, shows a completely different scene, mastaba G 1225.

¹⁴ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 35–36.

¹⁵ For an *in situ* image, see HU–MFA Expedition Photograph B285, from July 4, 1908; and Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 112 and pl. 62a; Markowitz, Haynes, and Freed, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids*, 60 cat. No. 8.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Diane V. Flores, who for more than a decade worked so diligently on the Giza Archives Project to correct countless errors from the original HU–MFA Expedition. Her work on the documentation from the Menkaure complex remains unsurpassed today.

¹⁷ See Manuelian, "George Andrew Reisner on Archaeological Photography," 16 and 23.



FIGURE 7.7 Excavations near G 2003 and 2002, looking west towards G 2000. Photograph by A.M. Lythgoe, 1905–6 (HU–MFA Expedition photograph C1217_NS = C12009_NS). COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.



FIGURE 7.8 Mastaba G 1225-Annex, chapel filled with sand, looking northwest. Photograph by George Reisner, 1905 (HU–MFA Expedition photograph C12009_OS). COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

4 Small Research Details with Larger Historical Implications

One reason for the significance of exploring such minutiae of the HU–MFA Expedition’s documentation process as described above is that precisely these minutiae can alter our interpretation of the larger Giza dataset. Often the tiniest of research considerations can suggest conclusions worthy of further scrutiny. Elsewhere I have discussed the old scholarly debate on the original cult focus—false doors versus slab stelae.¹⁸ A major source of evidence for that debate is the mastaba of Nefer in the Western Cemetery (G 2110), with its exterior stone chapel that converts an east façade niche into a west wall false door. But the casing is clearly secondary, and the false door too; the chapel itself even chokes the street, and could not represent the original mastaba plan. As to whether a slab stela could have preceded the construction of the exterior stone chapel, a tiny fragment was recently identified, and it seems to contribute to this larger debate. The fragment bears only two hieroglyphs, and was mislabeled as deriving from a (Fifth Dynasty) Cemetery en Echelon tomb G 5236 (field number 38-2-3), but then subsequently corrected on a random Expedition note card as deriving from G 2110. The two hieroglyphs fit perfectly into the so-called linen list of a typical slab stela, and thus seem to confirm the original existence of a slab stela for Nefer prior to the construction of his exterior chapel.¹⁹

The above example is by no means the only one in which a seemingly insignificant note card or other document has provided major new information. A relief fragment thought to derive from the mastaba of Seniwehem (G 2132), and now in a European museum, has recently obtained a “new” provenance much further to the west, thanks to a 1940s sketch made at Giza by William Stevenson Smith.²⁰

As another example of small research details with larger historical implications, a fragmentary lintel relief found in 1904 may hold the clue to the entire history of the Giza Necropolis prior to Khufu’s reign. This fragment, belonging to a baker named Nebu, was found near tomb GW 38 in the so-called Wadi Cemetery (just north of the Western Cemetery and mastaba G 2000, and off the Plateau), and only recently (re)located and identified in the Museum

¹⁸ Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, 161–65.

¹⁹ For further discussion of this fragment, see Manuelian, “A ‘New’ Slab Stela for Nefer from G 2110?”

²⁰ This reattribution will be described in *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G 2100*, Part 2, forthcoming.

of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 7.9).²¹ The archaeological context is extremely significant in this area, which was first discovered by Reisner during his search for a suitable place to dump the excavation debris from his initial Western Cemetery excavations. Remains of dismantled buildings were apparently heaped by the ancient Egyptians on top of the modest mud brick tombs of the Wadi Cemetery, on top of Nebu's and surrounding tombs. Two interesting points emerge from the study of this area: 1) the possible existence of the Wadi Cemetery (and Nebu's tomb) prior to Khufu's layout and construction of the Western Cemetery, and 2) the presence of pre-Khufu structures up on the Plateau itself that were removed in order to build the Western Cemetery tombs such as mastaba G 2000. The iconography of Nebu's little fragment thus has much to tell us about the pre-Khufu history of Giza.²²

In 2011 Teodozja Rzeuska argued that no canopic jar was ever found in a canopic pit; and where canopic jars were present, then the recesses and pits themselves were missing. Thus the pits must have been used for something else, for "most certainly no canopic jars were found in them."²³ The results of that study suggested that fragments of intentionally broken red vessels, remains from funeral meals, and other items were dumped into caches, and that "unfinished" pits at Giza and elsewhere were in fact planned deposits. This type of conclusion requires access to a large corpus of comparative data, in this case hundreds of burial chambers at Giza. While the Giza Project has done much in recent years to make this material accessible online, we are still far from universal coverage, particularly in some of those areas excavated by teams other than the HU–MFA Expedition. But we can certainly point to examples of canopic jars in the vicinity of canopic pits. For Western Cemetery mastaba D 112, for example, Georg Steindorff and Uvo Hölscher provided the following description: "In der S.O.-Ecke befand sich eine aus Steinplatten aufgebaute Kiste von 70 × 70 cm Grundfläche und 50 cm Höhe, ohne Deckel. Darin standen oder lagen 3 Kanopen aus Ton, während die vierte ausserhalb lag." (see Fig. 7.10).²⁴

²¹ The fragment currently bears the accession number MFA APP.1921.1.

²² Cf. Manuelian, "On the Early History of Giza."

²³ Rzeuska, "And where are the viscera...?", esp. 250–51.

²⁴ I would like to thank Antje Spiekermann for bringing this particular image to my attention. A detailed account of this tomb is available online at http://www.giza-projekt.org/Mastaba/Mastaba_D112.html. The Steindorff/Hölscher manuscript is at <http://www.giza-projekt.org/Archivalien/Manuskript/Manuskript.pdf>, see p. 151 (accessed August 1, 2013). See also Steindorff and Hölscher, *Die Mastabas westlich der Cheopspyramide*, 88, pl. 15, and Junker, *Giza IX*, Plan 1. For more on burial equipment, see recently Alexanian, "Grabinventare als Ritualzeugnisse."



FIGURE 7.9 Limestone offering niche lintel inscribed for Nebu, from mastaba GW38. Photograph by George Reisner, 1904 (HU-MFA Expedition photograph CI1998_OS).

COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.



FIGURE 7.10 Canopic pit and vessel in Steindorff Western Cemetery mastaba D II2. Photograph by Friedrich Koch Steindorff-Hölscher Expedition, 1926 (DII2-N-9161; Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig N-ÄMUL 9161, Neg.-Nr. 549).

COURTESY PELIZAEUS-MUSEUM, HILDESHEIM.



FIGURE 7.11 *Mastaba G 7530-sub, Meresankh III, shaft A, burial chamber: sarcophagus, canopic pit, and jars, looking west. Photograph by Mustapha Abu el-Hamid, June 4, 1927 (HU-MFA Expedition photograph A4735_NS).*

COURTESY MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

Another example comes from the Eastern Cemetery, where Meresankh III's burial chamber (G 7530-sub, shaft A) shows perhaps the oldest set of canopic jars, in proximity to the canopic pit on the south side of the burial chamber (Fig. 7.11). These examples indicate that we may need to reassess Rzeuska's new interpretation of pits in burial shafts.

5 Visualization as a Research Tool

Taking some of the more traditional documentation described above one step further, I would like to mention briefly some experiments with visualization which reveal interesting potential as a research tool. One of the goals of the Giza Project at Harvard University is to build the most unified, integrated Giza Plateau model yet attempted. We have far to go before achieving this goal, but the benefits are already apparent. Beyond the obvious advantages, such as the ability to digitally restore findspot, provenance and georeferenced context information, we can blend original archaeological data with

new 3D approaches. And we can animate the process too. For example, we can superimpose the original excavators' plans and sections over 3D architectural models (Fig. 7.12). Visualization affords us a perspective that mortals cannot normally achieve, such as with underground or "bedrock views" of clusters of burial shafts (Fig. 7.13). This subterranean context helps us understand the relationships and chronological development of discrete portions of the Giza cemeteries.

Moreover, well-known monuments might still have something to tell us, thanks in part to 3D visualization. In fact, the digital construction process forces us to consider questions Egyptologists might not normally ponder, since they rarely "build" entire ancient structures. One example is the significance of floor sockets or statue emplacements, and their role in determining the original size of the statues that once occupied them. In the Khafre temples at Giza, do the sockets indicate the base of the entire (colossal?) statues, or merely a plinth upon which much smaller statues once sat? In Queen Hetepheres's enigmatic tomb shaft, to cite another example, we have been able to reconstruct the second chair digitally. This item was so fragmentary that it has been never physically reconstructed or restored, either in Cairo or in Boston.²⁵ And



FIGURE 7.12 *Mastaba G 7530-sub, Meresankh III, chapel, looking north, with original excavation plans and sections superimposed over computer model.*

COURTESY GIZA PROJECT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, DEVELOPED BY RUS GANT AND DAVID HOPKINS.

25 I hope to present this reconstruction in a forthcoming study elsewhere.

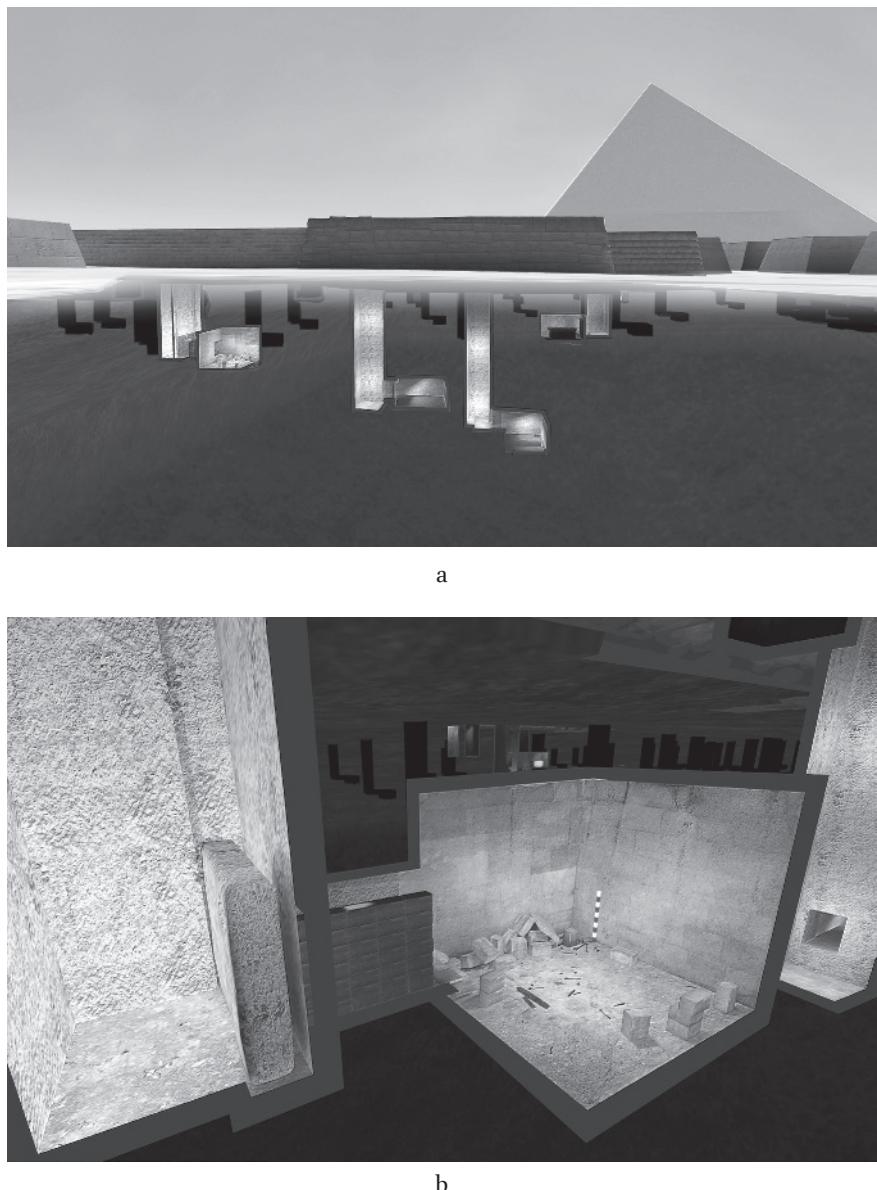


FIGURE 7.13 *Above: Computer reconstruction of the burial shaft arrangement for the G 2100 family complex, looking east. Below: Computer reconstruction of G 2100, shaft A, burial chamber, looking southeast.*
BOTH IMAGES COURTESY DASSAULT SYSTÈMES.

finally, the role of seemingly minor architectural elements, such as windows, may illustrate orientation, solar significance, and even the construction sequence of neighboring structures, as they allowed—or blocked—the path of sunlight.²⁶ Animations and avatars in our virtual models allow us to raise questions about mortuary ritual, such as the opening of the mouth ceremony: its location, the time of day, the number and nature of attendees (royal, priestly, private, mourners), the amount of statuary, and more.

6 “Giza International,” a Plea for Data Sharing

The brief descriptions above highlight the advantages gained from pooling our collective Giza repositories of archaeological knowledge: past and present, active and archival. If nothing else, this small note might serve as a plea for continued collaboration across all Giza collections. The solution to vexing problems and questions in one dataset may be lurking in another. The Giza Project at Harvard aims to assemble and make accessible all sorts of documentary information, not only from actual excavations, but also including travelers’ accounts, aerial views (from present-day satellite imagery back to the Graf Zeppelin’s single passage over the site in April 1931, and beyond),²⁷ and other miscellaneous and less well-known types of collections.²⁸ Older division systems of data, where objects and artifacts are separated from notes, and papers are separated from photographs, no longer serve an integrated approach to comprehensive research. It will assist all our goals if our curators and keepers of these disparate types of data can find a way to open up their respective bailiwicks to greater cross-disciplinary LAM (Libraries, archives, and museums) collaboration. I will close with a quote from a recent symposium held at Harvard University: “Our job as curators is LAM integration, but we all do it so idiosyncratically . . . [There is] a split among museum curators dividing those who prefer the old, idiosyncratic systems of organization and those who

²⁶ My Giza Project colleague, Rachel Aronin, is currently preparing a study of this phenomenon in relation to mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery and elsewhere at Giza.

²⁷ A view of Giza from a balloon, taken by Eduard Spelterini on February 21, 1904, may be the earliest aerial image of the Plateau known. I am grateful to Rus Gant of the Giza Project at Harvard for bringing this image to my attention. See Stadler, *Eduard Spelterini—Photographs of a Pioneer Balloonist*, 64.

²⁸ A welcome recent publication illustrates the 1920s climb of Herbert Ricke to the top of the Khafre Pyramid, including detail views of its preserved limestone casing; see Schmidt, *Westcar on the Nile*, 146–47, figs. 101–102.

recognize the value added by integration . . . Our audiences simply expect integration, and there's no escaping it.”²⁹

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

- | | |
|----------|---|
| MÄU | Münchener Ägyptologische Untersuchungen |
| PM III.1 | B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> III: <i>Memphis, Part 1 (Abû Rawâsh to Abûsîr)</i> . 2nd edition, revised and augmented by J. Málek. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974. |

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²⁹ Holly Witchey, Johns Hopkins University, and interim director of the Marcus Institute for Digital Education in the Arts, speaking at a Harvard Library Strategic Conversation; see Leddy, “Linking libraries, museums, archives.”

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CHAPTER 8

Cattle, Kings and Priests: Phyle Rotations and Old Kingdom Civil Dates

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Abstract

From the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasty in Egypt, civil years in contemporary documents were named in relation to a series of events known as “cattle counts.” While the first, partial civil year of a king’s reign was known as the “Year of Unifying the Two Lands,” the remaining years of his reign would be known as either a “Year of” a numbered cattle count or a “Year After” a numbered cattle count. Sir Alan Gardiner, following Kurt Sethe, suggested that these cattle counts were regular, biennial events. This is the Standard Theory regarding Old Kingdom civil year names. Recently, I have suggested (following other scholars) that the Standard Theory is not tenable. Instead, I have proposed that the skipping of cattle counts in “Years After” may be linked to the functioning of a lunar calendar during the Old Kingdom. According to my proposal, cattle counts were mostly skipped every third year, but occasionally every second year in a regular pattern, with some variation due to observation. However, one challenge to this alternative explanation is the theory of rotation of the priestly phyle divisions in the papyrus duty lists discovered in the papyri found in the Neferirkare and Ranefer mortuary temples at Abusir. This theory, developed by Paule Posener-Kriéger, claims that each of the five priestly groups (known as phyles) would serve for two civil months in a predictable rotation. Therefore a total rotation would last ten civil months, producing a predictable “shift” in the rotation of two civil months every civil year. Posener-Kriéger presumed the Standard Theory when she developed her explanation of the phyle rotations at Abusir. I propose to re-examine the basis of the phyle rotations to see if it still supports the Standard Theory.

1 Introduction

Much of our modern reconstructions of chronology of the earliest periods of Egyptian history rely on our interpretation of ancient time-keeping and dating practices. Our familiar framework of the dynasties in the Old Kingdom,

the order of kings within a given dynasty, and our most basic understanding of the numbers of years they reigned all derive to a great degree from the Nineteenth Dynasty Turin Royal Canon. However, historians of the Old Kingdom frequently “correct” or “adjust” the Turin Canon based on how they interpret the dates on Old Kingdom documents. For example, Djedkare Izezi, who is given 28 years by the Turin Canon, is often granted more years by modern historians to accommodate his apparently high count of regnal years from contemporary sources, whereas the reign of his successor Unas (who reigns for 30 years in the Turin Canon) is frequently reduced. These “improvements” to the Turin Canon are often proposed based on how one understands the basic system of dates used in documents during the Old Kingdom.

2 Civil Years and the Skipping of Cattle Counts

During this period, civil years within a king’s reign were named in relation to events known to modern scholars as “cattle counts” or, in their most complete form, as “occasions of counting all the large and small cattle in Upper and Lower Egypt.”¹ The Egyptian civil year seems to date back at least to the Early Dynastic period. The structure of the civil year was simple, with twelve thirty-day months, grouped into three “seasons,” and five additional (or, “epagomenal”) days following the end of the twelfth month. This calendar of 365 days lacked a “leap day” or any other way to keep it synchronized with the solar year. All of the currently available evidence indicates that the civil year was never adjusted and, as a result, consistently “wandered,” slipping one day every four solar years throughout most of Egyptian history.²

While the operation of the Egyptian Civil Calendar has long been understood, the ordering and naming of civil years within the reigns of the rulers of the Old Kingdom—an understanding critical to our reconstruction of the earliest ages of Egyptian history—remains a source of controversy.

An early explanation of the names of civil years within a king’s reign during the Old Kingdom was offered by Alan Gardiner³ in 1945, building upon

¹ The most complete writing of an Old Kingdom civil year date is from the reign of Pepi II from the Wadi Maghara. See *Urk.* 1, II2: 15 ff.

² For an historical evaluation of the “wandering” of the Egyptian civil calendar with respect to the solar year and an assessment of the possibility of adjustments to the civil calendar, see Depuydt, “On the Consistency of the Wandering Year as the backbone of Egyptian Chronology.”

³ Gardiner, “Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt.”

the earlier work of Kurt Sethe.⁴ According to Gardiner, the first, partial year after a new king ascended the throne following the death of his predecessor was known as the “Year of Unifying the Two Lands” (*śm³ t³.wy*), often referred to simply as the “Year of Unification.” After this partial year, all of the remaining civil years in a king’s reign were known as either “Years of” or “Years after” a particular numbered occasion of the cattle count. By analogy with Early Dynastic counts of fields and gold on the Palermo Stone, which certainly happened every other year, scholars at first assumed that these later cattle counts also occurred in a regular biennial pattern within a king’s reign. This system of naming Old Kingdom civil years in relation to a regular biennial pattern of skipping cattle counts has come to be known as the “Standard Theory.”

Although the Standard Theory is still used by many Egyptologists to interpret Old Kingdom civil dates, it has never been universally accepted. Wolfgang Helck noticed that “Years of” cattle counts significantly outnumber “Years after” cattle counts in the dated documents of the Old Kingdom.⁵ Recently, skepticism of the Standard Theory has led the editors of the Raneferef Papyri to suggest that the skipping of cattle counts possibly “took place irregularly.”⁶

However, the available evidence for “Years after” in contemporary Old Kingdom documents shows that the pattern of skipping cattle counts was not totally unpredictable and did follow a few rules. First, cattle counts apparently were not skipped in consecutive years, since there is no mention of a “2nd year after the occasion . . .” or a “Year after the year after the occasion . . .”⁷ Second, the ratio of “Years of” to “Years after” in the dated documents of the Old Kingdom is slightly less than 3-to-1, if we exclude mason’s marks, which seem to be biased.⁸ Third, cattle counts do seem occasionally to be skipped every second year based on five documented examples of “Years after” consecutive occasions of the cattle count.⁹ Finally, the overall pattern of skipping cattle counts, whatever it may be, appears to be unaffected by a change in reign or other political event.¹⁰ For instance, Zone F.1 on the South Saqqara Stone shows that Merenre’s first cattle count occurred during his first, partial *śm³ t³.wy*-year.¹¹ This apparently confirms that the skipping of cattle counts

4 Sethe, “Die Entwicklung der Jahresdatierung bei den alten Aegyptern.”

5 Helck, “Gedanken zum Mord an König Teti,” 106–10.

6 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 328.

7 Nolan, “The Original Lunar Calendar,” 81.

8 Nolan, “The Original Lunar Calendar,” 79–80.

9 Nolan, “Lunar Intercalations and ‘Cattle Counts,’” 49–51.

10 Nolan, “The Original Lunar Calendar,” 81.

11 Baud and Dobrev, “De nouvelles annales,” 38–39.

was not determined by political events or royal fiat, but was more likely determined by natural events or astronomical cycles.

These four characteristics of “Years after” in Old Kingdom dating practices happen to reflect aspects of the operation of a lunar calendar synchronized to a stellar event. Because a lunar month, on average, lasts 29.53 solar days, a cycle of twelve lunar months is 354.37 days long and is 10.89 days shorter than a star-based (or “sidereal”) year of 365.26 days. This means that over the course of three sidereal years, the cycle of lunar months will advance 32.7 days—more than an entire lunar month—with respect to the sidereal year unless an “intercalary” thirteenth lunar month is inserted into the cycle.

In fact, even this intercalation is not enough. Over the course of 19 years, the insertion of seven “intercalary” lunar months will synchronize the lunar and sidereal cycles to within 2 hours and 37 minutes of each other. If distributed evenly, these “intercalary” months should occur in the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th and 19th years of the 19-year cycle. In shorthand, the pattern of lunar intercalation required to synchronize a lunar calendar to a sidereal event is 3-3-2-3-3-3-2. In fact, this is the exact pattern of lunar intercalation that was adopted by the Babylonians under the Persians around 367 BCE to synchronize their own lunar calendar with the seasonal cycles.¹²

This same pattern of inserting intercalary lunar months to synchronize a lunar calendar with a star-based event, such as the heliacal rising of Sirius, matches up well with the characteristics for the skipping of cattle counts in dated documents from the Old Kingdom listed above. Like the skipping of cattle counts, lunar intercalations do not occur in consecutive years (Rule 1). Intercalations would most often be triennial (Rule 2), but sometimes might happen every other year (Rule 3), also similar to the skipping of cattle counts. Most importantly, the pattern of lunar intercalation is rooted in the mathematical relationships among three natural phenomena: the rotation of earth, the revolution of the moon around the earth and the revolution of the earth around the sun. It is also independent of any political event (Rule 4), as the skipping of cattle counts appears to be.

There is very little direct evidence of the true nature of the “cattle count” used in the Old Kingdom dating formula, much less its possible connection to the insertion of an extra, intercalary lunar month into a lunar calendar, if such a calendar even existed during the Old Kingdom. If the cattle count were actually a fiscal census of “all large and small cattle of Upper and Lower Egypt,” it would have been a massive bureaucratic and administrative undertaking—an undertaking that has left no conclusive trace of its existence. Alternatively, the

¹² Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology: 626 BC–AD 75*, 1–9.

“cattle count” might have been a state ritual,¹³ perhaps performed in association with feasting.

If Old Kingdom cattle counts were related to lunar intercalations mandated by the operation of a sidereal lunar calendar, the 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern of skipped cattle counts should fit all the attested examples of “Years after the occasion” of any cattle count. For the Standard Theory, the pattern of skipped cattle counts is simple: every attested “Year of” would have a corresponding “Year after.” Any missing “Years after” in the sequence from the Old Kingdom documents must be due to a gap in the surviving evidence. However, if cattle counts were skipped in a 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern, the sequence of “Years after” in the documents from a king’s reign must conform to some version of that pattern. So, a close examination of the attested “Years after” that can be firmly dated to a specific king (or sequence of kings) is a crucial test for the 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 hypothesis.

For much of the Old Kingdom, civil year names are sporadic and isolated, and cannot be used to test the 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern of skipping cattle counts. However, hundreds of papyrus fragments from Abusir¹⁴ dating from the late Fifth Dynasty into the early Sixth Dynasty, when supplemented by other texts, provide the most detailed sequence of civil year names from the reign of Menkauhor through the reign of Teti.

Although all of the dates from this period—the period with the highest concentration of civil dates for the entire Old Kingdom—generally support a 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern for “Years after” in civil year names, the situation is complex. Table 8.1 compares the attested “Years after” for the period from Menkauhor through Teti with hypothetical 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 patterns of skipping cattle counts.¹⁵ The table shows a clear disruption after the “Year after the 7th occasion” of the count in Djedkare Izezi’s reign (P. Raneferef 76D), which might be due to an observational aberration possibly caused by astronomical or meteorological conditions, or even human error. Before this transitional period, one 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern accommodates all known “Years after.” After the “Year after the 7th

¹³ Nolan, “Lunar Intercalations and ‘Cattle Counts,’” 5.

¹⁴ In this paper, “Abusir Papyri” refers to papyrus documents from the mortuary temples of Neferirkare, Queen Khentkaues, and Raneferef at Abusir. The first papyri discovered at Abusir come from the Neferirkare Mortuary Temple and are often cited as the “Abusir Papyri” in earlier literature. In this paper, I designate the papyri from the Neferirkare temple as “P. Neferirkare” and those from the Raneferef temple as “P. Raneferef.”

¹⁵ In Table 8.1, P. Neferirkare 3/4 and P. Raneferef 66B are dated to the reign of Unas, and not Djedkare Izezi. Both dates are possible, if one accepts that Unas reigned about 30 years. See the discussion below.

TABLE 8.1 *Comparison of the attested “Years after” for the reigns of Menkauhor through Teti with hypothetical 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 patterns*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Attested Pattern	Pattern 1	Pattern 2	Sources
Djedkare	1	<i>zm³-t³.wy</i>			2	
	2	1st				
	3	after 1st	3	3		P. Raneferef 77AB, 82M
	4	2nd			3	
	5	3rd				
	6	after 3rd	3	3		Sinai No. I3
	7	4th			3	
	8	after 4th	2	2		P. Neferirkare 52A.3; P. Raneferef 76C, 69A
	9	5th				
	10	6th			3	
	11	after 6th	3	3		
	12	7th			2	
	13	after 7th	2			P. Raneferef 76D
	14	8th		3		
	15	after 8th	2		3	
	16	9th		2		
	17	10th				
	18	after 10th	3		3	P. Neferirkare 14A.2
	19	11th		3		
	20	after 11th	2		2	
	21	12th				
	22	13th		3		
	23	after 13th	3		3	
	24	14th				
	25	15th		3		
	26	after 15th	3		3	
	27	16th		2		
	28	17th				
	29	after 17th	3		3	Sarcophagus of Idu
	30	18th		3		
	31	after 18th	2		2	
	32	19th				
	33	20th		3		
	34	after 20th	3		3	
	35	21st		2		

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Attested Pattern	Pattern 1	Pattern 2	Sources
Unas	36 and 1	22nd = <i>zm³-t³.wy</i>			3	
	2	after 1st	3			
	3	2nd		3		
	4	after 2nd	2			
	5	3rd				
	6	4th		3		
	7	after 4th	3			P. Neferirkare 52A
	8	5th				
	9	6th		3		
	10	after 6th	3			
	11	7th		2		
	12	8th				
	13	after 8th	3			
	14	9th		3		
	15	after 9th	2			
	16	10th				
	17	11th		3		
	18	after 11th	3			
	19	12th		2		
	20	13th				
	21	after 13th	3			
	22	14th		3		
	23	after 14th	2			P. Neferirkare 3/4; P. Ranerefef 66B
	24	15th				
	25	16th		3		
	26	after 16th	3			
	27	17th				
	28	18th		3		
	29	after 18th	3			
Teti	30 and 1	19th = <i>zm³-t³.wy</i>		2	3	
	2	1st				
	3	after 1st	3			P. Neferirkare 92A
	4	2nd		3		
	5	after 2nd	2			
	6	3rd				

"Civil Year Name" is abbreviated so that, e.g., "Year after the 1st occasion" is "after 1st." The numbers in the next three columns represent the number of years between "Years after." "Pattern 1" holds before a transitional phase after Djedkare's Year after the 7th occasion. "Pattern 2" holds thereafter.

occasion” of Djedkare Izezi, all known “Years after” conform to a different 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern starting with the “Year after the 10th occasion” of Djedkare (P. Neferirkare 14A.2) into the reign of Teti.

Table 8.1 in no way threatens the Standard Theory since any “Year after” can fit the Standard Theory. However, the pattern of “Years after” within a given reign is critical to the viability of the new theory explored here. Table 8.1 shows that the available evidence from this highly documented period during the Old Kingdom can fit the 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 patterns shown here with the sole exception of the single disruption after the year after Djedkare’s 7th cattle count.

3 The Abusir Papyri of Neferirkare and Raneferef: Priestly Phyle Rotations

In addition to providing many of the civil year dates used to construct Table 8.1, the Neferirkare and Raneferef Papyri from Abusir offer a more rigorous way of testing the 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern in the skipping of cattle counts. The priests who served in the Neferirkare and the Raneferef mortuary temples were organized into groups called “phyles” (*e.g.*, “*s3.w*”). These phyles had names that normally occur in a well established order in the Old Kingdom: *wr*, *st*, *w3d.t*, *ndš* and *imy-nfr.t*.¹⁶ Each phyle in turn comprises two “divisions.” In the Abusir documents the priests on duty were sometimes called *imy.w-3bd*, or “those who are in their month,” suggesting that a given phyle-division ideally served one complete “month.”¹⁷ From the duty lists and other texts, this “month” is clearly a civil month of 30 days, and not a lunar month.¹⁸ Given that the priests in each temple were organized into five phyles consisting of ten phyle-divisions, each of which serves for a single civil month, each phyle-division should therefore serve in a regular 10-month cycle of rotation, its month of service falling two months earlier each successive civil year.

Three examples from the Neferirkare Papyri support the regularity of this 10-month cycle. Two duty rosters dealing with the same (but unnamed) phyle-division appear on the recto (P. Neferirkare 5A/6A/7A)¹⁹ and verso

¹⁶ Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 37–40. See also Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 365 for the Raneferef temple.

¹⁷ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai*, 570.

¹⁸ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai*, 571.

¹⁹ In this paper, the numbers after “P. Neferirkare” refer to the plates in Posener-Kriéger and Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*. The numbers after “P. Raneferef” refer to plate numbers in Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*.

(P. Neferirkare 11A) of the same roll of papyrus.²⁰ The duty roster on the recto is dated to IV *shomu*,²¹ the 12th month in the civil calendar, but it does not give the year. The duty roster on the verso of the papyrus is dated to the “Year of the 4th occasion,²² II *shomu* (the 10th civil month).” If the back of the papyrus was written after the front, then the front may date to the previous civil year. So, taken together, these documents suggest that this phyle-division served in a 10-month cycle. Similarly, another duty roster dated to the “Year [after] the 14th occasion,” (P. Neferirkare 2A) “II *shomu* (the 10th civil month” (P. Neferirkare 3), belongs to the *ḥ3t* division of the *imy-nfr.t* phyle. Another document (P. Neferirkare 47A) containing the temple receipts from the first day of the 8th civil month of the “Year of the 15th occasion” mentions many of the same personal names and, therefore, likely belongs to the same division. So, the same phyle-division served in the 10th civil month of the “Year [after] the 14th occasion” and in the 8th civil month of the following civil year, the “Year of the 15th occasion,” suggesting a 10-month rotation for this phyle-division. Later, two of the same phyle members are mentioned in cloth accounts dated to “Year after the [1st occasion], IV *shomu* (the 12th civil month),” and a partial duty roster dated ten months later in the “Year of the 2nd occasion, II *shomu* (the 10th civil month), day 3”, both written on the same papyrus (P. Neferirkare 92A) in what can only be the reign of Teti in the Sixth Dynasty.²³

²⁰ The recto of this papyrus is called “tableau I” in Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai*, 14. The duty roster on the verso is called “tableau V” in Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai*, 14–15.

²¹ As noted above, the Egyptian Civil Calendar had three seasons each consisting of four 30-day months, followed by five “extra,” epagomenal days. In order, these seasons are *akhet*, *peret* and *shomu*. For simplicity, Roman numerals designate the civil months within a given season. So, IV *shomu* designates the fourth month in the final season, *shomu*, the twelfth month in the civil calendar.

²² In most of the Abusir texts, the dating formula simply refers to the “occasion” (*śp*) of the cattle count. Seldom is the formula completely written out.

²³ The same personal names appear in P. Neferirkare 3A/4A, P. Neferirkare 47A and P. Neferirkare 92A. While it is clear that P. Neferirkare 92A dates to the reign of Teti, P. Neferirkare 3A/4A and P. Neferirkare 47A do not give a king’s reign. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai*, 486–87 dates P. Neferirkare 3A/4A and P. Neferirkare 47A to Djedkare Izezi. She reasons that since a grain account (P. Neferirkare 41A) on the verso of P. Neferirkare 3A/4A is dated to the 22nd occasion of Djedkare Izezi, P. Neferirkare 3A/4A must have been written earlier in Djedkare’s reign. However, P. Neferirkare 41A is most likely a copy of an older text written out for reference, which indicates that P. Neferirkare 3A/4A must therefore date *after* the 22nd occasion of Djedkare’s reign and into the reign of Unas. Similarly, the texts of P. Neferirkare 13–14A are clearly copies of older texts, written on the verso of P. Neferirkare 33–35A. These copies also date prior to the text on their recto.

All of these documents, taken together, show that two different divisions from two different phyles apparently served in regular 10-month cycles from the reigns of Djedkare through Teti.

Given our information, it is difficult to determine whether each division within a given phyle served independently in its own 10-month rotation, or whether the two phyle-divisions rotated in tandem, always serving in consecutive months. In the Neferirkare archive, nearly all of the dates of service in the civil calendar apply either to the *ḥȝt* division of the *imy-nfr:t* phyle, or the *ḥs* division of the *śt* phyle, when the division can be determined at all. Furthermore, almost all of the dates of service attested in the Neferirkare Papyri happen to be in even-numbered civil months (or, in one case, the last day of the preceding odd-numbered month). So, each of these two phyle-divisions might have rotated independently or in the second month of a two-month long phyle rotation with the other division in the phyle serving in the first, odd-numbered month. The evidence for the Neferirkare temple phyles is inconclusive in this regard.

The Raneferef Papyri clearly indicate that the two divisions of a phyle in the Raneferef mortuary temple were responsible for covering the service of the temple over two consecutive months, but may have had some leeway in how they organized that service. In P. Raneferef 21L, the *ib* division of the *śt* phyle serves on “month 1 [...]” of a missing season in the “Year of the 15th occasion” of an unnamed king. However the season in this text is restored, it clearly shows that the *ib* division was serving during an odd-numbered civil month, since I *akhet* is the first month, I *peret* is the fifth month and I *shomu* is the ninth month. Later, an entry in P. Raneferef 62–63A dated to the “Year of the 18th occasion, IV *shomu*, last day” of an unnamed king explicitly reads, “The *śt* phyle, *ib* division: they completed the days of monthly service.” So, according to this text, the *ib* division has by this time shifted to serving during even-numbered months. The shift from odd to even-numbered months should not occur if every division served in an independent 10-month rotation, but might be possible if the two divisions in the same phyle served together perhaps sharing or exchanging months of service.

P. Raneferef 69A gives the clearest evidence that the two divisions of a phyle might serve together during consecutive months. This document lists quotas for the two divisions of the *śt* phyle for carrying bricks to build or repair the northern wing of the “Eckbau”—addition to the original temple entrance.²⁴ The text is divided into two sections. Section “a” dates to the “Year after the 4th occasion, III *shomu* (the 11th civil month).” Section “b” dates to “IV *shomu* (the 12th civil month).” In the 11th civil month, both phyle-divisions are respon-

²⁴ See Verner, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 169.

sible for delivering different numbers of bricks. The first division is to deliver a total of 12,600 bricks whereas the second division need only deliver a little over 8,000. In the following month, IV *shomu*, the first division delivers no bricks and the second division is supposed to deliver 5,000 bricks. The combined totals for the two groups are pretty close: 12,600 bricks for the first group versus a little over 13,000 bricks for the second group. However, this document seems to show that both divisions of the *št* phyle served simultaneously in the 11th month, but that both of the divisions of the phyle, considered together as a unit, served for two consecutive civil months. While the service for each division may have usually been about one month long, it sometimes did not correspond neatly to a civil month.

While the phyle-divisions had some degree of flexibility in how they organized their periods of service, the documents of the Raneferef Papyri indicate both that the two divisions of a phyle served over two consecutive civil months and that a phyle as a unit generally adhered to a 10-month rotation. Within a phyle's two months, the divisions might sometimes serve simultaneously,²⁵ or they might occasionally shift their service from one to the other of the two months covered by their phyle.²⁶ Similar situations might have applied to the phyle-divisions serving in the Neferirkare temple, but it is difficult to tell for certain given the inconclusive nature of the dates in the Neferirkare archive.

Assuming that the rotation of phyles (as distinct from phyle-divisions) in a given temple remained constant, the 10-month cycle of phyle service rotating through the years would operate like a ticking clock. Every civil year, any given phyle will be on duty two months earlier than the year before. This pattern would be independent of the naming of civil years. Linking the 10-month rotation of the phyles on duty to the names of the civil years might serve as an independent check on the 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern for skipping cattle counts. In other words, if the hypothesis of the 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern for naming the civil years is correct, it should be able to accommodate the known civil dates of service for the phyles in both the Neferirkare and the Raneferef Papyri.

One impediment to using the regular 10-month rotations of phyle service as a check on the naming of civil years is that very few of the civil dates in the Neferirkare and the Raneferef Papyri explicitly state the name of the reigning king. In the Neferirkare Papyri, one fragment from the start of a scroll (Neferirkare 1A) bears the Horus name of Djedkare Izezi and a separate account (Neferirkare 92–96A) has a Horus name that must belong to Teti, first king of the Sixth Dynasty. Otherwise, only two letters (Neferirkare 80A and 80B–C) mention Djedkare Izezi as the reigning king. In the Raneferef Papyri,

²⁵ As in the case of P. Raneferef 69A, section "a," discussed above.

²⁶ As in the case of P. Raneferef 21L, discussed above.

five badly broken royal decrees bearing Djedkare Izezi's Horus name are the only documents that can be assigned to a specific king's reign with certainty. All of the hundreds of remaining documents in both archives must be assigned to a particular king's reign based on secondary arguments.

Although the vast majority of texts in the Abusir Papyri could theoretically range in date from Shepseskare to Pepi II, Posener-Kriéger places most of the documents in the Neferirkare archive into Djedkare Izezi's reign, and several others into the reign of Unas with two texts each into the reigns of Teti and Pepi II.²⁷ Similarly, based primarily on the unique presence of Djedkare's Horus name on the royal decrees as well as the length of his reign, the editors of the Raneferef Papyri date all of those documents to the reign of Djedkare Izezi and Unas, while admitting the possibility that some could date to other late Fifth and Sixth Dynasty rulers.²⁸

Accepting the conventional dates for the Neferirkare and Raneferef Papyri, the Standard Theory for skipping cattle counts in the Old Kingdom cannot accommodate the dates of service for the priestly phyles assuming that they served in regular 10-month rotations. Table 8.2 attempts to reconcile the known dates of service for the priestly phyles in the Neferirkare Mortuary Temple, following the conventional dating of the texts with the Standard Theory of biennial cattle counts. One immediate problem with the reconciliation proposed in the table is that, in order to fit the 15 known civil dates of service in the Neferirkare Temple into a 10-month rotational pattern, the phyles must serve in an unusual order. As described above, during the Old Kingdom, phyles typically occur in the order: *wr*, *śt*, *w3d.t*, *ndš* and *imy-nfr.t*. However, for the Neferirkare phyle rotations to fit the Standard Theory, the *imy-nfr.t* phyle must directly follow the *śt* phyle in the rotation.

Even with this compromise, problems with reconciling the 10-month rotation of phyle service in the Neferirkare Mortuary Temple with the Standard Theory remain. For instance, P. Neferirkare 52A.3 shows a member of the *śt* phyle serving in "II [...] day 30" in the "Year after the 4th occasion" of an unknown king. Since any of the three seasons might be restored here, the month referred to here might conceivably be restored as "II," "VI" or "X" in the rotational scheme. However, this will not fit for either the reign of Djedkare Izezi or the reign of Unas. It can be made to fit for the reign of Menkauhor, if Menkauhor is allowed 5 occasions of counting cattle and if the cattle count is not skipped for two consecutive years during the transition from Menkauhor to Djedkare Izezi. This implies that the cattle counts in the Standard Theory could be affected by political developments.

²⁷ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai*, 483–91.

²⁸ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 334–35.

TABLE 8.2 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles in the Neferirkare Mortuary Temple to the civil year names according to the Standard Theory, excluding dates from P. Neferirkare 92A, which dates to Teti²⁹*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Phyle "a"	<i>śt</i>	<i>imy-nfr:t</i>	Phyle ?	Phyle ?	Sources
Menkauhor	8	after 4th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	P. Neferirkare 52A.3
	9 and 1	5th, <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	2	1st	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	3	after 1st	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	4	2nd	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	5	after 2nd	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	6	3rd	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare I3.1
	7	after 3rd	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	8	4th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	P. Neferirkare I4A.3
	9	after 4th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	10	5th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	11	after 5th	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	12	6th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	13	after 6th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	14	7th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	P. Neferirkare 69.1
	15	after 7th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	P. Neferirkare 69.2
	16	8th	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare 69.3
	17	after 8th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	18	9th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	19	after 9th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	20	10th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	21	after 10th	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare I4A.2
	22	11th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Neferirkare 53A
	23	after 11th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	24	12th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	25	after 12th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	26	13th	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	

29 In this table, and those that follow, Roman numerals stand for the last civil month in a phyle's two-month term of service. For instance, Roman numeral "II" stands for service in the first two civil months of the year, I *akhet* and II *akhet*. "IV" stands for service in the next two civil months, III *akhet* and IV *akhet*. "VI" stands for I *peret* and II *peret*. "VIII" stands for II and IV *peret*. "X" stands for I and II *shomu*. Finally, "XII" stands for III and IV *shomu* as well as the five extra epagomonal days at the end of the civil calendar.

TABLE 8.2 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles (cont.)*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Phyle "a"	<i>śt</i>	<i>īmy-nfr.t</i>	Phyle ?	Phyle ?	Sources
Unas	27	after 13th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	28	14th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	29	after 14th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	P. Neferirkare 2A; 3–4
	30	15th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	P. Neferirkare 47A
	31	after 15th	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	32	16th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	33	after 16th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	34	17th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	35	after 17th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	36	18th	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	37	after 18th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	38	19th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	39	after 19th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	40	20th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	41	after 20th	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	42	21st	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Neferirkare 41.c.2 (Posener-Kriéger)
	43	after 21st	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	44	22nd	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	P. Neferirkare 41.c.2 (Verner)
Unas	45 and 1	after 22nd, <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	3	1st	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	4	after 1st	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	5	2nd	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	6	after 2nd	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	7	3rd	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	8	after 3rd	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare 5–7A
	9	4th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Neferirkare 11A
	10	after 4th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	11	5th	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	12	after 5th	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	

The rotation of phyles in the Neferirkare archive poses a challenge for the Standard Theory at the end of Djedkare Izezi's reign as well. Posener-Kriéger reads the date of P. Neferirkare 41.c.2, a grain account for the *ḥ3t* division of the *imy-nfr:t* phyle discussed above, as “Year of the 21st occasion, IV *akhet* day 12,” a date which would fit the rotation scheme demanded by the Standard Theory. However, Miroslav Verner has pointed out that this date—the highest date we have for the reign of Djedkare Izezi—is probably to be read “Year of the 22nd occasion,”³⁰ a year in which the *ḥ3t* division of the *imy-nfr:t* should be on duty during II *shomu*, not IV *akhet*.

Similarly, the six documents that give civil dates for the service of the *śt* phyle in the mortuary temple of Raneferef—incidentally, the only phyle covered by the Raneferef Papyri—also do not fit the Standard Theory. According to the editors, five of the texts date to the reign of Djedkare Izezi and the remaining document, P. Raneferef 69A, may date to either Djedkare or Unas.³¹ If all six texts date to the reign of Djedkare Izezi, then four of the dates for the service of the *śt* phyle are off by one year each, and do not fit the 10-month rotational pattern (see Table 8.3). Only by dating P. Raneferef 69A to the “Year after the 4th occasion” of Unas and assuming that Djedkare died in his “Year of the 22nd occasion” can that document be made to fit the same 10-month rotational scheme as P. Raneferef 45–46A and P. Raneferef 62–63A according to the Standard Theory (see Table 8.4). Even then, the time spans among the other three dates remain off.

Many of these problems can be resolved if the civil dates of these documents are fit into the pattern of skipping cattle counts proposed in Table 8.1 for the period from the reign of Menkauhor through that of Teti. Table 8.5 shows the dates of service for the phyles in the Neferirkare Papyri, using the standard order of the phyles for the Old Kingdom, according to the pattern of skipping cattle counts developed in Table 8.1. Table 8.6 does the same with the known dates of service of phyles in the Raneferef Papyri. In a sense these two tables represent the intersection of two independent patterns of ancient Egyptian time-keeping in the two mortuary temples: the skipping of cattle counts in the naming of civil years (perhaps tied somehow to the operation of a lunar calendar) and the 10-month service rotations of priestly phyles according to the civil calendar.

³⁰ Verner, “Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology,” 406, n. 316.

³¹ Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 335. P. Raneferef 2IL, 45–46A, 62–63A, 66B and 76D are dated “to the time of Djedkara.” P. Raneferef 69A likely dates “from the time of Djedkara and Unas.”

TABLE 8.3 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles in the Raneferef Mortuary Temple to the civil year names according to the Standard Theory, dating P. Raneferef 69A to the reign of Djedkare Izezi*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	<i>wr</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndś</i>	<i>imy-nfr:t</i>	Phyle Rotation Sources
Menkauhor	9 and 1	5th, <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>						
Djedkare	2	1st						
	3	after 1st						
	4	2nd						
	5	after 2nd						
	6	3rd						
	7	after 3rd						
	8	4th						
	9	after 4th	x	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 69A
	10	5th		<--6 years--> (should be 5)				
	11	after 5th						
	12	6th						
	13	after 6th						
	14	7th						
	15	after 7th	x	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 76D
	16	8th						
	17	after 8th						
	18	9th						
	19	after 9th						
	20	10th						
	21	after 10th						
	22	11th						
	23	after 11th						
	24	12th						
	25	after 12th						
	26	13th						
	27	after 13th						
	28	14th						
	29	after 14th	x	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 66B

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	<i>wr</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndš</i>	<i>imy-nfr.t</i>	Phyle Rotation Sources
Unas	30	15th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	P. Raneferef 2IL
	31	after 15th		<--5 years--> (should be 4)				
	32	16th						
	33	after 16th						
	34	17th						
	35	after 17th						
	36	18th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 45–46A; 62–63A
	37	after 18th						
	38	19th						
	39	after 19th						
	40	20th						
	41	after 20th						
	42	21st						
	43	after 21st						
	44 and 1	22nd = <i>zm³-t³.wy</i>						
Unas	2	after 1						
	3	2nd						
	4	after 2nd						
	5	3rd						
	6	after 3rd						
	7	4th						
	8	after 4th						
	9	5th						
	10	after 5th						
	11	6th						
	12	after 6th						

TABLE 8.4 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles in the Raneferef Mortuary Temple to the civil year names according to the Standard Theory, dating P. Raneferef 69A to the reign of Unas and assuming that Djedkare died in the “Year of his 22nd occasion”*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	<i>wr</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndš</i>	<i>imy-nfr.t</i>	Phyle Rotation Sources
Menkauhor	9 and 1	5th, <i>zm³-t³.wy</i>						
Djedkare	2	1st						
	3	after 1st						
	4	2nd						
	5	after 2nd						
	6	3rd						
	7	after 3rd						
	8	4th						
	9	after 4th						
	10	5th						
	11	after 5th						
	12	6th						
	13	after 6th						
	14	7th						
	15	after 7th	x	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 76D
	16	8th						
	17	after 8th						
	18	9th						
	19	after 9th						
	20	10th						
	21	after 10th						
	22	11th						
	23	after 11th						
	24	12th						
	25	after 12th						
	26	13th						
	27	after 13th						
	28	14th						
	29	after 14th	x	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 66B

14 Years (should be 15) ->
v

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	<i>wr</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndś</i>	<i>īmy-nfr.t</i>	Phyle Rotation Sources
	30	15th	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	P. Raneferef 21L
	31	after 15th		<--5 years--> (should be 4)				
	32	16th						
	33	after 16th						
	34	17th						
	35	after 17th						
	36	18th	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 45–46A; 62–63A
	37	after 18th						
	38	19th						
	39	after 19th						
	40	20th						
	41	after 20th						
	42	21st						
	43	after 21st						
	44 and 1	22nd = <i>zm³-t³.wy</i>						
Unas	2	after 1		<--15 years (correct!)--> ▼				
	3	2nd						
	4	after 2nd						
	5	3rd						
	6	after 3rd						
	7	4th						
	8	after 4th	X		II/XII	IV	VI	P. Raneferef 69A (Unas)
	9	5th						
	10	after 5th						
	11	6th						
	12	after 6th						

Following the two 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 patterns laid out in Table 8.1 for skipping cattle counts resolves two of the problems encountered above in reconciling the rotations of the phyles of the Neferirkare Mortuary Temple to the civil years names dictated by the Standard Theory seen in Table 8.2. First, Table 8.5 follows the standard order of phyle rotation. Second, it also works with the improved reading of the date in Neferirkare 41.c.2, a stumbling block for the Standard Theory in Table 8.2 above.

TABLE 8.5 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles in the Neferirkare Mortuary Temple to the civil year names according to the civil year names proposed in Table 8.1 above, extended into the reign of Teti, and assuming a 30-year reign for Unas*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Pattern	<i>wr</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndš</i>	<i>ūmy-nfr.t</i>	Source
Menkauhor	1	<i>zm3-t3.wy</i>		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	2	1st		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	3	after 1st	3	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	4	2nd		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	5	after 2nd	2	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	6	3rd		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare I3.1
	7	4th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	8	after 4th	3	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	9 and 1	5th, <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
Djedkare	2	1st		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	3	after 1st	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	4	2nd		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	5	3rd		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	6	after 3rd	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	7	4th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	P. Neferirkare I4A.3
	8	after 4th	2	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	9	5th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	10	6th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	P. Neferirkare 69.1
	11	after 6th	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	12	7th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	P. Neferirkare 69.2
	13	after 7th	2	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	14	8th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Neferirkare 69.3
	15	after 8th	2	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	16	9th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	17	10th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	18	after 10th	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare I4A.2
	19	11th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Neferirkare 53A
	20	after 11th	2	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	21	12th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	22	13th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	23	after 13th	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	24	14th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Pattern	<i>wr</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndš</i>	<i>imy-nfr.t</i>	Source
Unas	25	15th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	26	after 15th	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	27	16th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	28	17th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	29	after 17th	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	30	18th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	31	after 18th	2	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	32	19th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	33	20th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	34	after 20th	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	35	21st		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	36 and 1	22nd = <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	P. Neferirkare 41.c.2
	2	after 1st	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
Neferirkare	3	2nd		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	4	after 2nd	2	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	5	3rd		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	P. Neferirkare 5/6/7A
	6	4th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	P. Neferirkare 11A
	7	after 4th	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	P. Neferirkare 52A.3
	8	5th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	9	6th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	10	after 6th	3	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	11	7th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	12	8th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	13	after 8th	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	14	9th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	15	after 9th	2	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	16	10th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	17	11th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	18	after 11th	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	19	12th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	20	13th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	21	after 13th	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	22	14th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	23	after 14th	2	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare 3/4
	24	15th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Neferirkare 47A
	25	16th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	

TABLE 8.5 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles (cont.)*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Pattern	<i>wr</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndś</i>	<i>īmy-nfr.t</i>	Source
Teti	26	after 16th	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	27	17th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	28	18th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	29	after 18th	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	30 and 1	19th = <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
Teti	2	1st		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	3	after 1st	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	P. Neferirkare 92A
	4	2nd		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	P. Neferirkare 92A
	5	after 2nd	2	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	6	3rd		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	

4 Reconciling Civil Year Names and Priestly Phyle Service

However, the scheme laid out in Table 8.5 requires major changes in the dates of some texts as proposed by Posener-Kriéger. P. Neferirkare 13.1 must be moved into the reign of Menkauhor.³² P. Neferirkare 13.1 is one of four texts copied out on the verso of P. Neferirkare 33–35A, three of which, respectively, date to “Year of the 3rd occasion” (P. Neferirkare 13.1), “Year after the 10th occasion” (P. Neferirkare 14A.2), and “Year of the [1]4th occasion” (P. Neferirkare 14A.3), but none names the reigning king. Given the wide range of dates on the verso of P. Neferirkare 33–35A, it is conceivable that the date on P. Neferirkare 13.1 might belong to the reign of Menkauhor and not Djedkare Izezi. Ironically, by adopting the new hypothesis of skipping cattle counts, P. Neferirkare 52A, which was moved in the reign of Menkauhor in order to accommodate the Standard Theory in Table 8.2, is moved back into the reign of Unas with the date restored to the season of *peret*, as originally proposed by Posener-Kriéger.³³

³² Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, 490, dates P. Neferirkare 13.1 firmly in the reign of Djedkare.

³³ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, 372.

Another major change required by Table 8.5 is more radical. In order to reconcile the 10-month rotation of the phyles in the Neferirkare temple with the composite 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern of skipping cattle counts in the civil year names in Table 8.5, both the text on the recto of P. Neferirkare 3/4/40/41 and the cloth account P. Neferirkare 47A must be shifted into the reign of Unas. Some scholars have supported a much shorter reign for Unas than the 30-year reign given to him in the Turin Canon.³⁴ Since the recto of P. Neferirkare 3/4/40/41 dates to the “Year after the 14th occasion” and P. Neferirkare 47A dates to the “Year of the 15th occasion,” moving them into Unas’s reign would demand a reign for him of at least 24 years (see Table 8.5).

However, shifting these documents into the reign of Unas and, at the same time, expanding his reign, has some support in other documents from Neferirkare’s mortuary temple. P. Neferirkare 93A, which dates to “Year of the 2nd occasion” of Teti (so the Horus name must be restored), mentions two officials, a *ḥnty-š* named Sheded-kakay³⁵ and a likely *hm-ntr* named Ra-shepses.³⁶ A *ḥnty-š* named Sheded-kakay also happens to participate in a ritual to dress and purify the royal statues as a member of the *imy-nfr:t* phyle in P. Neferirkare 3/4/40/41.³⁷ Similarly, a man named Ra-shepses appears in the heading to P. Neferirkare 47A with the title “sub-director of the *hm-ntr* priests.” Since the recto of P. Neferirkare 3/4/40/41 dates to the “Year after the 14th occasion” and P. Neferirkare 47A dates to the “Year of the 15th occasion,” if these two documents were written in the reign of Unas, the time span until the 2nd occasion of Teti would be about nine years, assuming a 3-3-2-3-3-3-2 pattern of “Years after” and a direct transition from Unas to Teti. If, however, these two documents actually date to the reign of Djedkare Izezi, and the Standard Theory is followed, then the period of time between these documents and P. Neferirkare 93A could be as long as 33 years.³⁸ If the Sheded-kakay and Ra-shepses are the same men in all three documents, it makes sense that they could maintain similar titles over the course of nine years, but this would be unlikely if the time span covered by the texts is 33 years.

³⁴ Verner, “Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology,” 411–12; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 329.

³⁵ P. Neferirkare 93A b 3.

³⁶ P. Neferirkare 93A b 1.

³⁷ P. Neferirkare 4 h.

³⁸ Allowing Djedkare a reign of 44 years, there would be about 14 years left in Djedkare’s reign, 15 years for the reign of Unas, and another four years under Teti, assuming that the Standard Theory holds.

In the papyri from the Raneferef temple, six documents give civil dates of service for just the *śt* phyle. No dates can be assigned to any other phyle. None of these dates mentions the name of the reigning king. Table 8.6 tries to fit these dates into the same pattern of naming the civil years as used for the Neferirkare Papyri in Table 8.5. Interestingly, the *śt* phyle in the Raneferef Mortuary Temple apparently served two months earlier than the *śt* phyle in the Neferirkare temple. The editors of the Raneferef Papyri point out that the size and composition of the phyles is very different for the two temples and that it was therefore highly unlikely that the same priests might serve in the same phyle in both temples.³⁹

As in the documents from the Neferirkare archive (see Table 8.5 above), some of the Raneferef texts must be placed into the reign of Unas, and Unas must be granted a longer reign in order for the dates of service to fit the pattern of naming civil years used in Table 8.1. Whereas P. Raneferef 69A and 76D are both placed into the reign of Djedkare in Table 8.6 in agreement with the dates proposed by the editors,⁴⁰ the remaining four documents must be from the

TABLE 8.6 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles in the Raneferef Mortuary Temple to the civil year names according to the civil year names proposed in Table 8.1 above, extended into the reign of Teti, and assuming a 30-year reign for Unas*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Pattern	<i>wr</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndś</i>	<i>īmy-nfr.t</i>	Source
Menkauhor	1	<i>zm3-t3.wy</i>		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	2	1st		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	3	after 1st	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	4	2nd		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	5	after 2nd	2	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	6	3rd		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	7	4th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	8	after 4th	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	9 and 1	5th, <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	

39 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 367.

40 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 335. P. Raneferef 69A is dated to either the reign of Djedkare or Unas.

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Pattern	<i>wr</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndś</i>	<i>īmy-nfr.t</i>	Source
Djedkare	2	1st		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	3	after 1st	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	4	2nd		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	5	3rd		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	6	after 3rd	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	7	4th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	8	after 4th	2	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 69A
	9	5th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	10	6th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	11	after 6th	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	12	7th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	13	after 7th	2	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 76D
	14	8th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	15	after 8th	2	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	16	9th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	17	10th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	18	after 10th	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	19	11th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	20	after 11th	2	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	21	12th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	22	13th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	23	after 13th	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	24	14th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	25	15th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	26	after 15th	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	27	16th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	28	17th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	29	after 17th	3	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	30	18th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	31	after 18th	2	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	32	19th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	33	20th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	34	after 20th	3	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	35	21st		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	36 and 1	22nd = <i>zm3-t3.wy</i>		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	

TABLE 8.6 *Comparison of the known dates of service for the phyles (cont.)*

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Pattern	<i>wr</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndś</i>	<i>ūmy-nfr:t</i>	Source
Unas	2	after 1st	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	3	2nd		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	4	after 2nd	2	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	5	3rd		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	6	4th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	7	after 4th	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	8	5th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	9	6th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	10	after 6th	3	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	11	7th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	12	8th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	13	after 8th	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	14	9th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	15	after 9th	2	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	16	10th		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	17	11th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	18	after 11th	3	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	19	12th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	20	13th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	21	after 13th	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	22	14th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	23	after 14th	2	X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 66B
	24	15th		VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	P. Raneferef 21L
	25	16th		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	
	26	after 16th	3	IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	27	17th		II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	28	18th		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	P. Raneferef 45–46A; 62–63A
	29	after 18th	3	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	30 and 1	19th = <i>zm³-t³.wy</i>		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	

King	Regnal Year	Civil Year Name	Pattern	<i>wr</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>w3d.t</i>	<i>ndš</i>	<i>īmy-nfr.t</i>	Source
Teti	2	1st		IV	VI	VIII	X	II/XII	
	3	after 1st	3	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	X	
	4	2nd		X	II/XII	IV	VI	VIII	
	5	after 2nd	2	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	VI	
	6	3rd		VI	VIII	X	II/XII	IV	

reign of Unas in order for the system proposed here to work. P. Raneferef 66B is a ration list for what must be the *wr* division of the *śt* phyle, and is dated to the “Year of the occasion after the 14th occasion, *I akhet*, day 18.” Although the editors of the Raneferef Papyri put this text into the reign of Djedkare due to its high cattle count, this text will only fit into the system proposed here if it dates to the reign of Unas.

The remaining three papyri—P. Raneferef 21L, 46A and 62A—look to be roughly contemporary, since they share some personal names.⁴¹ P. Raneferef 46A is dated to the “Year of the 18th occasion, III *shomu* (11th civil month)” and P. Raneferef 62–63A is dated to the same year, IV *shomu* (12th civil month). P. Raneferef 21L is dated to the “Year of the 15th occasion, first month” of a missing season, so it could be the 1st, 5th or 9th civil month. Since all three of these texts most likely belong in the reign of the same king, they will only fit in the reign of Unas on Table 8.6,⁴² and this is only possible if Unas’ reign is in line with the 30 years granted him by the Turin Canon.⁴³

Otherwise, if the skipping of cattle counts (and the names of the civil years during the Old Kingdom) conforms to the pattern laid out in Table 8.1, then all the available evidence relating to the rotations of phyles in both the

⁴¹ P. Raneferef 21L mentions a *pr-3* Abedu and another *pr-3* Iren-ptah. P. Raneferef 46A lists an Abedu (without a title) as a member of the *śt* phyle. A *pr-3* Iren-ptah appears in P. Raneferef 62A, part of the same document as P. Raneferef 63A.

⁴² This would require restoring the date in P. Raneferef 21L as “Year of the 15th occasion, 1st month of [*shomu*].”

⁴³ See the discussion in Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, 329–30 and esp. 333–35, for a summary of the evidence for a shorter reign for Unas. However, many of the dates for Djedkare and Unas used in the argument do not explicitly mention either king. Comparing counts of excavated sealings is also problematic.

Neferirkare and the Raneferef mortuary temples falls into place. The phyles in the Neferirkare archive now rotate in the same order as in the Userkaf sun temple as well as in non-royal tombs. The interlocking systems support each other and help us to gain a better understanding not only of the chronology of the Fifth Dynasty, but of how the different cycles of time ruled the daily lives of the Egyptian of the Old Kingdom.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
<i>Urk. I</i>	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> 1. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932–33.
<i>UGAÄ</i>	<i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens</i>

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The *Sed*-Festival of Niuserre and the Fifth Dynasty Sun Temples

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Abstract

The topic of the present paper is the analysis of the *Sed*-Festival depiction of Niuserre's sun temple and its relationship with the architecture and symbolic meaning of the temple itself. Despite the accurate and thorough representation of the different phases of the ceremony, the *Sed*-Festival depiction of Niuserre has been usually regarded only as a part of the overall decorative program of his sun temple. In the present paper, through a detailed analysis of this corpus and the comparison with the decorative and architectural features of the previous royal funerary complexes, I will try to show that the *Sed*-Festival is in fact the key-point for a better understanding of the value and meaning of Niuserre's sun temple and the Fifth Dynasty sun temples as a whole. This will also allow us to delve further into the issue of the evolution of the royal ideology in the Old Kingdom.

1 Introduction

The sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty certainly represent one of the most intriguing monuments of the Old Kingdom, and have been the source of great interest and debate among scholars ever since their discovery. Nonetheless, despite several studies conducted in the last century, the meaning and reasons both for their building and the sudden halt to their building, all in the space of around sixty years, as well as their precise symbolical and ideological aims are still far from clear.

Particularly problematic seems to be the issue of whether the temples had a solely funerary nature.¹ This notion, mainly suggested by the location of the

¹ Among scholars there is the generally accepted idea that the temple was a kind of "cenotaph" or "mortuary temple" for the sun god: Kaiser, "Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern," 113–14; Stadelmann, "Sonnenheiligtümern"; Helck, "Überlegungen," 163; Rochholz, "Sedfest, Sonnenheiligtum und

temples in close proximity with the contemporary pyramids on the west bank of the Nile, is brought into question by archaeological, historical and epigraphic evidence,² and most likely is not true even of the pyramids themselves.³

Barry Kemp, for example, writes that

[the pyramid temples should] be regarded first and foremost as temples for the royal statues with a tomb attached to each, which, acting as a huge reliquary, gave enormous authority to what was, in essence, an ancestor cult and an important factor in the stability of government.⁴

Dieter Arnold goes one step further, writing that the meaning of buildings like the pyramids is other than simply “mortuary” insofar as

the overall architectural program of these complexes not only provided a burial place for the king but more importantly supplied a framework for the rites that transformed the human and mortal king into an immortal and divine being.⁵

Surprisingly, however, their lines of argument seem to stop short when dealing with the sun temples, which are simply, and perhaps hurriedly, viewed

Pyramidenbezirk,” esp. 276–77. This idea was, however, questioned by Winter, “Zur Deutung der Sonnenheiligtümer,” 232–33, and Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 62. Quite recently Voss has tried to reassess the matter, maintaining that the sun temples were not explicitly connected either with a specific aspect of the cult of the sun or the king’s cult, and were probably aimed at underlining the priority of the cult of the sun god Re as the creator of the world:

“Der Kult in den Sonnenheiligtümern diente, soweit wir uns an die Quellen halten, keinem bestimmten Aspekt des Re. Auch ist keine besondere Priorität auf den Königskult erkennbar. Das Kultgeschehen in den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dyn. galt ganz in der Tradition der Pyramidenbezirke dem Sonnengott Re, der wie die Rekonstruktion und Diskussion um die Darstellungen der Weltkammer gezeigt haben, in den Vorstellungen der beginnenen 5. Dyn. als Schöpfergott verehrt wurde: Re war es, der alles Seiende geschaffen und den König auf Erden eingesetzt hatte” (Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 174–76, quotation from 175).

This idea was also supported, although with different arguments, by Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens*, 25. For an overall discussion on this matter, see also Nuzzolo, “The sun temples,” 217–18.

² Nuzzolo, “The sun temples,” esp. 238–40.

³ See also Nuzzolo, “The sun temples,” 217, n. 6.

⁴ Kemp, “Old Kingdom,” 85.

⁵ Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 31.

as “independent structures separated from the funerary complexes” with the aim of providing specific installations for the solar aspects of the deification of the king.⁶

Certainly this function of the temples, to which the name itself—sun temple—obviously refers, cannot be denied and was probably the main one. However, it was not the only one. The temples, indeed, were surely and primarily devoted to the cult of the sun and of the pharaoh, as the sun’s human representative and incarnation.⁷

However, as we will try to demonstrate in the present paper, they were probably also aimed at a quite different, although complementary, purpose, namely that of representing an everlasting architectural setting for the symbolic celebration of the complicated rituals of the *Sed*-Festival, by means of which the divine, solar kingship could be renovated and reconfirmed, in union with the assembly of the gods.

6 Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 60–63. Kemp’s opinion is diametrical to Arnold’s inasmuch as he considers the temples as structures completely dependent on the pyramid complexes for both architectural and economic reasons. However, like Arnold, he also simply settles the sun temple as “an extension of each pyramid complex... [which] emphasizes that pyramid temples were intended as major cult establishments in their own right” (Kemp, “Old Kingdom,” 86–92, quotation from 89). Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 176, also tries to emphasize the role of the sun temple as the place of confirmation and renewing of the solar glorification of the king which, according to her, could not be clearly expressed through the *Sed*-Festival representation:

“Dem Kult des Re war der seiner Gefährtin Hathor angeschlossen, womit aus dem Repertoire der älteren Pyramidenbezirke geschöpft wurde, in welchen spätestens seit der 4. Dynastie, vermutlich jedoch schon früher ein Kult für den Sonnengott beheimatet war. Re und Hathor wurden ergänzt durch den König, der über den Anschluss an den Kult des Re an der zyklischen Regeneration des Gottes teilhaben wollte. Dabei stand jedoch nicht die Verehrung des toten Königs im Vordergrund, sondern vielmehr die Herrschaftsbestätigung und die konstante Erneuerung des Königs, wie sie in den Sedfestdarstellungen im Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre nicht deutlicher zum Ausdruck kommen konnte.”

On the contrary, as we shall see, the latter element (the *Sed*-Festival representation) seems to be the key point for the understanding of the role and meaning of the sun temple.

7 See Nuzzolo, “The sun temples,” esp. 224–29, 238–40, where the author has stressed, with much detail, the importance of the sun temple as the place for the accomplishment of the “solarization” of the king and the reconciliation of two main aspects of the royal cult, the funerary one and the solar one. See also Nuzzolo, “The Vth Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel,” esp. 307–08 and table 1, for the relationship between the titles and the cult duties of the priestly and administrative personnel of the sun temple.

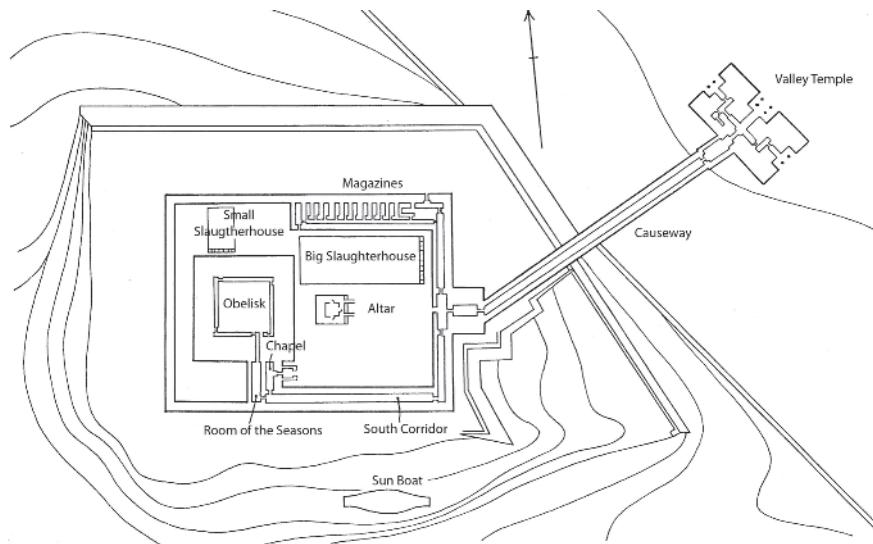


FIGURE 9.1 *Plan of Niuserre's sun temple. Drawing by M. Nuzzolo after Borchardt, Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau, pl. 2.*

2 The Sed-Festival Depiction in Niuserre's Sun Temple

The most complete and detailed representation of the *Sed*-Festival in the whole of the Old Kingdom comes from the sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab (Fig. 9.1), mostly from the so-called “Chapel” on the south side of the obelisk (this is the so-called “kleine Hebseddarstellung”), but also from the southern corridor leading from the main gateway of the temple to the obelisk itself (the so-called “grosse Hebseddarstellung”).⁸

Although it is commonly accepted by scholars that the actual *Sed*-Festival was celebrated in the royal palace complex or in temporary structures nearby,⁹ there is room for thinking that the buildings represented in the decorative cycle of Niuserre's sun temple do not refer to either the royal palace or the above temporary structures—or at least not only to them—but rather to a real framework, made in stone and intended to eternize the festival not

8 von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*; Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*. See also the overall analysis of the *Sed*-Festival depiction in von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs*.

9 Ricke, *Bemerkungen I*, 85–86, 148–50, n. 268; Arnold, “Rituale und Pyramidentempel,” 6–8; Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 316 ff., 683.

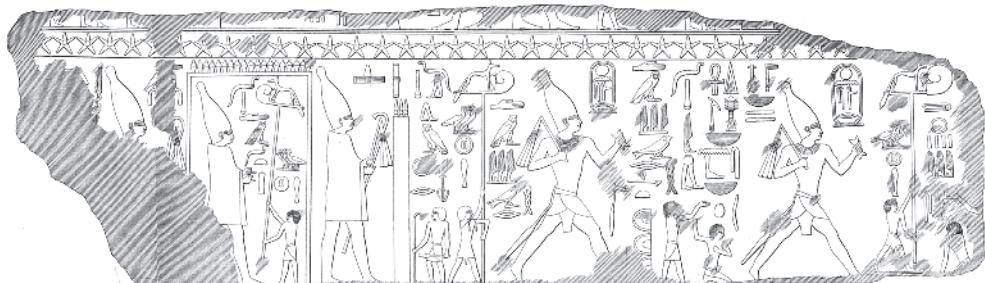


FIGURE 9.2 *The Sed-Festival depiction: the ritual running of the king.* After von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pl. 13.

only in the two-dimensionality of the wall-reliefs but, above all, in the three-dimensionality of a symbolic (dummy) architecture.

In this sense, the wide-ranging set of scenes of the *Sed*-Festival in Niuserra's sun temple not only concern the ritual running of the king (Fig. 9.2), probably the main focus of the rite,¹⁰ and by far the most famous part of the performance, which is also well known from other contexts,¹¹ but also other important passages of the festival like, for instance, the meeting of the gods with the king. Several representations—and mainly block no. 27 of the so-called “kleine Hebseddarstellung” (Fig. 9.3)—attest that this was the most important moment of the celebration. A time when the gods, called *šmsw-Hr* (Followers of Horus) and symbolically represented by their sacred emblems and banners, and ten in number, gather around the enthroned king, who sits on a baldachin resting on a dais-like structure with a staircase.¹² This episode

¹⁰ Von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs*, 85–90. Kemp has argued that this part of the festival was originally intended to be an independent ceremony which was later added to the actual *Sed*-Festival. See Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 62.

¹¹ See for example the decoration of the underground rooms of Djoser's pyramid: Friedman, “The Underground Relief Panels.” For a survey of earlier evidence of this part of the ceremony, see Jiménez Serrano, *Royal festivals*.

¹² Von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pls. 6 (13), 11 (27), 12 (32), 15 (38), 18 (44d), 19 (45a), 20 (46–47), 21 (50ab), 22 (52). Numerous similar, fragmentary, blocks belonging to the so-called “*grosse Festdarstellung*” were also found in the southern corridor of the temple. See Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, esp. pl. 13 (228–29).

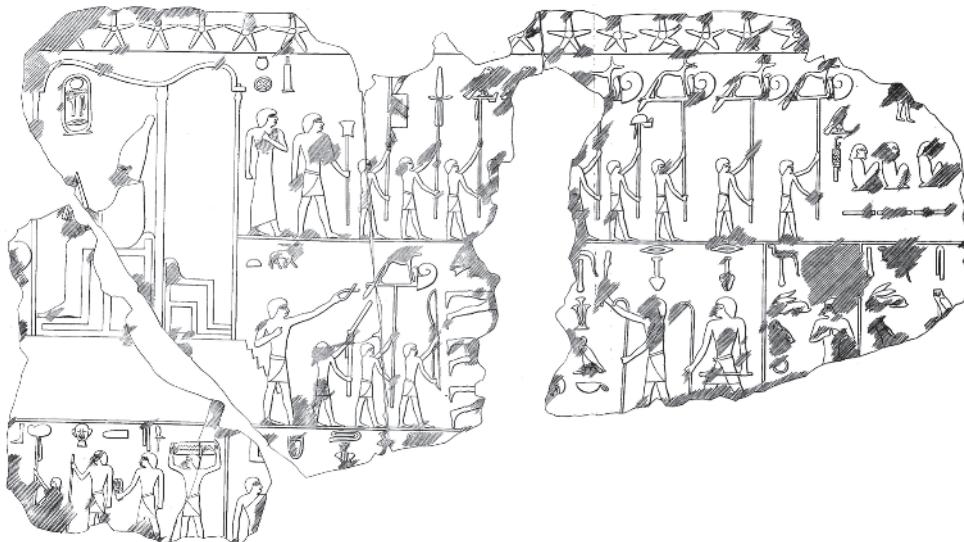


FIGURE 9.3 *The Sed-Festival depiction: the procession of the standards of the "Followers of Horus" (šmsw-Hr) in front of the enthroned king.* After von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pl. II.

of the festival seems to be performed¹³ in the so-called *pr-wrw*¹⁴ which, in turn, seems to be placed within a very particular structure into which the king entered at the beginning of the ceremony, after having been washed and

13 There is no certainty about the exact location of this relief within the ritual ceremony development. Von Bissing and Kees suggest that this part of the ritual (the so-called "Huldigungsszene II") must have preceded the ritual run (von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs*, 65 ff.). Kaiser is also convinced of the central position of this scene and suggests placing it immediately after the similar homage scene ("Huldigungsszene I"—fragments nr. 1lab) although he cannot definitely demonstrate this location: Kaiser, "Die kleine Hebseddarstellung," 94–95, and Faltafel 4.

14 The *pr-wrw*, literally "house of the great," is the ancient name of the entrance hall of the pyramid temples (see Arnold, "Rituale und Pyramidentempel," 6–8 with further bibliography). On the location of the *pr-wrw* inside the *wsjt* court, of which the 'h building is also a part, see Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, 3. See also von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs*, 15–16, where the authors compare the *wsjt* court of the sun temple reliefs with the festival hall of the New Kingdom temples, the so-called *wsjt hbyt*. It is not groundless, thus, to hypothesize that in the sun temples too the *pr-wrw* might have indicated the elongated entrance hall.

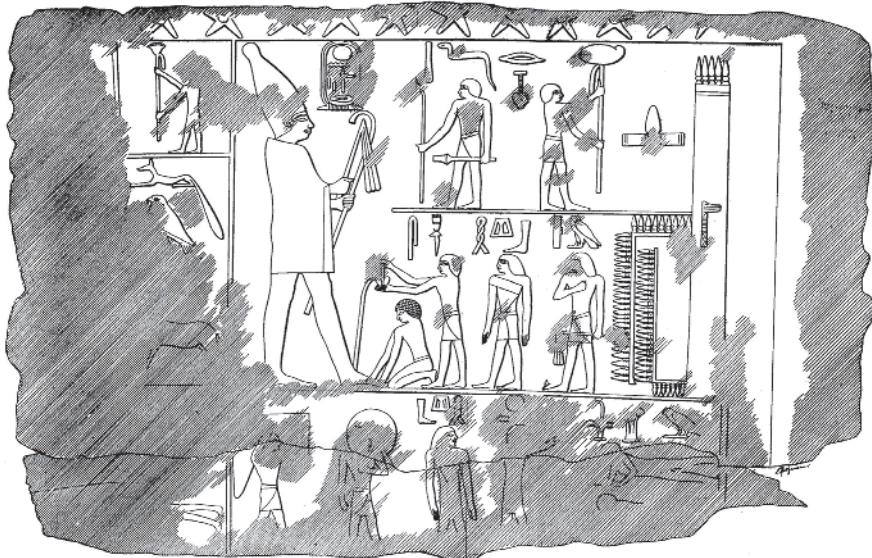


FIGURE 9.4 *The Sed-Festival depiction: the king's washing of feet and the 'h-ntr representation.*
After von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pl. 9.

purified.¹⁵ This structure is represented by two signs (Fig. 9.4):¹⁶ the first one is a vast rectangular enclosure, clearly resembling the hieroglyphic sign *sbht* (Gardiner sign-list O13; *Wb* IV, 92) although to be intended here as the elaborate form of the hieroglyphic sign of the *wsht* court (Gardiner sign-list O15; *Wb* I, 366);¹⁷ the second one, which is juxtaposed to the previous, is represented

¹⁵ See von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pl. 9 (20). The placement of this block in the depiction of the festival and the relative position of the washing of feet in the sacred itinerary of the royal ceremony is not completely clear. According to von Bissing and Kees, the ritual should be placed immediately before the ritual run in the field in order to wash and purify the king (von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs*, 76). However, according to Kaiser, the scene should probably be placed after the ritual run with the aim to wash and purify the king before he entered the ceremonial palace (Kaiser, "Die kleine Hebseddarstellung," 97, 99, and faltaffel 5). In any case, the scene is certainly to be placed before the meeting of the king with the gods.

¹⁶ See von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pls. 19 (45a), 22 (52). See also Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, pl. 1 (102ab, 105), and possibly pl. 25 (389), for other minor fragments with the same iconography.

¹⁷ See also Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 216–18, 320.

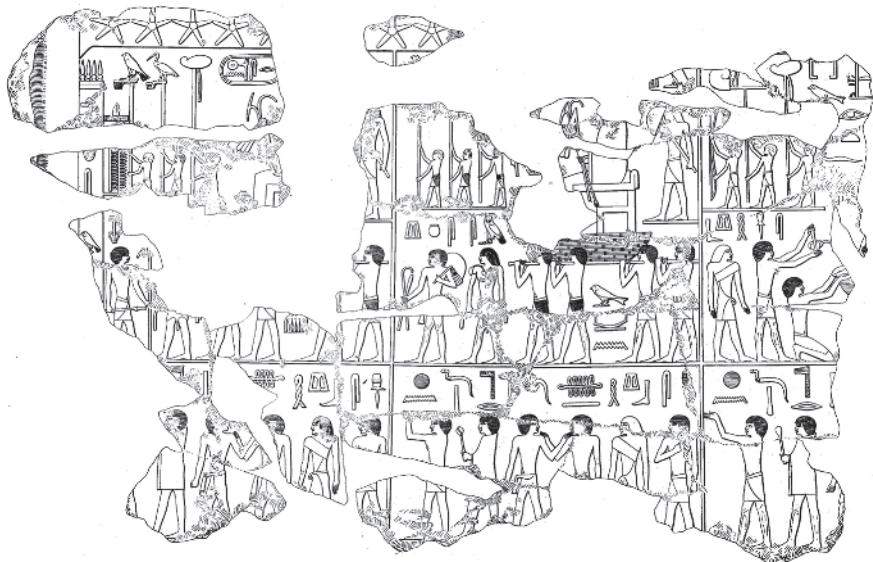


FIGURE 9.5 *The Sed-Festival depiction: the so-called “final procession of Upper Egypt.” The king is brought on a litter in order to visit the chapels of the gods. In the left corner is the ‘ḥ-ntr.* After von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pl. 19.

as an elongated, rectangular building—clearly resembling the hieroglyphic sign ‘ḥ (Gardiner sign-list O1)—which surrounds the hieroglyphic sign *ntr* (Gardiner sign-list R8), altogether to be read as ‘ḥ-*ntr* (*Wb* 1, 214).¹⁸ Both signs (‘ḥ-*ntr* and *wsht*) are crowned by a somewhat geometric *hkr* frieze. As a whole, the three signs have to be read as ‘ḥ-*ntr* “Palace (or Fortress) of the God.”¹⁹

As we can see in other parts of the *Sed-Festival* representation, the gods participating in the ceremony are represented as they arrive on a boat to the festival.²⁰ At the end of the ceremony, the king himself is brought in procession on a boat in order to visit the chapels of the individual gods, although the boat is here symbolically equated to the carrying chair of the ruler, as testified by

¹⁸ Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 292 ff.

¹⁹ For the reading of the three signs as a whole see von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs*, 86–88; Kaplony, “Gottespalast”; Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 229 ff.; Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 34–36.

²⁰ Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, 28–32, 52–54, and pls. 9 (193), 10 (198, 201–204).

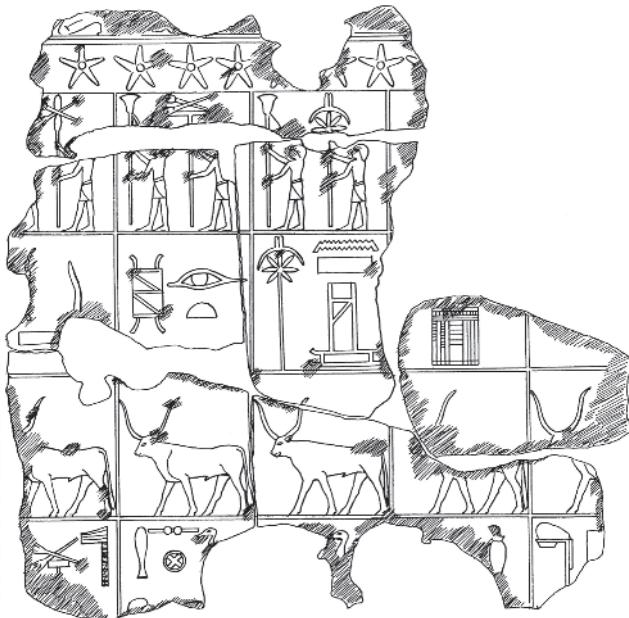


FIGURE 9.6 *The Sed-Festival depiction: a relief fragment of the procession and count of the cattle.* After von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pl. 7.

at least three representations (Fig. 9.5).²¹ Besides the renovation of the king's power by means of the ritual running, and the meeting with the assembly of the gods, one of the chief purposes of the festival was also the collecting of taxes, mainly represented by the procession and count of the cattle (Fig. 9.6).²²

Finally, before accomplishing the ritual running (and likely also after it, although this part is missing in the festival depiction), the king changes his ritual cloak in a room called *ist*, which is represented as a small, elongated chapel/building (see Fig. 9.2) resembling the 'h palace sign.²³ If we look at the

²¹ Von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pls. 15 (38), 19 (45a), 20 (46). On the identification of the boat with the carrying chair, see also Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 335.

²² Von Bissing and Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum II: Die kleine Festdarstellung*, pls. 1 (7a, 9, 10b), 6 (13–16), 7 (17).

²³ Von Bissing and Kees suggested that both terms, as well as the 'h-*ntr* word we have seen before, indicated the cloakroom/wardrobe of the king during the ceremony, to be identified, in the case of Niuserre's sun temple, with the "chapel" on the southern side of the

sun temple ground plan (see Fig. 9.1)²⁴ we will easily note that, besides the obelisk, we have three main areas in the complex:

1. a set of “storerooms,” ten in number, which Ludwig Borchardt tended to define as “Schatzkammern,”²⁵ *i.e.*, chambers possibly used also for the treasure of the temple and/or sacred emblems (*regalia*), and not exclusively for foodstuffs;²⁶
2. a huge space for purification and cleansing, with ten impressive alabaster basins, which is usually called the “Big Slaughterhouse,”²⁷ but whose exact meaning and significance, although likely somehow connected with the cattle and the meat offering, is still a matter of debate;²⁸
3. two elongated and decorated rooms on the south side of the obelisk. One of these, the so-called “Chapel,” is the room where the *Sed*-Festival depiction comes from and has been identified, as we have seen before, as the changing room for the king during the *Sed*-Festival ceremony, *i.e.*, the 1st chapel represented in the festival depiction (see Fig. 9.2 and n. 23).

sanctuary (see Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, 2; von Bissing and Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs*, 19–20). However, based on the present analysis, I would rather suggest that the *ḥ* palace sign, when represented together with both the *ntr* and the *wsjt* signs (*i.e.*, the *ḥ-ntr*) would represent the solar complex as a whole. See also further below.

²⁴ For convenience, we will use in this context the plan by Borchardt although a new, updated one has been recently completed by the Italian archaeological team working at Abu Ghurab: see Nuzzolo and Pirelli, “New archaeological investigation,” esp. pls. 41–42.

²⁵ Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau*, 40.

²⁶ The re-examination of the archaeological evidence still on the ground and the comparison with the similar structure of Sahura’s pyramid complex seem to suggest this different function and meaning of the storerooms in Niusera’s sun temple, and perhaps also in Sahura’s: see Nuzzolo and Pirelli, “New archaeological investigation,” 673–79, esp. 678.

²⁷ Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau*, 46–48, 51.

²⁸ Based on the archaeological evidence of the only slaughterhouse we know with certainty in a royal complex of the Old Kingdom, the so-called “Sanctuary of the Knife” in the pyramid temple of Neferefra, Verner has pointed out the surprising absence of any kind of binding-stones or ritual flints and knives for the butchering activities in the sun temple of Niusera, thus questioning the commonly accepted theory by Borchardt (Verner, “A slaughterhouse,” 186–87). Eggebrecht also expresses serious doubts about Borchardt’s hypothesis of the actual slaughtering of animals in the sun temple, arguing that the sun temple slaughterhouses might have been intended only for a ritual display and cleansing of the meat (Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 124 ff.). For a resume of the “slaughterhouse” matter in Abusir see also Vymazalová, “The economic connection,” 302–03.

All of these structures were enclosed by the wide, rectangular courtyard of the temple which, although probably not topped by the *hkr* frieze,²⁹ would fit well with the hieroglyphic sign depicting the *wsjt* court in the *Sed*-Festival depiction. Altogether, therefore, these structures would have been possibly represented in the festival depiction as a single complex, the ‘*h-ntr* palace juxtaposed to the *wsjt* court, namely the sun temples itself. Finally, outside the temple, an impressive mudbrick boat was found at the south-eastern corner,³⁰ the so-called “solar boat,” which we will discuss in detail later on.

The only part of the *Sed*-Festival depiction which, thus, seems to be missing in the architectural framework of Niuserre’s sun temple is the throne or dais of the king. However, we should bear in mind that in a temple dedicated to the sun god—and to the king as its earthly embodiment—the royal throne, at least from the symbolic and conceptual standpoint, would have been perfectly represented by the obelisk, which, resting in the centre of the courtyard on a giant podium, probably epitomizes the new image of the divine—and solar—enthroned ruler.

3 The Previous Tradition of the *Sed*-Festival: “Fortresses/Palaces of the Gods,” “Funerary Enclosures,” and Pyramid Complexes

Since the Early Dynastic Period, a ceremony similar to the *Sed*-Festival of Niuserra’s sun temple had been carried out in specific cult precincts whose name—‘*h-ntr* (Palace (or Fortress) of the God)³¹—corresponds to the name of the particular structure represented in Niuserra’s *Sed*-Festival depiction. These Early Dynastic buildings are frequently attested in the inscriptions engraved on many stone vessels and other artefacts of that time (Fig. 9.7),³² as well as on the Palermo Stone,³³ where they are depicted as elongated, rectangular structures enclosed by a vast, rectangular, fortress-like courtyard with niche and panels, surrounding the name of the specific building.³⁴ Moreover, although

²⁹ Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau*, 29–32, figs 16, 18, reconstructed a round topped enclosure wall.

³⁰ Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau*, 52–53.

³¹ Kaplony, “Gottespalast,” 5–16; Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 229 ff.; Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 33–39, esp. 39.

³² Kaplony, “Gottespalast,” 16 with further bibliography.

³³ Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, 16 (nr. 7), 19–20 (nr. 6–8).

³⁴ Kaplony, “Gottespalast,” 7, 9, 13.

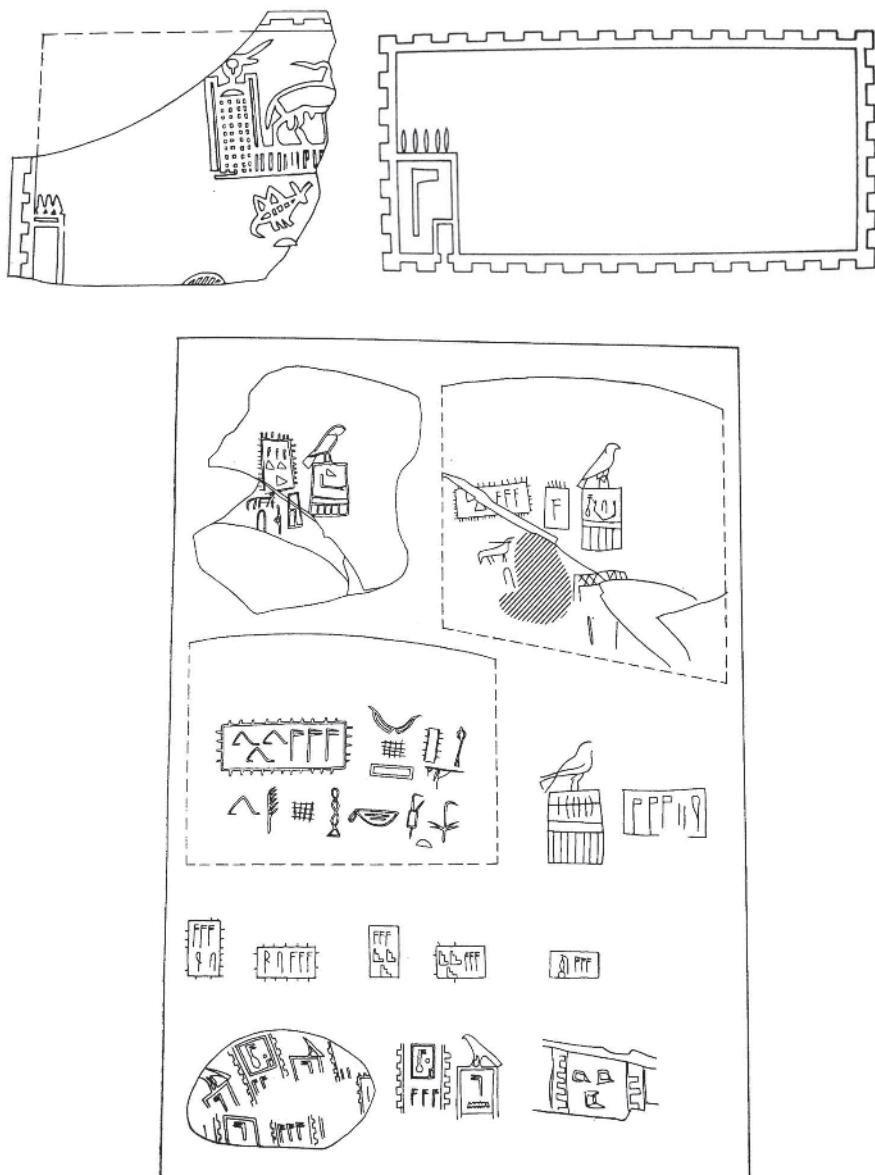


FIGURE 9.7 *Top, right:* a schematic representation of the Early Dynastic 'ḥ-ntr' building. Drawing by the author, after Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes," fig. 3.
Top left and bottom: some of the Early Dynastic inscriptions recording the "Fortresses/Palaces of the Gods—" 'ḥ-ntr.' After Kaplony, "Gottespalast," 7, 13.

the Pre-Dynastic *'h-ntr* palace—unlike the Fifth Dynasty exemplary—was always placed inside its surrounding enclosure³⁵ and not outside it, it clearly resembles the elongated form, endowed with the *hkr* frieze, of the *'h-ntr* building of Niuserre's sun temple reliefs.³⁶

As Arnold notes, the names of these *'h-ntr* buildings clearly designate them as gathering places for the gods,³⁷ certainly to be intended, at that time, as divine powers who appeared in animal-shape, or through their standards, during the *Sed*-Festival celebration.³⁸ These deities, the already mentioned *šmsw-Hr* (Followers of Horus), reached the place of encounter with the king by boats which were, in fact, mentioned in the epigraphic sources of the time, as on the Palermo Stone,³⁹ and which find a precise representation also in several rock inscriptions and sketches from Pre- and Proto-Dynastic times.⁴⁰

According to most scholars, these “fortresses” or “palaces of the gods,” which were built by almost all the pharaohs of the First and Second Dynasties, are to be identified with the so-called “funerary enclosures” which feature especially in the landscape of the area around Abydos and Hierakonpolis,⁴¹ and were clearly separated from the real tombs of the respective pharaohs which, in turn, were hidden far away in the desert.⁴² This split in the cult of the pharaoh

³⁵ In the case of real palaces/fortresses of the gods, the *'h-ntr* was usually placed at the left (south-eastern) corner of the enclosure: Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *Abydos III*, pl. vi. For an overview, see also Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 35, fig. 3.

³⁶ In this regard, it is also worth mentioning some minor fragments of the *Sed*-Festival depiction, which represent the *'h-ntr* and were found in the southern corridor, whose likeness with some of the Pre-Dynastic pieces is even more remarkable: Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, pl. II (212–215, 217).

³⁷ Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 34. See also Kaplony, “Gottespalast,” 14.

³⁸ Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 39. See also Alexanian, “Die Reliefdekoration des Chasechemui,” esp. 14–17.

³⁹ Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, 8–9, 15–29. See also Rössler-Köhler, “Götterbesuch.”

⁴⁰ Darnell, “Iconographic Attraction,” 97–99 and “The Wadi of the Horus Qa-a.”

⁴¹ Kaiser, “Zu den königlichen Talbezirken”; Lauer, “A propos des vestiges”; O’Connor, “New Funerary Enclosures.” A funerary enclosure is perhaps to be recognized also at Saqqara and should belong to King Den: Kaiser, “Ein Kultbezirk.” For a different opinion, see Papazian who has recently suggested that the “funerary enclosures” could be identified with the *ka*-foundations of the kings although he has to admit that “they are not identified as such textually.” However, he also suggests connecting these “funerary complexes”/*ka*-foundations with the sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty for both economic and cult reasons (Papazian, “Perspectives on the cult of Pharaoh,” quotation from 71). See also Stadelmann, “Die *ḥntjw-š*,” who tries to connect the fortresses of the gods to both the Early Dynastic funerary enclosures and the *š* basin/lake of the Fourth–Sixth Dynasties.

⁴² Kemp, “Abydos and the Royal Tombs,” esp. 21. On the royal tombs of Abydos, see also Kaiser and Dreyer, “Umm el-Qaab.”

between the actual tomb and a place for the ritual celebration of his kingship (the so-called “funerary enclosure”) deserves particular attention in our analysis because of its close similarity to the cultic situation of the Fifth Dynasty.

In fact, at the beginning of the Third Dynasty, a very similar function to that of the fortresses or palaces of the gods was certainly incorporated, revived and reinterpreted by the huge pyramid complex of Djoser.⁴³ Here, according to most scholars, a great deal of the available interior space was specifically devoted to dummy architecture intended to duplicate, for the afterlife of the king, the *Sed*-Festival structures actually used during his lifetime.⁴⁴ The famous *Sed*-Festival court in the south-eastern part of the complex is certainly the main element of this framework, with its twenty-five to thirty chapels for the divinities,⁴⁵ and the monumental, stepped podium in the middle supporting the royal throne, two features that clearly reproduce, in stone, the well-consolidated tradition of assembling the gods of the country in the “fortresses/palaces of the gods.” The *Sed*-Festival was so important in Djoser’s complex that its architects also decided to build two horseshoe-shaped cairns, made in stone, in the centre of the main southern courtyard, possibly aimed at recalling and eternizing the ceremony of the ritual running.⁴⁶

However, these elements connected to the *Sed*-Festival celebration seem to decrease in importance during the Fourth Dynasty,⁴⁷ when the accent is placed increasingly on the cult of the sun god as well as the solar traits of the pharaoh’s rule. From Snefru on, the king claimed for himself the absolute power of the sun god, considering himself no longer, or better, not simply, an earthly manifestation of Horus but rather the real incarnation of Re.⁴⁸ This

⁴³ Stadelmann, “Origins and Development,” with further bibliography. See also Lauer, “The Step Pyramid Precinct.”

⁴⁴ For an overall discussion on the matter see Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 40–44 with further bibliography. See also Friedman, “The Underground Relief Panels,” for the description, and the relative discussion, of the underground decorative program of the complex also pertaining to the *Sed*-Festival.

⁴⁵ Firth and Quibell also found seven statues of the king in the area which should contribute, according to them, to fulfil the requirements of the *Sed*-Festival. See Firth and Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, 114–15, pl. 66.

⁴⁶ Similar horseshoe-shaped cairns are not found in the other pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom. See also Lauer, “Les édicules.”

⁴⁷ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 62, points out the complete disappearance of the *Sed*-Festival architecture in the royal complexes after Djoser, whereas Brinks, “Die Sedfestanlagen,” 5–14, tries to support the idea of a continuous development from the Djoser type to the pyramid temples of the Fourth Dynasty.

⁴⁸ See Nuzzolo, “Royal Architecture,” 186, and fig. 2 and “The Bent Pyramid,” forthcoming. See also Wildung, “Zur Deutung,” 137–38, 144, who argued that the pyramid of Meidum

belief was particularly stressed by Khufu through the great architectural project of Giza.⁴⁹

During the whole of the Fourth Dynasty the pyramid, with its manifold meanings and features, was the focus of the funerary complex. The latter was also increasingly devoted to the statue cult which appears to be, for the first time, the central element in shaping the temple layout, as clearly demonstrated, for example, by Khafra's pyramid complex.⁵⁰ In the same period, following Arnold's hypothesis, there is reason to think that the valley temples of the pyramid complexes could have been somehow connected to the earlier tradition of the meeting places for the gods.⁵¹ Here the king joined the deities, represented by their statues, each with the specific *nome* standard, as is the case with the valley temples of both the Bent Pyramid⁵² and Menkaura's complex, although it is worth noting that the meaning of the triads which were found in the latter is still a matter of debate.⁵³

In the Fifth Dynasty the royal cult undergoes a reconciliation of the older cultic traditions with the new solar expectations. For the first time since the Early Dynastic Period, the cult of the pharaoh is divided in two: on the one hand the tomb (the pyramid complex), and on the other hand a kind of "funerary enclosure" or "fortress/palace of the gods" (the sun temple).⁵⁴ In fact, if we analyze in detail the scenes which are engraved on the walls of the two contemporary structures (pyramid and sun temple) we find an interesting contraposition.⁵⁵

could have been symbolically intended as a kind of "solar temple" for the assimilation of Snefru with the sun god Re.

49 Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden*, 110–26; Lehner, "A contextual approach"; Hawass, "Royal Funerary Complexes," 227–28. For the religious implications of this development of the royal ideology, see also Hornung, *Conception of God*, 135–42.

50 Stadelmann, "The development of the pyramid temple." On the importance of the cult statues (the so-called "Osiride" statues) of the upper temple of Khafra's pyramid, see also Ricke, *Bemerkungen* II, 47–55.

51 Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes," 51–52. For a different opinion on the role of the valley temples see Ricke, *Bemerkungen* II, 86–102.

52 Based on very recent archaeological data identified in the field by the German mission, Rainer Stadelmann has defined this valley temple as the "heb-sed temple" of the king; Stadelmann, "The heb-sed Temple." See also Arnold, "Royal Reliefs," 83–86.

53 For an updated resume of Menkaura's complex, see Friedman, "Reading the Menkaure Triads."

54 See also Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," 227–29 and "Royal Architecture," 184 ff., and esp. fig. 2.

55 The following analysis of the Fifth Dynasty pyramids is based mainly on the decorative program of Sahura's pyramid complex, which is by far the best preserved and most

In the valley temple and the causeway we have the depiction of the re-born king breast-fed by the gods, along with representations of griffins and lions, with the king's head, defeating enemies and protecting the complex against evil forces: in other words, a funerary, "regenerative," apotropaic symbolism. In the upper temple we mainly find scenes of the earthly ruling king receiving processions of tribute and offering bearers, leading and inspecting ships coming from foreign countries (probably Canaanite and Syrian territories, as well as unknown regions along the Red Sea Coast) with different food supplies and precious materials, such as the famous incense trees of Punt or the capstone of the royal pyramid, or even represented during particular ritual occasions surrounded by all the members of his family, as is the case with the famous erased representation of Sahura's elder son holding the name and titles of king Neferirkara. Simply put, the king as the living Horus.⁵⁶

In the sun temple of Niuserre, on the contrary, the whole of the decorative program, namely the so-called "kleine Festdarstellung" in the "Chapel" and the "grosse Festdarstellung" in the southern corridor, focuses on the *Sed-Festival* representation,⁵⁷ which is described in a very detailed manner and has no counterpart in any of the contemporary pyramid complexes.⁵⁸ By means of the

diversified: see Arnold, "Royal Reliefs," esp. 94–98. A complete resume of the decorative programs of all the Fifth Dynasty pyramids can be consulted in Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration*, 148–274. For the decorated blocks which were recently found in Sahura's pyramid complex and are not included in the latter resume, see also Hawass and Verner, "Newly discovered blocks"; El Awady, "King Sahura."

- 56 Hawass, "Royal Funerary Complexes," 249–53, esp. 252–53. For a complementary, "cosmic" interpretation of the value and meaning of the pyramid complex in the Old Kingdom, see O'Connor, "The Interpretation." We also have to consider that the pyramid, being a tomb, has also an obvious connection with the idea of the king's death and resurrection—and the related symbolisms—personified by Osiris. See Quack, "Bedeutung," 46–49.
- 57 Although the sun temple of Userkaf lacks any *Sed-Festival* depiction, its connection with this ceremony seems to be demonstrated by two elements at least: the discovery of a royal statue in the valley temple (catalogue number JE 90220: Saleh and Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke*, nr. 35) and the strong similarity in ground plan between the latter and the valley temple of the Bent Pyramid (which was doubtless related to the *Sed-Festival*: see n. 50 above and also Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 20–24). A connection with the king's statue cult is also likely (Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," 220–22). The valley temple of Userkaf's sun temple (the first sun temple to be built) seems to be, thus, a real *trait-d'union*—at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty—between the pyramid temple and the sun temple cults.
- 58 In fact, very few decorated fragments depicting the *Sed-Festival* have been found in the Fifth Dynasty pyramid complexes, and they come mainly from Sahura's funerary temple: Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re'*, pls. 45–47. Only one small fragment



FIGURE 9.8
*The Sed-Festival depiction:
 Niuserre wearing the *ȝtf* crown
 and the ram's horns. After Kees,
 Die grosse Festdarstellung, pl. 22.*

Sed-Festival ceremony the king's power was renewed and his person deified, as is clearly demonstrated by a fragment coming from the southern corridor where Niuserre is wearing the *ȝtf* crown and the ram's horns (Fig. 9.8).⁵⁹

was found in Niuserre's pyramid temple (Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re'*, 85, fig. 62) and this seems to be amazing when compared with the enormous amount of reliefs coming from the sun temple of the same king. Therefore, although the Fifth Dynasty pyramid complexes are certainly not well-preserved, the lack of figurative evidence for the *Sed*-Festival representation in the pyramid temples with respect to the sun temple decorative program cannot be pure chance. For the review of the decorated fragments concerning the *Sed*-Festival depiction in the pyramid complexes from the whole of the Old Kingdom, see Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration*, 225–38.

⁵⁹ In the Old Kingdom, the *ȝtf* crown, commonly related to Osiris in the New Kingdom, occurs long before the god of Abydos is attested and seems to represent a distinctive trait of the deified king as Re both in his pyramid complex (a similar, but not equal, iconography is also to be found in Sahura's pyramid temple: Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal*

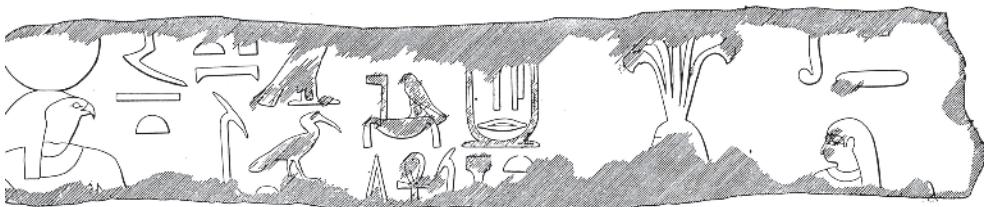


FIGURE 9.9 *Relief fragment from the “Room of the Seasons”: Niuserre leading the procession of the gods and nomes to the sun god Ra. After von Bissing, “La chambre des trois saisons,” pl. VIb.*

Furthermore, and not surprisingly, the decorative cycle of the last room of the temple, the so-called “Room of the Seasons,”⁶⁰ which is placed immediately after the southern corridor and the “Chapel,” but before approaching the obelisk, celebrates the final merging of the king with the sun god Re,⁶¹ the dominating deity of the Fifth Dynasty (here represented for the first time in ancient Egyptian art with human shape and a falcon head; Fig. 9.9).⁶² Similarly, the apex of the celebration of the older ceremonies performed in the fortresses/palaces of the gods was the renewal of the king's power and his merging with Horus—the main god of that period—in the presence of his divine followers.⁶³

des Königs Sahu-Re', pl. 35–38) and sun temple (see also Nuzzolo, “The sun temples,” 227 and “Royal Architecture,” 187). The presence of a sun disk and likely the *ȝht* sign in front of Niuserre as well as the ram's horns on his head seem to further contribute to the concept of king's solar divinity and are also echoed by PT 245–246 (see Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 58–59). Moreover, during the Middle Kingdom Osiris is mainly shown with the White Crown: see Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 150 ff. For the drawing of the fragment of the Sed-Festival, see Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, pl. 22 (352).

60 Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau*, 35–36, and figs. 40–41.

61 In fact, the detailed representation of the three seasons of the year in this chamber demonstrates that the renewal of the world's natural cycle, with all its variety of plants and animals, is guaranteed and made possible by the regeneration of the king's power and his final assimilation with the sun god. For the symbolism of the figurative repertoire of this room representing the concepts of time (the Seasons) and space (the Nomes), see also Nuzzolo, “The sun temples,” 225–26.

62 Von Bissing, “La chambre des trois saisons” (see pl. VIb for the representation of Re with falcon head). Edel and Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pls. 24, 48.

63 Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 36–37. According to Arnold “[in the fortresses of the gods] the king, or his symbol in the shape of the standard of Horus, would have dominated the surrounding assembly of gods, and this may be the source for the image of the ‘Horus falcon on his palace’ that is omnipresent in Egyptian iconography.” Such iconography (see



FIGURE 9.10 *The so-called "Solar Boat" on the south side of Niuserre's sun temple. After Borchardt, Das Re-Heiligtum, fig. 46.*

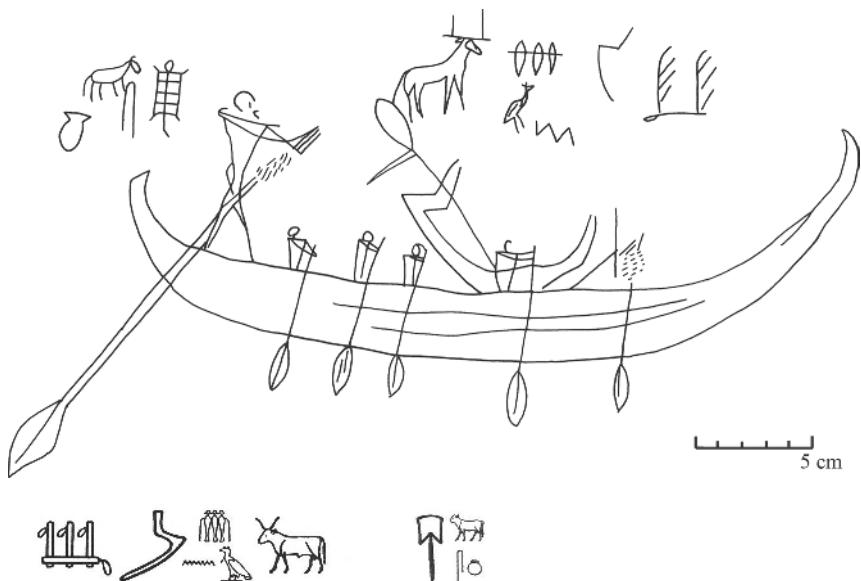


FIGURE 9.11 *Facsimile drawing of an Early Dynastic rock relief with hieroglyphic transliteration, from the Theban Western Desert and concerning the Royal Jubilee. After Darnell, "The Wadi of the Horus Qa-a," II82–84.*

This similarity between the old fortresses/palaces of the gods and the sun temples can also be confirmed by the presence of the abovementioned “solar boat” at the south-eastern edge of the enclosure wall of Niuserre’s sun temple (Fig. 9.10).⁶⁴ According to Borchardt, the central mast of the hull of this brick boat was decorated with a šms sign and two falcons which clearly seem to allude to the “Followers of Horus.” In addition, the Early Dynastic boats discovered at the edge of the funerary enclosure of Khasekhemwy at Abydos were probably intended to accommodate the deities arriving there from their own temples—namely the “Followers of Horus”—with the final goal being to preserve and eternalize the memory of the meeting of the king with the gods in the cult complexes.⁶⁵

Moreover, according to recent researches conducted by John Darnell on certain desert rock inscriptions dated back to the Early Dynastic Period (Fig. 9.11), the boat carrying the king during the ritual, ceremonial meetings with the gods was called “*Maaty Boat*.⁶⁶ This surprisingly seems to match the name of the boat once laying at the southern corner of Neferirkare’s sun temple, whose building is recorded on the Palermo Stone,⁶⁷ and whose location corresponds to that of the abovementioned brick boat found in Niuserre’s sun temple.

Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 37, fig. 4a) seems to be also testified by a fragment of the sun temple decoration where the image of the Horus-falcon on his palace is probably to be reconstructed: Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Die grosse Festdarstellung*, pl. 10 (199), and the similar image at pl. 11 (210). This seems to further confirm the close relationship between fortresses/palaces of the gods and sun temples.

⁶⁴ Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau*, 52–53.

⁶⁵ O’Connor, “Boat Graves” and *Abydos*, 185–94. Although O’Connor seems to favor this view, he is however cautious in linking explicitly the boats with the ancient gathering of the gods. Arnold, however, seems more convinced of this direct link: Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes,” 36.

⁶⁶ Darnell, “The Wadi of the Horus Qa-a,” 1181–87. According to Darnell, the ritual occasion for this meeting was either an actual Jubilee festival or the Sokar festival.

⁶⁷ Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, 41. Quite recently Toby Wilkinson has cast doubt upon the reading of several parts of the Palermo Stone. However, he does not completely dismiss Schäfer’s interpretation of this part of the Stone concerning Neferirkare due to the impossibility of a new reading of the artifact: Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 179–80.

4 Conclusion

Many elements of our analysis seem, thus, to suggest that the representation of the *Sed*-Festival in Niuserra's sun temple might have been intended to celebrate, for eternity, the role and meaning of the temple itself, and probably of the solar temples as a whole. In other words, they functioned as an architectural setting that enabled the meeting of the king with the gods during the oldest ritual performance known in Egyptian civilization, the *Sed*-Festival,⁶⁸ with the ultimate purpose of reconfirming the pharaoh's kingship and, at the same time, associating him with the new, supreme, solar deity, the god Re.⁶⁹

In this sense the sun temples seem to be the direct heirs of the so-called "funerary enclosures" or "fortresses/palaces of the gods" of the Early Dynastic Period, an element that seems suggested also by the very names of the sanctuaries, the first of which, for example, is called *Nḥn-R'*, the "Fortress of Re."⁷⁰

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- 68 In this regard, it is also noteworthy that a granite block with an inscription recording the royal jubilee was found by Borchardt in the area around the main alabaster altar together with many other blocks of the same material and, sometimes, of great dimensions. Although the German scholar was not able to identify the original location of this block he argued, nonetheless, that it must have been part of an official inscription, celebrating the *Sed*-Festival of the king, which was once placed on the architrave of one of the main doorways of the temple: Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum I: Der Bau*, 55.
- 69 Whether the actual *Sed*-Festival was carried out in the sun temple or elsewhere is difficult to establish with certainty given the current state of our knowledge. It is worth noting, however, that the sun temple (that of Niuserra at least) was an impressive structure (around 110 × 80 m) with the wide central courtyard (over 2000 m²) and the large area of the so-called "slaughterhouse" (around 1000 m²), which certainly could be used for the ritual running of the king and for the cleansing or purification activities, respectively. We also have to consider that the ritual running—especially in the time of Niuserra, i.e. hundreds of years after the introduction of the ritual itself—was likely (and mainly) a symbolic gesture which certainly had to be accomplished by the king but did not eventually imply the performance of an actual long run in a large field. Finally, if we compare the Egyptian festival with some modern crowning ceremonies such as, for example, that of the Queen of England in Westminster or the Pope in St. Peter, which are evidently set in a much smaller space, we can conclude that the solar sanctuary might have fitted with the actual performance of the *Sed*-Festival, or part of it at least.
- 70 The Palermo Stone records the donation of 24 arouras of arable land by Userkaf to the "gods" of his sun temple (Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, 34–35). An offering to the gods of the southern "palace of the gods"—*ḥ-ntr*—is also attested, possibly to further assess the conceptual and ideological similarity between the (northern) sun temple and the (southern) fortress/palace of the gods. A southern "palace of the gods"—*ḥ-ntr*—is also recorded for Sahura (Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, 36–37) whereas no corresponding northern "palace of the gods" seems to be documented (if we exclude, of course, the sun temple).

This was probably the reason why, whatever the identity of the specific buildings represented in the *Sed*-Festival was, their depiction had to be placed in the sun temple, and not in any other pyramid complex. It was intended to stress the direct link between the representation and the main aim of the temple.

This indicates the manifold nature and ideological functions of these structures, where solar features and regenerative expectations of kingship—the two main aspects of the royal ideology at the Fifth Dynasty—were symbolically performed and eternally perpetuated.⁷¹

The sun temples should thus be seen as having a plural nature and function, satisfying a variegated set of cult demands whose ultimate purpose was probably neither specifically “funerary” nor exclusively “divine” insofar as the two symbolic functions were probably too intertwined to be clearly separated.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
Gardiner	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised. London:
sign-list	Oxford University Press, 1969.
LdÄ	E. Otto, W. Westendorf, and W. Helck, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–1991.
PT	Pyramid Texts
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>

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It is also worth noting that even in the titles of the Old Kingdom the ‘*ḥ-ntr* palace is mentioned only in connection with Upper Egypt in its form as *imy-r ḥ-ntr šm* or *shd ḥ-ntr šm*. See Jones, Index 1, 80, no. 359, and Index 11, 917, no. 3371.

⁷¹ For further details on the value of the sun temples and their connection with the contemporary pyramids, see also Nuzzolo “The sun temples,” 227–29, 238–40.

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The State of Egypt in the Eighth Dynasty

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Abstract

The final stages of the Old Kingdom remain contentious with respect to a host of historical challenges ranging from the duration of the reign of some of the Sixth Dynasty kings to complex succession issues. These, in turn, necessarily affect the analysis of the ensuing dynastic lines, which remain pivotal in the lead-up to the First Intermediate Period. The reconstruction of the events related to this interlude must address the degree of reliability of the available historical sources, as well as the family relationships established by the Sixth Dynasty with prominent Upper Egyptian officials. Thus, it appears that the connections it maintained not only influenced the state of affairs in that period but in subsequent ones as well, particularly in the Eighth Dynasty, which may have emulated the type of government and policies prevalent in preceding period.

1 Introduction

The analysis of the disintegration of the Egyptian state at the end of the Old Kingdom, and by extension the status of the initial stages of the First Intermediate Period, has traditionally generated extensive academic debate. Generally, the accepted premise has been to acknowledge the Sixth Dynasty as concluding the Old Kingdom and leading into the breakdown of the Egyptian state, a process that would begin its gradual reversal through the efforts of the early Eleventh Dynasty Theban rulers, and would appear to be completed by the end of the reign of Nebhepetre-Montuhotep. However, recent trends would favor extending the Old Kingdom until the start of the Herakleopolitan line of Dynasty Nine/Ten and thus shortening the span of the First Intermediate Period. The present article adheres to the latter argument in order to advance proposals that might argue in favor of maintaining the Old Kingdom Egyptian state through most of what is considered to be the Eighth Dynasty, which would make that particular line rather pivotal in terms of its transitional character. The range of the available sources attributed to the Eighth Dynasty appears to suggest that it perpetuated (at least throughout most of its duration) the

traditions of kingship and type of government prevalent in the Old Kingdom, emulating especially the Sixth Dynasty. A proposal of this nature would prompt us to examine closely the material available from the Eighth Dynasty in order to evaluate, classify, and present the information in a more integrated and coherent fashion, but more importantly yet, to correlate the features inherent to the data with the historical reality of the broader Old Kingdom, in particular the issue of the intervening Seventh Dynasty and the character of kingship in the Eighth Dynasty.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Matters

At the outset, the study of the Eighth Dynasty is confronted with the principles of Egyptian historical inquiry, namely the definition of what constitutes a dynasty or a unified state, as well as the extent to which any perceived shortcomings and (in)applicability of Manetho's division of Egyptian history affect the overall argument.¹ In addition to the usual host of chronological challenges that plague an investigation of this type (*e.g.*, the exact terminus of the Sixth Dynasty), there remains a methodological one in modern historical discourse that stems from applying contradictory criteria to the analysis of comparable issues. This concerns principally the designation of a given period as being either within the parameters of the unified state or outside of them. The label *intermediate* used in prevailing historical approaches to ancient Egypt is based on norms that were devised to contrast what appear to be periods of unified and/or native Egyptian rule with intervals of time that in our view did not meet those restrictive conditions. Furthermore, the abrupt transition between periods no longer appears tenable. Barring a major natural catastrophe, which would unexpectedly and profoundly alter the existence of a given region, historical shifts require a period of growth. Therefore, an abrupt dissolution of a unified state entity such as the Old Kingdom should not be expected to have taken place, for instance, following the death of a king or as a result of a single missed harvest.

Consequently, accepting the still ill-defined end of the Sixth Dynasty as the sudden conclusion of the Old Kingdom creates discrepancies with respect to our understanding of a dynastic line, as well as the definition margins of an Intermediate Period, resulting in some of the methodological disconnects stated above. The Eighth Dynasty seems to have adhered to one of the major

¹ The polemic surrounding most aspects of those issues has been discussed and analyzed by Schneider, "Periodizing Egyptian History."

criteria of a unified state, namely that of a single ruler maintaining apparent dominion over all of Egypt, akin to the (earlier) Old Kingdom dynasties. But the intervening line of the Seventh Dynasty prevents a seamless continuation of that unified character (and thus the prolonging of the Old Kingdom), and the most expedient remedy has been to disregard the Seventh Dynasty based on its lacking any basis in historical fact.² However, the principal argument in favor of this proscription has been the apparent fictitious nature of the line and not any consideration affecting the character of the Eighth Dynasty. The Manethonian tradition, based on the account of Syncellus (as reported by Africanus and Eusebius), variously assigns 70 days for 70 kings, or 75 days for five kings, to the Seventh Dynasty. In either case, it has been argued that the untenable nature of this version should prompt the deletion of this near-fictitious line of kings without impacting the overall chronology in any way; after all, the purported rapid succession of kings within a ten-week period should disqualify the account from being considered anything but a literary device, rather than historical interpretation.³ Regrettably, the effect of such statements on the writing of history has been negative, as the idea itself of a multiplicity of kings, even fabricated ones, within a short length of time has been construed as a metaphor for chaos. Such an approach, exacerbated by the scarcity of royal monuments from those periods, has resulted in distorting the analysis of the final stages of what we consider to be the Old Kingdom based on the unpremeditated intent of attempting to validate the perceived unruliness and disunity at all costs, while disregarding evidence worthy of historical consideration that adheres to criteria by which all previous and subsequent periods have been reconstructed and analyzed. Therefore, a comprehensive re-examination of certain aspects of the evidence, including the possibility of the Seventh Dynasty's existence, remains fully justified.

3 Principal Sources⁴

The evidence pertaining to the study of the Eighth Dynasty is disparate and appears disjointed. Yet a clear unity emerges when considered within the appropriate context, one that would address both the purely chronological

² Von Beckerath omits that line from his king-list (*Königsnamen*, 66, n. 1).

³ Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day Books*, 238 and n. 32.

⁴ Schenkel has grouped and translated some Eighth Dynasty inscriptions, as well as other post-Sixth Dynasty texts that lack a clear dynastic classification (*Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, 11–44).

imperatives of attempting to establish a workable catalogue of kings, as well as the issues of lineage.

In addition to the Abydos list of kings discussed below, and the succinct mentions in Manetho and Papyrus Turin, the information obtained from a number of royal decrees dispatched to Coptos,⁵ inscriptions from Wadi Hammamat,⁶ scattered royal notations at various sites in Upper Egypt⁷ either from the Eighth Dynasty, or quite possibly from the period immediately following its dissolution, as well as a number of non-royal inscriptions from Upper Egypt, has a direct bearing on the analysis of the relationship and familial links of this dynasty with parts of the South.⁸

Manetho's account for the Eighth Dynasty is fairly straightforward, non-descript, and omits any mention of royal names. Just as for the Seventh Dynasty, this line is noted as being Memphite,⁹ and summarized as follows:

- 27 kings for 146 years (from Syncellus, according to Africanus).
- Five kings for 100 years (from Syncellus, according to Eusebius—thus also in the Armenian version).

The number of kings given in Eusebius's account remains very plausible. The oft-cited column 5 (formerly numbered 4) of the Turin list includes three kings that could make up part of the Eighth Dynasty, with a lacuna that would allow for the presence of three additional names following that of Ibi.¹⁰ However, the duration of the dynasty transmitted through the Africanus and Eusebius traditions remains vastly exaggerated.

5 *KD*, 163–225.

6 Couyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, nos. 168–69, 188, and 206–09.

7 Weigall, "Upper Egyptian Notes," 110, no. 12; Kamal, "Fouilles à Dara et à Qoçeir el-Amarna," 132.

8 Gilbert, "Three Recently Excavated Funerary Stelae from the Eighth Dynasty Tomb of Shemai"; Habachi, "The Tomb of Princess Nebt"; Mostafa, "Erster Vorbericht über einen Ersten Zwischen-Zeit Text aus Kom el-Koffar—Teil I" and "Kom el-Koffar. Teil II."

9 As will be elaborated below, a Memphite character for the immediate successors of the Sixth Dynasty appears to be favored (Hayes, "Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min," 22–23), despite the proposal by Stock for basing that line in Abydos (*Die erste Zwischenzeit Aegyptens*, 32 ff.) and Sethe's argument in favor of a Coptic base (discussed in some detail by Hayes, "Royal Decrees," 21–22).

10 See Ryholt, "The Late Old Kingdom in the Turin King-list," 88, fig. 1, and 91.

4 The Eighth Dynasty in the Abydos List of Kings

The principal source of information for royal names with respect to the Eighth Dynasty remains the Abydos list of kings, which in total contains the names of Sety I and 75 of his ancestors. The Eighth Dynasty kings on the Abydos list are assigned positions 40 through 56,¹¹ which are maintained in all modern studies.

Despite the list's primarily ritual function and inconsistencies, there are some hints at historical commentary in the most concise manner injected therein by its compilers. For instance, queens in particular, namely Neferusobek of the end of Dynasty 12 and Hatshepsut, are omitted, along with other regents deemed illegitimate, such as Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, while extremely ephemeral and fictitious ones are inserted, as with a certain Neferkare at the end of the Third Dynasty, who must be disregarded. In addition, although the list lacks completeness, it is of some significance that the sequence of rulers whose historicity is firmly established and corroborated by other sources remains remarkably accurate and reliable.

The striking feature of the Abydos list as far as the Eighth Dynasty is concerned would be the fact that its registers include seventeen kings that are traditionally considered to have reigned as part of that specific line. That number represents 22% of the list's total down to the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty and remains an inordinately elevated figure, even when applying the requisite caution when dealing with the Abydos list. Interestingly enough, those seventeen kings may have been considered sufficiently legitimate to be included according to the standards applied by the original composers of the list. Nevertheless, the presence of a royal name on ancient annals would not automatically secure its historicity, and the legitimacy of that same name might be questionable when tested against modern historical criteria. Therefore, there exists more than a great likelihood that some of the seventeen Eighth Dynasty pharaohs mentioned in Sety's Abydos temple remain either fictitious, or would fall short of our own definition of an Egyptian pharaoh.

5 Correlation of the Abydos List with Independent Data

Since the kings appearing on the Abydos list will be mentioned on a recurring basis throughout this study, it would be expedient to present them in this space for ease of reference (see Table 10.1).

¹¹ *KRI* I, 178–79.

TABLE 10.1 *Kings in the Abydos list assigned to the Eighth Dynasty (numbering follows KRI I, 178–79)*

Abydos n°	Name
40	<i>Ntr-k3-R^c</i>
41	<i>Mn-k3-R^c</i>
42	<i>Nfr-k3-R^c</i>
43	<i>Nfr-k3-R^c Nby</i>
44	<i>Dd-k3-R^c Šm3l</i>
45	<i>Nfr-k3-R^c Hndw</i>
46	<i>Mr-n-Hr</i>
47	<i>Nfr-k3-Mnw</i>
48	<i>Ny-k3-R^c</i>
49	<i>Nfr-k3-R^c Trww</i>
50	<i>Nfr-k3-Hr</i>
51	<i>Nfr-k3-R^c Ppy-snb</i>
52	<i>Nfr-k3-Mnw nw</i>
53	<i>Q3-k3.w-R^c</i>
54	<i>Nfr-k3.w-R^c</i>
55	<i>Nfr-k3.w-Hr</i>
56	<i>Nfr-ir-k3-R^c</i>

Modern historical reconstructions of this period that associate entries on the Abydos list with perceived attestations of those kings must be used with caution, since they frequently rely on material with ambiguous authenticity. Very often there has been an unwitting desire to relate independent textual data to kings appearing on the Abydos list, a methodology that is rife with pitfalls and uncertainties. These derive not only from the partial reliability of the list in Sety I's temple, but also from the unsound method of matching royal names with questionable epigraphic accuracy found elsewhere with those listed at Abydos. Among these the following may be mentioned:

N° 40—*Ntr-k3-R^c*: citing T.G.H. James,¹² Jürgen von Beckerath¹³ refers to metal tools bearing that royal name. The object in question (BM 66205;

¹² James, "A Group of Inscribed Egyptian Tools," 38.

¹³ Von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 66.

registration number 1961,0211.1) is in fact listed by the British Museum as a forgery. Thus, those fakes cannot represent an independent attestation for *Ntr-k3-Rc*, who is discussed here again in the following section.

N° 48—*Ny-k3-Rc*: a seal impression is cited as further evidence for this king.¹⁴ Closer examination would favor reading the $\sim\sim\sim$ suggested for *Ny-* as \square , resulting in *Mn-k3-Rc*, despite Peter Kaplony's objections.¹⁵ Approximations of this type are an example of the practice mentioned above that would tend to correlate forcibly a given textual occurrence with a king appearing on the Abydos list.

5.1 *Kings on the Abydos List Attested Independently*

N° 40—*Ntr-k3-Rc* should be allocated the slot occupied by the fictitious “queen” Nitocris. Owing to a reconstruction of the fragments by Kim Ryholt, Nitocris acquires the nomen Siptah and would subsequently need to be omitted from the historical record in favor of king Netjerkare.¹⁶

N° 43—*Nfr-k3-Rc-Nby* (Neferkare II), son of Pepy II and Ankhenespepy III or IV,¹⁷ mentioned on a stela of that queen mother.¹⁸ This, in turn, grants legitimacy to this ruler as a rightful successor to Pepy II and would argue in favor of prolonging the Sixth Dynasty. A name for his pyramid as *Dd-nb-Nfr-k3-Rc* also appears on that same stela.

¹⁴ Kaplony, *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs*, vol. II^B, pl. 114, no. 1.

¹⁵ *Roll siegel*, vol. II^A, 433. Compare with the writing of *Mn-k3-Rc* in vol. II^B, pl. 113, no. 1 (= BM 30557), which displays a nearly-identical cobra design as found on the seal ascribed to *Ny-k3-Rc*. In the likely circumstance that these two seals should be attributed to the same king, an additional caveat should be injected regarding their dating, as cylinder seal BM 30557 has been assigned a tentative New Kingdom date in the British Museum's on-line object catalogue (registration number 1899,0311.63).

¹⁶ See his discussion of the matter in “The Late Old Kingdom in the Turin King-list,” 92–93.

¹⁷ Fraisse, “Saqqâra: Notes d'information sur les travaux récents au complexe funéraire de la reine Ânkhesenpépy II,” 239–40, suggests Ankhenespepy III as the mother of this king, while Callender opts for Ankhenespepy IV (*In Hathor's Image*, 344, “Genealogy 7”). It is now likelier to prefer the latter, as Ankhenespepy III appears to have been the mother of another king (Leclant and Labrousse, “Découvertes récentes,” 111, fig. 6) also called Neferkare (see below in the section “Prelude to Dynasty 8”).

¹⁸ Jéquier, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apout*, 53, fig. 31.

N° 51—*Nfr-k3-Rc-Ppy-snb* is most certainly *Nfr-k3-hrd-snb* of Turin,¹⁹ where he is preceded by the superfluous Nitocris. His length of reign remains in a lacuna.

N° 53—*Q3-k3-Rc-Ibi* built a pyramid at Saqqara.²⁰ He is also mentioned on the Turin list, fragment 43.²¹ The placement of fragment 61 of that papyrus would assign two years, one month, and one day to this king.²²

N° 54—*Nfr-k3.w-Rc*'s standing may be confirmed, though in a slightly circuitous manner. The proposal would involve equating him with king *Hc-[?]*, whose partially damaged Horus name appears on a portion of an Eighth Dynasty decree from Coptos addressed to Shemay.²³ This fragment is unique in that it preserves a year date of *rnp.t sp 4*,²⁴ which represents the highest attested year date from the Eighth Dynasty. Coincidentally, line 11 of fragment 61 of Turin (col. 5), as reconstructed by Ryholt,²⁵ contains a reign length of four years, though the royal name in the matching fragment 43 is lost; the king immediately above this entry in Turin is *Q3-k3-Rc'-Ibi*, just like on the Abydos list. Although this type of correspondence based on a matching year numeral may be opportune, it must remain conjectural.

The difficulty is compounded by the reading of the name *Hc-[?]*, which must remain hypothetical for the time being, despite the fact that the reading has been maintained as such by successive commentators since Raymond Weill's publication of a facsimile drawing of the decree fragment of that king.²⁶ The problem lies principally with our inability to collate Weill's

¹⁹ See Ryholt's analysis regarding the equivalence in "The Late Old Kingdom," 93–94.

²⁰ Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Aba*.

²¹ Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, pl. II, col. IV, fr. 43. More recently, Ryholt, "The Late Old Kingdom," 89, fig. 2.

²² Ryholt, "The Late Old Kingdom," 89, fig. 2.

²³ Hayes, "Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptus," 21 and pl. IIIA. This is given the designation of Coptos H in KD, 163–64; note that the facsimile of this decree appears on page 196 as fig. 23. Von Beckerath (*Königsnamen*, 68–69) also suggests an association between these two kings.

²⁴ Hayes (following Gardiner) had proposed rendering this already as regnal year 4 instead of "year of occasion 4," which would, of course, yield a slightly higher number (*JEA* 32, 13, n. 7). In his own analysis of this date, Spalinger agrees with Hayes and considers it "advisable" to maintain Hayes's proposal of regnal year 4 (Spalinger, "Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom," 312). However, in a subsequent comment on p. 316 in the same article he appears to disagree with the assessment that the single regnal year system had already been instituted by the Eighth Dynasty.

²⁵ "The Late Old Kingdom," 89, fig. 2.

²⁶ Weill, *Les décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien*, 90.

drawing with the original, but also with the rather unconventional initial position of H^c .²⁷ Since very few Horus names of Eighth Dynasty kings have survived, a pattern of composition,²⁸ if any may not be easily discernable. The very tentative proposal in favor of a reading of $H^c\text{-}B3.w$ put forth by William Hayes, and maintained elsewhere,²⁹ remains difficult to substantiate.

5.2 *Eighth Dynasty Kings Absent from the Abydos List*

An additional group of eight kings assigned to the Eighth Dynasty remains absent from the Abydos List.³⁰ Some of these rulers may actually postdate the Eighth Dynasty, though it may be difficult to produce a reliable sequence for them for reasons that will be made clear below. These rulers, with the exception of three, are confronted with the challenge of being attested within ambiguous epigraphic contexts, and often only a single time. Among the ones on this supplemental list, e, f, and g remain fairly problematic either with respect to the reading assigned to them, or their authenticity.

- (a) *Shm-k3-R^c*, also suggested as ‘nh-k3-R^c, found on a small fragment of a hieratic letter from Elephantine (P. Berlin 10523, O 285).³¹ A reading of *Shm-k3-R^c* would perhaps be preferable, since an ‘nh-sign immediately to the right of this cartouche on the same fragment is written slightly differently, with a broader top and a more angular and pronounced crossbar.
- (b) *W3d-k3-R^c* (also see next entry), Horus name *Dmd-ib-t3.wy*, has been confirmed via a Coptic decree to the vizier Idi. Both this king and Idi are discussed in greater detail further below in the current article.

²⁷ To my knowledge the only Horus name from the earlier dynasties that begins with H^c remains that of $H^c\text{-}shm.wy$ of the Second Dynasty. The top of the generic h^c -sign resembles that of a sun disk, and ☐ may have been erroneously copied in lieu of ☺ in the original epigraphic edition of this Coptic decree. Such a proposition would create its own discrepancies, due to the extreme infrequency of ☺ in initial position within early Horus names. The Second Dynasty, once again, provides the only attestation in the name of king $R^c\text{-}nb(=i)$.

²⁸ For instance, Fifth Dynasty Horus names overwhelmingly favor $H^c w$ (☒ ☀) as the second element in the composition, as in *Nb-H^cw* (Sahure), *Wsr-H^cw* (Neferirkare), *Dd-H^cw* (Djedkare), and so on. That specific pattern is also found among some Sixth Dynasty pharaohs, namely Merenre I (‘nh- $H^c w$) and Pepy II (*Ntr-H^cw*).

²⁹ “Royal Decrees,” 12–13; retained, for instance, by Mostafa, “Kom el-Koffar. Teil II,” 183, table 1.

³⁰ Von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 70–71, a to h.

³¹ Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Hieratische Papyrus*, 9th fasc., pl. 5; Edel, “Unpublizierte althieratische Elephantine-Papyri aus Straßburg,” 76, fig. 6, and 80.

- (c) *Ity* appears in Wadi Hammamat inscription 169 dated to his “Year of the First Occasion.”³² His name is actually part of the composition of his pyramid name (*B3.w-Ity*), and the expedition, led by a certain *Ipi* was organized in order to conduct work related to that monument. If indeed the pyramid of *Ity* was ever constructed or even completed, it would be reasonable to conclude that it would have been located in a Memphite necropolis, most likely in South Saqqara, where other contemporaneous ones (*Q3-k3-Rc-Ibi*’s for instance) are found. This ruler does not appear on the Abydos list with this nomen, but it has been suggested by Anthony Spalinger that he be identified with *Nfr-ir-k3-Rc* II, no. 56 on that list; additionally, he proposes to assign to *Ity* the Horus name *Dmd-ib-t3.wy* mentioned in Coptos decree R.³³ To achieve these connections Spalinger has followed Hayes’ proposal of emending the reading of the (pre)nomen *W3d-k3-Rc* found on this decree, without properly accounting for the few slight inconsistencies in this part of Hayes’ study, which at first make it uncertain whether the latter wished to correct *W3d-k3-Rc* to *Nfr-k3.w-Rc* or *Nfr-ir-k3-Rc*. It is true that in his table on p. 21, Hayes tentatively equates *W3d-k3-Rc* with *Nfr-ir-k3-Rc*, but in the discussion leading up to that point he proposes to “identify Wadjskarē” of decree (r) with the King Neferkaure, who in the Abydos list is named as the immediate predecessor of Neferkauhor (no. 54) [sic],³⁴ even though the latter number should be corrected to 55. It is clear from the following sentence (“[t]he cartouche [no. 53] which precedes that of Neferkaure”) that Hayes’ oversight is unintentional and that the king with whom he wishes to associate *W3d-k3-Rc* appears between numbers 53 and 55 in Abydos, namely *Nfr-k3.w-Rc*. Furthermore, Hayes’ reasoning that the royal name *W3d-k3-Rc* remains absent from other sources (a feature common with a host of “royal” names from this period, some of which have a single attestation) might have resulted from a scribal error confusing the hieratic signs for *nfr* and *w3d*, is untenable. The additional chronological disconnect that arises from associating a king who should be assigned to the middle or

³² Couyat and Montet, *Ouâdi Hammâmat*, 94. The cartouche of this king, along with a few faint signs, can also be found in inscription 168. See also some of the comments by Gundlach, *Datierung*, 36 and 38–39.

³³ Spalinger, “Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom,” 313 and n. 104, who cites Hayes’ “Royal Decrees,” which tentatively suggests such an association. Spalinger further comments that the formulation of the pyramid name *B3.w-Ity* mentioned in Hammamat no. 169 in connection with *Ity* is analogous to that of Neferirkare of Dynasty 5, which also includes the component *B3*. For Coptos R, see *KD*, 214 ff., and fig. 28.

³⁴ Hayes, “Royal Decrees,” 20–21.

the end of the Eighth Dynasty, (as will be elaborated below) to within a few years of Pepy II's reign would also need to be addressed if such a proposal is to be maintained.

- (d) *Ti-m-htp*'s cartouche, followed by the hieroglyph of a seated king, is found at Wadi Hammamat (no. 206)³⁵ within a composition of reasonable length (that is, more than just an incised name on a rock surface, as is the case with *Htp*—see below). The inscription is set up by Imhotep's eldest son *D3ty*³⁶ called (*nis*) *K3-nfr*, who headed the mission on behalf of the king.³⁷ Imhotep himself very likely had served as an expedition leader to Wadi Hammamat (no. 188)³⁸ in his role of crown prince, though without alluding to his father. It is also unclear whether *D3ty-K3-nfr* ever became king, and if so, under what name. Clearly, there are explicit and implicit references here to three generations of the same family, though it remains to be demonstrated whether they could all be considered as members of the Eighth Dynasty or not. The assignment of a date prior to the First Intermediate Period (Dynasty Nine/Ten and Eleven) to this short text would be warranted by the conventional omission of the first person suffix pronoun, as well as the use of textual features, such as particles, that are more idiosyncratic to earlier forms of Egyptian.
- (e) *Htp* would be difficult to confirm, as the name appears as part of a group of twin cartouches with no additional notations on an extremely weathered inscription in Saaba el-Rigal near Gebel Silsila.³⁹ W.M.F. Petrie provided a very simple hand copy of this poorly executed inscription, suggesting *Htp* (written with phonetic complements) for one of the names and an unconventional and unconvincing “Ra-hor-a, or Ra-em-a” for the other; Georges Legrain maintained the reading of *Htp*,

35 Couyat and Montet, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, 103–04. Also Gundlach, *Datierung*, 40–41.

36 *PN I*, 405:18. This name is primarily attested in the Old Kingdom and is borne by one of the officials (a *s3b*) who was part of an expedition to the Sinai in the early part of Pepy II's reign (*Urk. I*, 113: 14).

37 Unlike *Ity*'s inscription with its unambiguous reference to his pyramid, this text simply lists the expedition's purpose as conducting this work of (king) Imhotep (*k3.t tn'li-m-htp*). Nevertheless, given the choice of the noun *k3.t*, it might be plausible to suggest that the implication here is to operations relating to some construction of Imhotep, though not necessarily a pyramid, as one would expect such a structure to be mentioned by its name, as was the prevailing practice (in addition to *Ity* mentioned in this note, see also, for example, Weni's account [*Urk. I*, 106: 17] in reference to the pyramid of Merenre).

38 Couyat and Montet, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, 96. The inscription is executed in red ink.

39 Von Bissing, *Vom Wadi Es Sâba Rigâle bei Gebel Silsile*, supplementary pls. 1 and 4. A well-known relief of Nebhepetre-Montuhotep is also found at that site (von Bissing, *Wadi Es Sâba Rigâle*, 20, and pls. I and II).

but with an alternate interpretation of *Ntr-k3-R^c* for the second name.⁴⁰ Friedrich von Bissing also retains *Htp* without any reluctance but rightly points out that Legrain's proposal of *Ntr-k3-R^c* remains speculative at best. The sun disk then remains the only consistent element among the various copies. Since both the photograph and facsimile supplied by Bissing remain extremely deficient, there can be no further attempt at reading the full royal titulary of this king beyond *Htp* and [?]-*R^c*. It is worth noting that there might be a correlation (not an equivalence) between the pattern of *Htp*'s name and that of *'Il-m-htp*, perhaps indicating a common regional origin.

- (f) *Hwi*: Name found on a piece of inscribed limestone discovered in Dara in the Manfalut area, some 10 km north of Asiut, in a late Old Kingdom necropolis.⁴¹ The name clearly appears in a cartouche followed by a *di 'nḥ* notation, unless it is copied erroneously. The question remains whether this represents a variant of *Nfr-k3.w-Hr*'s nomen tentatively given as *Hw-wi-K3* or *Hw-wi-Hp*.⁴² The element rendered as *K3* and *Hp* (the bull on a standard)⁴³ could actually be the ram  (Gardiner sign-list E10), resulting in a very provisional reading of either *Hnm-ḥw-wi* or *B3-ḥw-wi*, both of which would adhere to the traditional composition of royal nomenclature. Should the bull-on-standard be preferred, then there would be quite a few other possibilities, all involving designations of Lower Egyptian nomes (6, 10, 11, and 12), though the resulting readings may be deemed unconventional with regard to royal names. However, given these uncertainties and the fact that the name *Hwi* was rather common, an association with Neferkauhor should not be pursued.
- (g) *Isw*: Written in a cartouche that constitutes part of the personal name *Isw-'nḥ* that appears in a graffito found near the village of Naga el-Shebaykah, half-way between Edfu and Gebel Silsila.⁴⁴ The inscription belongs to a *s3-ny-sw.t*, a notation that is separated from his additional

⁴⁰ Petrie, *A Season in Egypt: 1887*, 15 and pl. 15, no. 430; Legrain, "Notes d'inspection," 220.

⁴¹ Kamal, "Fouilles à Dara et à Qoçeir el-Amarna," 128 and 132, fig. 9 for a drawing of the piece; also see Weill, "Fouilles de Dara," 323 ff. for a more thorough report of the survey of the area.

⁴² Respectively *KD*, 197, VII, and 200, n. 18, and von Beckerath (*Königsnamen*, 68, no. 16). See, however, Ryholt regarding the shortcomings associated with both of those proposals ("The Late Old Kingdom," 127, n. b); he nevertheless maintains the initial component *Hw* in the name.

⁴³ Goedicke's line drawing omits the standard (*KD*, fig. 24). However, both Sethe's (*Urk. I*, 298: 14) and Hayes' ("Royal Decrees," 16, n. 13) copies include the bull-on-standard combination.

⁴⁴ Weigall, "Upper Egyptian Notes," 110, fig. 6, which is a hand copy of the graffito.

titles of *hry-hb* and *hry-tp* by a lacuna.⁴⁵ This king receives no independent attestation.

- (h) *'Iy-Tnw*:⁴⁶ Formed by the slightly unusual compounding of two personal names ('*Iy* and *Tnw*) placed within a cartouche, it appears as part of the name *S3.t-'Iy-Tnw*,⁴⁷ a priestess of Hathor and *hkr-ny-sw.t-w't.t*, an epithet commonly associated with the royal court.⁴⁸ Her false door was discovered, along with other similar ones, in the Teti pyramid cemeteries by Cecil Firth and Battiscombe Gunn.⁴⁹ Some of the features of this false door (*e.g.*, the short recess) are reminiscent of similar contemporaneous monuments found in Upper Egypt, such as that of Nebet, the daughter of king *Nfr-k3.w-Hr*, and wife of the vizier Shemay, mentioned in several decrees of that king.⁵⁰

6 Lineage and Family Affiliations from the End of the Sixth Dynasty to the Eighth

The analysis conducted in the preceding sections of nearly all the royal names from the Abydos list and other sources was intended to serve as the basis for analyzing the historical justification for the unusually elevated number of royal names available from the periods immediately following the late Old Kingdom.

45 *Hry-hb* (lector priest) is placed immediately above *hry-tp* (superior or chief). The latter is commonly prefixed to other titles as an indicator of the superior rank of the holder. To my knowledge, it does not occur by itself, as in this example. In the unlikely event that *hry-hb* stands in honorific transposition, then chief lector priest might be suggested for *hry-tp hry-hb*, which itself is unattested.

46 Although the conventional reading of this name as '*Iy-Tnw*' is maintained in the present article, an alternative suggestion might be '*Iw-Tnw*', which would apply a more archaic rendering of the triple reed-leaf hieroglyph used in the writing.

47 Fischer, "A Stela of the Heracleopolitan Period at Saqqara: the Osiris '*Iti*'," 36, n. 3.

48 Fischer believes that *S3.t-'Iy-Tnw* is referred to as an Osiris ("A Stela of the Heracleopolitan Period," 35–37), an epithet reserved for royalty, but which appears to be appropriated by non-royals as well. Should this be a correct reading (the *o* is clear, though it is preceded by a lacuna that Fischer proposes to fill with *l*), one cannot immediately discount a royal parentage for *S3.t-'Iy-Tnw*, as she shares her principal epithets of *hkr-ny-sw.t-w't.t* and priestess of Hathor with Nebet, for instance, the daughter of king Neferkauhor (See Habachi, "The Tomb of Princess Nebt," 211, fig. 3, for Nebet's false door discovered near Coptos).

49 Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 1, 179ff., and vol. 2, pls. 67–75. The owners of these false doors were both male and female.

50 Fischer, "A Stela of the Heracleopolitan Period," 36, n. 5.

The historical record registers a marked increase in the number of wives of Pepy I and Pepy II, a practice that appears exaggerated when compared to periods preceding the Sixth Dynasty, though it must be stressed that our knowledge regarding such matters from the earlier dynasties might be imperfect. But since royal wives and mothers very often received separate cults, they remain fairly well documented from as early as Dynasty 1, and the evidence does not appear to support a wide proliferation of queens and queen-mothers beyond the expected norms for the periods that lead up to the late Sixth Dynasty.⁵¹ The multiple offspring of Pepy II especially, and their respective descendants, may have become contenders to the Egyptian throne following that king's long reign, and the record includes at least one such confirmed case with *Nfr-k3-Rc-Nby* (Neferkare II), no. 43 on the Abydos list, already mentioned above. Therefore, such evidence compels us to begin the analysis of the history of the Eighth Dynasty in the Sixth.

The effect of this phenomenon on the study of the Eighth Dynasty requires consideration for two distinct yet consequential reasons. Firstly, even if it is assumed that Pepy I's numerous spouses bore the king several sons who could successively lay some claim to the throne, such a scenario would have no repercussions whatsoever on the history of the Eighth Dynasty, as intervening reigns, especially Pepy II's presumed very long one, would nullify those entitlements. However, it was another of Pepy I's practices (also related to marriage) that appears to have altered the interaction of the royal court with provincial families, one that would come to characterize the Eighth Dynasty as well. Secondly, the legacy of Pepy II in terms of his numerous wives and offspring did have a direct impact on the nature of kingship in subsequent reigns, ranging from the formulation of royal names to the location of the royal necropolis, and finally to its imprint on the historical memory preserved by the ancient Egyptians themselves.

7 The Sixth Dynasty and Provincial Family Connections

Pepy I, who may have wed a total of eight women in his lifetime,⁵² appears to have begun establishing ties with an important Upper Egyptian family through

⁵¹ See the study by Roth, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten*.

⁵² Labrousse, "Huit épouses du roi Pépy 1^{er}." Callender in *Hathor's Image* lists seven, 344, Genealogy 6. See also some of the comments by Dobrev, "The South Saqqara Stone and the Sarcophagus of Queen Mother Ankhesenpepy," 385–87.

his marriage to two daughters—both named Ankhenespepy⁵³—of the patriarch Khui,⁵⁴ who were also sisters of Djau,⁵⁵ the vizier.⁵⁶ Recent research appears to demonstrate that one of those queens (listed as Ankhenespepy II) may have married Merenre upon the death of Pepy I and borne the future king Pepy II.⁵⁷ It should be noted here that the paternal parentage of the latter (whether to be considered as a son of Pepy I or Merenre) has been a matter of debate,⁵⁸ but falls outside the scope of the present study, even though it might have an impact on the length of some of the reigns at the end of the Old Kingdom, particularly that of Merenre.⁵⁹

The enmeshing of the royal house with influential Upper Egyptian families and the reciprocal power relationship that was established through Pepy I's marriage into the southern clan would not immediately, nor in the short term, threaten the institution of kingship in any way, but appears to provide a paradigm for future generations of Egyptian kings to emulate. That is precisely

53 Regarding the formulation and the meaning of these names see the study by Gourdon, "Le nom des épouses abydénienes de Pépy I^{er}".

54 Fischer, *Varia*, 75.

55 The so-called pillar of Djau (CG 1431) from Abydos records his elevated titles in Pepy I's government, as well as the status of each of his sisters as *hm.t ny-sw.t* of the king (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 2:a). Fischer believes that the inscription most likely once stood in the temple of Khenty-imentyw in Abydos (*Varia*, 75). What most certainly derives from that temple is a decree of Pepy II (KD, 81ff., and fig. 7), which mentions, among other elements, a statue cult of a vizier Djau, who is most likely to be identical with the owner of CG 1431, and also with the addressee of Coptos decree B (KD, 87ff.).

56 Whether or not Djau was made vizier following the marriage of his sisters to the king remains unclear, but may not be unlikely. Nothing is known of the early career of this individual, which may not be too unexpected, as it may have been through its relationship with Pepy I that the family's national prominence increased.

57 Labrousse, "Une épouse du roi Mérenré I^{er}: la reine Ânkhésenpépy II." The evidence is based on an inscribed block from her funerary temple in Saqqara referring to her as the mother of Pepy II and successively as both the wife of Pepy I and Merenre; see also Leclant and Labrousse, "Les reines Ankhésenpépy II et III," 374–76.

58 See for example, Goedicke, "The Abydene Marriage of Pepi I."

59 The Turin list assigns an especially long reign of 44 years to him, while attributing 20 years to Pepy I (Ryholt, "The Late Old Kingdom"). But as Ryholt has pointed out elsewhere (*The Political Situation*, 13–14), these two numbers may have been interchanged. The usual duration of Merenre's time on the throne has been suggested as being 11–13 years (Baud and Dobrev, "De nouvelles annales," 54), which would not preclude him from being the father of Pepy II, who by all accounts inherited the kingship at a very young age. Thus any age up to 10–12 years for Pepy II's accession to the throne would agree well with Merenre's own tenure as pharaoh.

what Egypt experiences nearly a century later in the Eighth Dynasty, when a king's daughter married into an Upper Egyptian family, which may itself have been a descendant of the Khui line. Such a practice thus acquires an added significance both in terms of analyzing the evolving character of kingship and the processes it adopted for wielding and maintaining power, but also for observing the initial stages of the entrenchment of provincial family bases leading up to, and during, the First Intermediate Period.

The integration, even loosely, of a provincial family into the larger structure of the royal house would lead to the establishment of what amounts to a regional political dynasty. The associated benefits of such a tie, which the historical record would retain in evidence for several generations (*e.g.*, being mentioned in royal decrees), would then not be available on such a scale to rival families within the same region or in neighboring provinces. An Abydene line appears at the forefront of an arrangement of that type,⁶⁰ with Khui and Nebet (mentioned on CG 1578)⁶¹ as the likely parents of the vizier Djau (CG 1431)⁶² and the two queens of Pepy I named Ankhenespepy, whom Djau names as his sisters. On CG 1578, these individuals are not mentioned by their parents, but four additional very young children are present, two of whom share their father's name of Khui, with one of them given the nickname Mery; others are Idi (most likely the owner of the stela CG 1577, who became vizier, overseer of Upper Egypt, and Inspector of priests [*shd hm.w-ntr*] of *Mn-‘nb-Nfr-k3-R*‘, the pyramid of Pepy II) and Ankhennerefkare nicknamed Shemay. It is worth adding here that Nebet's titulary on CG 1578 remains unusual in that she is listed as vizier, a function not included in the titulary of her husband Khui on this same stela. Henry Fischer was inclined to conclude that her titulary was designed to elevate her status posthumously and was "wholly honorific."⁶³ The suggestion formerly put forth by Naguib Kanawati that Khui's line had its origins elsewhere than Abydos and established itself there only after Nebet received her appointment as vizier would be conjectural at best.⁶⁴ Even if the family's origin lay elsewhere (in "the capital," according to Kanawati), the

⁶⁰ Martin-Pardey has argued that if Pepy I's motivations for marrying into Khui's family were political, then Abydos would have been unsuitable as an Upper Egyptian power base for the royal family (*Provinzialverwaltung*, 143–46), given that the royal in-laws would then be positioned against established members of the local and national administration.

⁶¹ *Denkmäler* II, 59–60.

⁶² *Denkmäler* I, 111–12. For a transliteration, translation, and commentary of the text see Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 141–43.

⁶³ Fischer, *Varia*, 75.

⁶⁴ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 62–63.

reason for their settlement in Abydos should not be sought within Nebet's title, which represents a unique occurrence of a female vizier (though its writing is devoid of feminine endings), one that is not attested again until the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, as Fischer has already pointed out.⁶⁵ Therefore, Fischer's assessment, which is shared by Michel Baud,⁶⁶ about the purely honorific nature of the title must be maintained.

The proliferation of the names Khui, Idi, Shemay, and Nebet later in the Sixth Dynasty, but specifically in connection with the history of the Eighth Dynasty, is not inconsequential. Needless to stress, homonyms in onomastics in general may distort the evidence, but additional safeguards may be applied to nullify, or at least lessen, their impact. In this instance, the likelihood that those same exact four masculine and feminine personal names would occur in two or more separate families, all of which acquired great positions of power in the same region a couple of generations apart would be extremely remote. Therefore, there would be little reason to doubt that the persistence of those names through the Eighth Dynasty and their association with Upper Egyptian high officials might be an indication of the continuation of the family of Khui and Nebet of the Sixth Dynasty, the in-laws of Pepy I, who may have preserved their powerbase and relevance for nearly a century and constituted the backbone of the Eighth Dynasty presence in the south. Furthermore, they appear to have maintained the same tradition of inter-marriage (possibly on successive occasions) with the royal family that had characterized their relationship with rulers of the Sixth Dynasty. Thus, another Nebet, the daughter of king Neferkauhor of the Eighth Dynasty, the issuer of the bulk of the extant Coptic decrees from that period,⁶⁷ married the Upper Egyptian Shemay, who was vizier.⁶⁸ Their son Idi already held the office of mayor or governor (*ḥ3ty-*) and overseer of priests (*imr-r³ hwm-ntr*) during the viziership of his father in the Eighth Dynasty;⁶⁹ he was also, in fact, the grandson of the pharaoh. The recurrence in an Eighth Dynasty setting of personal names (Shemay; Idi) that were very prevalent among members of a Sixth Dynasty provincial family might argue in favor of equating the two lines. Furthermore, the appearance of others, such as Nebet, among women of the royal family in the Eighth Dynasty might hint at the degree of

65 Fischer, *Varia*, 74.

66 Baud, *Famille royale II*, 630.

67 *KD*, 165–213.

68 Habachi, "The Tomb of Princess Nebt," 205–13; Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptic Nome*, 35–38.

69 Coptos decree M (*KD*, 184–9 and fig. 20).

intermixing that had taken place for generations, perhaps on a continual basis, among the Upper Egyptian and the pharaonic lines.

Therefore, Khui's family provides a prime example of a provincial dynasty that successfully emulated the royal court by establishing a ruling line parallel to it and was interlinked with it through marriage, while its continuity in the historical record would indicate a certain degree of entrenchment at the local level, and even the expansion of its influence throughout parts of the south. For example, the office of the vizier (most likely only of the south at this point) and that of overseer of Upper Egypt, which members of this family occupied, would have granted them the capability to exercise significant authority, through the auspices of the state and the use of its resources. This approach would gradually lead, though perhaps unintentionally at first, to the systematization and diffusion of local forms and traditions in personal names, architecture, art, and religious beliefs; in short, aspects of regional culture that become very much highlighted in provincial settings during the First Intermediate Period. These features also foreshadow the dynastic character of the Eighth Dynasty and the degree of reverse-influence (local-to-state) that may have been prevalent during its term.

8 The Title of *it ntr*, God's Father

The bonds created between the royal house and prominent provincial families in the Sixth, and again in the Eighth, Dynasty appear to coincide with new developments in the field of honorific titles. The appearance of a particular one in the middle of the Sixth Dynasty, that of *it ntr*, commonly translated simply as God's Father and often augmented by the epithet *mry ntr*, "beloved of the god,"⁷⁰ may be the result of this newly-established relationship. By the end of the Old Kingdom and into the Middle Kingdom *it ntr* had evolved into a priestly rank, but without the added epithet of *mry ntr*.⁷¹ Although no consensus has been reached regarding the exact nature of this honorific (as is common with a number of Old Kingdom titles), it would appear that the bearer maintained intimate links with royalty during the Old Kingdom or its equivalent in the First Intermediate Period, perhaps even in his capacity of an in-law.⁷² Khui of CG 1578, the father-in-law of Pepy I, was given that title, as

⁷⁰ Jones, *Index* 1, 345. Also see the studies by Habachi, "God's Fathers," and Blumenthal, "Die 'Göttersvater' des Alten und Mittleren Reiches."

⁷¹ Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 150.

⁷² Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 149.

was Shemay, the son-in-law of king Neferkauhor of the Eighth Dynasty,⁷³ later followed by his son Idi.⁷⁴ It is noteworthy that on the decree addressed to Idi by Demedjibawy, the designation God's Father is placed in the initial position of Idi's titulary, ahead of all the others, including that of vizier.

9 Prelude to the Eighth Dynasty

Pepy II-Neferkare appears to have imitated his (grand)father Pepy I by marrying eight women and in all likelihood fathering numerous offspring, although only a handful have so far been identified.⁷⁵ Circumstances of that sort would have led to inevitable succession issues following the king's death, as several fully legitimate contenders may have vied for the throne. The Turin king-list, for example, appears to allow for eight rulers to follow the reign of Pepy II.⁷⁶

As mentioned at the beginning of the study, the Abydos king-list contains a disproportionate number of kings (seventeen) who are commonly assigned to the Eighth Dynasty. Among these, five (nos. 42, 43, 45, 49, and 51) include Neferkare in their composition, while a sixth (no. 54) appears as Neferkaure, both of which could be considered phonetic equivalents, for all intents and purposes. Neferkare remains the most widely attested name on the entire list, even attributed incorrectly to a king at the end of the Third Dynasty. The most familiar Neferkare remains, of course, Pepy II, and the recurrence of that name within the division on the Abydos list that immediately follows the Sixth Dynasty may, naturally, not be coincidental. Some of the cartouches that include Neferkare as a principal element display the curious trend of inserting an additional component, perhaps in an effort to distinguish between them.⁷⁷ Thus, four out of five of the Neferkare kings in this section (nos. 43, 45, 49, and 51) receive a supplemental designator. Two additional royal names undergo the same process, namely Djedkare-Shemay (no. 44), perhaps to set him apart from Djedkare-Isesi of the Fifth Dynasty (at no. 32), and Neferkamin-Anu (no. 52), to avoid confusion with Neferkamin at no. 47. Therefore, despite the accepted purely cultic function of the list, such elucidatory details, which are restricted exclusively to this particular section, may provide glimpses into the compilers' attempt at historical precision.

⁷³ *KD*, 190–91, and fig. 21, col. x+10.

⁷⁴ *KD*, 214, and fig. 28, address line.

⁷⁵ For a schematic presentation see Callender, *Hathor's Image*, 344, Genealogy 7.

⁷⁶ Baud, "The Relative Chronology of Dynasties 6 and 8," 156.

⁷⁷ Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 151, n. 665; Dautzenberg, "Zur Systematik der Abydosliste," 47.

Of those, Neferkare-Neby (no. 43) remains firmly in place with an established parentage of Pepy II and Ankhenepepy IV. He also appears to have at least begun construction of his pyramid, which was given the name *Dd-‘nh-Nfr-k3-R*.⁷⁸ In addition, his placement on the Abydos list closer to the end of the Sixth Dynasty would be consistent with his actual historical position as one of the immediate successors of his father Pepy II. Other descendants of this king, either confirmed or probable, who bridge the Sixth and Eighth Dynasty segments of the Abydos list include Nemtyemsaf (Merenre II—no. 39), likely a son of queen Neith,⁷⁹ Netjerkare (no. 40, the so-called Nitocris of the Turin Canon, discussed above), Menkare (no. 41), and Neferkare (no. 42), whom current proposals list as a son of queen Ankhenepepy III.⁸⁰ Hence the conundrum regarding the transition out of the Sixth Dynasty, and the introduction of another line with the Eighth. Despite the fact that the historicity of portions of the Abydos list remain in doubt, it seems that some correlations may be achieved with caution, though some gaps would necessarily remain, as with Menkare (no. 41), who does not appear to have independent confirmation, as mentioned earlier in this study.

It is at this juncture, more specifically following the reign of Neferkare-Neby (no. 43), that the Abydos list reaches a stage of transition in its compilation. Until the entry containing Qakare-Ibi at number 53, this span is occupied by five of the six kings who were assigned additional personal labels, the sixth being Neferkare-Neby who appears earlier. The curious feature of the additional designations is that they do not adhere to the usual composition of conventional Egyptian royal nomina. These include Šm3i (no. 44),⁸¹ Ḥndw (no. 45), *Trrw* (no. 49), and ‘nw (no. 52),⁸² to which may be added the unclassi-

⁷⁸ Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 53, fig. 31.

⁷⁹ This is confirmed by a fragment of a false door discovered in a funerary chapel on the north side of the pyramid of queen Neith (Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 55, fig. 32). Additionally, the fragmentary decree found in the pyramid complex of this queen in south Saqqara (Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 5, fig. 2; KD, 158–62) may have been issued by Nemtyemsaf upon his accession to the throne (*rnp.t sm3 t3.wy*, as indicated on the decree) for the cults of his mother Neith and queen Ankhenehmeryre, one of the two wives of Pepy I and mother of Neith and possibly the grandmother of Nemtyemsaf.

⁸⁰ Callender, *Hathor's Image*, 296. Queen Ankhenepepy III bears the title of *mw.t ny-sw.t*, king's mother (Leclant and Labrousse, “Découvertes récentes,” III, fig. 6), in addition to being a royal daughter, probably of Merenre (Callender, *Hathor's Image*, 295).

⁸¹ *PN I*, 327:19 ff.; *PN II*, 318:30, which gives the tentative definition of Šm3i as nomad.

⁸² A slight graphic variant of this name appears as that of a scribe on one of the fragments of P. Berlin 10523, 2+4 (Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Hieratische Papyrus*, 9th fasc., pl. 8, cols. 3 and 4), a late Old Kingdom papyrus from Elephantine, which has also yielded the

fied royal name *'Iy-Tnw*⁸³ mentioned above. The name Shemay (*Šm3i*) appears with a great degree of regularity in the very late Old Kingdom and early First Intermediate Period, and was the nickname of a son of Khui, the father in-law of Pepy I, and was also given to an Eighth Dynasty vizier and addressee of some royal decrees from that period.⁸⁴ This evidence for unconventional names needs to be augmented by the recent discovery of a late Sixth Dynasty pyramid in Saqqara, which belonged to queen Behenu,⁸⁵ whose monument is located amid the cluster of small pyramids surrounding Pepy I's, though it is very likely that she was a wife of Pepy II.⁸⁶ The placement of a monument should not be the determining factor in establishing the spousal relationship, as the pyramid of Ankhenespepy III, a confirmed wife of Pepy II, lies near the structure of Pepy I and in close proximity to Behenu's. Rather, it has been observed that the Pyramid Texts prepared for Behenu share multiple features of their orthography and physical layout with those of Iput II and Wedjebten, two other queens of Pepy II.⁸⁷ Thus, Behenu herself may very likely have been a wife of that king as well.⁸⁸ Although attested in two other instances in the late Sixth Dynasty,⁸⁹ this name remains extremely rare.

The additional names just listed may actually have a Nubian resonance. Although it remains difficult to establish ethnic identity based simply on personal names, individuals of Nubian descent were in fact known to have resided in Egypt at least by the late Old Kingdom. In addition to the settlement of Nubian mercenaries mentioned in the decree of Pepy I established for the twin pyramid towns of Snefru,⁹⁰ there was a well-documented Nubian

name of Sekhemkare, one of the unclassified kings assigned to the Eighth Dynasty (pl. 5, fr. O 285).

83 Von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 70–71, h.

84 Coptos I, M, J, and K (*KD* 172–77; 184–89; 192–202; and 206–13).

85 Berger-el Naggar and Fraisse, “Béhénou, ‘aimée de Pépy’”

86 Her rather unspecific principal epithet as *mry Ppy*, “beloved of Pepy,” contributes little to securing her exact spousal relationship.

87 Berger-el Naggar and Fraisse, “Béhénou, ‘aimée de Pépy’” 6–7.

88 That likelihood is also preferred by Callender, *Hathor’s Image*, 299, where she also sets forth additional evidence in support of it.

89 *PN* II, 277:12, which is derived from *BM* 1330, a false door of the wife of the Memphite Qar. The third attestation of this name belongs to a daughter of the overseer of (ritual) garments Ḥepi (Berger-el Naggar and Fraisse, “Béhénou, ‘aimée de Pépy’, 2 and 9”). It would be unwise to confirm any equivalence between the queen and one of these other individuals, given that additional sources are virtually lacking.

90 *KD*, 55–77.

presence in the Gebelein area during the First Intermediate Period.⁹¹ The likelihood that queen Behenu herself may have been of Nubian extraction should not be dismissed immediately, nor should the possibility of her being a royal mother, although the fragmentary condition of the reliefs from her pyramid have not yet yielded information of that kind.

Several of Pepy II's wives may have pre-deceased the king, as for example, Wedjebten,⁹² but the surviving ones appear to have impacted the succession issues to a greater degree than the wives of Pepy I, possibly even shaping the subsequent recording of the history of the period immediately following Pepy II's death. Given their direct lineage from the king, the legitimacy of any offspring of Pepy II could not be questioned as such, which may have resulted in the main dynastic line being fragmented into perfectly valid, yet rival, sub-lines possibly governed by the maternal lineage of the crown prince. The situation may have been exacerbated by the likely persistence of Upper Egyptian elements within the immediate and extended royal family, as had been the case since the reign of Pepy I.

If such were indeed the contentious situation with the succession, then the characterization of what is labeled as the Seventh Dynasty in the historical tradition ascribed to Manetho may be corroborated as far as the rapid sequence of kings, though probably not within the seventy-day span that is attributed to it. Thus, the Abydos list begins alternating between royal names that include an added component that may be of Nubian resonance (nos. 44 [Djedkare-Shemay] and 45 [Neferkare-Khendu]) and those in the next three positions devoid of such elements (Merenhori; Neferkamin; Nykare), only to revert to the earlier pattern with Neferkare-Tereru at no. 49, back to Neferkauhor (no. 50), then Neferkare-Pepyseneb (no. 51), and finally to Neferkamin-Anu (no. 52). It would be too hasty to suggest that queen Behenu (possibly of Nubian extraction herself) was the mother of some of those kings, though that likelihood cannot be discounted. Nor should the possibility that an Upper Egyptian line, represented by the likes of Djedkare-Shemay, was a contender to the throne be fully dismissed.

As mentioned earlier in this study, it remains quite remarkable that this portion of the Abydos list should account for one-fifth of the total number of kings therein. Quite a few of the rulers in the 45 through 52 range were assigned the nomen Neferkare, augmented by a designator (possibly Nubian, for some of them) for added specificity. However, there may have been a further motive for that practice beyond the simple desire to distinguish between the Neferkare

⁹¹ Fischer, "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein."

⁹² Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, 14.

kings, which in itself did not prompt them to attach an additional label with others bearing that name (Neferkare at nos. 19 and 42; Neferkaure at no. 54). The reason was perhaps related more to establishing the maternal line in addition to the obvious paternal one for a period that witnessed a rapid succession of rulers, who should be regarded either as very ephemeral or fabricated. Additionally, the compilers of the list were not compelled to proscribe any of those kings and maintained them on their ritual compendium of ancestors, complete with the annotations that remain unique in this set.

Despite the fact that none of those kings has an independent attestation, apart from Neferkare-Pepyseneb and possibly Neferkamin-Anu, who appear on the Turin list, they may have been endorsed by parallel traditions of transmission, which were surely competing, tentative or incomplete narratives, but ones that were obviously regarded genuine enough based on the criteria applied in the early Nineteenth Dynasty. There should be little reason to question the inherent claim to the throne of a handful of young offspring of Pepy II, especially not for an individual like Neferkare-Pepyseneb, whose full name leaves no doubt regarding his paternal lineage, and his designation as *hrd* in the Turin list might hint at his young age at accession. Furthermore, they should not be relegated to the Eighth Dynasty as they are now, but be listed either as part of an extended Sixth Dynasty or separately within a provisional Seventh Dynasty. Such an idea by no means intends to implant a dynastic line in the sequence, but simply attempts to explain and redress the discrepancies to the extent that the evidence would allow it (see Table 10.2 below).

10 The Eighth Dynasty

The issue of Pepy II's succession may have been rife with uncertainty, given the overlapping rightful claims (possibly reflected in Manetho's account of the Seventh Dynasty), but the apparently very short duration of the instability may have contributed to lessening its immediate impact.

The Eighth Dynasty was very likely initiated by Qakare-Ibi, present both in the Turin and Abydos lists. His funerary monument, complete with Pyramid Texts,⁹³ was discovered near the complex of Pepy II in Saqqara, and in the current state of the evidence remains the final royal monument to be

93 Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Aba*. Also see Jánosi, *Die Pyramidenanlagen der Königinnen*, 50–51.

TABLE 10.2 *Tentative dynastic distribution of kings 40–56 on the Abydos king-list*

Abydos	Turin	Reign length in Turin	Proposed Dynasty
40. Netjerkare		6	
41. Menkare		6	
42. Neferkare		6	
43. Neferkare-Neby		6	
44. Djedkare-Shemay		7	
45. Neferkare Khendu		7	
46. Merenhor		7	
47. Neferkamin		7	
48. Nykare		7	
49. Neferkare-Tereru		7	
50. Neferkahor		7	
51. Neferkare-Pepyseneb	Neferka(re) Khered	7	
52. Neferkamin-Anu	Nefer(kamin)	7	
53. Qakaure	Ibi	2 years, 1 month, 1 day	8
54. Neferkaure		4 years, 2 months	8
55. Neferkauhor		2 years, 1 month, 1 1 ½ years	8
56. Neferirkare			?

confirmed archaeologically⁹⁴ in the post-Sixth Dynasty era and until the reign of Nebhepetre-Montuhotep.

The sequence of kings in the Eighth Dynasty may be established to a reasonable degree of certainty based on the internal details offered by some of the royal missives from that line.⁹⁵ Decrees are confirmed for Horus Khaa-[?], Horus Netjerybau (Neferkauhor; with the greatest number issued), and Horus

94 The recent examination of the so-called Headless Pyramid, which is situated in the immediate vicinity of the Teti cemetery, appears to have ascribed it to Menkauhor of the Fifth Dynasty (Hawass, "The Excavation of the Headless Pyramid," 153 ff.).

95 My comprehensive study of the royal and private inscriptional material from the Eighth Dynasty is forthcoming. The information regarding the Coptic decrees and other texts presented here pertains specifically to the arguments elaborated with respect to the broader historical issues relevant to the current study.

Demedjibtawy.⁹⁶ The striking feature of these texts remains the fact that they were addressed or make reference to various members of the same family who held elevated governmental positions in Upper Egypt. Additionally, the successive ranks that these officials were granted vary among the different decrees, with the result that the sequence of acquisition of their honorific or occupational titles may be used as a dating criterion for establishing an order of kings in the dynasty. Thus, in the decree of Horus Khaa-[?],⁹⁷ for instance, Shemay does not appear to have attained the position of vizier yet, as *htmw bity* is listed as his highest title. However, Shemay already carries vizierial titles in the decrees of Netjerybau-Neferkauhor, which would validate the reign of that king as being later than that of Khaa-[?].⁹⁸ Though not improbable, a father-to-son conferral of the kingship for those two rulers might be difficult to verify. As for Horus Demedjibtawy's position in the Eighth Dynasty, his decree is addressed only to Idi, who was mentioned along with his father Shemay in Coptos decree M in the reign of Netjerybau-Neferkauhor.⁹⁹ According to the contents of Demedjibtawy's decrees, Idi appears to have assumed a range of elevated offices, including that of vizier and Overseer of Upper Egypt (Coptos Q), which were absent from the listing of his ranks earlier.¹⁰⁰

II Family Affiliations (yet again) in the Eighth Dynasty

The resumption of ties between the Eighth Dynasty royal line and an Upper Egyptian family remains of note, assuming that the absence of such evidence following the death of Pepy II was due to a severance of those links and not to a temporary marginalization from power of a branch of the royal family that had nurtured such ties. After all, should some of the proposals above regarding the rapid changeover of the Seventh Dynasty be validated, it would not be unlikely that there would be a lack of any official record of those unions. The most explicit and perhaps forceful manifestation of that relationship in the Eighth Dynasty, and one that also served as a reaffirmation of kingship, was the dispatching of a series of decrees to Upper Egypt, nearly all of them either addressed to, or mentioning members of, the royal in-laws.

⁹⁶ *KD*, 163–225.

⁹⁷ *KD*, 163, but with fig. 23 on page 196.

⁹⁸ See also Hayes, “Royal Decrees,” 20.

⁹⁹ *KD*, 184–89 and fig. 20.

¹⁰⁰ A naos of Shemay seems to confirm his elevated titles (Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, 36–37).

In the arrangement found in the Eighth Dynasty, it was the later vizier Shemay from Upper Egypt who married Nebet, a daughter of king Netjerybau-Neferkauhor, one of the successors of Qakare-Ibi. It may be at this point that Shemay was promoted to the rank of vizier, given that in the earlier decree of Horus Khaa-[?] he appears only as *htmw bity*. It remains difficult to ascertain whether Neferkauhor ascended the throne before or after his daughter's marriage to Shemay, or whether the latter had been elevated to the rank of vizier before he became a royal in-law. It is worth noting that in the decree of Horus Khaa-[?] the title of *it ntr* for Shemay is missing,¹⁰¹ while he is listed as such in one of the missives of his father-in-law king Neferkauhor,¹⁰² which might be an indication that he acquired that honorific and his promotion to vizier upon marrying Nebet. However, Shemay's son Idi is already mentioned on several decrees from Neferkauhor's year of accession, though there is no hint of Idi's age. If Idi was born to the king's daughter Nebet, then the implication would be that the marriage of Shemay to Nebet had presumably taken place either during Neferkauhor's tenure as crown prince or before his possible usurpation of the throne. Then it would be only at this point that Nebet would automatically acquire the epithet of King's Daughter, and his son in-law Shemay that of a God's Father and vizier. Also, given his tenure as *htmw bity* under the previous king Horus Khaa-[?], Shemay might have been well positioned to become a kingmaker. Following his father in-law's installation on the throne, Shemay very possibly appears to have led an expedition to Wadi Hammamat, which he recorded in his tomb in Kom el-Kuffar, and which supplies us with a regnal date for Neferkauhor in addition to his *rnp.t sm³ t3.wy 3bd 2 pr.t*, "Year of Accession, month 2 of *pr.t*," date included in the decrees. Shemay's raised-relief inscription records a date of *rnp.t sp 1 3bd 4 šmw sw 2*, "Year of the First Occasion, month 4 of *šmw*, day 2," for the expedition that set out for the second time to bring back fine (lit. noble) stone.¹⁰³ The mention of a repeat expedition eliminates the possibility, for practical and logistical reasons connected with mounting such an undertaking, that the First Occasion mentioned in the regnal year should be made to coincide with the accession year, and would place this date in the second regnal year of Neferkauhor, which correlates well with the two years assigned to him in the Turin canon. The reference to this mission is akin to a mirror-record of the notations left in Wadi Hammamat or other

¹⁰¹ As with all lacunae, a most unfortunate one occurs on this decree in the opening portion of the address where such an epithet would normally be placed.

¹⁰² Coptos M (*KD*, 187, fig. 20, first row).

¹⁰³ Mostafa, "Kom el-Koffar. Teil II," 177–78 and pl. 2.

mining and quarrying sites, which usually describe the expedition as having come (*ıwt*), whereas here Shemay records its departure (*prt r R³-hnw*: setting out for Wadi Hammamat).

The possible chronological disconnects that questions such as the marriage of Shemay and Nebet would engender have a direct bearing on several historical aspects of the period, particularly regarding the age of their son Idi, who served under two different kings, first as Overseer of Upper Egypt and later as vizier, offices that he appears to have inherited from his father. If Idi was born during the reign of Neferkauhor, then that particular reign must be lengthened considerably from the current figure of two years to allow for the king's grandson to reach an age suitable for the office of vizier under Horus Demedjibtawy. Alternatively, or additionally, an intervening unrecorded reign of some years must be taken into consideration, as indicated below in Table 10.3. In addition to the identical set of titles that he inherited from his father,¹⁰⁴ Idi also retained that of God's Father, as made evident by Demedjibtawy's decree¹⁰⁵ and in a later inscription from his (family?) tomb near Coptos.¹⁰⁶ As noted above, the earliest attestations of God's Father in the late Old Kingdom appear in connection with individuals who acquired an affiliation with the king through marriage. Whether Idi added that honorific in his capacity of Neferkauhor's grandson, or Demedjibtawy's nephew (assuming that Demedjibtawy was Neferkauhor's son), or as the king's son-in-law, is not revealed by the available sources.

An outline of the family of the vizier Shemay, based on the information assembled from the royal decrees, may be offered as follows:

- Shemay mentioned under two separate Eighth Dynasty kings:
 - Khaa-[?]
 - As a vizier under Netjerybau-Neferkauhor
- Shemay married to Nebet, the daughter of king Netjerybau-Neferkauhor.
 - Their son Idi served under two separate kings as well:
 - Netjerybau-Neferkauhor;
 - As a vizier under Horus Demedjibtawy.
- Idi's unnamed brother cited as the addressee of Coptos Q (Neferkauhor).

¹⁰⁴ Compare Shemay's titulary (Coptos I [KD, 172–77]; M [KD, 184–89]; and T [KD, 204–05]) with Idi's (Coptos R [KD, 214–25]).

¹⁰⁵ KD, fig. 28, first row.

¹⁰⁶ Mostafa, "Erster Vorbericht über einen Ersten Zwischen-Zeit Text aus Kom el-Koffar—Teil I," 420 and pl. 2, line 2.

TABLE 10.3 *Confirmed kings for the Eighth Dynasty and ensuing periods*

King	Years	Funerary monument	Comments
Qakare-Ibi	2 (Turin)	Pyramid (archaeological remains)	Pyramid name not attested
Horus Khaa-[?]	4–6 (decree)	No	Possibly Neferkaure, Abydos 54; see my comments above
Horus Netjerybau- (Neferkauhor)	2 (Turin)	Uncertain	Overseer of pyramid town mentioned in Coptos M (<i>KD</i> , fig. 20)
?	1½ (Turin)		
Horus Demedjibtawy (Wadjkare)	?	Uncertain	Overseer of pyramid town mentioned in Coptos R (<i>KD</i> , fig. 28)
Ity	?	Pyramid (inscriptive evidence)	Hammamat 169 names the Pyramid as <i>B3.w-'Iti'</i>
Imhotep	?		Provincial dynasty in FIP?
Hetep			
Khui			Likely regional rulers in FIP
Isw	?		
Iytjenu			
Dynasty 9/10			FIP
Dynasty II			FIP

The exact point at which Shemay's provincial dynasty disappeared may be difficult to pinpoint. It is likely though that the Eighth Dynasty continued on possibly for another reign, that of Ity (see Table 10.3), whose pyramid name is found in an inscription at Wadi Hammamat, cited above. It would have been perhaps preferable to assign Ity a spot earlier in the dynasty, given that he appears to perpetuate the tradition of pyramid building that was more ubiquitous to reigns closer to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, but his placement must remain uncertain for the time being.

12 Proposals Regarding the Transition to the First Intermediate Period

Although the commonly held view is that Egypt fragmented straightaway at the conclusion of the Old Kingdom, namely upon the death of Pepy II, which then brought about the immediate collapse of the unified state, this is now implausible to suggest. In fact, even the definition of what constitutes the end of the Old Kingdom remains vague, which only exacerbates the difficulties of historical analysis. Therefore, preference should be granted to an alternative that promotes a gradual transformation of the political setting over several generations, in which traces of the earlier forms of kingship and government persist. This incremental approach would account for some of the historical discrepancies engendered by the apparent disorder surrounding the succession of Pepy II and the status of the Seventh Dynasty.

It would appear that the unified character of the Egyptian state was maintained through most of the Eighth Dynasty.¹⁰⁷ Such an assessment is predicated on the meaning of *unified* as still not exhibiting any fragmentation along multiple regional power bases that appears to typify the First Intermediate Period. Although the supposed rapid succession of rulers following the death of Pepy II could be used as an argument in favor of segmentation, it should be emphasized that the segmentation appears to have been confined to within the royal house and had not yet spread to provincial centers; and that as far as the evidence demonstrates, the claimants to the throne should not be regarded as usurpers, but would qualify as legitimate Egyptian kings under any other political circumstance on the sole basis of their paternal lineage. It was perhaps the absence of a designated crown prince, and the likely very young age of Pepy II's surviving male heirs (compare with the *hrd* epithet on the Turin list for Neferkare-Pepyseneb) that may have led to the disarray at the end of the Sixth and perhaps throughout the Seventh Dynasty. However, the Eighth Dynasty appears as being distinct from the line of Pepy, though perhaps not as removed from it in terms of kinship, since the descendants of Pepy I's in-laws, the Upper Egyptian family of Khui and Nebet, may have maintained their close relationship and marriage links with the new dynasty, with the king's daughter Nebet being married to the Overseer of Upper Egypt Shemay, who later rose to the rank of vizier and was succeeded in his functions by his son Idi.

The Eighth Dynasty, by all accounts, maintained a Memphite profile and resumed the practice of Sixth Dynasty kings of dispatching royal decrees, though all of the extant ones from the Eighth Dynasty, issued by three separate kings, were discovered in the Coptite area. As with most kings in the post-Pepy II age, the Eighth Dynasty appears to have favored Saqqara as its necropolis,

¹⁰⁷ See also von Beckerath, "End of the Old Kingdom," 145–47.

and archaeological evidence from that period is concentrated in three principal sections, namely the pyramid cemeteries of kings Teti, Pepy I and II. In addition to the already cited textual or archaeological attestations for the funerary monuments of Qakare-Ibi and Ity from the Eighth Dynasty, as well as that of Neferkare-Neby of the Sixth/Seventh Dynasty, it may be surmised that the Eighth Dynasty kings Neferkauhor and Demedjibtawy may also have begun constructing pyramids, perhaps at Saqqara, given that the title of Overseer of the Pyramid-Town is attested for two of their high officials. However, by this time that particular title may have lost the specific association with a monument that it once carried.¹⁰⁸

The hereditary nature of the offices held by Shemay (an unnamed son of his also appears in the historical record) reiterates the arguments put forth above with respect to the possible entrenchment of Upper Egyptian families in their prominent positions and districts, a situation that would appear to foreshadow (or already reflect) the breakup of Egypt into regional power bases during the First Intermediate Period. In the intervening years at the very end of the Eighth Dynasty until the advent of the Ninth/Tenth Dynasty of Herakleopolis, faint evidence regarding the royal ambition of some of the regional leaders might emerge in the form of disparate royal names with single attestations that have been discussed above.¹⁰⁹ Thus, Khui, Isu, Ḥetep,¹¹⁰ Wadjkare, and Iytjenu may be considered among those regional rulers who proclaimed themselves pharaohs (see Table 10.3, above). Others, like Imhotep and Isu, may have been more successful in their attempts at maintaining a hereditary succession to a certain degree, and establishing what may be considered a dynasty. For instance, there is evidence that Imhotep led an expedition to Wadi Hammamat as the eldest son of an unnamed king, and was later mentioned as king in his own right in the Wadi Hammamat inscription of his son (Wadi Hammamat 188 and 206, respectively, already referenced above), which would amount to three separate generations of rulers presumably from the same family. Isu's name is associated with a *s3 ny-sw.t*, which may presuppose a second genera-

¹⁰⁸ *KD*, 172, 184, 206, and 214, prefers to render it instead as Residenz for the post-Sixth Dynasty evidence.

¹⁰⁹ These represent the unclassified kings a-h grouped with the Eighth Dynasty by von Beckerath (*Königsnamen*, 70–71).

¹¹⁰ Were the name Ḥetep not so commonplace, it would have been tempting to associate this king with one of the predecessors, perhaps the grandfather of Ankhtify of Moalla, given also the relative proximity of Ḥetep's inscription near Gebel Silsila to Moalla. For a discussion of the relationship between Ankhtify and Ḥetep of Moalla, see Vandier, *Moalla*, 14–15.

tion of rule in his family. With regard to the usage of epithets for royal sons and daughters, an interesting and alternating pattern appears to emerge at the end of the Old Kingdom and throughout the First Intermediate Period. Royal daughters assigned to the Eighth Dynasty refer to themselves as *s3.t ny-sw.t*, as for instance, princess Nebet. On the other hand, Merikare of Dynasty Nine/Ten is identified as *s3 hq3* “son of a ruler,” and *s3 s3.t hq3* “son of a daughter of a ruler,” an indication perhaps of the Herakleopolitan view of dominion as being equivalent to a regional or even a supra-regional chiefdom (ruled by a *hq3*), and is not construed as, nor pretends to be, a full-fledged kingship of Egypt (as the use of *ny-sw.t* might convey). This, in turn, runs contrary to the practice adopted by the Eleventh Dynasty in Thebes where *s3.t ny-sw.t* epithets remain in use,¹¹¹ along with full pharaonic titulary for its nomarchs. Thus, Eighth Dynasty kings considered themselves, perhaps not undeservedly up to a point, as rulers of all Egypt, followed by the regional chiefs who attempted to perpetuate their own interpretation of pharaonic kingship by adopting credentials that adhered to royal conventions, such as the use of the cartouche and the designation of the king as *ny-sw.t* and his offspring as *s3-* or *s3.t ny-sw.t*, despite the extreme likelihood that none of them controlled the entire land. Likewise, Intef II had taken on the full pharaonic titulary much earlier than the reunification of Egypt had been achieved, even though his influence may not have extended beyond southern Upper Egypt.

Although the individual mentions of these various local kings might not be contemporaneous to one another, it is noteworthy that the scanty evidence derives from areas that served as quarrying and mining regions or as access points to strategic routes. Accordingly, we find Wadjkare mentioned in an Elephantine letter, Imhotep at Wadi Hammamat, Hetep at Shatt el-Rigal, Isu at Gebel Silsila, and Khui at Manfalut, which may have been an entry point for the route to Dakhla, one that Harkhuf may have used on one of his journeys.¹¹² It appears then that these rulers attempted to secure the conduits to, and control over, resources for their respective spheres of influence, doubtless in competition with one another. Furthermore, the distribution of these names among various Upper Egyptian sites might actually hint at some form of fragmentation of the south that modern interpretations typically associate with the First Intermediate Period.

¹¹¹ This progression may be followed in the list of titles for royal women provided in Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 156.

¹¹² Vercoutter, “Balat et la route de l'oasis”; Minault-Gout, “Une inscription rupestre de l'oasis de Dakhla,” 272.

13 Conclusion

The above examination of the documentary and archaeological evidence relating to the late Old Kingdom allows for certain tentative proposals to be put forth with respect to the history of the Sixth Dynasty and its somewhat complex dynastic issues. It seems that the family ties that were established between the royal house and an Upper Egyptian family, in addition to the practice of multiple marriages by late-Sixth Dynasty pharaohs, may have shaped events in the succeeding decades to a greater extent than would be apparent. Thus, the multiplicity of names recorded on the Abydos king-list might actually provide an indication regarding the misperception surrounding the status of the post-Pepy II era, as well as the possible timeline and the manner in which Egypt progressed into the First Intermediate Period.

For its part, the Eighth Dynasty should not be regarded as being far removed in terms of chronological distance or character from the Old Kingdom proper. It emulated the policies of the Sixth Dynasty of, among others, cultivating family relationships—possibly with the descendants of the same Upper Egyptian family—and dispatching royal decrees, a practice that is confirmed for three of the rulers of that line. In fact, once the different historical challenges are unraveled, the current state of the evidence should permit the inclusion of the Eighth Dynasty within the Old Kingdom and the extension of the unified character of the Egyptian state until the threshold of the Herakleopolitan period.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

ArOr Supp	Archiv Orientální Supplementa
Denkmäler	L. Borchardt. <i>Denkmäler des alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1295–1808</i> . 2 vols. Cairo: Organisme général des imprimeries gouvernementales, 1937 and 1964
Gardiner	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised.
sign-list	London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
KD	H. Goedicke. <i>Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich</i> . AA 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967

KRI I	K.A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . Vol. 1: Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries. Oxford: Blackwell, 1976
PN	H. Ranke. <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> . 2 vols. Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935
SASAE	Suppléments aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
SAMW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Abteilung
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
Urk. I	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932–33

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The Old Kingdom Abroad: An Epistemological Perspective

With Remarks on the Biography of Iny and the Kingdom of Dugurasu

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Abstract

This contribution reflects on the epistemological problems caused by the lack of evidence on Egypt's foreign policy in the Old Kingdom. Taking up a call made by Karl Jansen-Winkel to develop a methodology that "suits the situation of our evidence," the article applies an approach proposed by Aliezer Tucker to the preserved sources from the Old Kingdom. This approach attempts to explain how the presently known evidence came about, rather than to produce a narrative of the past. In its second part, two case studies are presented that show how new evidence and new interpretations of existing evidence can fundamentally alter our perceptions of interrelations in the Old Kingdom, proving that evidence-based narratives of the past are prone to failure. The two case studies suggest (a) that the recently published biographical inscription of Iny contains a reference to Egyptian expeditions reaching the city of Sumur and the Eleutheros plain, and that (b) references in letters from Ebla to a "kingdom of Dugurasu" as a trading partner of Ebla could be understood as referring to the civilization of ancient Kerma in the Sudan. Kerma would thus emerge as a formerly unknown independent player in the trade exchange with Early Bronze Age Syria.

1 The Epistemology of Foreign Relations in the Old Kingdom

In a contribution presented to the workshop inaugurating the *Journal of Egyptian History* at the University of British Columbia in 2008, John Gee pointed to the fallacies arising from limited evidence:

As historians and Egyptologists, we need to be aware of not only what we know, but also how we know what we know. The basis for our knowledge is as important as that knowledge.¹

¹ Gee, "Egyptologists' Fallacies."

At the same time, Karl Jansen-Winkel reminded us, in a contribution on the *Unknown* in Egyptian history, of the ever so often false coherence and fictitious nature of our historical reconstructions.² In light of the extreme scarcity and the coincidental nature of what has been preserved and found, he admonishes us not to naively equate what is attested with what happened, but to bear in mind the gaps of knowledge and the vastness of the unknown. His three methodological proposals are as follows:

- (1) The evidence ought to be presented in an explicit way, and if possible, according to factual areas. On no account should we ignore or bridge the gaps of knowledge. To the contrary, we should very decidedly point to the unknown. Somebody who deals with the foreign relations of Egypt under Ramesses II, to give one example, needs to clearly state that we simply do not have any sources pertaining to them from the last decades of his reign. This is a lacuna of our evidence, not proof of a period of peace.
- (2) Evidence and interpretation must be neatly separated, and any inference drawn from the evidence must be made in an explicit way. What is it that makes scholars postulate that the peak of state absolutism was reached under Kheops? If it is the size of his pyramid and the uniformity of the tombs of the officials, the weakness of such reasoning becomes instantly obvious.
- (3) Overall, we must not seek to emulate the narrative presentations of history that abound in modern historiography. This will only delude ourselves and others. Fields of history such as Ancient Egypt that have left so little evidence—evidence that, moreover, very often allows but for indirect conclusions—require their own methodology. *We should probably strive to develop a methodology that suits the situation of our evidence.*

In this contribution, I will attempt to take a critical look at our modern assumptions about foreign relations during the Egyptian Old Kingdom, rather than to draft a picture of how those relations appear at present on the basis of the sparse existing evidence.

Assessments biased by our limited evidence abound in the literature on foreign relations in the Old Kingdom, and have frequently found their way into the textbooks. Nicolas Grimal, in his *History of Ancient Egypt*, claims that “the kings of the Fifth Dynasty seem to have opened up Egypt to the outside world, both northwards and southwards,”³ and T.G.H. James, in his *Short History of Ancient Egypt*, believes in the same vein that

² Jansen-Winkel, “Die Rolle des Unbekannten in der ägyptischen Geschichte.”

³ Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 76.

the kings of this [the 5th] dynasty were far more active than their predecessors in affairs of all kinds. (...) Expeditions were sent regularly to Sinai, Nubian connections were developed. In particular, a new trade-link was forged with a distant land called Punt.⁴

Judgmental views are sometimes added. When Jaromír Málek speaks about the Nubian razzia attested from Snofru's reign in his contribution on the Old Kingdom to the *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, he holds that

such crude forms of external policy seem to have been particularly common during the 4th Dynasty when the country's economy was probably stretched to its limits.⁵

Here the limited evidence⁶ is not only taken as a true reflection of the foreign policy agendas of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, but also combined with an evolutionary scheme that portrays the later Old Kingdom as more accomplished and sophisticated than the Egypt of the great pyramids. In a more general perspective, the Old Kingdom continues today to be envisaged as a self-contained civilization by comparison to the purportedly more outward-oriented Middle and New Kingdoms.

Recent developments in the field of Middle Kingdom foreign policy should have enjoined scholars to be cautious. By way of example I quote Dietrich Wildung who, in his 1984 monograph on the Middle Kingdom, was perplexed by Egypt's alleged disinterest in the Levant:

The fact of Egypt's intense foreign politics in the South make it all the more surprising that the country was so diffident in its engagement in the North.⁷

This view has since been completely shattered by the publication of fragments of Amenemhet II's annals discovered at Mitrahine, mentioning the Egyptian conquest of Cyprus and of Ura in Southeastern Anatolia,⁸ and of a new text

⁴ James, *Short History of Ancient Egypt*, 62.

⁵ Málek, "The Old Kingdom," 107.

⁶ Partially caused by the Egyptians themselves by dismantling older structures—see below, p. 439, for the military scenes from a complex erected by Kheops.

⁷ Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhat*, 188 (here translated from the German).

⁸ Altenmüller and Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II.;" Eder, *Die ägyptischen Motive in der Glyptik*, 176–95; Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, 595–607; Marcus, "Amenemhet II and the Sea"; Wastlhuber, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und der Levante*, 75–82.

from the mastaba of Khnumhotep at Dahshur from the reign of Senwosret III highlighting Egypt's involvement as a mediator in the domestic politics of the Levant.⁹ If we take the two year coverage of the Mitrahine annals as a benchmark for the scope of the lost annals of the entire Middle Kingdom, we can safely assume that we know just about 1% of the events they comprised, in a textual genre that uses strong filters of ideology and decorum. The loss of evidence also applies to the administrative documents and letters pertaining to foreign affairs. A new cuneiform tablet from Tell Siyannu mentions Middle Kingdom trade relations between Egypt and Cyprus.¹⁰ There is no reason to assume that the Middle Kingdom kings abstained from exchanging thousands of letters with their peers in the Near East, letters which, if preserved, would urge us to rewrite most of the history of the Middle Bronze Age. The fragment of such a tablet recovered from the late Hyksos period at Tell el-Dab'a (where also an Old Babylonian seal impression was found) and probably sent by one of the two last kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Ammi-Saduqa and Shamshi-Dutana, confirms this general assumption.¹¹ The discovery of so far singular clay tablets inscribed in Hieratic from the Sixth Dynasty governors' residence in the Western oasis of Dakhla ('Ayn Asil/Balat)¹² could be seen as indirect evidence that cuneiform tablets existed (and could be emulated) in the state of the Old Kingdom.¹³ A lucid assessment of the evidentiary situation—regarding loss of evidence, ideological bias, and later reuse—can be found in Karen Sowada's new monograph on Egypt's involvement in the Levant in the Old Kingdom.¹⁴

While the true extent of foreign relations in the Old Kingdom will never be fully known to us, and although the rate of *knowledge increase* remains a variable, the very fact of a steady expansion of our knowledge is a firm constant. Examples include the discovery of the Abu Ballas trail extending from the oasis of Dakhla into the Western Desert, with inscriptions of Kheops and Djedefre on the "Water mountain of Djedefre."¹⁵ This new evidence clearly disproves

⁹ Allen, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dashur."

¹⁰ Ahrens, "A Journey's End," 26, n. 66.

¹¹ Van Coppen and Radner, "Ein Tontafelfragment aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz." For the possible synchronism between Egypt and Babylonia, see also Schneider, "Contributions to the Chronology," 401.

¹² Posener-Kriéger, "Les tablettes en terre crue de Balat"; Pantalacci, "La documentation épistolaire" and "Les inscriptions hiératiques."

¹³ Breyer, *Ägypten und Anatolien*, 414 with fig. 55.

¹⁴ Sowada, *Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Old Kingdom*, 5 ff.

¹⁵ Kuper, "Les marches occidentales de l'Égypte"; Kuhlmann, "Wasserberg"; Riemer, "Out of Dakhla"; Förster, "With donkeys, jars and water bags" and *Der Abu-Ballas-Weg*; Schneider, "The West beyond the West" and "Egypt and the Chad."

a dictum made in 1914 by Oric Bates, claiming that “the whole of Africa west of the Nile was, to the Egyptian, a *terra incognita* which stretched away from the familiar haunts of men to the realm of the dead.”¹⁶ Sowada’s new assessment of the material evidence for Egypt’s interaction with the Levant has shown, in marked contrast to earlier assumptions (including the one quoted from Grimal), that, throughout the entire Old Kingdom, the Egyptian state engaged in

direct and down-the-line contact with most of the key political and commodity production centres of the Levant. It was a key player and major market for regional commodities in the trading systems of the Levant.¹⁷

Recent work on the Red Sea coast¹⁸ has not only uncovered shipbuilding and harbor installations of the Middle Kingdom, but likewise invalidated assumptions like the one quoted from James who surmised that it was only the Fifth Dynasty that established the trade-link with the country of Punt further to the South on the African coast. In a recent contribution, Pierre Tallet and Gregory Marouard write:

The recent discoveries at Wadi el-Jarf demonstrate once again the complex and extensive logistical organisation of seafaring expeditions during the Old Kingdom. They emphasize the determination of the Egyptians, from the early Fourth Dynasty, to control the Red Sea coast and access to the resources of the Sinai by constructing a network of strategic installations on both sides of the Gulf of Suez. One can only wonder whether a port constructed on such a scale was used for crossing the sea to the Sinai or whether it would also have been used by expeditions travelling to the Southern part of the Red Sea and the distant land of Punt.¹⁹

¹⁶ Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, 48. Bates refers for this statement to Adolf Erman’s *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 87, although Erman says only that the Egyptian underworld (which was located in the West) was not approachable to humans.

¹⁷ Sowada, *Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Old Kingdom*, 255.

¹⁸ For a comprehensive assessment of Egypt’s exploitation of the Red Sea coast, see Tallet, “Les Egyptiens et le littoral de la Mer Rouge” and *Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf* (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/PDF/Tallet.pdf>); Tallet and Mahfouz, *The Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*.

¹⁹ Tallet and Marouard, “An Early Pharaonic Harbour on the Red Sea Coast,” 43. See now Tallet, Marouard, and Laisney, “Un port de la IV^e dynastie au Ouadi al-Jarf (mer Rouge)”; Tallet and Marouard, “The Harbor of Khufu”; Tallet, *Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf* (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/PDF/Tallet.pdf>).

In light of this overall situation, is it possible, then, to develop an epistemic approach that suits the situation of our evidence, as Jansen-Winkel has suggested? In what follows I will apply ideas developed by Aviezer Tucker in article contributions²⁰ and his monograph, *Our Knowledge of the Past: A Philosophy of Historiography*. In the latter, he makes the following pertinent comments:²¹

- i) Paucity of evidence is the single most important cause for the underdetermination of historiographic hypotheses.
- ii) Progress in underdetermined areas of historiography depends on (1) expansion in the evidential base, (2) better hypotheses whereby “descriptions of historical events are a kind of historiographic hypothesis,” and (3) theoretical innovation that discovers nested information.
- iii) Historiography aspires to provide hypothetical descriptions of past events as the best explanation of present evidence. This knowledge is probably true, but it is not true in an absolute sense. A benchmark for the veracity of historiography is which hypotheses increase the likelihood of the evidence more than others.

It is this last point in Tucker’s assessment that allows us to take up Jansen-Winkel’s call for an approach that “suits the situation of our evidence.” In a historiographic scenario that attempts to explain how the presently known evidence came about, and to assess which among different hypotheses about the past makes this most likely, our endeavor would be driven not by the expectation to produce a narrative of the past but by a reflection on the evidence and a constant awareness of its limitations. In such a scenario, we would not so much infer the past from the evidence but instead infer the evidence from the past.

By way of example, let us look, from the field of Old Kingdom foreign relations, at the famous Sixth Dynasty biography of Weni. Deprived of its context in the mid-19th century when the stone slab with the text was extracted from Weni’s tomb at Abydos (which then receded into oblivion until relocated by Janet Richards in 1999), the text has seen a very selective scholarly reception that has focused on its mention of Weni’s campaigning in the Levant and his involvement in investigating a palace conspiracy. These two elements of the

²⁰ Tucker, “Unique Events” and “The Future of the Philosophy of Historiography.”

²¹ Tucker, *Our Knowledge of the Past*, 240, 258, 261. See also the review by Ankersmit, “Review of Aviezer Tucker. *Our Knowledge of the Past*.”

inscription have often been employed as building stones of the political narrative of the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty.²² A proper contextualization of these text passages within the inscription,²³ and the inscription within the tomb, as well as a reflection of the status of that artefact within the later Old Kingdom, gives us a significantly different perspective on the two text passages that is driven by the evidence, and not the need for a narrative. As Richards has pointed out:

The biography conveyed a graphic political message, presenting Weni's deeds within the frame of a model career sanctioned by the state. Petrucci would categorize Weni as belonging to the "great dead": individuals handed on to posterity in a very official way and, in this handing off, legitimizing the power of the state. (...) Weni's grave was a truly monumental feature, a massive ideogram for the power of the central government physically inscribed on an important provincial landscape. Itself a kind of hieroglyph, it incorporated a series of hieroglyphic texts and was laden with imagery reinforcing its message. Erected during a time period when the central government may have felt control of the provinces slipping away, the grave materially manifested an attempt to consolidate and legitimize central power, in a region where elite factions could contest it. (...) To communicate that point, Weni presented his exemplary career in a biography laid out in the format of a royal decree, and he provided a career footnote to an already splendid trajectory by means of his second false door. Both biography and false door were in public parts of the grave: outward facing, written to be seen and understood visually, if not actually read. Thus in life, while fulfilling his duties and building his elaborate and massive monument, Weni signified the vital presence and wealth of the government. In death, residing in his grave, he reaffirmed the power and permanence of the established order, fulfilling eternally his duties as Governor of Upper Egypt and Chief Judge and Vizier.²⁴

How does this contextualization change our view on Weni's Levantine expeditions?

²² It may suffice to mention here again Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 82–85, and recently, Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*, 91–94.

²³ Richards, "Text and Context in Late Old Kingdom Egypt"; Hofmann, "Die Autobiographie des Uni von Abydos"; Piacentini, *L'autobiografia di Uni*.

²⁴ Richards, "Text and Context in Late Old Kingdom Egypt," 84 f., 95 f.

(1) It is important to notice, first, that the preservation of Weni's biography has benefitted from the extraordinary status of the tomb owner and the magnitude of his monument, neither of which will have been attained by most other Old Kingdom expedition leaders. Apart from Weni and the new biography of Iny discussed below, there is only one brief reference to a trip to Byblos by an official Khnumhotep in the tomb of Khui at Aswan,²⁵ one more extensive biography that mentions Levantine affairs (by Kaemtjenenet, from the Fifth Dynasty),²⁶ and the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty depictions in the tombs of Kaemheset at Saqqara²⁷ and of Inti at Deshasheh.²⁸ The latter event was often seen as part of the incursions by Weni²⁹ which, against all historical odds, combined the one major textual record and the one major pictorial record from the Sixth Dynasty without any consideration of the loss of evidence about dozens of other expeditions. Very likely, the resulting narrative is historical fiction. Weni's expedition is not an extraordinary or even singular historical event but an extraordinary incident of source preservation.

(2) Second, Weni's expeditions are just one element of his career as a state official: they are not highlighted as unique for Egypt's political affairs, nor do the topographic details mentioned appear to have been unfamiliar to its elite public. Like the previous argument, this speaks in favor of a well-operating system of frequent expeditions to the Levant over the entire history of the Old Kingdom. A faint glimpse of this system can be seen in the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasty depictions of ocean-going ships from the funerary temple of Sahure and the Unas causeway, attesting to the employment of Levantine seafaring specialists on behalf of the Egyptian crown.³⁰ The naming of a specific type of sea-going ships as "Byblos ships" (*kbn.t*),³¹ even if used on the run to Punt, is in itself testament to the intensity of the naval connections with the Levant in the Old Kingdom. During that time period, the king did not appear in battle (as far

²⁵ Newberry, "Three Old Kingdom Travellers to Byblos and Pwenet," 182.

²⁶ Schott, "Die Biographie des Ka-em-tenenet."

²⁷ Quibell-Hayter, *Teti*, frontispiece; Piacentini, "Egiziani e Asiatici," Tav. III.

²⁸ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 18 f., 24 f., pls.2, 26–27.

²⁹ For the debate see Piacentini, "Egiziani e Asiatici," 16–18 and *Gli "amministratori di proprietà"*, 76–79; Jaroš-Deckert, *Das Grab des Jn-jtj.f*, 44.

³⁰ Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ša³hu-re'*, 25; Bietak, "Zur Marine des Alten Reiches."

³¹ Wachsman, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, 19.

as present evidence allows us to say)³² but royal sons did,³³ and military scenes existed in royal contexts, as shown by scenes of archers and prisoners from a structure of Kheops', reliefs preserved only as spolia reused in the pyramid of Amenemhet I.³⁴ This latter coincidental find clearly exhibits the extremely lacunary nature of our evidence.

(3) Third, the focus of the passage on Weni's Levantine raids is on his military leadership ability, from the recruitment of the troops to their safe return to Egypt. The mention of five such raids against the sand-dwellers and a land-and-sea operation to the Carmel mountains indicates a well-functioning system of militia recruitment and deployment.³⁵ This can be compared to the better attested system of Old Kingdom trading and mining expeditions, where even so Eckhard Eichler has commented on the "dark figure" of unknown expeditions.³⁶ To this evidence may be added the mention of "Asiatics" in Old Kingdom execration texts³⁷ (*cf.* the nomadic "Asiatics who are on the sand" in the inscription of Weni), pointing to a growing concern about the state of affairs to the northeast of Egypt and implicitly suggesting that these threats will have been countered by military responses. The assessments quoted earlier according to which Old Kingdom Egypt was not initially active in the region were induced by the fact that explicit textual records about an Egyptian engagement in the Levant are rare. One factor here is source preservation, but "historical" accounts in private biographies and "historical" depictions are also novelties in the textual and pictorial repertoire of the later Old Kingdom, not because such people and events did not exist before, but because decorum did not allow for their recording.³⁸ A most welcome confirmation of this fact is the discovery at the site of Wadi el-Jarf, in 2013, of administrative documents from

32 Spalinger, "The Organisation of the Pharaonic Army," 466 ("no royal figure").

33 As in the case of Kaemtjenenet mentioned above (a son of king Djedkare Asosi), and possibly Weni (Kanawati, "Weni the Elder and his Royal Background").

34 Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht*, 74 ff.; Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, fig. 187; Redford, "Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom," 137 (29).

35 Spalinger, "The Organisation of the Pharaonic Army," 460–71 (for the Old Kingdom).

36 Shaw, "Exploiting the Desert Frontier." Eichler, *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen*, 151 counts 33 expeditions in 500 years but accounts for a significant "Dunkelziffer" (dark figure).

37 Wimmer, "Neue Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich."

38 For the concept of decorum, see Baines, *Visual & Written Culture*, 191, 308 f.

Egyptian expeditions to the Red Sea, including the diary of the expedition leader Merer, that were not regulated by the rules of official display.³⁹

In the absence of any possibility to know the unknown, or to compensate for lost or inaccessible evidence, a mandatory assessment of the evidentiary basis of our knowledge can prevent us from constructing a narrative of events that is inevitably reductionist. If there has been a constant in past reconstructions of Old Kingdom foreign relations, it is the fact that assumptions have been outstripped by new evidence and reassessments, such as demonstrated by Sowada's recent study.⁴⁰ With a new perspective, we do not arrive at a narrative whereby the Sixth Dynasty made raids against Asiatics and a single expedition to the Levant under the command of Weni, but instead a master framework presupposing a systematic and extensive pattern of constant military and economic engagement of which hardly any textual evidence has been preserved. In the former case, every new find will necessarily invalidate established narratives and reveal their fictional character. A recent example is the new biography of Iny on the subject of which Anthony Spalinger has stated that "the discovery of yet another naval expedition abroad to Phoenicia has further disoriented modern scholarship."⁴¹ In the latter case, new evidence can be easily integrated into the much larger conceptual framework of historiographic plausibility.

2 New Evidence: Two Case Studies⁴²

In a recent article, Michele Marcolin⁴³ has restituted the biographical inscription of a Sixth Dynasty court official Iny, with the titles of god's sealer (*ḥmtj ntr*) or god's sealer of the two large ships, who served the Egyptian court from Pepi I to Pepi II (Figs. 11.1–11.2). The texts report his several expeditions to the Levant. Two of them relate to engagement with the Egyptian Levantine outpost of Byblos, one directed there under king Merenre, from which Iny brings

³⁹ Tallet and Marouard, "The Harbor of Khufu," 8–12.

⁴⁰ Sowada, *Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Old Kingdom*.

⁴¹ Spalinger, "The Organisation of the Pharaonic Army," 467.

⁴² The evidence presented in the second part of this article has been briefly touched upon in Schneider, "Egypt's Cultural Relations."

⁴³ Marcolin, "Iny, a much traveled official of the Sixth Dynasty" and "Una nuova biografia egiziana della VI dinastia"; Marcolin and Espinel, "The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscriptions of Iny."



FIGURE 11.1 *Photograph of Iny's biographical text.*
IMAGE COURTESY MICHELE MARCOLIN.



FIGURE 11.2 *Biographical inscription of Iny.*
LINE DRAWING COURTESY MICHELE MARCOLIN.

back to Egypt lapis lazuli, silver, tin, and oil, and a later one under Pepi II from which Iny returns with ships and "Asiatics." The first place in Iny's biographical account is reserved for a report on his initial commission under Pepi I. The text reads:

I 'made' *s-m-3-w / hnt-š / P3-w-[//]-š* four times when I was a god's sealer under the majesty of Pepi, my lord. I brought him silver and every good tribute that his Ka wished so that his majesty praised me for it very much.

None of the toponyms mentioned here has been identified in a satisfactory way.

Marcolin and Andrés Espinel's preferred equation with Amurru (which possesses an initial glottal stop and should thus be transcribed here with an initial reed leaf, as in the New Kingdom) disregards the initial <ʕ>; their other proposals as "Amanus" and "Hama" would agree in the medial "m" only,⁴⁴ and from the African toponyms mentioned, only the one from Punt could formally be accepted here. If the inscription were from the later Middle Kingdom when Egyptian <ʕ> was indeed used to render Semitic /ʕ/, we would be inclined to surmise here the city name Emar (Tell Meskene) which possesses the sound sequence /mr/ unless it means "donkey city" (*hmr*),⁴⁵ although in terms of the distance this would bring us as far as the Euphrates. For *P3-w-[//]-s*, Marcolin compares Levantine toponyms with the biliteral sign *p3*, none of which has the same consonantal structure, while the toponyms "Ba-'-li/Ba-'-lu" quoted from Neo-Assyrian sources clearly include the divine name Ba'l and are thus again out of comparison here.

Since we are dealing with a text from the Sixth Dynasty, it is mandatory to apply the phonological situation of Sixth Dynasty Egyptian⁴⁶ when <ʒ> rendered either /r/ or /l/ (as in the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts) and when Egyptian <ʕ> corresponded to a dental or dental-related sound, as is indeed corroborated by early renderings of foreign terms in Egyptian script, and supporting evidence from other areas (root doublets, alliterations and

44 Marcolin and Espinel, "The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscriptions of Iny," 590 f. The toponym "iimwʕrw" referred to in their n. 42 as yet another possibility has long been identified with Yamḥad by Joachim Quack (Quack, "Eine Erwähnung des Reiches von Aleppo"; Wimmer, "Ägyptische Nachrichten über Palästina und Südsyrien," 43 with n. 92; Wastlhuber, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und der Levante*, 105 f. This latter dissertation makes no mention of the inscription of Iny).

45 Goodnick-Westenholz, "Emar," 151 f.

46 The genetic and historical phonology of Ancient Egyptian has long been a topic of fierce dispute. Traditionally, the transliteration symbols adopted for the modern rendering of Ancient Egyptian in the late 19th century on the basis of the sound values that could be ascertained for the time of the later New Kingdom (13th c. BCE), were believed to also reliably reflect the phonological situation in earlier Egyptian and its genetic values. The climax of this strand of scholarship is Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, and Steiner, *Early Northwest Semitic Serpent Spells*, which, by other researchers of Egyptian phonology, is regarded as an 'artifact of the history of scholarship' (as formulated by el-Sayed, *Afrikanischstämmiger Lehnwortschatz im älteren Ägyptisch*, 97 f.). Yet another divergent approach to Egyptian phonology has been proposed by Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Language*.

rhymes).⁴⁷ The root incompatibilities⁴⁸ attested in the contemporaneous pyramid texts prove that Egyptian <ʃ> was incompatible with <d>, <t> and <s> (bolt-s) and, in turn, fully compatible with <ħ>, <ħ> and <š> (which is the palatalized version of <ħ>, <ħ>). This means that Egyptian <ʃ> was genetically different from Semitic <ʃ> and very plausibly a dental or dental-related sound, different from the two other dentals of Ancient Egyptian, <d> (maybe /t/) and /t/.

The exclusive focus of the remaining biography on Levantine expeditions, and the mention of the Egyptian term for Lebanon (*ḥnt-š*) between the two unidentified places, makes it plausible that we indeed find ourselves here in the Levant. On this assumption, we are looking for an equivalent Levantine place name that has as its first consonant a /d/, /d/ or /d/. In Akkadian and Hebrew, /ṣ/, /d/ (Semitic sometimes >*d*) and /t/ (Semitic sometimes >*z*) merged into /ṣ/, at least on the level of the script. The second consonant is uncontested /m/. I propose to identify the place name as the important city of *Şumur*, the most important city in the Eleutheros plain, most likely to be identified with Tell Kazel.⁴⁹ This city certainly existed in the EB III period.⁵⁰ The forms of the name are: Amurrite (2nd mill.), *Şumur(u)*,⁵¹ Middle Assyrian, *Şamur(i)*,⁵² Neo-Assyrian, *Şimirra*;⁵³ Neo-/Late Babylonian, *Şimiri*;⁵⁴ Hebrew *Şämär* (gentil. *şəmāri*); Phenician *zmr*.⁵⁵ While the etymology of *Şumur* is not known, the

47 Schenkel, *Einführung in die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft*, 34, 50, 53; Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 82, 88, 100–02, 127–28; Schneider, “Etymologische Methode”; Kammerzell, “Old Egyptian and Pre-Old Egyptian,” 174–77 and “The Sounds of a Dead Language,” 28–38.

48 This has been reaffirmed by Brein, *Wurzelinkompatibilitäten* and “Root Incompatibilities.”

49 Van Soldt, “Şumur(a)”; Badre, “Tell Kazel-Simyra” and “Tell Arqa et Tell Kazel.” For the site in the topographical context of the Akkar plain, see Klengel, “Sumur/Simyra und die Eleutheros-Ebene”; Thalmann and al-Maqdissi, *Prospection de la trouée de Homs*, 98–101.

50 The archaeological mission working at Tell Kazel has not yet reached the level of the Early Bronze Age, but EB III and EB IV sherds have been found on the site (kind information by Leila Badre, March 29, 2012). See also below the assessment of Eric Gubel. Şumur as an urban center since the early 3rd millennium is also assumed by Krings, *La civilisation phénicienne et punique*, 558.

51 Belmonte Marin, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien*, 251 ff.

52 Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*, 238.

53 Bagg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit*, 231 f.

54 Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*.

55 There are several modern toponyms in close proximity with a similar consonantal structure, cf. Richter, “*Suppiluliuma I. in Syrien*,” 174 f., n. 8. Cf. for toponyms of the sequence /smr/ also Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*, 290.

name may be related to the Northwest Semitic word for wool (*dmr*, probably attested as early as the late 3rd millennium BCE)⁵⁶ and identify the city as a center of wool production,⁵⁷ or a different root *dmr*.⁵⁸ The toponym and the term for “wool” have an identical vocalization in Hebrew.

In a recent article, Eric Gubel has indeed suggested that Tell Kazel, Tell Jamous and Tell Arqa were the three power centers of the Akkar plain from the mid-3rd millennium BCE on, and that the strengthening of the defensive structures of the cities of that region around 2,500 BCE, as attested at Amrit, could have occurred in response to incursions of the Egyptian Old Kingdom.⁵⁹ The emphatic voiced /d/ dental underwent a phonological change in Aramaic similar to the one we have to assume for Egyptian (*dmr* > *smr*). The third

56 Krebernik, “Lexikalisches aus Tuttul” (Shakanakku period texts name ^{UDU}*zamrum*, f. *zamratum*, maybe to **dmr* [Krebernik uses the Arabic spelling: *damr*] “wool” [wool > wool-bearing sheep]) and *Die altorientalischen Schriftfunde*, 245.

57 On places and place names pertaining to wool production, cf. also Kellermann, “Überlieferungsprobleme alttestamentlicher Ortsnamen.” Na’aman, *Canaan in the Second Millennium BCE* Vol. 2, 190 refers to Mount Seir “the shaggy mountain” and Seirah in Ephraim, and an Ugaritic toponym. In these cases the meaning “wool” would point to a forested place: “Also, one of the towns of Ugarit was called šrt/Shartu, and as is evident from the ideographic spelling ^{URU}SIG, the meaning of the name is “wool, fleece” (...). It is clear that all these toponyms, including the mountainous region of Edom (Seir), were so named because of the wooded (“shaggy”) appearance of their landscape.”

58 Such as Arabic *dmr* “to be lean, narrow,” with the nouns *dumr* and *dumür*, “leanness,” although this root does not seem to be attested in North West Semitic.

59 Gubel, “Tell Kazel (Syrië) en de Akkarvlakte,” 405: “Niet-destructieve prospectiemethodes (field walking, random sampling, statistical analyses) wezen op een toename van de bewoning vanaf het midden van het derde millennium die ononderbroken aangroeide van de late Vroege Bronstijd tot het einde van de Late Bronstijd (ca. 2500–1200) (...). Deze bevinding sluit naadloos aan op die van prospecties elders in de Akkar, die Tell Kazel en Jamous in het Syrische, en Tell Arqa in het Libanese deel van de Akkar identificeerden als de drie grote machtscentra van de vlakte (...). Over de precieze bewegredenen die een versterking van de urbane structuren rond 2500 motiveerden, bestaat nog geen pasklare verklaring. Recent werd echter een imposante verdedigingswal uit dezelfde periode blootgelegd te Amrit, zowat 38 km op de kust benoorden Tell Kazel. Egypte onderhield sinds de Vroege Dynastieke periode handelsbetrekkingen met Byblos (het huidige Jbeil, 38 km benoorden Beiroet) dat angstvallig waakte over zijn monopolie op de uitvoer van cederhout naar de Nijlvallei. Egyptische bronnen maken gewag van militaire expedities naar andere Levantijnse kuststeden onder de farao’s Snefroe (2613–2589) en Sahoere (2491–2477), die geïnterpreteerd werden als pogingen om dit monopolie manu militari te doorbreken (...). Het is dus niet uitgesloten dat dergelijke intrusies in de Akkar moeten worden gesitueerd, waar ze logischerwijze een versterking van de urbane structuren uitlokten.”

toponym is so far unattested. The end of the term is at the break between the Kikugawa fragment (col. x+4) and the text of the major biography where the “foreign country” classifier is preserved when the column resumes.

Marcolin comments on the epigraphy as follows: “The fracture could contain another hieroglyph below the *w*-phonogram, which seems to be slightly lifted up, and, perhaps, even another flat one just above the determinative for foreign country. Accordingly any proposal of restoration is inconclusive.”⁶⁰ However, the size of the quail chick varies throughout the major biography; it occurs with the same height in x+8 (2x) and x+10. The impression of the *w*-hieroglyph being lifted up vanishes if it is assumed that the *s*-hieroglyph was equally rendered at a smaller size, comparable to its execution in x+2 (3x), further down in x+5 and x+8. This would leave sufficient space for a small or a broad and flat sign between the sequence *<w-s>* and the foreign country classifier. With the following hypothetical interpretation, a simple *<t>* is required.

A possibility might be to understand the toponym as Northwest Semitic **parūšat* (feminine passive participle) “extended (territory), plain,” from semit. *prš* “to spread out, extend (also: territory)”⁶¹ [cf. Old South Arabic *frš.t* “cultivated countryside (or similar),” arab. *farš* “field covered with plants and herbs”],⁶² as the city of *Šumur* overlooked the vast plain of Akkar formed by the Eleutherios river.⁶³ The entire passage would then have to be understood as:

“I made *Šumur* of Lebanon and the (Akkar) plain four times when I was a god’s sealer under the majesty of Pepi.”

The inscription of Iny has been used as an argument in recent attempts by Maria Giovanna Biga and Alessandro Roccati to identify as a location in Egypt a mysterious toponym that is mentioned in the Ebla archives. The

60 Marcolin and Espinel, “The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscriptions of Iny,” 593.

61 HALAT, 917; ugar. *prš* “to extend (also of territory)": Lete and Sammartin, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language*, 683; Tropper, *Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen*, 97.

62 Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic*, 411 f.; Beeston, Ghul, Müller, and Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary*, 46 (“cultivated countryside”); HALAT, 917. I am grateful to Professor Stefan Wild (email of February 29, 2012) for his views on possible Arabic etymologies for *Šumur* and the *Nahr al-Abrash* on which the city is located and which is unlikely to go back to a pre-Arabic name that could be corelated with the toponym *p-r-š-?* of the biography of Iny.

63 This would require a single *<t>* (bread hieroglyph, Gardiner sign-list XI) to be added in the middle of the column, below *<w-š>*, at the break between the Kikugawa fragment and the major biography. The only unusual feature would be that the Egyptian system of transcription does not usually use CVC signs across syllabic boundaries (in this case, for a CV-CV- sequence), t.i., for broken writings (to use a term from Akkadian linguistics: Huehnergard and Woods, “Akkadian and Eblaite,” 93).

texts mention, often in conjunction with the city of DU-lu (probably Gubla/Byblos),⁶⁴ envoys from the “King of Dugurasu (Du-gú-ra-su^{ki}).”⁶⁵ Gifts of conspicuous quantities of lapis lazuli, tin, and silver from the Ebla court were sent to the king of Dugurasu, a king who never went to Ebla to swear allegiance. People from DU-lu came to Ebla with the news that the long and arduous journey of Eblaite envoys to Dugurasu had been successful. In return, objects of gold, linen textiles, gems, and vases—maybe made of alabaster—were sent as a gift from Dugurasu to Ebla. In Dugurasu itself, several functionaries are quoted as having relationships with Eblaite merchants, among them people with the un-Semitic names *A-ib* and *A-wa*. On the basis of the exchanged commodities, and the fact that Egypt has not yet been identified in texts from Ebla, Biga and Roccati have suggested that it may indeed be Egypt that hides behind the enigmatic “kingdom of Dugurasu.” In a still unpublished study by Roccati,⁶⁶ he tries to see “Dugurasu” as the approximate rendering of Egyptian *r³w-h³wt* “river mouths”; Egypt would thus have been named after the place the foreign envoys saw first when they arrived at the Nile Delta. This hypothesis presents some difficulties on a phonological level.⁶⁷ Moreover, it seems unlikely that the foreign envoys would not have used any official (Egyptian or Semitic) name for the state of the Old Kingdom.

Instead of this suggested identification with Egypt, I will propose in what follows that we may be dealing here with a reference to the kingdom of Kush, or *Kerma ancien* at the time of the Ebla archives, a contender to Egypt in the South during the Old Kingdom and the target of Egyptian expeditions.⁶⁸ This equation is based on the following arguments:

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- 64 The question of the identity of this place with Gubla/Byblos has been a matter of intense debate. I mention here just some recent views. In favor of the identification: Dahoo, “Minor prophets and Ebla,” 55 f.; Kaelin, “Modell Ägypten”, 173, n. 587. Contra: Astour, “An Outline of the History of Ebla”, 66, n. 410. Both possibilities are offered by Owen, “Amorites and the Location of BAD^{ki},” 217, n. 13.
- 65 Biga, “Encore à propos des rapports entre les royaumes de Mari et d’Ebla” and “Inherited Space”; Archi, “Ritualization at Ebla,” 219, n. 18 maintains that Dugurasu “has to be placed in a northern region”. I am indebted to Alfonso Archi for discussing with me the location of Dugurasu, and providing me with references to it and its products from Ebla.
- 66 Roccati, *Dugurasu = r³w-h³wt*. I am indebted to Professor Roccati for sending me his unpublished manuscript.
- 67 Most notably the /s/ of Dugurasu that is not accounted for, and the assumption that <h> represented a Ghain (which it can represent in Afroasiatic equations) and would be rendered by Eblaitic <g>. Egyptian <r> can be used to transcribe Semitic /d/ (as attested in transcriptions of the Middle Kingdom and later).
- 68 For an overview of the Kerma civilization, see Bonnet, *Kerma*; Kendall, *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush*.

- (1) Eblaitic writing did not differentiate between voiced, voiceless and “emphatic” stops.⁶⁹ This means that phonetically, the writing “Dugurasu” could also render “Tukurasu,” or “Tuqurasu”;
- (2) The older forms of the toponym “Kush,”⁷⁰ at present known from the reign of Senwosret I in the early Twelfth Dynasty (*ca.* 1971–1926 BCE), are *k3s / k3š / k3š*; the later Twelfth Dynasty writes *kws* (Sesostris III, 1887–1848 BCE). Claude Rilly has proposed to restitute the original form of the geographic name as *Kwuṣa* (with a Nubian retroflex sibilant) and also believes that this designation was already in use by the Nubian empire of *Kerma Ancien* around 2400 BCE.⁷¹ The different Egyptian transcriptions from the reign of Senwosret I can be seen as attempts to either render a foreign retroflex sibilant or else mirror a contemporaneous sound change in that language (in which case *<k3š>* might be an archaic notation of the late Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period).⁷² In the older form of the term, the Egyptians would have attempted to render /s/ by the sequence of an *<r>* sound and a sibilant, the later rendering with *<š>* would have chosen a different Egyptian phoneme instead. From the later Middle Kingdom on, we encounter writings ending in *-i* (oblique strokes or reed leaf) to which correspond the cuneiform transcriptions with a final *-a/i*. Whether that vocalic ending can be posited for the Old Kingdom form, is unclear. From the early New Kingdom on, the standard writing in Egyptian is *kš*.
- (3) I propose to see *Tukurasu* as a rendering of the term *t' k3š* (later *kš*) “the land of *K3š* (later Kush),” the term by which the Egyptians officially designated their Southern neighbor. Egyptian envoys to Kerma during the Sixth Dynasty are indeed attested, and alabaster vessel and statuettes may have been sent there as official gifts.⁷³ The pronunciation of the compound expression can be

69 Huehnergard and Woods, “Akkadian and Eblaite”; Streck, *Eblaite and Old Akkadian*.

70 For the forms of the term in different languages see Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 1–3; Edzard, “Kuš, Kuschiten,” 374 f.: bab. ^{KUR}ka-si/ši, ^{KUR}ka-a- ša, sonst ^{KUR}ku(-u)- si/ši; Old Persian ku(-u)- si/šu.

71 Rilly, “Une nouvelle interprétation du nom royal Piankhy,” 361, n. 51.

72 El-Sayed, “Afrikanisches Lehngut in ägyptischen Schriftquellen,” 313–15 and *Afrikanischstämmiger Lehnwortschatz im älteren Ägyptisch*, 274–76.

73 Valbelle, “The Cultural Significance of Iconographic and Epigraphic Data,” 177–78 refers to an “Old Kingdom sandstone stela discovered by the Swiss Mission in a foundation deposit of a Middle Kerma chapel near the Western Deffufa. This bears the titles and names in hieratic of two Egyptians who came on a mission to the city (...) Fragments of alabaster vessels engraved with the names of Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II were found in quantity near the entrance of K I, and others came from K II B and from the eastern necropolis, tomb K X B and C 22.21. On several of these pieces the king is called ‘beloved of

reconstructed as **Ta'-kwuṣ(a)*, rendered by the Egyptians as *Ta'-k(w)urs(a)/Ta'-kwuš(a)*. Eblaitic *ra-su* would be an attempt to render the retroflex sibilant of the original toponym, or the approximation conveyed to the Eblaites by the Egyptians; *tu* for *ta* could be explained by regressive assimilation or a pre-tone vowel.⁷⁴

The identification of “Dugurasu” with ancient Kerma proposed here is unexpected and, if accepted, reveals a previously unknown feature of Near Eastern relations, rather than to provide the long-expected mention of Egypt in the Ebla archives. This ought not to bias us against considering it. The empire of Kerma emerged as a main contender and threat to Egypt during the Old Kingdom, and was without doubt engaged in a most intense political and commercial network itself.

What becomes apparent from the two case studies presented here is the extent to which new evidence is apt to change previously accepted historiographic views, rather than supplying additional evidence in their support. An epistemological approach to our evidentiary situation is therefore also an incentive to think bigger—not to think just of the personal exploits of people like Iny, or to re-date the opening of the Punt trade link from the Fifth to the Fourth Dynasty, but to imagine them as part of a grand state enterprise that commissioned hundreds of expeditions, and sent out hundreds of ships over the time of the Old Kingdom. If, in the words of Aliezer Tucker, “a benchmark for the veracity of historiography is which hypotheses increase the likelihood of the evidence more than others,” the hypothesis of such a “grand system” would provide the likeliest scenario for explaining the evidence for Old Kingdom engagement abroad.

Hathor, lady of Dendera'. These kinds of objects were made on the occasion of important celebrations in Egypt, such as king's jubilees, and were sent to the principal sanctuaries of the country as well as to the foreign sovereigns in relationship with the court of Egypt. We should not be surprised therefore to find that some were sent to Kerma during the v11th Dynasty. Some fragments of alabaster statuettes may be attributed to the same period: Boston 20.1204 from K II B and 20.1208 from K II A. None of these pieces, however, still remained in a contemporary context.”

⁷⁴ Note that the Egyptian word for “land” is conventionally transcribed as *tʒ* by Egyptologists, a notation that should be corrected to *t'*. *tʒ* has been mere convention as it was in *rʒ* “mouth” (now more correctly: *r'*). There is no evidence for an original liquid <*ʒ*> as the word's second consonant. The unexplained exception that Carsten Peust has to account for, in this case for the loss of <*ʒ*> after a stressed vowel (Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, 145), is thus rendered obsolete.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

AHL	<i>Archaeology and History in Lebanon</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
ÄL	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
Gardiner sign-list	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
HALAT	W. Baumgartner, J.J. Stamm, and B. Hartmann, eds. <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament. Neu bearbeitet</i> . 5 vols. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1967–1995.
JAEI	<i>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</i>
JEgH	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
LingAeg	<i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
SEAP	<i>Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>

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The Dawn of Osiris and the Dusk of the Sun-Temples: Religious History at the End of the Fifth Dynasty

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Abstract

In this paper, I wish to focus on the main religious developments that took place at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, when solar temples were no longer built, the religious center at Heliopolis made its hesitant first steps, and Pyramid Texts were inscribed on pyramid walls. I shall argue that all three phenomena were related. The rising cult of Osiris, and the identification of the dead king with him, brought an end to the construction of sun temples. Subsequently, the solar cult was established in Heliopolis and the Ennead was invented as a means to accommodate the newly introduced Osiris. The first part of my paper discusses sun-temples, the reason for their construction and, especially, the religious difference between the sun-temples and the pyramids. The second part is dedicated to Osiris and his role in the religious history of the time.

Part One: Sun-Temples and Pyramids

The story of the Fifth Dynasty begins with Queen *Hnt-k3w.s* I, who was probably a descendant of the Fourth Dynasty and gave birth to the first king or kings of the Fifth Dynasty.¹ One of the phenomena most associated with the rise of the Fifth Dynasty is the construction of sun-temples, in addition to pyramids, by its first six monarchs. Thus far, only two of the six known sun-temples

* This paper is dedicated to the memory of my dear friend Dr. Terence DuQuesne, who kindly read an earlier version of this paper, and made numerous comments. May he travel well on the beautiful roads of the West. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for this paper's shortcomings and for the views expressed in it.

¹ See Baud, *Famille royale*, 546–52; Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families*, 62–69. For reference and discussion of the problem of *Hnt-k3w.s*, see Verner, *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus*, 165–68.

have been located and excavated, namely, Userkaf's sun-temple in Abusir and the better preserved Nyuserre's sun-temple in Abu-Gurab, north of Abusir. The excavations revealed a general plan very similar to that of the pyramids, and both the archaeological and textual evidence indicate close administrative and religious contacts between the two institutions.² An important source of information concerning the meaning and use of the sun-temples is their decorative plan. Two themes were used in the decoration of the temple at Abu-Gurab: natural scenes depicting the seasons of the Egyptian year, decorating the "Room of Seasons," and a series of reliefs depicting the king in his *Sed-Festival*. Unfortunately, the decorations in Userkaf's sun-temple are very fragmentary.

An intriguing issue in the study of sun-temples is their sudden appearance at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, and their surprising disappearance less than one hundred years later. Why were they built and what was the reason behind their decline? Many scholars have dealt with these questions and offered various interpretations. With reference to the *Sed-Festival* scenes, Werner Kaiser pointed out that the sun-temples were built in the early years of their builders' reigns. Hence, according to Kaiser, it is unlikely that the temples were built for the actual earthly celebration of the *Sed-Festival*. Taking into account the location of the sun-temples near the pyramids, as well as their close economic relations with the pyramids, he concluded that the temples were built for the celebration of *Sed-Festivals* of the dead king.³ Erich Winter, following Kaiser, argued that the sun-temples played an important role in the worship of the dead king as the father of the living king.⁴

However, in the last few years several scholars have questioned the identification of sun-temples as funerary monuments. On the basis of the decoration and the architecture of Nyuserre's sun-temple, Andrzej Ćwiek argued that the *Sed-Festival* and the Room of Seasons reflect two different concepts: the transformation and renewal of the royal power on the one hand, and nourishment and supply, on the other. He adds that the sun-temple functioned as a medium for the king to communicate with the sun god, during the king's life and after

2 On this topic, see most recently Vymazalová, "The economic connection." On the transport of offerings from the sun-temple of Neferirkare to his pyramid by boat twice a day, see Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakaï II*, 519–20. For the archive see Posener-Kriéger and Cenival, *The Abusir Papyri*. On the prosopography of the priests in the sun-temples, see Nuzzolo, "The Vth Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel."

3 Kaiser, "Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie," 116.

4 Winter, "Zur Deutung der Sonnenheiligtümer der 5. Dynastie," 231. For further arguments for the identification of Re with the dead king, see Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 64–66.

his death.⁵ To support his argument he cites Mark Lehner, who asserts that the mudbrick model boat at Abu-Gurab suggests the possibility that the sun-temple, like the pyramid complex, was a symbolic port to the world of the gods.⁶ Massimiliano Nuzzolo seems to share Ćwiek's views on the decoration's symbolism,⁷ and further argues that the king was identified with the sun god Re already in his lifetime.⁸ Finally, Susanne Voß claims that the sun-temples were cult centres for all the aspects of the sun god Re, celebrating the kingship as an eternal institution.⁹

Indeed, the foundation inscriptions of Niuserre's sun-temple indicate that the temple was already active in the king's lifetime,¹⁰ although the exact nature of this activity remains obscure. In spite of Kaiser's interpretation, the *Sed*-Festival scenes may have been carved on the walls of the temple in anticipation for *Sed*-Festivals, thus, they do not necessarily bear solely funerary meaning. Moreover, Klaus Baer in his book *Rank and Title* pointed out that the king was deified and worshipped during his lifetime in his pyramid and his sun-temple.¹¹ Notwithstanding these observations, the conclusion that the king was identified with Re already in his lifetime is untenable. What speaks strongly against this idea is the lack of any explicit textual evidence for such an identification. The sun-temples may have celebrated eternal kingship; but the fact that each of the first six kings of the Fifth Dynasty built a separate sun-temple and named it individually, indicate that these were first and foremost personal royal monuments.¹² Therefore, I would suggest that while the builder of a sun-temple was still alive, the sun-temple may have served as a kind of meeting point for him with his divine father Re. However, the main purpose of the sun-temples was the royal afterlife. Hence, they were principally funerary monuments built for the royal afterlife.

5 Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration*, 354.

6 Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 152.

7 Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," 226.

8 Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," 227–29.

9 Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 174–76.

10 For a recent discussion of this text, see Vymazalová, "The economic connection," 297–98. For reconstruction and translation, see Helck, "Weihinschrift." For an English translation, see Strudwick, *Texts From the Pyramid Age*, 86–91.

11 Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 45–46; Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," n. 6. An orthographic indication for the deification of the living king exists from the First Dynasty, see Shalomi-Hen, "Kings as Gods."

12 For the view that the temples were personal monuments to each king's continued relationship with the sun-god in the afterlife, see Málek, "The Old Kingdom (2686–2160 BC)," 109.

What, then, was the difference between a sun-temple and a pyramid? Why build two monuments for the king's afterlife? In an attempt to explain why the kings of the Fifth Dynasty built sun-temples, Voß elaborates on the irregular use of the title *s3-R*^c "son of Re" by the kings of the Fifth Dynasty, as well as the possible historical seeds of the tale of three kings in P. Westcar. She maintains that these reflect the questionable lineage of the first kings of the Fifth Dynasty and concludes that the quest for legitimacy was the reason behind the erection of sun-temples. Thus, by constructing sun-temples, the indirect heirs of the Fourth Dynasty enhanced their connection with the sun-god. With the change of time and political atmosphere, the position of the kings was no longer problematic, and they did not have to legitimise themselves anymore. This was the reason, according to Voß, that the last two kings of the Dynasty did not build sun-temples.¹³

In an attempt to address the problem, Nuzzolo pointed out the dual nature of the Egyptian king.¹⁴ He explains that the new Heliopolitan theology that emerged at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty was an attempt at reconciling the main cultic aspects related to the king, the funerary and the solar. According to him, the pyramid was designed to celebrate the earthly kingship of a single monarch, whereas the sun-temple was intended to enshrine the image of the king as the primeval god Re, within the idea of solar kingship.¹⁵ Moreover, Nuzzolo suggests that sun-temples should always be sought north of their builder's pyramid, as the sun-temple represents the northern cult of Re, and the pyramid represents the physical aspect of Osiris, hence, the south and Abydos.¹⁶

Although I agree that each of the two different aspects of the dead king is represented by either one of the two institutions, I have two major reservations. First, there is no evidence, textual or other, for the existence of Heliopolitan theology before the inscription of the Pyramid Texts on the walls of King Unis' pyramid.¹⁷ Second, the Egyptians did not know Osiris before the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty, therefore he does not appear in the decorations and inscriptions of the royal monuments prior to that time.¹⁸ When Osiris first appears

¹³ Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 176–83.

¹⁴ Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," 228, n. 49 and "The Vth Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel," 307–08.

¹⁵ Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," 238–39.

¹⁶ Nuzzolo, "The sun temples," 220, 233.

¹⁷ The names of royal funerary domains from the Early Dynastic Period combining Horus with the word *ht* "corporation" do not seem like a convincing argument for the existence of the concept of the Heliopolitan Ennead in that period, in spite of Mathieu, "Mais qui est donc Osiris?," 90.

¹⁸ Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 71–95 and "The Earliest Pictorial Representation of Osiris."

in Egyptian religious thought, he is found exclusively in private burials, where he is closely associated with *Ddw* Busiris in the Delta rather than with Abydos in the south.¹⁹ Osiris' first possible royal appearance is on an unpublished block from the funerary temple of Djedkare-Isesi where his name may be read above an anthropomorphic figure; but this reading is based on extremely shaky ground.²⁰

I agree that the reason behind the construction of sun-temples in addition to pyramids is to be found in the perception of the Egyptian king as a multi-faceted being, and that the emerging cult of Re brought about the need to specify the divine manifestation of the dead king. After all, Re was not the only possible divine manifestation of the dead king in pre-Heliopolitan theology. The Great God, for example, one of the oldest and best-known deities in the Old Kingdom, was an alternative identification, and in spite of the fact that his name is not known, we have much more information about the Great God than any other god of the Old Kingdom pre-Pyramid Texts. We know that he dwells in the sky, and that in the realm of the dead he judges, with the help of an august council, those who had violated tombs of others during their lifetime.²¹

¹⁹ Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 107–09. About *Ddw* as Osiris' most prominent cult center in his early appearances, see Mathieu, “Mais qui est donc Osiris?,” 90–91.

²⁰ Klaus Baer identified a fragmentary figure on a block from the funerary temple of Djedkare-Isesi as Osiris. This identification is based mainly on the reading of two signs above a fragmentary human figure as the throne ▣ and the eye ☞. On the basis of the only published photograph of this piece, it is hard to judge whether indeed the throne and the eye are the original signs or whether these signs were part of a longer phrase. If this is indeed the name of Osiris, then it is the first time his name is written in this way in pre-Pyramid Text inscriptions, and certainly his only large-scale pictorial representation (apart from his appearance in the writing system) in the Old Kingdom. On these grounds, I doubt Baer's identification. See Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 297. For the photograph of the block, see Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, front piece and the discussion on 236–37. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai II*, 502, 544–45, mentions the existence of a statue of Osiris in the funerary temple of Neferirkare. A thorough investigation of her translation reveals that the papyri mention royal statues, the hieratic signs of which are transcribed to the following hieroglyphs: ☞ ▣. Posener-Kriéger considers the last of the three (☞) to be an Osiride statue of the king, hence she writes about a statue of Osiris in the temple; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakai I*, 52–55. For the actual inscription, see Posener-Kriéger and Cenival, *The Abusir Papyri*, pl. iv. In light of what we know about the orthography of Osiris' name in the Old Kingdom, this claim is untenable. Indeed, it is a royal statue, but most certainly not Osiris. See Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 71–136.

²¹ For a detailed account and references to specific texts, see Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 46–52.

The Great God was identified by some scholars with Osiris;²² others identified him as the sun-god;²³ whereas according to Betina Schmitz, the term Great God in the time of the Fourth Dynasty designated the dead king.²⁴ It is important to note that most scholars who dealt with this issue agree that the dead king is the principal figure with whom the Great God is identified. Those who opt for Osiris as the name behind this designation, argue that the Great God is the dead king, and that the dead king is Osiris. Hence the Great God must be Osiris. Similar reasoning may be applied to the identification of the Great God with Re.²⁵

In spite of the fact that the name of the Great God is unknown, he appears as an independent and a very important deity in Old Kingdom burials. Indeed, the Great God became an epithet of Osiris, but only later in Egyptian history.²⁶ Any attempt to identify Osiris with the Great God from a fairly early stage is simply untenable. The Great God is known in Egypt from the early Fourth Dynasty, whereas Osiris was introduced to Egyptian religious life only in the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty.²⁷ The identification of the Great God with Re must also be rejected. Re in the Old Kingdom was an exclusively royal deity, who did not have any relations with people other than the king himself. Unlike the Great God, who was invoked in the offering formulae of private people and about whom details appear in their wishes for the afterlife, Re was distant, his shape was unknown, and the temples built in his honour were royal institutions.²⁸

At the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, the dead king was manifested both as the Great God and as Re. Therefore, the kings divided the economic and engineering efforts between the two divine manifestations of the dead king. The Great God, the dead king in his capacity of the people's ruler, was interred in his pyramid. The sun-temple, however, was constructed for the dead king as the sun-god Re. In this capacity he acted as the father of the ruling king, who was an only child. The division between the two facets of the dead king is reflected in the names of the sun-temples versus the names of the pyramids. While the former all contain the name of Re, none of the pyramid names mention him.

²² Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, 12.

²³ See Baines, "Greatest god' or category of gods?" 15; Kaplony, *Methethi*, 78.

²⁴ Schmitz, "*Königsohn*", 62.

²⁵ For a detailed discussion, see Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 50–52.

²⁶ Mathieu, "Mais qui est donc Osiris?", 81–82.

²⁷ Fischer, "The God/Great God Osiris."

²⁸ See Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 64–67.

Part Two: Osiris

In the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty  Wsir Osiris shows up for the first time in Egyptian records. He first appears in the offering formulae of high officials,²⁹ and from this moment on, he appears in almost every private tomb. Moreover, the classifier  (EG Gardiner sign-list A40), which marks his name, quickly became a category marker for human entities in the realm of the dead, such as the Great God, his august council, and the *ȝh*.³⁰ It seems that the human form, and the concealed promise of existence as human in the realm of the dead, was Osiris' major asset, and consequently his cult grew rapidly.³¹

It is probably the growing cult of Osiris that brought an end to the sun-temples.³² At the end of the Fifth Dynasty the kings moved their burial place back to Saqqara, and ceased to build sun-temples. Unis, the last king of the dynasty inscribed the inner rooms of his pyramid with Pyramid Texts, and for the first time the dead king himself was identified with Osiris. At the same time, in the private burials the Great God became mostly a mere epithet of Osiris,³³ and the cult of Re was pushed away from the royal cemetery to be established in Heliopolis.³⁴

Unfortunately, very little remains from Heliopolis of the Old Kingdom. Combing through Old Kingdom titles from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, one finds  wr m3 Iwnw, "Greatest of the Seers of Heliopolis";³⁵  hq3 hwt ȝt pr Iwnw phr Iwnw, "Chief of the Great Estates of Pr-Iwnw and

²⁹ On the basis of PT §182a, Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 162, fig. 3, explains that the standard of the 9th nome of Lower Egypt (around Busiris) appearing on the Palermo Stone, in the 5th year of Sahure depicts 'ndty who is identified with Osiris. With reference to the same PT verse, Mathieu explains that the identification of the two gods was part of political efforts to spread Osiris cult in the whole of Egypt. See Mathieu, "Mais qui est donc Osiris?" 91. I should like to stress that in the time of Sahure, Osiris was not known in Egypt, and hence was not merged with any god.

³⁰ Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 115–37. On the human form of the *ȝh*, see Friedman, "Anthropoid Busts from Deir El-Medina."

³¹ See Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 133–36.

³² On the possible connection between Osiris and the end of the sun-temples, see Kaizer, "Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern," 115; Helck, "Heliopolis und die Sonnenheiligtümern," 70.

³³ Fischer, "The God/Great God Osiris." However, see also PT spell 252, §272–274, where the king is identified as the Great God.

³⁴ For references and discussion see Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 184–92, in spite of the different conclusions.

³⁵ Jones, *Index*, 1, 386–87, no. 1429. For part of the title bearers see Strudwick, *Administration*, 94, no. 59; 136–37, no. 126; 152, no. 148; 154–55, no. 151. See also the first in a string of titles on prince Rahotep's statue from his mastaba at Maydum in Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting*, pl. 6.

Phr-’Iwnw;³⁶ and  *smsw is(t) n ’Iwnw*, “the Elder of the *is(t)*-Chamber of Heliopolis.”³⁷ Wolfgang Helck pointed out the connection during the Fourth Dynasty, between the title  *wr m3 ’Iwnw*, “Greatest of the Seers of Heliopolis” and military titles, especially titles of expedition leaders. According to Helck, it is likely that *wr m3 ’Iwnw* of the Fourth Dynasty was an administrative, civil title associated with expeditions, rather than a priestly title.³⁸ Similarly, Helck adds that  *smsw is(t) n ’Iwnw*, “the Elder of the *is(t)*-Chamber of Heliopolis,” was probably an administrative title,³⁹ as was the title *hq3 hwt-3t* “Chief of the Great Estate....”⁴⁰ Indeed, the titles referring to Heliopolis from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties indicate that Heliopolis was of some significance. Yet, the small number of these titles, their infrequent use, and the fact that none of these titles was originally a priestly title, indicate that Heliopolis was of no great religious importance at that time.⁴¹

As for the connection between Heliopolis and the sun-god, Helck pointed out that nowhere before Unis' Pyramid Texts does Re appear in association with Heliopolis.⁴² The reliefs and inscriptions on the so-called “Djoser Chapel,”⁴³ which was found in Heliopolis and is considered by many as the earliest attestation of the sun-god and his Ennead, do not mention the sun-god, nor indeed his Ennead. The only sure divine name to be read on these reliefs is that of Seth, who appears already on earlier monuments. Therefore, on the mere alleged evidence of the “Djoser-Chapel,” one cannot assume the existence of an early cult centre of Re in Heliopolis.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Voß claims

36 Jones, *Index*, II, 673, no. 2464. For the title bearers see Strudwick, *Administration*, 85, no. 46.

37 Jones, *Index*, II, 898–99, no. 3297. For the title bearers see Strudwick, *Administration*, 72–73, no. 27.

38 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, 95–98.

39 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, 98.

40 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln*, 91.

41 For Sixth Dynasty titles associated with Heliopolis, see  *imy-r ss(w) ’Iwnw*, “Overseer of the Scribes of Heliopolis,” in Jones, *Index*, I, 208, no. 776;  *wr 10 ’Iwnw*, “Greatest of the Ten of Heliopolis,” in Jones, *Index*, I, 387, no. 1433;  *ss ss w tswt ’Iwnw*, “Scribe of the Phyles and Troops of Heliopolis,” in Jones, *Index*, II, 871, no. 3185.

42 PT §§482a–483b. On this point, see Helck “Heliopolis und die Sonnenheiligtümer”; Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümer*, 166.

43 See Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting*, figs. 48–53, 133–37. For photographs of two of these fragments, see Bickel, “Heliopolis in Antiquity,” 27.

44 For a very recent paper which assumes the existence of a solar cult center in Heliopolis already in the Fourth Dynasty, in spite of the fact that no new evidence came to light, see Verner and Bruna, “Why was the Fifth Dynasty cemetery founded at Abusir?”

that the connection between Re, Atum and the Ennead was established only in the Sixth Dynasty, after the sun-temples' decline. These conclusions are corroborated by the fact that the earliest archaeological evidence for a solar cult in Heliopolis is Teti's Obelisk from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.⁴⁵ I would like to add to these points the four tombs of *wr m³* "Great Seer" priests, from Heliopolis and dated to the Sixth Dynasty.⁴⁶ The tombs are small and poor, and the title "Great Seer" is just one of several titles borne by these people, with no indication of prominence and with no direct reference to Re or Atum.⁴⁷ The conclusion that Heliopolis at that time was not yet an important solar cult centre is inevitable.⁴⁸ And while Re's sun-temples were pushed away from the royal cemetery, the cult of Osiris entered the most intimate compartments of the royal tomb, with newly formulated texts.

"Mais qui est donc Osiris?" asks Bernard Mathieu in a recent article.⁴⁹ Let me answer this question loud and clear: Osiris is a very attractive young foreign god. Young, because he appeared in Ancient Egyptian religious thought no earlier than the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty. Foreign, because the classifier , which follows his name, was used up till his first appearances to classify foreign peoples, which, as I have argued elsewhere, implies that he was imported to the Egyptian religion from elsewhere.⁵⁰ Attractive, because immediately after he made his first appearance in the private monuments of high officials, he appears everywhere. His appeal is not clear, but his promise of a human form after death, and the fact that everybody could identify with him in the afterlife, not only the king, were probably part of his charm.⁵¹

Consequently, at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, the kings lost interest in the sun cult, as it was performed in the sun-temples, and like everybody else, they

⁴⁵ For discussion and reference, see Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 165–69.

⁴⁶ At this date *wr m³* were indeed priests. See Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamten-titeln*, 98.

⁴⁷ Daressy, "Grands Prêtres d'Héliopolis."

⁴⁸ See Helck, "Heliopolis und die Sonnenheiligtümern."

⁴⁹ Mathieu, "Mais qui est donc Osiris?"

⁵⁰ Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 69–95 and "The Earliest Pictorial Representation of Osiris."

⁵¹ On the adoption of the tripartite hairstyle by non-royal men at the end of the Fifth Dynasty as an attempt to imitate Osiris in order to attain regeneration in the afterlife, see Tassie, "I'm Osiris." On the textual identification of non-royal dead with Osiris already in the Sixth Dynasty, see Brovarski, "The Late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara," 50, 52–54, 62–63. For further references and discussion of this phenomenon and others as a flaw in the theory of democratisation of the afterlife, see Hays, "The Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife."

also wanted to become Osiris. Hence the religion of Osiris was not the result of a new political doctrine, promulgated by the king, as suggested by Mathieu,⁵² nor was Osiris the alter ego of the sun-god Re.⁵³ At this point of Egyptian religious history Osiris had no solar aspect.⁵⁴ The rapid dissemination of his cult was, so it seems, determined by forces from below, the taste of the mob rather than a doctrine dictated by the policy makers of the royal court.

Inscribing the royal pyramid's inner walls with spells ensured the royal after-life as Osiris. Yet, in spite of Osiris' major position in the Pyramid Texts as the dead king, the father of the ruling king, one cannot ignore his problematic performance in many of the spells.⁵⁵ Osiris needs protection (PT §777a–b PMN); he is casted on his side, and needs to be sought for (PT §972a–c MN; §1008c PMN; §1256a–b PN; §1280c–d P; §1500a P; §2144a–b N); Osiris drowned (PT §24d N; §615d TM; §766d PN); his brother Seth smote (*ndi.n*) him to earth in Nedyet (PT §1256b PN); He needs to be raised to stand (PT §956a–959a PMN); Osiris needs to be awoken and carried on the back of his enemy (PT §651a–§652b PM; cf. §626c–§627 TPMN); and he is made better by his sisters Isis and Nephthys (PT §628a TPMN).

It is not too far-fetched to assume that the theologians who formulated the new Osirian spells in the Pyramid Texts expressed their general dissatisfaction with the new royal religious taste, by portraying Osiris/the dead king as weak and passive. In order to tailor Osiris into a mythological framework,⁵⁶ these obscure theologians invented the Ennead of Heliopolis as a means to accommodate the newly introduced Osiris. The formulation of the Ennead brought

⁵² Mathieu, "Mais qui est donc Osiris?", 87–88.

⁵³ Mathieu, "Mais qui est donc Osiris?", 90.

⁵⁴ Indeed, as recently demonstrated by DuQuesne, "The Osiris-Re Conjunction," Osiris and Re complement each other in the Pyramid Texts in facilitating the king's ascent to the other world. See also Voß, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern*, 184–92. On the relations between Osiris and solar cult centers throughout Egyptian history, see el-Banna, "À propos des aspects héliopolitains d'Osiris." Nevertheless, I agree with Lorton, "Considerations on the Origin and Name of Osiris," 115, that at this time in Egyptian religious history there was not yet a solar aspect to Osiris. For further discussion see Shalomi-Hen, *Writing of Gods*, 98–99.

⁵⁵ Mathieu, "Mais qui est donc Osiris?", 93–95, suggested that the new religion of Osiris met with opposition. In order to establish his arguments he uses Pyramid Text examples. However, all his examples are of spells, which do not mention Osiris. Moreover, the so-called divine opposition seems to be the usual introduction of the dead into the realm of dead where he is reluctantly received by the dwellers, and hence answers with threats.

⁵⁶ On the assumption that there were two separate mythological cycles, Osirian and Horian which merged in the Pyramid Texts, see Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, 14–17.

about the decline in the position of the living king, who was now distanced four generations away from the creator sun-god.

Who these theologians were is impossible to gauge. Heliopolis does not seem like the abode of high theology at the end of the Fifth and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. It is hard to imagine the humble *wr m3* priests from Heliopolis having great political or theological influence on the contemporary Egyptian court. It is also very unlikely that their predecessors, the sun-priests of Abusir, were busy with theology, or had much political power.⁵⁷ Yet, someone who had enough power and access to the king and his advisers acted against the new religious predilections of the king, and punished him in a very sophisticated way for preferring the concrete humanity of Osiris over the abstract distance of Re.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

<i>ENiM</i>	<i>Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne</i>
Gardiner	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised.
sign-list	London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
WA	Writings from the Ancient World
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>

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57 See Nuzzolo, “The Vth Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel,” 302–03.

- 2, tenu le 5–7 Juillet 2001, L. Pantallaci and C. Berger el-Naggar, eds., 31–71. Lyon: Maison de l'orient et de la Méditerranée, 2005.
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Centralized Taxation during the Old Kingdom

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Abstract

The government of the Old Kingdom is often thought to have exhibited strong tendencies towards centralization. The state is seen as the hand guiding economic policies, using taxation to support state activities such as (but not limited to) building. This paper reinvestigates the textual evidence for state-organized taxation in the Old Kingdom, including the Palermo Stone and late Old Kingdom exemption decrees. These documents show that taxation policies evolved from the early to late halves of the period; nowhere, however, does the state appear to rely on taxation as a regular or dominant mechanism for centralized wealth production. Instead, taxation appears to have been more an exceptional action instead of a regular, standard activity applied to the whole country.

1 Introduction

The Old Kingdom state is frequently perceived as monolithic, a perception nurtured by history's traditional bias towards "big man" history as well as monumental evidence like pyramids. Clearly related to this tradition are concepts such as complete ownership of land by the Egyptian state and assumption of state control of natural resources such as quarries.¹ The treasury supported such endeavors as pyramid building and long distance trade. Scholars have therefore proposed that the royal treasury was supplied through state run taxation, enabling government sponsored activity such as building projects.²

1 For state ownership of land, see Málek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids*, 76; Menu, "Ventes de maisons," 249–50; for control of natural resources see Warburton, *State and Economy*, 62; Shaw, "Pharaonic Quarrying and Mining," 110–11; Eyre, "Work and the organization of work," 15, 21.

2 The earliest discussion of Egyptian taxation practices, including state taxation, is Helck, "Abgaben und Steuern," 3–4. See also Katary, "Taxation (until the end of the Third Intermediate Period)" and "Land Tenure and Taxation," 187; Warburton, "Before the IMF"

However, in investigating the Old Kingdom textual record, we shall find it presents a picture of a state which was economically far less invasive into the provinces than often assumed. Its taxation procedures were far from codified (when extant at all) and need to be understood in the context of Old Kingdom bureaucracy, which was neither fully rational nor fully embedded in the provinces.³ Thus, it seems unlikely that taxation formed the pillar upon which royal wealth rested.

The discussion of Old Kingdom taxation presented here will consider the evidence as divided into two phases: early (Dynasties 3–4) and late (Dynasties 5–6). This division broadly follows the pattern of administrative change in the period. In the Third and Fourth Dynasties, the administration's highest offices were largely in the hands of the royal family. Provincial administrators appear to have been based in Memphis, from which location they controlled several nomes.⁴ The state bureaucracy shifted beginning in the reign of Menkaure, during which time the vizierate was moved into non-royal hands and a trend began where the number of bureaucratic offices increased, each with more specific responsibilities than before.⁵ By the Fifth Dynasty reign of Djedkare Isesi, provincial administrators had relocated from the capital to the province that they governed.⁶ The Fifth and Sixth Dynasty saw both continual change in all offices of the administration, particularly high offices like Vizier and Overseer of Upper Egypt, and administrative division and re-division of the country.⁷ It seems highly likely that these bureaucratic upheavals would

and *State and Economy*, 69. Janssen suggests that taxation was not the only input, though it was an important one; Janssen, "Prolegomena to the Study of Egypt's Economic History," 132, 146–47, 163. A more veiled allusion to the necessity of such a tax collection system can be found in Papazian, *Domain of the Pharaoh*, 87 and n. 17.

3 For a broad discussion, see Eyre, "Patronage, Power, and Corruption." The character of the Egyptian bureaucracy changed over time. Just as the Old Kingdom is a formative period in state administrative power, it was a period of experiment and change in state economic power. By the late pharaonic periods into the Ptolemaic Period the administration grew, becoming more systematized: Eyre, "Patronage, Power, and Corruption," 701–02; Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 4–5, 129–30. As a result, taxation in these later periods was structured differently than in the Old Kingdom and was much more expansive. We should not understand the Old Kingdom as a mirror or echo of later taxation policies.

4 Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 2; Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium BC*, 9.

5 Strudwick, *Administration*, 337–38.

6 Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 2; Fischer, "Four Provincial Administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries."

7 Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 11, 129–30; Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium BC*, 65–68; Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 297.

have affected the economic policies of the country, especially as the aim of many of these administrative shifts appears to have been to change—or perhaps tighten—the central government's interactions with the provinces.⁸ The textual evidence further supports division between the early and late Old Kingdom, implying that economic policy in this case evolved together with administrative restructuring.

2 The Early Old Kingdom

Writing and the scribal administrative tradition were limited by decorum during the Old Kingdom writ large, with written genres being most restricted in the first half of the period.⁹ When combined with the hazards of preservation there are few contemporary texts which speak to the question of taxation during the Third and Fourth Dynasties. The most notable is of course the Palermo Stone, which bears the annals of the kings from the First through part of the Fifth Dynasties. Each year of a king's reign is given its own section, which contains, among other information, important events occurring in that year. Though the provenience of the document is open to question, recent analyses place its original home within a temple precinct in Memphis.¹⁰ In such a case, the annals are unlikely to have been a strict recording of government activities. It would rather have been a document intended for consumption by the divine, presenting Egyptian history with the aim of aiding the king's ritual responsibilities to the gods.¹¹ The king's ritual role is not necessarily best mediated through objective history writing. History, when used as a representation of the reign for divine consumption, must be carefully chosen. Some events will be elevated above others, essentially becoming a type of royal propaganda. Thus, by the Fifth Dynasty, annals like the Palermo Stone had "developed into quasi-religious memorials which tend to conceal the individuality of reign behind the mask of a mythic prototype."¹²

⁸ For example, it is evident that there were concurrent changes between the administration and the structure of funerary cults. See Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 297–301.

⁹ For restrictions in writing during the early Old Kingdom, see Baines, "Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society," 576–78.

¹⁰ Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 92; Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 36.

¹¹ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 62. See also Redford, *Pharaonic king-lists, Annals, and Day-books*, 128.

¹² Redford, *Pharaonic king-lists, Annals, and Day-books*, 136.

Two events preserved in these earliest royal annals have often been understood as referring to government taxation: the Following of Horus (*šmsw hr*) and the Census/Cattle Count (*tnwt*). The Following of Horus is the earlier of the two institutions, being referenced sporadically from the First through the Third Dynasties. Its last appearance in the Palermo Stone is in an entry for the fifth year of Netjerikhet.¹³ During the early half of the Old Kingdom, the Following of Horus is rarely referenced outside of the Palermo Stone.

The literature routinely identifies the Following of Horus as a royal procession through the country with the aim of provincial control and nation-wide tax collection.¹⁴ Jürgen von Beckerath has convincingly argued that the Horus referred to in the phrase “The Following of Horus” was not the deity but rather the king in his divine aspect.¹⁵ Toby Wilkinson described the *šmsw hr* as “... a royal progress in which the king, accompanied by his court, would travel throughout the country, presenting himself to the people, keeping a tight rein on economic and political developments in the provinces, and perhaps adjudicating on important judicial and civil matters.”¹⁶ Dieter Arnold has posited a relationship between the Following of Horus and the early Fortresses of the Gods, suggesting that the Shunet al-Zabib, a Second Dynasty royal enclosure at Abydos, functioned as a gathering point for the Following of Horus as they travelled throughout the country.¹⁷ On the other hand, Hans Goedicke has suggested that the Following of Horus were participants in the king’s household and likely had a military function.¹⁸

In total, the Following of Horus appears seventeen times on the Palermo Stone, with no set interval between appearances except during the reign of Ninetjer, when the Following occurs biennially. The writing is typically , with the boat determinative likely implying a travelling entity. The first entry, PS r.II.1, is representative of the references, where the whole record for the year

¹³ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 139; Sethe, “Die Entwicklung der Jahresdatierung bei den alten Ägyptern,” 72.

¹⁴ Kattay, “Land Tenure and Taxation,” 187–88; Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 67, 120 and *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 220–21; Helck, “Abgeben und Steuern,” 4; *KD*, 48–52; Beckerath, “*šmsj-hrw* in der ägyptischen Vor- und Frühzeit” and “Horusgeleit.”

¹⁵ Beckerath, “*šmsj-hrw* in der ägyptischen Vor- und Frühzeit.”

¹⁶ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 67.

¹⁷ Arnold, “Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms,” 37; though see O’Connor, *Abydos*, 177–81 for a more recent analysis of the uses of the Abydos enclosures which ties them less to administration and views them more as a conceptual unit with the nearby tomb and subsidiary graves.

¹⁸ Goedicke, “Cult-Temple and ‘State’,” 125–26 and *KD*, 44.

reads only: “Following of Horus; Creating [an image of] Anubis.”¹⁹ There is no great detail in the entries, and the early years documented in the annals are notable for their brevity. It is thus difficult to ascertain the specific responsibilities of the Following of Horus without supplementary evidence. The choice to document this event rather than other royal activities that must have taken place in a year strongly suggests that the Following of Horus has a very important role vis-à-vis the king and his divine role as mediator to the gods. The use of a boat determinative in all seventeen iterations of *šmsw hr* on the Palermo Stone indicates that the Following of Horus likely traveled the country in the course of their activities. However, how far they traveled, to where, and to what purpose, are open questions with no real answers.

A fragmentary relief from the provinces provides additional evidence for the Following of Horus. Probably from the Early Dynastic Period, the fragment likely comes from the Hathor temple at Gebelein.²⁰ The Gebelein relief includes a caption referencing the *šmsw hr* at a royal foundation ceremony. Here, they appear in the royal retinue as part of what is presumably an important royal ritual activity.²¹ The fragment contains portions of two registers. The upper bears an image of the king and several smaller individuals. The lower register contains the term *šmsw hr*, written as , without a determinative, though a corresponding lacunae suggests that one might have been present originally. The lower register also shows fragments of what may be a shrine and a boat; the actual Following of Horus, if understood as a procession of people, seems to be absent. Ludwig Morenz links this fragment to another Gebelein relief of a female figure bearing a pot on her head, both of which he feels relate to a foundation ceremony.²² As a representation of a cultic activity, the reliefs relate the king to the gods and highlight his role as emissary to the divine on behalf of the community.²³ Valuable, too, is the likely provenience of the fragment. Its origins as part of a provincial structure, likely a temple, suggests that the Following of Horus was conceptually related to provincial activities and might have made an appearance at this small temple. Hathor was one of the deities most closely tied to the Old Kingdom king; such temples appear to have been one of the few clear nodes of royal ritual activity in the provinces during the early Old Kingdom.²⁴

¹⁹ Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 90–91, fig. 1.

²⁰ Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 137.

²¹ Morenz, “Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel.”

²² Morenz, “Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel,” Abb. 1–2.

²³ Morenz, “Zur Dekoration der frühzeitlichen Tempel,” 234–35.

²⁴ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 111–35; Goedicke, “Cult Temple and ‘State,’” 111–23.

All details which would point to the Following of Horus playing a role in taxation are absent; there are no real supplementary data to further this interpretation. It is striking that neither the Gebelein relief nor the Palermo Stone directly associate the Following of Horus with actual administrative activity or physical taxation. There is no reference to the collection of goods, and the event occurred only at irregular intervals. In the Gebelein relief, scribes are notably absent, as is any other mechanism of recording. Even a description or depiction of offerings, sometimes taken as being the products for redistribution, is absent.²⁵ Instead, these were objects whose purpose lay in the ritual sphere, effective in renewing and sustaining the connection between Egypt and the divine vis-à-vis the royal house. Without fluency in the political relationships of the time, a fluency which the passage of time and difference in cultures has made impossible, any administrative/political nuances embedded in the subtext of the objects is lost to us. The Following of Horus would appear to be, first and foremost, part of the ritual entourage of the king, a part of the relationship between the king and the divine which reinforced his legitimacy. A ritual function does not rule out an administrative reality, as ritual authority can supplement administrative or economic authority, but without further evidence from this early period any administrative or economic role for the Following of Horus is merely supposition. Ultimately, the pomp of such a traveling, ritual, entourage could have done much to reinforce royal authority in the provinces. Its function would then transcend basic administrative realities to become a fundamental support of the royal office. But such pomp does not equate with rationalized or institutionalized taxation policy.

One would seem to be on more solid economic footing with the Census or Count  (*tnwt*). The idea of accounting is explicit in the term. The Census appears on the Palermo Stone beginning in the Second Dynasty and is at first concurrent with the Following of Horus. However, the Census outlives the older Following of Horus, continuing to appear in the Palermo Stone through the annals' last documented reign, that of the Fifth Dynasty king Sahure. Totaling 13 records spread over four dynasties, the Census was a resilient institution. Indeed, texts such as the Abusir Papyri and the South Saqqara Stone document the Census through the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Outside of the Palermo Stone, early attestations to the Census come from the Fourth Dynasty Will of Nykare, the Exemption Decree of Shepseskaf, and graffiti, though in these cases it is simply part of the dating formula.²⁶

²⁵ For an example interpretation of lists of divine offerings as wealth to be redistributed, see Janssen, "The Role of the Temple in the Egyptian Economy," 511–12.

²⁶ *Urk.* 1, 16: 14; *Urk.* 1, 160; Kuhlmann, "The 'Oasis Bypass' or the Issue of Desert Trade in Pharaonic Times."

The phrases *rnpt zp* “regnal year/year of the occasion (of the count)” and *rnpt m-ht zp* “the year after the occasion (of the count),” though written without the word *tnwt*, have been frequently translated as referring to the Census. The single term *zp*, followed by a number, is understood to stand in for the longer phrasing *zp* (number) *tnwt*.²⁷ This understanding was first forwarded by Kurt Sethe and generally supported by Alan Gardiner and Vassil Dobrev, becoming common usage within the field.²⁸ Seven dates published by Miroslav Verner, written *rnpt (m-)ht zp* (number) *tnwt* or *rnpt zp* (number) *tnwt* would seem to support this interpretation, as they co-occur with the shorter *rnpt zp/rnpt (m-)ht zp* formulae.²⁹

In concept, at least, the Census denotes a clear counting of goods. However, how the accounting was determined and what was being tallied is ambiguous. Eleven of the *tnwt*'s thirteen references on the Palermo Stone appear simply as “*zp* (number) *tnwt*” without any further qualification.³⁰ The term *tnwt* is qualified only twice. The first qualification appears in the fourteenth year of a king, probably Khasekhemwy; in this case the Census is defined as *tnwt nbw shwt*, the census of gold and fields.³¹ This designation is never repeated. However, in the reign of Userkaf in the Fifth Dynasty the Count is once again defined, this time being *tnwt iħ*, the count of cattle.³² Another variant appears in the Fourth Dynasty inscription at Djedefre's Water Mountain, where the year is given as *rnpt (m-)ht zp l3 tnwt iħw ՚wt nb(t)*, “Year after the thirteenth census of all the large and small cattle.”³³ It seems possible that the Palermo Stone's references to the Count of Cattle are actually a truncated version of this broad formula. The Fourth Dynasty will of Nykare and the exemption decree of Shepseskaf, though referring to the Census through the abbreviated *rnpt (m-ht) zp*, also include a direct object for the Census—*ipt ՚wt*, the large and small cattle.³⁴ In most cases, however, *rnpt zp*, *rnpt m-ht zp*, and *tnwt zp* appear without any reference to an object, leaving the commodity/ies being counted open to inference, but often understood to be cattle. Goedicke suggests that the shift from *šmsw hr* to *tnwt* in the Palermo Stone indicates a shift in

²⁷ *Wb.* III, 26; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 501–02.

²⁸ Sethe, “Die Entwicklung der Jahresdatierung bei den alten Ägyptern”; Gardiner, “Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt”; Baud and Dobrev, “De nouvelles annales,” 47.

²⁹ Verner, “The System of Dating in the Old Kingdom,” 25, 27–28, 33.

³⁰ For example: PS r.IV.1.

³¹ PS V.II.2.

³² PS V.II.2.

³³ Kuhlmann, “The ‘Oasis Bypass’ or the Issue of Desert Trade in Pharaonic Times,” 136, 138, fig. 10.

³⁴ *Urk.* I, 16: 14; *Urk.* I, 160.

Old Kingdom administrative procedures, with the Count replacing the functions of the older Following of Horus.³⁵ Of course, this premise is based on the idea that we understand the functions of the Following of Horus as related to taxation—which is highly unlikely. One should be cautious in paralleling these two institutions simply because both appear on the Palermo Stone.

The Census as a unified institution has been constructed by conflating the Count, the Count of Gold and Fields, and the Count of Cattle.³⁶ The fact that *tnwt* has a specific genitive construction in some cases should perhaps urge us to regard them as distinct. The *tnwt* was recorded with more consistency and regularity than the Following of Horus. Some scholars feel that frequent appearance of the Census indicates the central administration's attempt to increase revenues in the face of a rapidly dwindling treasury.³⁷ This viewpoint is based in part on inference, and in part on an assumption that ancient states must have created revenues in the same way as modern states. That royal revenues might have in large part derived from royal control over other economic spheres has found little discussion. Thus, when recent work on the Census convincingly argued that its apparent regularity was most likely intended as a manner to ritually reconnect the Egyptian lunar calendar to Sothic rising, and not due to administrative activity,³⁸ this model was discarded by one scholar on the premise that “it is hard to believe that the cattle count was not an actual administrative” event.³⁹

The extant references to the *tnwt* do not seem to denote a regular, state-wide tax capable of supporting the royal treasury. Cattle, gold, and fields did not account for the mass of Egypt’s wealth. Cattle would have been expensive animals; as such, they were frequently idealized, depicted in iconography to portray an ideal world of the wealthy. The archaeological record in fact indicates that herds of cattle were far less common than herds of sheep, goats, or pigs.⁴⁰ However, these more mundane livestock do not appear to have been

35 *KD*, 49.

36 For a recent example, see Katary, “Taxation (until the end of the Third Intermediate Period),” 5.

37 *KD*, 49; Verner, “The System of Dating in the Old Kingdom,” 43.

38 For the Count as a calendrical tool, see Nolan, “Lunar Intercalations and ‘Cattle Counts’,” 51, 56–59 and “The Original Lunar Calendar,” 80.

39 Verner, “The System of Dating in the Old Kingdom,” 40–41. Support for this viewpoint came from the suggestion that the associated papyrus records documenting the physical administration of a cattle count must have been lost. However, the only extant Old Kingdom account of cattle known to me comes from the verso of Papyrus Gebelein II (see Posener-Kriéger and Dimichelis, *I papiri di Gebelein*, 16); as this document is largely without context one should exercise caution in linking it to the *tnwt*.

40 For discussion, see Moreno García, “J’ai rempli les pâtures de vaches tachetées,” 242.

submitted to a census. Additionally, the value of cattle, at least in the Fifth Dynasty, seems to vary widely, meaning that no simple head count could prove a true accounting of value.⁴¹

Taxing cattle, or gold, would at most have been a tax on the elite, who were almost exclusively linked to the royal administration. More accurately, counting cattle would have been more an ideological display of power over wealth, not a practical activity instituted at a level required to support the state administration. The most important commodity owned by Egyptians was grain, as is implied by the large number of grain silos located throughout the country.⁴² Grain was, in turn, manufactured into the beer and bread which, together with linen, formed the basis of wage payments in the Old Kingdom.⁴³ Even a count of fields would have been a poor estimate for the true yield of grain due to environmental and labor variables, which would affect the harvest. The Egyptian bureaucracy was never large enough to do the sort of large-scale land survey required to tie revenue collection to changing flood patterns.⁴⁴

Early Old Kingdom administration was not large or well embedded in the provinces; the massive-scale process of accounting wealth from throughout the country would have been a bureaucratic challenge the organs of the state were not structured to meet. However, understanding the Census as a ritual activity which maintained the Egyptian calendar, represented ideological control over the wealth of the country, and established order over chaos, eases the incongruity between a weak state bureaucracy and state-wide bureaucratic activity. The Census instead becomes a ritual parade, an ideologically charged moment for the king to emphasize his religious and political authority through limited supervision of elite wealth.

41 Vachala, "A Note on Prices of Oxen in Dynasty v."

42 For example, Hendrickx, *et al.*, "The 1955 Excavation of an Early Old Kingdom Storage Site at Elkab"; Adams, "Household Silos, Granary Models, and Domestic Economy in Ancient Egypt"; Lehner, "Fractal House of Pharaoh."

43 See Roth, "The Practical Economics of Tomb-Building in the Old Kingdom"; Posener-Kriéger, "Les papyrus d'Abousir," 133; Warden, *Pottery and Economy in Old Kingdom Egypt*. It is thus unsurprising that grain, beer, and linen form the core of the accounts found in the Gebelein Papyri: Posener-Kriéger and Dimichelis, *I papiri di Gebelein*, 15–23; Posener-Kriéger, "Les papyrus de Gébélein."

44 Eyre, "Peasants and 'Modern' Leasing Strategies in Ancient Egypt," 371–72, 375–76, 379. He suggests that land tenure was structured on a system similar to sharecropping. Alternately, for Egyptian land organization as largely feudal see: Eyre, "Feudal Tenure and Absentee Landlords." Either system promotes revenue collection that would have been administered locally, without fanfare and perhaps without much recording. These funds need not have supported the larger state structure, or have been tied into the royal house.

3 The Late Old Kingdom

The Fifth and Sixth Dynasties saw great amounts of change to the Egyptian administration. Written documentation from this period is more abundant than from the early Old Kingdom, including, but not limited to, such administrative records as the Abusir papyri, exemption decrees, and the South Saqqara Stone. In turning to this evidence, the appearance of *tnwt* in dating formulae makes it clear that the Census continued to occur through to the end of the Old Kingdom, though its frequency might have changed.⁴⁵ The South Saqqara stone, although poorly preserved, includes several references to the *tnwt ih* with no further details or description.⁴⁶ These annals would likely have played a similar ritual role to the Palermo Stone, with its Censuses playing the same ideological role.

The Following of Horus occurs rarely during this period, being referenced in only three sources from the combined iconographic and textual record. Whether the institution is a continuation of the Following of Horus of the First through Third Dynasties or a deliberate archaism is unclear. The *Heb-Sed* reliefs from the Fifth Dynasty Solar Temple of Niuserre in Abu Ghurob are the first of these late sources.⁴⁷ These reliefs lined the corridor of the Upper Temple; each depicts a portion of the ritual. The location of the rites is not obvious. Evidence from the New Kingdom and later shows that the *Sed*-Festival could be held in specially built facilities located throughout Egypt. There does not appear to have been one consistent, settled venue, at least in the later periods.⁴⁸

In these reliefs, the Following of Horus is shown participating in the rituals of the *Sed*-Festival, particularly as accompaniment to the enthroned king. The label *šmsw hr* (written alternately as  or ) appears in three scenes labeling processions of men bearing multiple divine standards.⁴⁹ The standards bear images of falcons, jackals, or an enigmatic bag-like image.⁵⁰ The use of the divine flag (*ntr*), in the plural, as a determinative in two occurrences rather than the boat determinative is unique to these images. It is likely

45 For contrasting viewpoints, see Baud, "The Relative Chronology of Dynasties 6 and 8," 153–56; Nolan, "The Original Lunar Calendar"; Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharonischen Ägypten*, 147.

46 Baud and Dobrev, "De nouvelles annales," 37–38, 40.

47 Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re*, Blatt 11, 27; 18, 44d; 21, 50a.

48 Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites," 368–69.

49 A very similar image of the *šmsw hr*, though with a greater number of standard-bearers, occurs in the *Sed*-Festival reliefs from the Festival Hall of Osorkon. See Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites," 371, 376.

50 Beckerath, "Horusgeleit," 51.

a direct reference to the gods themselves, represented in these images by standards appearing independently of human figures.⁵¹ When coupled with the free-standing standards, the *ntr* signs can be understood as functioning as a determinative indicating divine support following the ritual enthronement of the pharaoh.

It should be noted that in all three reliefs the king is present; it would seem possible that in this ritual role the Following of Horus was supplemental to the king; his presence was required. The scenes illustrate a ritual role for the *šmsw hr* and do not connect the *Sed*-Festival to a function like tax collection. While it is possible that ritual activities bore a secondary or tertiary administrative function, such subtext would have to be understood as highly embedded—our own interpretation rests solely upon modern inference. These ritual reliefs were selected and presented for their ideological value, similar to the activities listed on the Palermo Stone.

Two texts known to me from the late Old Kingdom mention the Following of Horus: Coptos Decree A, from the Sixth Dynasty reign of Pepi I, and the biography of Harkhuf, dating to the reign of Pepi II. The reference to the Following of Horus in the biography of Harkhuf comes in a fragmentary line to the left of the entrance, following the details of Harkhuf's last journey to Yam, in which he notes:

... *im³ nt šmsw ... r rdit rh hm n mr-n-r^c nb(=i) ... m-s³ hq³ im³ hr shtp n hq³ im³ pf...*⁵²

Line 12 is entirely missing, so much of this portion of the text is difficult to put together. Nigel Strudwick has reconstructed the section to read: “[Then I sent off an official with a man of] Iam to the Retinue of Horus (*the royal court*) to let the majesty of Merenre, my lord, know . . .”⁵³ while Goedicke reads *i³m n šmsw hr* as “*i³m-Mann des šmsj-hr*.⁵⁴ Either reading extends the role of the Following of Horus to include involvement with foreign missions. Perhaps this function was ritual, emphasizing the king's divine role even outside of Egypt, using ritual awe to strike the fear of Horus into foreign hearts. Perhaps instead they were merely members of the king's entourage who served as communication relays between the profane (Harkhuf) and the divine (the king) in aspects

⁵¹ Beckerath, “Horusgeleit,” 51.

⁵² *Urk.* 1, 126: 7–11.

⁵³ Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 331, parenthesis and emphasis original. *AEL* 1, 25 offers essentially the same translation.

⁵⁴ *KD*, 51.

both ritual and administrative. The exact implications vary upon the reading of the *n*: when read as a dative, the Following of Horus is a group who is not currently with Harkhuf but is (presumably) awaiting the man of Yam in the capital. When read as a genitive, the man of Yam is with Harkhuf as a representative of the Following of Horus and perhaps bears a military role.⁵⁵

Coptos A contains more detail and is better preserved. Written as an exemption decree for the *k3*-chapel of Pepi I's mother, Iput, it dates almost 400 years after the Palermo Stone's last reference to the Following of Horus. Both documents employ the same writing of *šmsw hr*: In the context of Coptos A, the determinative seems to indicate that the Following of Horus was seen as partaking in royal travel, forming a part of a larger group composed of all traveling missions. It states:

I have ordered the exemption of this ka chapel [...] dependants, cattle, and goats [...] any emissary who shall travel upstream on any mission, my Majesty does not permit him to burden the soul chapel in any way. Nor does my Majesty allow that the Following of Horus take advantage of it. My Majesty has ordered the exemption of this ka chapel.⁵⁶

These lines juxtapose the Following of Horus with the acquisition of goods from the provinces. As a result, Coptos A has been used to substantiate the involvement of the Following of Horus in taxation, possibly without requiring the royal presence for validation.⁵⁷ However, one must be cautious in asserting that tax collection could have been its primary or even secondary role. Coptos A does not isolate the Following of Horus. Rather, the king exempts the chapel from the advances of the Following of Horus only after it is exempted from being “burdened” by *any emissary*, on *any mission* presumably connected to the royal house.⁵⁸

Thus, the exemption writ large might be intended simply to stop travelers from the royal administration from a) consuming the valuable agricultural holdings of the temple and b) abusing the labor and hospitality of those dependant upon the *k3*-chapel's produce. Royal dictate regarding provincial provision of royal missions is also documented in the biography of Harkhuf, where the young Pepi II writes a letter explicitly ordering that every chief of a New Town, every companion, and every priest supply Harkhuf's return by

⁵⁵ *KD*, 51–52.

⁵⁶ Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 105, Goedicke, *KD*, 48–52, Abb. 4.

⁵⁷ *KD*, 49–52.

⁵⁸ Hays, “*wd*: the context of command in the Old Kingdom,” 70–71.

boat down the Nile to Memphis.⁵⁹ For a traveling mission in the Old Kingdom to carry enough perishable supplies to sustain it would have been a challenge, especially when the mission was travelling long distances, as one might assume the royal retinue did. Coptos A does not lay out the purpose of the Following of Horus' travels so much as describe a code of conduct for when it traveled through Coptos on whatever its royal business might be.

Though reliefs show that the Following of Horus continued to be a ritually important entity in the late Old Kingdom, the two texts suggest that the institution was now active in a broader administrative role. However, these roles do not appear to be exclusive to this one institution and they do not speak to systematic taxation. How, or if, the *šmsw hr* of the Palermo Stone was related to the *šmsw hr* of the late Old Kingdom is unclear.⁶⁰ Administrative institutions evolve, decay, and expand over time, and the differences between early and late Old Kingdom administration are notable. The Following of Horus in the late Old Kingdom remained closely tied to the king and his ritual functions. In some cases they seem to have traveled, perhaps without the actual person of the pharaoh. Regardless, the ritual functions of the Following of Horus remain evident. None of the evidence indicates a clear role in taxation; the Following of Horus in the late Old Kingdom, like that of the early Old Kingdom, is a poor candidate for the routine or regular collection of taxes by the state.

Coptos A is just one example of an exemption decree. The texts commonly are introduced as decrees (*wd*) from the king.⁶¹ This corpus of texts provides the most obvious evidence for the collection of goods in the late Old Kingdom. While many of these decrees are found at provincial sites, they always come from institutions that had a direct connection to the royal house, such as a *k3*-chapel of a royal family member. They speak of “exemption” from some sort of collection of goods or services. The decrees frequently include royal dictates for the distribution of divine offerings to both objects of worship (statues, *etc.*) and the priestly hierarchy. Additionally, some bear evidence for the crown’s economic authority. Table 13.1, while not an exhaustive list of royal decrees, contains those decrees of the late Old Kingdom which reference exemption of people and/or produce from some sort of collection which the central administration may control.

59 Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 33.

60 As Goedicke notes, Coptos A's reference to the *šmsw hr* could signal a “Renaissance” of the institution; alternately, such a possibility could be simply a product of differential preservation within the archaeological record. See *KD*, 48.

61 Hays, “*wd*: the context of command in the Old Kingdom,” 68.

With the exception of Coptos A, the decrees do not mention the Following of Horus, nor do they reference the Census outside of dating formula. Rather, the royal decrees use different terms to describe and curtail collection activities; this change in terminology suggests that fiscal activities at this period take a different form, unrelated to the activities recorded in the Palermo Stone. The distribution of the decrees at sites throughout the country suggests that such documents were not uncommon, though their provenience from sites associated with the royal house does draw into question how widespread the practice was outside of institutions directly related to the royal sphere.

Each of the decrees in Table 13.1 issue ○  *hw*, “exemptions,” which are often further defined by subsequently prohibiting specific actions using the phrase *ni rdi.n hm(=i)*, “my Majesty does not permit.” In general, these “exemptions” appear to prohibit staff from performing work outside of the institution or to protect property such as livestock. The term *hw* may also be applied to whole towns, making them “exempted towns.” Coptos D and the biography of Harkhuf shows the king may nullify such exemption at will by simply issuing new decrees or orders.⁶²

While typically translated as “to exempt/exemption,” Hratch Papazian has suggested that in some of the decrees, *hw* might best be translated as “to protect,” without implying a previously existing economic relationship.⁶³ The Decree of Teti from Abydos is perhaps the best example of this: “The *hw* fields (or cattle *hww*) [and...] are protected for Khenty[imentiu for eternity?] through the decree of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Teti, may he live forever and for eternity.”⁶⁴ As opposed to an exemption, a protection of temple labor does not necessarily imply that the labor had been previously taxed and therefore does not indicate the existence of a structured, regular system of taxation. By the New Kingdom, the term seems to have conveyed a sense of being favored or privileged;⁶⁵ such an undertone might very well be read into the word’s Old Kingdom usage. It is probable that *hw*, like many Egyptian terms, was employed to express several related concepts. To this end, it is notable that the specific object of the exemption varies by text. Only rarely do the decrees make reference to manufactured products such as bread, beer, or linen, all of which were common modes of exchange and keystones of the

62 *Urk. I*, 291: 15–16 and 131: 6–7.

63 Papazian, *Domain of the Pharaoh*, 252–53.

64 Abydos Teti decree. *Urk. I*, 208.

65 For New Kingdom uses of *hw*, see Galán, “The Ancient Egyptian Sed-Festival and the Exemption from the Corvée,” 260–61.

TABLE 13.1 *Late Old Kingdom Exemption decrees potentially noting taxation*

Decree and Date	Museum Accession	Reference
Decree of Neferirkare, from Abydos Fifth Dynasty	MFA 03.1896	Leprohon, <i>Stelae I</i> , 49–53 <i>Urk. I</i> , 170–72
Decree of Teti, Abydos Sixth Dynasty	BM 1903, 1010.63	James, <i>The Mastaba</i> , pl. 31 <i>Urk. I</i> , 207–08
Decree of Pepi I, Dahshur Sixth Dynasty	Berlin 17500	KD, 55–77 <i>Urk. I</i> , 209–13
Decree of Pepi I, Coptos. (Coptos A) Sixth Dynasty	JE 41890	KD, 41–54 <i>Urk. I</i> , 214
Decree of Pepi II, Giza Sixth Dynasty	MFA 47.1654	Leprohon, <i>Stelae I</i> , 156–59 <i>Urk. I</i> , 277–78
Decree of Pepi II, Coptos. (Coptos B) Sixth Dynasty	JE 41893	KD, 87–116 <i>Urk. I</i> , 280–83
Decree of Pepi II, Coptos. (Coptos C) Sixth Dynasty	JE 41491	KD, 117–27 <i>Urk. I</i> , 284–88
Decree of Pepi II, Coptos. (Coptos D) Sixth Dynasty	JE 43052 MMA 14.1.10	Hayes, “Royal Decrees” <i>Urk. I</i> , 288–95

Egyptian economy.⁶⁶ The variability of exemptions for these royal institutions is in direct contrast with the predictable regularity one would expect of long-established revenue collection.

66 This is evident in the royal temple setting as well as within market exchanges. For the former setting, see Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkaré-Kakaï*, 326–27, 339, 407–09 for payments in beer and bread, and 357, 359–60 for payments in linen. For the latter setting, see Bártá, “Die Tauschhandelszenen aus dem Grab des Fetekty in Abusir.”

For the most part, however, these decrees focus on exempting labor.⁶⁷ The decrees specifically note labor exemptions in some cases even when the town or temple as a whole is exempted and such a protection could be seen as redundant.⁶⁸ The overall impression of such an emphasis is that labor was the most important product of a royal establishment and that labor (mis)use was the underlying reason for the exemptions. Work (*k3t*) is specifically noted in the Dahshur Decree, while both *k3t* and the *f3t* levy are exempted in the Abydos Decree of Neferirkare. People are exempted in a very general way in the Abydos Decree of Teti and Coptos A (which also exempts priests); as labor is the main product of a community, it seems likely that this is an oblique reference to the labor of the inhabitants of the temple or town. Labor exemptions appear more regularly in this corpus than the exemption of livestock (only directly mentioned in Coptos A), fields (only in Coptos B and the Teti Abydos decree), or waterways (noted solely in the Dahshur decree). Such labor protections in these cases are far different from modern labor laws; they are issued not to guarantee the health and safety of the individual laborer, but rather to assure the productivity of the institution to which the laborers belonged.⁶⁹ In addition, several of the decrees outline smaller details such as who should cultivate fields; these details, however, do not directly pertain to taxation procedures but rather emphasize the power and control of the royal house in these institutions.⁷⁰

As Jac Janssen noted, Egyptian terminology for *tax* is problematic in that they applied often-used, generic phrases to sometimes quite specific actions, thus clouding the issue for modern readers.⁷¹ Two specific nouns, typically translated as “tax,” play a part in this discussion. The first of these,  = *mdd*, “tax, obligation, duty,” appears in five of the decrees under discussion (Dahshur Decree, Coptos A, B, C, and D). For example, the Dahshur decree reads:

... My Majesty has decreed as follows: that these two pyramid towns be exempted on his [Snefru's] behalf from performing any work (*k3t*) for the house of the king, from being taxed (*mdd*) for any office of the Residence, or from (the performance of) any assignation (or work).⁷²

⁶⁷ See also Eyre, “Work and the organization of work,” 18–19.

⁶⁸ For example, this is true in the Pepi II Giza decree. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 107.

⁶⁹ See also Galán, “The Ancient Egyptian Sed-Festival and the Exemption from the Corvée,” 263.

⁷⁰ For example, the Dahshur decree, *Urk. I*, 210: 13–17; Pepi II Giza decree, *Urk. I*, 277: 1–18 and 278: 1–4.

⁷¹ Janssen, “Prolegomena to the Study of Egypt’s Economic History,” 174–75.

⁷² Dahshur decree: *Urk. I*, 210: 2–6.

Here, *mdd* “tax, obligation, duty”⁷³ is followed by the dative *st nb(t) nt hnw*, “for any office of the Residence,” making it very clear that the tax was intended to benefit the royal house. The same wording is found in Coptos A.⁷⁴ However, in neither case does the tax appear to be a levy on goods. In the Dahshur decree, the *mdd* “tax” is juxtaposed with several types of labor to be performed for the Residence such as *k3t* and *f3t* exemptions, between which it is presented. Therefore, it is not impossible that the *mdd* was another type of labor tax paralleling other forms of corvée. Further, both *k3t* and *mdd* are exempted using the same grammatical structure: *m irt + noun*, “from the doing of (noun).”⁷⁵

Also commonly exempted is the  *srw n sp3t*—or, alternately, simply *srw*.⁷⁶ In Coptos B, C, and D alone, the *srw* is explicitly exempted nine times. In a recent English translation of these documents, *srw n sp3t* is translated as “levy of the nome” and thus might be confused for a regional collection of goods.⁷⁷ However, the translations offered in the *Worterbuch*⁷⁸ and *Großes Handwörterbuch*⁷⁹ make it clear that the levy should be understood as commanding the physical labor of the nome, not its produce. This is further reinforced by the use of the strong arm/striking determinative (Gardiner sign-list D40), which strongly suggests that *srw* was an activity necessitating manpower.⁸⁰ Thus, if *mdd* and *srw* can be accepted as often referring to labor taxes, when combined with the clearly labor-oriented *k3t* and *f3t*, all but one of the decrees listed in Table 1 discuss the exemption of labor. It seems likely that the stress on labor is not new to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Papyrus Gebelein 1, likely dating to the Fourth Dynasty reign of Menkaure, preserves a list of men and women who worked on temple construction (*hwt ntr nt snfrw*) within the town of *inrty-inpw*, thus providing early evidence that government access to provincial labor was not exclusive to the late Old Kingdom.⁸¹

It is evident that an array of goods and services may be *hwt* and that they enter into a royally protected status. There was some pattern of exploitation of temples’ and pyramid towns’ labor and, to a lesser extent, produce, at

73 Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 406.

74 *Urk.* 1, 214: 17.

75 See also Helck, “Abgeben und Steuern,” 4.

76 Abydos Decree of Neferirkare, Coptos Decree B, C, and D.

77 See the translations in Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 101, 108, 110, 113.

78 “Befehl zur Einstellung von Leuten zur Arbeit” (*Wb.* IV, 193).

79 “Verlegungsbefehl” (Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 788).

80 For an in-depth discussion of the nature and role of determinatives, see Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, 13–14, 33–35.

81 Posener-Kriéger and Dimichelis, *I papiri di Gebelein*, especially 14; Posener-Kriéger, “Papyrus de Gébélein,” 212. See also Moreno García, “Estates (Old Kingdom).”

minimum, and the king had the authority to bar it. The presence of exemption has been understood to indicate the presence of a centralized process of taxation.⁸² However, royal collection agents are not the only people hindered by the protections, as one would expect were taxation regulated by a centralized bureaucracy. In fact, if the biography of Harkhuf can be taken as any indication, the royal house was the *least* affected of all institutions, as the king could revoke or invalidate previous exemptions.⁸³ Instead, the decrees appear to have protected royal institutions from a wide variety of agents, including the Following of Horus (Coptos A), any emissary (Dahshur decree, Coptos A), any potentate (Abydos decree of Neferirkare), and any man (Abydos decree of Neferirkare). Coptos B, C, and D are even more explicit about the types of officials banned in the exemption: an Overseer of Upper Egypt, any chief, great one of the tens of Upper Egypt, overseer of phyles of Upper Egypt, overseer of commissions, royal acquaintance, overseer of payments, or overseer of royal colonists. Clearly, these men were of different ranks, bearing different relationships to the crown, and should reasonably be understood as holding different fiscal responsibilities. Many of these individuals were specifically tied to the administration of Upper Egypt. As we have the barest understanding of how the state managed its funds—an understanding based largely on titles—it is by no means certain that collections made by different types of functionaries would have gone to the same treasury or the same financial institution. Diversity within state and local fiscal apparatuses would seem to be highly likely.⁸⁴

The multiplicity of actors directly prohibited within these decrees suggests that a broad number of categories could take advantage of the temples and their labor force. While some of the people listed would fall under the broad umbrella of royal administration, there are no hints of systemization. The sheer number of officials listed in some of these decrees gives one the sense

82 Katary, "Taxation (until the end of the Third Intermediate Period)," 5–6.

83 See n. 59, above.

84 Titles show that there were fundamental distinctions within the state's financial administration. For example, some of the country's wealth was managed by the *pr-hd nswt*, the royal treasury, while agricultural wealth, including beer and bread, was controlled by the *šnwt nswt*, the royal granary (Strudwick, *Administration*, 295). During the Fourth Dynasty, the *pr-hd nswt* and *šnwt nswt* appear to have been controlled by a single person: the Vizier. By the Fifth Dynasty these two entities seem to have been broken into separate administrative units, headed by different individuals and no longer unified under the Vizier. As separate entities, both administrative units seem to have flourished, and more individual offices were created (Nolan, *Mud Sealings*, 335–38; Strudwick, *Administration*, 264–67, 276, 290–93). Thus, the state's financial system was far from monolithic.

of the plethora of administrators comfortable using their power to acquire more goods and services from provincial temples. It seems reasonable to assume that any funds collected would have been used for the activities of their office, not to fund or support a single royal treasury. They might have acquired produce and labor for legitimate government purposes; alternately, it is possible that some officials practiced low-level corruption, using the goods and services for private purposes.⁸⁵

The decrees further substantiate the role of the state as economically important, but not as a fiscally united entity. As a rule, they present taxation but show almost no regularization of the process. Rather, they are illustrative of brief moments and instances of taxation, suggesting that centralized taxation was both sporadic and poorly defined. Collection agents vary from decree to decree and taxation seems to have been largely concerned with different types of labor. These events are quite difficult to put into an overall economic picture. It would appear that the power of the government was spreading in the late Old Kingdom, a fact indicated by the growth of the pharaonic administration and the increasing presence of officials in the provinces, but that this power stopped far short of a regular, systematized framework which could have reliably filled the royal treasury. Additionally, one should note that all of the evidence remaining to us comes from royal institutions. We ultimately do not know how these irregular policies would have affected the life of the average Egyptian outside of crown institutions.

4 Diversity and Change in Old Kingdom Taxation Policy

Economies change over time, just as administrations do. The Old Kingdom state appears to have grappled with the issue of taxation, expanding its access to provincial wealth over time while never regularizing or systematizing. The Following of Horus and the Census, normally identified as the most likely groups to serve as organs for Old Kingdom central taxation, instead appear more likely to have been ritual institutions rather than the primary agencies of the financial administration. There is no firm evidence that either were

85 Patterns of low-level bureaucratic corruption are clear in later periods where more documentation is available. The Edict of Horemheb specifically addresses this practice by establishing penalties for royal officers who seize slaves for labor, troops who steal leather hides, and the like (Breasted, *ARE* III, 27–30). It seems very likely that royal officers who took advantage of their privileges were not limited to the New Kingdom and later: see Eyre, “Patronage, Power, and Corruption.”

ever involved in the true collection of goods; their identity as tax or collection activities has been based largely on inference and assumption. By the late Old Kingdom, royal decrees clearly document some provincial taxation which does not rely on either of the older bodies. However, the decrees detail a murky, un-systematized collection of labor, for the most part, —not goods—, which appears to have been sporadic, and collection authorities which were varied and haphazard. At no point does the evidence suggest that taxation of the provinces was routine or systematized. There is no sign that the products made their way to a single royal treasury. The king seems to have held a position whose authority was so respected or feared that he could exempt royally-established temples from being taxed. This does not necessarily mean that labor and goods otherwise collected were going into the royal purse.

It is impractical to assume that royal coffers were dependant upon popular taxation. The decrees show the existence of provincial production centers attached to *k3*-chapels in some provincial temples: the *pr-šn'*. Papazian has suggested that the proliferation of *pr šn'* show the presence of royal economy rooted in provincial temple infrastructure during the late Old Kingdom.⁸⁶ However, the presence of royal power within local temples does not mean that royal fiscal policy devoured provincial economic realities. Royal networks would have existed side-by-side with private granaries,⁸⁷ private ownership of land,⁸⁸ and private payment of wages.⁸⁹ That the royal economic network only supported the crown and crown-sponsored elite and was not applied to public support or provincial works seems most likely, as the state was neither strong enough nor far-flung enough to be embedded in the lives of its populace.

The average Egyptian farmer possessed little of real worth to the sphere of the elite. To a limited degree, taxing the elite would have been an exercise in redundancy, as their status and wealth depended in large part upon the royal house.⁹⁰ Instead, one should turn to royal domains and trading/mining missions as reliable sources of royal capital.⁹¹ There was a surfeit of land in the Old

86 Papazian, *Domain of the Pharaoh*, 272–83, 298–99; for more information on the appearance of *k3*-chapels, see Papazian, “Perspectives on the cult of Pharaoh.”

87 Adams, “Household Silos, Granary Models, and Domestic Economy in Ancient Egypt.”

88 Allam, “Affairs et opérations commerciales,” 135; Menu, “Ventes de maisons.”

89 Chauvet, *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, 191–211; Roth, “The Practical Economics of Tomb-Building in the Old Kingdom;” Eyre, “Work and the organization of work,” 24–25.

90 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 232.

91 Several such excursions are known, for example the Dakhla expedition sponsored under Khufu: Kuper and Förster, “Khufu's 'mefat' expeditions into the Libyan Desert.” For additional mining expeditions, see Möller, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*; Shaw,

Kingdom, much of which was owned by the crown through an ever-growing network of royal domains.⁹² Even during the early Old Kingdom, the economic strength of the crown was in part based on provincial domains and provincial pyramids.⁹³ As a result, what the central administration needed to stock its treasuries was not goods but labor to bring these lands into productivity and to build royal monuments.⁹⁴ Labor could be purloined by many different arms of the government with little regularization; as long as the labor was applied to royal projects and lands this practice would have helped to build the wealth of the crown. As long as the king had ritual power to support his authority, widespread regular taxation of goods would have been unnecessary for the vitality of the Old Kingdom crown. There is no need for a government to tax the produce of its citizens if the treasury can be filled independently.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

AEL I	M. Lichtheim. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i> . Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARE III	J.H. Breasted. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> . Volume III: The Nineteenth Dynasty. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001
BM	British Museum
Gardiner	A.H. Gardiner. <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd edition, revised.
sign-list	London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
JE	Journal d'Entrée (Cairo Museum)
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>

"Pharaonic Quarrying," 113–19; Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry*, 31. Large scale exploitation of mineral wealth would have required state resources and involvement, though it is impossible to determine how far such activities served as a source of Egypt's wealth. See also Eyre, "Work and the organization of work," 10.

⁹² Moreno García, "Estates (Old Kingdom)," 1–2 and Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire, 206–08, 236, 265; Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines*.

⁹³ In addition to bibliography cited in the above note, see also Papazian, *Domain of the Pharaoh*, 85–108.

⁹⁴ Central control and collection of goods from the *hwt* are evident both in relief, for example, in the mastaba of Khentika (James, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhī*, pl. 9), and in the Abusir Papyri (Posener-Krieger, "Les papyrus d'Abousir").

KD	H. Goedicke. <i>Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich.</i> ÄA 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967.
LdÄ	E. Otto, W. Westendorf, and W. Helck, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie.</i> 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–1991.
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
PS	Palermo Stone
UGAA	<i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens</i>
Urk. I	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reiches. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> 1. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932–33
WA	Writings from the Ancient World
Wb	A. Erman and H. Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, Band I–V.</i> Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971

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Index

- Abandonment, of towns 61, 229, 241, 277
Abdu 262
Abedu 363
Abode (*pr*) of the statue 260
Abu Ballas 432
Abu el-Hamd, Mustapha 330
Abu Ghurab (see also: Niuserre Sun Temple) 7, 458
Abu Rawash 6, 129, 164
Abusir (see also: Niuserre, Funerary Temple) 7, 254, 270, 273, 274, 293, 302, 303, 305, 375, 457, 466
Abusir papyri (see also: Neferirkare papyri; Raneferef (papyrus) archive) 9, 45, 50, 258, 265, 266, 269, 275, 277, 283, 341, 344, 345, 348, 475, 479, 490
Abydos (see also: Neferirkare decree; Teti decree) 5, 6, 10, 11, 98, 159, 160, 220, 221, 267, 304, 378, 382, 407, 408, 409, 420, 434, 459, 460, 473
Abydos king-list 99, 100, 105, 107, 139, 140, 144, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 164, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 405, 406, 411, 412, 414, 415, 416, 424
Accounting (*tnwt*) 241, 250, 256, 257, 258, 345, 475, 476, 478
Accretion 296
Aches ("Αχγης") 87, 106, 107, 109, 144, 148, 162
Adaktylos, Anna-Maria 76
Adjective, adjective-verb 78, 100, 121, 156
Administration, general (see also: central; government; provincial; state) 2, 4, 229, 257, 258, 284, 408, 471, 472, 473, 478, 479, 481, 482, 487, 488
Administrative center 42, 43, 279, 280, 281, 287, 288
Administrative organization, general (see also: government; provincial; state) 25, 26, 42, 67, 132, 340, 457, 471, 472, 475, 477, 480, 481, 482, 487
Administrator (see also: official; title) 42, 44, 241, 263, 285, 306, 368, 463, 471, 488
Admonitions of Ipuwer 60, 65, 66, 72
Aegyptiaca (Αἰγυπτιακά) of Manetho 76, 77, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 96, 98, 99, 103, 104, 122, 129, 137, 141, 143, 146, 154, 157, 158, 161, 164, 165
Aetiology 114, 127
Africa 4, 433, 441
Africanus (Julius Sextus Africanus) 85, 86, 87, 88, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 109, 123, 159, 160, 395, 396
Afroasiatic 445
Afterlife (see also: democratization of) 217, 379, 458, 459, 461, 464, 465, 468
Against Herodotus (Πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον) 84
Ahmed Abd el-Rahman, Mohamed 253
Ahmose 98
Akh 207, 208, 217, 219, 220
Akhenaten 29, 397
Akhet Khufu 302
Akhet, season of 344, 346, 349, 351, 363
Akhet-hotep 127, 302, 303, 304
Akhmim 115
Akhmimic 114, 115
Akkadian 442, 444
Akkar 442, 443, 444
Akzentvariante 106
Alabaster quarries 28
Alabaster, items made of 21, 22, 23, 39, 233, 236, 243, 245, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 292, 375, 386, 445, 446, 447
Alchemical writings 114, 115
Alexander History 82
Alexander Polyhistor 82
Alexander the Great 145
Alexandria 80, 103
Allen, James P. 49
Allen, Susan J. 39
Altar 230, 250, 283, 288, 386
Alter of Rawer 270, 271, 272, 273, 274
Amarna 29, 285, 286
AMBRIC core drillings 305
Amenemhet I 204, 437, 450
Amenemhet II 431, 452
Amenhotep III 24, 160
Ameni 249

- Amulets 257
 Amun 132
 Amurru 441, 442
 Anarchy 61, 63
 Anatolia 431
 Anatomical treatise of Athothis 114, 159
 Ancestor cult 9, 149, 367, 397, 415
 Ancient Egypt Research Associates (AERA) 228, 231, 244, 257, 277, 285, 288, 289, 290, 295, 297
Ankh 32
 Ankhenesmeryra 11, 412
 Ankhenespepy I 11, 407, 408
 Ankhenespepy II 11, 407, 408
 Ankhenespepy III 399, 412, 413
 Ankhenespepy IV 399, 412
 Ankhenneferkare 408
 Ankhmahor 220, 267
 Ankhtify 422
 Ankhu 262
 Annals, royal 6, 7, 23, 27, 50, 90, 91, 94, 95, 99, 108, 134, 135, 143, 155, 158, 160, 161, 163, 165, 397, 431, 432, 472, 473, 474, 475, 479
 Annianus of Alexandria 85, 111
 Anonymous mastaba 295, 296, 297, 298, 302, 325
 Anophis (*Ανωϋφίς*) 89, 106, 108, 110, 144, 148, 162
 Antechamber 237, 292
 Anthony, Marc 82
 Anthropomorphic 51, 460
 Anti-Jewish 82, 85
 Anti-Judeo-Christian 115
 Anti-Semitism 83, 161
 Antiochus I Soter 82
 Anubio of Diospolis 77
 Anubis 220, 474
 Apion of Oasis 81
 Apollodorus of Athens (see also: Psuedo-Appolodorus) 86
 Apotelesmatica (*Αποτελεσματικά*) of Hephaestio of Thebes 78
 Apotelesmatica (*Αποτελεσματικά*) of Manetho 78
 Appointment (of officials) 9, 42, 138, 228, 408
 Arabic 111, 112, 113, 443, 444
 Aramaic 443
 Archaism 126, 133, 405, 446, 479
 Archers 437
 Architrave 67, 256, 304, 386
 Archives (see also: Abusir papyri; Ebla archives) 134, 143, 153, 204, 208, 214, 222
 Aristotle 213
 Armais (*Ἄρμαϊς, Ἄρμεσίς*) 123
 Armenian 80, 86, 87, 160, 396
 Arnold, Dieter 367, 378, 380, 473
 Arnold, Felix 283
 Aronin, Rachel 333
 Asclepius (*Ἀσκληπιός*) 87
Asyntis (*Ἄστροντις, Ηώτ-Σηνήρω*) 110, 111, 112, 119
 Ashayt 202
 Asiatics 61, 437, 438, 440
 Asiu 404
 Asklepios 194
 Assembly of the Gods 368, 374, 379, 383
 Assistant (*hry-*) 261, 287
 Assistant directors of phyles 304
 Assmann, Jan 66
 Assyrian 112, 442
 Astrologer 77, 78
 Astrological treatise, of Nechepso and Petosiris 78
 Astronomical 77, 85, 339, 341
 Aswan 27, 436
 Asyt 29
 Athothis (*Jt(t)j, Ἀθωθίς*) 114, 159
 Attendant of Min 274
 Attendant of the Great House 262
 Attic dialect 96, 97, 102, 120
 Atum 464
Aussprachetradition 100, 119, 123
 Authority (see: central administration; economic; ritual; royal)
 Autobiographical inscriptions (see also: biographical inscriptions; Chnumhotep II; Harkhuf; Iny; Metjen; Ptahshepses; Weni) 68, 69, 70, 93, 218, 271
 Avaris 285, 286
 'Ayn Asil/Balat 432
 Babylon, Babylonian 82, 340, 432, 442
 Babyloniaca (*Βαβυλωνιακά*) of Berossus 82, 154

- Baer, Klaus 230, 458
 Bahariya Oasis 29
 Baines, John 202
 Baka (*B3-k3=j, B3-k3-R‘w*) 120, 121, 129, 130, 136, 137, 140, 144, 145, 148, 152, 153, 163, 164
 Balat (see: 'Ayn Asil/Balat)
 Balls, of limestone 257, 258
 Barracks 257
 Basilophorous names 125, 128
 Basin (see also: Khentkawes) 51, 230, 231, 241, 250, 256, 280, 289, 293, 303, 304, 305, 375, 378
 Bastet 21, 34, 35
 Bat 24, 33
 Baufre (*B3w=f-R‘w, R‘w-b3=f*) 121, 138, 139, 140, 153
 Bebi 221
 Beckerath, Jürgen von 473
 Bed 271, 304
 Bedouin 61
 Bedrock 280, 284, 290, 293, 295, 297, 298, 299, 301, 331
 Beer 69, 303, 478, 483, 484, 487
 Behenu (Queen) 413, 414
 Belgian excavations 28, 29, 30
 Benches 256
 Beneficiary 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 250, 252
 Beni Hasan 132
 Bent pyramid 22, 25, 38, 52, 94, 380, 381
 Berlin Museum objects 98, 112, 166, 401, 412, 484
 Berman, Lawrence M. 18
 Berossus (see: Babyloniaca (*Βαβυλωνιακά*) of Berossus)
 Biblical chronology 82, 111, 125, 148
 Bicheris (*Βίχερης*) 88
 Bietak, Manfred 285, 286
 Biga, Maria Giovanni 444, 445
 Bins 227, 231, 232, 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 247, 249, 252, 256, 261, 264, 281, 305
 Biographical inscriptions (see also:
 autobiographical inscriptions;
 Chnumhotep II; Harkhuf; Iny; Metjen;
 Ptahshepses; Weni) 4, 7, 10, 69, 273, 435, 436, 437
 Biyres (*Βιῦρης*) 89, 120, 121, 129, 144, 148, 165
 Björkman, Gun 60, 66, 72
 Blocking, of buildings 237, 238, 244, 245, 277, 288, 290, 296, 297, 298, 333
 Boat pit 125, 385
 Boat (see also: solar boat) 69, 125, 267, 373, 374, 376, 378, 384, 385, 457, 458, 473, 474, 479, 482
 Bocchoris 118
 Bohairic dialect 160
 Book of Breathing 70
Book of Sothis ('Η βίβλος τῆς Σώθεως ἦ δικαιούσας κυνηγός) 79, 80, 85, 86, 88, 111
 Book of the Dead 70, 215, 217
 Book roll 230
 Borchardt, Ludwig 254, 284, 375, 385, 386
 Boreholes 279
 Botanical remains 30
Bowab 254
 Bowmen (*Jwntj.w*) 159
 Bread
 giving of 67, 68, 69, 70, 212
 payment in 69, 258, 478, 483, 484, 487
 molds 30, 245, 257
 units 258, 303
 Brick structures 24, 45, 233, 237, 245, 254, 328, 346, 385
 British Museum (BM) objects 70, 112, 398, 399, 413, 484
 Bronze Age 429, 432, 442
 Brooks, Arthur 68, 70, 71
 Builders 229, 234, 236, 237, 279, 288, 290, 293, 295, 296, 299
 Builders' graffiti 269, 270
 Building works (see also: tomb building) 2, 6, 7, 10, 27, 34, 71, 141, 159, 233, 241, 270, 281, 284, 288, 295, 366, 470, 490
 Bunefer 300
 Bureaucracy (see also: administration;
 government)
 local 258, 471
 state 6, 46, 67, 340, 471, 478, 487, 488
 Burial (see: Tomb, private; Tomb, royal)
 Burial goods 247
 Burial shafts 247, 276, 318, 321, 330, 331, 332
 Busiris 460, 462
 Bussmann, Richard 241, 279, 280, 281, 285, 286

- Butcher 304, 375
 Butic mastaba 141, 142
 Byblos 436, 438, 443, 445
 Byzantine 77, 79, 115, 118
 Byzantium 93
 Bárta 219
- Cache 240, 250, 251, 328
 Cairo Museum objects (CG, JE) 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 30, 68, 91, 247, 251, 381, 407, 408, 410, 484
 Calcite 21, 22, 28, 270
 Calculi 257, 258
 Calderwood, Norma Jean 18
 Calendar 92, 268, 477, 478
 civil 268, 337, 338, 339, 341, 342, 343, 344,
 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351,
 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358,
 359, 360, 361, 362, 363
 lunar 92, 268, 337, 339, 340, 344, 351, 477
 solar 92, 338, 339
 Callender, Vivienne I, 301
 Callimachus of Cyrene 103
 Canaan 381, 443
 Canal 51, 290
 Canicula Cycle 84
 Canonical order of phyles 265
 Canopic equipment 321, 328, 329, 330
 Carmel Mountains 437
 Carthage 81
 Cartouche 98, 137, 301, 305, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 411, 423
 Catastrophe 61, 65, 394
 Cattle count (*tnwt*) (see also: census) 2, 62, 90, 91, 92, 124, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 351, 355, 358, 359, 363, 374, 375, 473, 476, 477, 478
 Cattle 25, 26, 67, 112, 257, 375, 478, 481, 483
 Causeway 50, 229, 231, 236, 237, 238, 278, 280, 281, 283, 284, 289, 293, 295, 320, 321, 381, 436
 Celebration of kingship (see also *Heb-Sed*; *jubilee*; *Sed-Festival*) 41, 379, 383, 386, 458, 459
 Cemetery 6, 10, 45, 65, 227, 250, 265, 269, 273, 281, 300, 301, 316
- Cenotaph 245, 252, 366
 Census (see also: cattle count) 76, 91, 94, 123, 124, 128, 132, 340, 473, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 483, 488
 Census-cycle 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 125, 126, 132, 133, 142, 143, 145
 conversion of 76, 124, 134, 135, 137, 143, 153
 Central administration (see also: administration, general; government; state) 4, 8, 9, 11, 62, 63, 435, 470, 472, 477, 482, 487, 488, 489, 490
 Ceramic disks 257
 Ceremony, ceremonial (see also *Heb-Sed*;
 opening of the mouth; *Sed*; *Wag*) 29, 47, 218, 290, 303, 372, 376, 383, 385, 386, 474
 Chaldean chronology 111
 Chaos 65, 67, 72, 316, 321, 395, 478
 Chapel (see: Djoser; *ka*; Khentkawes;
 Niuserre; pyramid; *Sed*-Festival; tomb)
 Charity 68, 69, 70, 71, 72
 Charles the Great 93
 Charmed of arm 230
 Checking, of access 259, 260, 261, 262, 286, 287
 Chemeutica (Χεμευτικά) 114
 Chemmis (*Jbjj-bjt*, Χέμμις) 117
 Chemmis (Χέμμις, Cheops) 116
 Chentkaus I 156
 Chentkaus II 156
 Cheops (*Hwjj=f-wj*, *Hwjj=f-wj-Hnmw*, Χέοψ) (see also: Khufu; Westcar papyrus) 88, 105, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 136, 139, 146, 147, 158, 163, 430, 431, 432, 437
 pyramid of 88, 113, 164
 reign of 125, 126, 127, 128, 136, 142, 147, 148, 153
 Chephren (*Hj=f-Rw*, Χεφρήν) (see also:
 Khafre; Westcar Papyrus) 105, 111, 113, 116,
 117, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 158, 163, 164, 305
 reign of 126, 127, 128, 137, 148
 Chnoubos or Gneuros (Χνοῦβος ἢ
 Γνέῦρος) 89
 Chnum (*Hnmw*) 116
 Chnumhotep II 132
 Christian chronographers 86, 125, 148

- Christian, Christianity 68, 115, 119, 165
 Chronicle of Eusebius 86
 Chronicle of John of Nikiu 112, 113
 Chronography 79, 85, 86, 112, 134
 Chronology, issues of (see also: Babylonian; Biblical; Chaldean; Egyptian; Manethonian) 80, 81, 90, 111, 124, 127, 142, 161, 164, 337, 364, 394, 395, 402, 419, 424
 Circumcision 267
 City 82, 97, 291, 429, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446
 Civilization, development of 1, 2, 3, 4, 62, 64, 386, 429, 431, 445
 Clay objects 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 271, 291, 292, 432
 Cleopatra Selena 82
 Cleopatra VII Philopater 82
 Climate change 61, 62
 Clitarchus of Alexandria 82
 Cloakroom 374
 Cloth, clothing 67, 68, 69, 70, 259, 260, 262, 263, 267, 268, 303, 304, 345, 359
 Cochome (Κωχώμη) 159, 160
 Codex Laurentianus 71, 84
 Coffin 202, 204, 217, 268, 323, 324
 Coffin Texts 70, 201, 204
 Cogan, John F. Jr. 18
 Collapse, of the Old Kingdom 8, 11, 13, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 73, 393, 421
 Colossal statues 160, 331
 Column, architectural 231, 233, 236, 243, 254, 256, 262, 270, 271, 272, 273, 292
 Commodities 9, 433, 445, 476, 478
 Conjecture, textual 87, 88, 90, 93, 104, 106, 116, 120, 122, 123, 132, 144, 147, 152, 155, 159, 400, 408
 Conspiracy 10, 434
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus 79
Contra Apionem 81, 83, 85, 96, 145, 146
 Conurbation 304, 305, 306
 Copper 260, 262, 272, 304
 Coptic, language/alphabet 97, 98, 103, 110, 112, 113
 Coptite nome 65, 396, 405, 419, 421, 482
 Coptos 68, 405, 419, 482
 Coptos Decrees 396, 400, 401, 402, 407, 409, 413, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487
 Copyist 96, 98, 109, 122, 123, 126, 129, 131, 143, 147, 151, 158
 Corporation 265, 267, 459
 Corruption (textual) 77, 97, 102, 104, 105, 106, 116, 123, 152, 156
 Corvée 486
 Cosmological 28
 Count (*ḥ3ty-ꜥ*) 230, 251
 Counters 257
 Courtier 248
 Cows 257
 Creator god 140, 367, 466
 Crown (headdress) 19, 382, 383, 386
 Crown prince 403, 414, 418, 421
 Crown, power of 23, 42, 44, 47, 49, 436, 482, 487, 488, 489, 490
 Ctesias of Cnidus 82
 Cubit 254
 Cult (see also ancestor cult; divine; funerary; Hathor; *Heb-Sed*; Osiris; private; Re; royal; Sarapis; solar; sun-temple; temple) 45, 46, 84, 113, activity 45, 47, 51, 113, 163, 200, 212, 217, 219, 368, 379, 380, 411, 459, 474
 center 5, 50, 228, 368, 376, 458, 460, 463, 464, 465
 objects 80, 214, 267, 268, 327, 380
 statue 260, 262, 268, 272, 331, 380, 381, 407
 Cult-place, above-ground 204, 205, 207, 208, 212, 213, 214, 217, 219, 222
 Cuneiform 156, 432, 446
 Cusae 34, 49
 Custodian of the king's property 44, 45, 291
 Cylinder seal 257, 258, 305, 399
 Cyprus 431, 432
 Cyrene 86, 102, 103
 Cyrenian dialect 103, 107
 Dagi 204
 Dahshur Decree (see also: Pepi I) 485, 486, 487
 Dahshur 6, 25, 39, 95, 279, 432
 Northern pyramid 279
 Dakhla 423, 432, 489
 Dara 404
 Date (year) formula (see also: census; naming years; rmp t sp; Year dating) 93, 94, 123, 125, 127, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 141, 229, 338, 339, 340, 341, 344, 345, 346, 349,

- Date (year) formula (cont.)
 351, 354, 356, 358, 359, 362, 363, 400,
 402, 418, 475, 476, 479, 483
- Daughter, non-royal 10, 70, 249, 413
- De Iside et Osiride* 77, 79, 80
- De Malignitate Herodoti* 84
- Death
 of the elite 48, 69, 202, 204, 219, 250,
 266, 267, 269, 275, 435, 462, 464
 of the king 41, 43, 51, 64, 80, 91, 112, 124,
 125, 133, 134, 142, 159, 204, 212, 217, 228,
 265, 338, 381, 394, 407, 411, 414, 417,
 421, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462,
 464, 465
- Debehen 320
- Debeheni 208, 211
- Debris, archaeological 229, 231, 232, 236,
 237, 238, 242, 243, 244, 245, 250, 251,
 273, 276, 279, 290, 296, 297, 305, 328
- Decay, archaeological 231, 232, 243, 256,
 273
- Decontextualization (of text) 217, 219, 221
- Decorative program 215, 216, 366, 367, 379,
 380, 381, 382
- Decorum, literary 162, 202, 432, 437, 472
- Decree, royal/exemption (see also: Coptos;
 Dashur; Horus Demedjibawy; Horus
 Khaa-[?]; Neferirkare; Neferkauhor; Pepi I;
 Pepi II; Shepseskaf; Teti) 42, 93, 141, 230,
 241, 242, 246, 347, 348, 396, 408, 412,
 421, 424, 435, 470, 479, 488, 489
- Dedication formula (*jnj.n=f m mnw=f*) 131,
 228
- Dedu 304
- Deir el-Bahri 202
- Deir el-Ballas 325
- Deir el-Bersha 29
- Deir el-Gebrawi 221
- Deities (see also: Ennead; Followers of Horus;
 gods; great god; Hathor; Horus; Osiris; Pan;
 Ptah; Re; Sarapis) 21, 37, 39, 380
- Deixis 213
- Delta 61, 77, 156, 445, 460
- Demedjibawy (see: Horus Demedjibawy)
- Demigods 130, 154
- Democratization theory, of the
 afterlife 200, 201, 202, 204, 208, 209,
 464
- Demotic 70, 103, 106, 119, 126, 128, 139, 145,
 147, 159
- Dendera 67, 115, 447
- Department (see: Office(s)) (see also:
 administration; bureaucracy; government;
 inheritance)
- Dependencies 47, 249, 251, 368, 481
- Deposit, archaeological 29, 232, 254, 273,
 328, 446
- Desert 61, 62, 378, 385
- Deshasheh 436
- Determinative, linguistic 26, 42, 134, 247,
 268, 444, 473, 474, 479, 480, 481, 486
- Diachronic 1, 4
- Digital archaeology 330, 331
- Dignitaries (see also: elite) 270
- Diocletian 93
- Diodorus Siculus 81, 82, 116, 117, 125, 126,
 127, 155, 158, 160
- Diorite 325
- Diospolis (see: Anubio; Manetho) 77, 78,
 79
- Director, of phyle(s) 268, 287, 304
- Districts (see: Nome/district)
- Dividends 252
- Divine (see also: cult; temple) 18, 23, 52,
 156, 261, 287, 376, 378, 383, 387, 441,
 458, 463, 465, 472, 479, 480, 482
 cult 18, 140, 379, 387
 kingship 10, 13, 367, 368, 376, 383, 460,
 461, 473, 474, 475
 offerings 7, 287, 482
 temple/chapel 7, 24, 379, 387
- Divine standards 371, 378, 479, 480
- Djau 407, 408
- Djedefptah (Θαμφθίς) 88, 122, 128, 129, 130,
 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 147,
 148, 152, 153, 154, 162, 165
- Djedefre 432, 476
- Djedi 156
- Djedkare 5, 9, 11, 220, 254, 259, 266, 277,
 287, 293, 305, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344,
 345, 347, 348, 349, 351, 352, 354, 356,
 358, 359, 360, 361, 363, 401, 437, 471
- Djedkare-Isesi (-Izezi/-Asosi) 94, 266, 292,
 338, 341, 345, 347, 348, 351, 352, 358,
 359, 411, 437, 460, 471
- Djedkare-Shemay 411, 414, 416

- Djer (*Jtjtj*, Ἀθωθίς, Οὐενέφης) 159
 Djet (*Jtjw*, Ἀθωθίς) 159
 Djoser (*Dśr*; also: *Dśr-jt*, Djoser-it, *Dśr-sz*, Djoser-sa) 98, 99, 100, 101, 105, 106, 108, 109, 131, 135, 142, 144, 147, 148, 151, 154, 158, 162
 chapel 463
 step pyramid 5, 22, 29, 271, 370, 379
 Djoser-teti (*Dśr-tj*; also: *Dśr-tj*, Djoser-ti) 101, 106, 108, 109, 135, 142, 144, 148, 151, 152, 158
 Dobrev, Vassil 269, 476
 Document of Breathings 70
 Documents (see also: Abusir papyri) 4, 92, 93, 432, 437, 479
 Domain (see also: estate) 23, 26, 33, 34, 37, 38, 50, 51, 139, 264, 303, 459, 489
 Domestic structures 217, 227, 228, 238, 254, 257, 281, 290
 Donations 2, 7, 163, 303, 386
 Doric dialect 97, 103
 Double column of names 107, 108, 109, 143, 146, 158, 162
 Double entry of names 99, 109, 145
 Drought 61
dt-servant 261, 264, 275, 286, 287
 Du-lu 445
 Duare 296
 Dugurasu 429, 445, 446, 447, 453
 Duty roster 344, 345
 Duty, performance of 9, 31, 49, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 286, 287, 306, 337, 344, 345, 347, 351, 368, 435
 Dyad 34, 39
 Dynastic division 46, 108, 111, 131, 145, 150, 155, 156
 Dynastic instability 34, 62
 Dynastic line 155, 157, 163, 393, 394, 414, 415, 416
 Dynasty (see under specific entries)
 Dynasty of gods 130, 140, 154
 Early Bronze Age 429, 442
 Early Dynastic Period 25, 28, 45, 159, 338, 339, 376, 377, 378, 380, 384, 385, 386, 459, 474
 East, symbolic 26, 39, 50
 Ebla 429, 444, 445, 447
 Eblaitic writing 445, 446, 447
 Economic 9, 18, 25, 26, 41, 46, 48, 51, 52, 70, 250, 368, 378, 438, 457, 461, 473, 483, 488
 authority 9, 18, 23, 26, 27, 28, 41, 46, 47, 51, 52, 65, 70, 250, 438, 461, 470, 471, 472, 473, 475, 477, 482, 488, 489, 490
 crisis 9, 63, 67, 431
 installation (see also: *Hwt*) 6, 18, 23, 24, 37, 38, 46, 49, 51, 52, 246, 252, 368, 378, 457, 483
 network 28, 46, 47, 52, 303, 433, 447, 489, 490
 Edfu 6, 404
 Edict of Horemheb 488
 Edom 443
 Egypt (Αἴγυπτος), Egyptian
 civilization, general 1, 2, 3, 4, 12, 81, 383, 386
 language 69, 70, 76, 81, 86, 87, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114, 115, 118, 119, 120, 122, 161, 264, 279, 403, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 483
 people, general 65, 66, 70, 71, 72, 88, 111, 112, 127, 270, 488, 489
 religion, general (see also: cult; Hathor; Horus; Osiris; Re; Sarapis) 70, 84, 460, 461, 464, 465, 466
 state (see also: administration; bureaucracy; government; officials) 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13, 61, 393, 421, 424, 433, 470
 Eichler, Eckhard 437
 Eighteenth Dynasty 29, 123, 130, 140, 161
 Eighth Dynasty 67, 149, 151, 155, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 400, 401, 403, 406, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 426
 Eissa, Rabee 290
 El-qasr wa'l-Saiyad 221
 El-Rikaby, Hussein 290
 Elder of the *is(t)*-Chamber 463
 Eldest daughter 300
 Eldest son 230, 249, 300, 381, 403, 422
 Elephantine (*ȝbw*) 6, 27, 29, 45, 62, 156, 401, 412, 423
 Eleutheros 429, 442, 444

- Eleventh Dynasty 130, 135, 146, 154, 202, 204, 209, 393, 403, 423
 Elite (see also: lower elite) 2, 9, 25, 38, 44, 45, 48, 49, 200, 201, 202, 204, 208, 219, 220, 221, 222, 435, 436, 478, 489
 Emendations, textual 83, 85, 94, 144, 150, 152, 402
 Emic 217, 279
 Emissary 474, 481, 487
 Enclosure (see also: funerary, *Hwt*, Khaskhemwy, Khentkawes (Town), sBC, Wedjebten) 24, 227, 245, 290, 291, 292, 293, 305, 372, 378
 Enclosure wall 242, 278, 279, 280, 283, 284, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 301, 376, 385
 Endowment (see also: foundation; mortuary temple) 23, 49, 63, 163, 228, 238, 241, 245, 246, 252, 264, 265, 268, 269
 Ennead 140, 154, 456, 459, 463, 464, 465
 Entextualization (see also:
 monumentalization of inscriptions) 200, 210, 214, 217, 218, 221
 Enthroned king 24, 370, 371, 376, 479, 480
 Entrance hall 229, 237, 244, 254, 262, 271, 284, 371
 Entrepreneurism 70, 71
 Envoy 445, 446
 Eos 160
 Epagomenal 338, 344, 349
 Ephraim 443
 Epic (Homeric) dialect 96
 Epic Aeolic dialect 96
 Epigraphic evidence 44, 367, 378, 398, 401
 Epistemological approach 429, 447
 Epithet 405, 410, 413, 418, 421, 423, 461, 462
Epitome (of Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*) 85, 86, 87, 88, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 105, 122, 146, 158, 161, 162, 164, 165
 Eponymous events 90, 132, 134, 143, 158
 Eratosthenes of Cyrene (see also:
 Psuedo-Eratosthenes) 86
 Espinel, Andrés 441
 Estate name(s) 21, 26, 28, 33, 34, 36, 38
 Estate(s) (see also funerary, *Hwt*) 247, 249, 264, 265, 267, 268
 private 23, 25, 26, 48, 249, 252, 258, 259, 264, 266, 275, 306
 royal 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, 41, 47, 50, 247, 249, 251, 252, 269, 290, 301, 302
 temple 18, 21, 23, 38, 43, 47, 50
 Ethiopia 157, 160
 Ethiopic texts 112, 113
Ethnica ('Εθνικά of Stephanus of Byzantium) 79, 97
 Euphrates 441
 Eusebius (Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea) 85, 86, 87, 88, 98, 100, 101, 123, 158, 160, 395, 396
 Excavations (see also: Giza Project, HU-MFA, Reisner) 5, 10, 30, 231, 256, 290, 291, 292, 297, 304, 457
 Execration Texts 437, 441
 Exemption Decree 63, 470, 475, 476, 479, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487
 Exemption 9, 63, 481, 483, 485, 486, 487, 489
 Expedition (see also: HU-MFA Expedition)
 foreign/military 2, 6, 99, 158, 269, 429, 431, 433, 435, 436, 437, 438, 442, 445, 447, 463, 480, 482, 488
 in Egypt 269, 402, 403, 418, 419, 422, 436, 437, 447, 489
 Expedition leader 436, 438, 463
 Expeditionary forces (see also:
 military) 125, 264
 Eyre, Christopher 478
 Fakhry, Ahmed 27, 39
 Family
 non-royal 8, 10, 11, 44, 63, 70, 71, 155, 249, 258, 259, 264, 267, 268, 269, 285, 332, 393, 396, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 414, 417, 419, 421, 422, 424
 royal 7, 11, 137, 163, 202, 300, 381, 393, 403, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 414, 417, 422, 423, 471, 482
 Famine Stela 99, 159
 Famine 61, 159
 Farm, farmer 24, 26, 48, 489
 Feast, festival (see also: New Year, *Heb-Sed*, *Sed*, Wag feast) 267, 340, 371, 385
 Feast/Festival of Thoth 267, 268, 276

- Female nome personification 32
 Female offering bearer 26, 474
 Female official 405, 409
 Feudal lords 63, 478
 Fields 49, 250, 339, 430, 476, 477, 478, 483, 485
 Fieldstone wall 297, 298
 Fifi 296
 Fifth Dynasty 7, 11, 21, 23, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 63, 76, 91, 92, 94, 95, 122, 127, 128, 131, 137, 144, 155, 156, 157, 166, 200, 205, 220, 221, 222, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 234, 236, 239, 240, 241, 245, 254, 264, 265, 266, 269, 270, 271, 276, 278, 281, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 301, 304, 305, 306, 327, 341, 348, 364, 366, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 387, 401, 411, 416, 430, 431, 433, 436, 447, 456, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 463, 464, 466, 471, 472, 475, 476, 478, 479, 484, 486, 487
 Fireplaces 254, 256
 First Dynasty 2, 5, 6, 46, 123, 130, 134, 140, 146, 151, 155, 157, 158, 159, 378, 458, 472, 473
 First Intermediate Period 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 94, 113, 134, 149, 202, 247, 393, 403, 408, 410, 413, 414, 421, 422, 423, 424, 446
 Firth, Cecil 405
 Fiscal 25, 94, 340, 483, 487, 488, 489
 Fischer, Henry 408, 409
 Flavius Josephus 81, 83, 85, 96, 146
 Flint knife 305, 375
 Flood 61, 62, 158, 160, 229, 231, 232, 303, 478
 Folk-etymological (re-)interpretation/gloss 90, 105, 111, 112, 116, 165
 Followers/Following of Horus (see also: *šmsw Hr*) 6, 58, 90, 370, 371, 378, 383, 385, 473, 474, 475, 477, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 487, 488
Forecast of Neferty (see also: *Prophecy of Neferty*) 85, 113, 132
 Foreign policy (see also: expeditions) 98, 381, 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 438, 441, 444, 445, 446, 447, 464, 480
 Foreign trade 2, 429, 431, 432, 433, 447, 470, 476, 489
 Forgery 399
 Fortress of the God(s) (*'h-ntr*) (see also: Palace of the Gods) 371, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 383, 385, 386, 473
 Foundation (see also: domain, endowment) 25, 94, 232, 299
 ceremony 474
 deposit 446
 memorial 227, 228, 239, 241, 252, 300, 304, 306, 474
 Foundation inscription (Dendara temple) 115, 458
 Fourth Dynasty 7, 21, 25, 27, 29, 31, 34, 37, 38, 41, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 63, 64, 76, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 96, 98, 100, 105, 107, 108, 110, 113, 114, 115, 117, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 204, 212, 227, 234, 235, 257, 270, 277, 281, 290, 293, 294, 295, 298, 299, 300, 301, 337, 378, 379, 380, 431, 433, 447, 456, 459, 461, 462, 463, 471, 472, 475, 476, 486, 494
 Fredericks, Michael 18
 Freed, Rita E. 18
 Funerary (see also feast/festival)
 complex 37, 131, 139, 141, 142, 300, 366, 368, 378, 380, 412, 415, 420, 422, 457
 cult 23, 24, 29, 38, 39, 211, 249, 251, 283, 387, 459, 472
 domain 25, 50, 303, 459
 enclosure (see also: fortress of the god) 376, 378, 379, 380, 385, 386
 estate 48, 247, 249, 251, 252
 offerings 276, 328
 temple 34, 36, 51, 271, 381, 407, 436, 458, 460
 Funerary endowments (see: endowment)
 G-IIIA 233, 271
 G-IIIC 271

- Gaming pieces 257, 258
 Gangs of workmen 125, 128, 264, 269, 270
 Gardiner sign-list 24, 42, 110, 120, 230, 250,
 268, 338, 372, 373, 404, 444, 486
 Gardiner, Alan 41, 137, 337, 338, 476
 Gate of his Estate (*rwt nt dt,f*) 247, 249
 Gebel Silsila 403, 404, 422, 423
 Gebelein 45, 414, 474, 475
 Generations
 of elite 64, 267, 294, 408, 409, 410
 of kings 7, 64, 157, 403, 407, 409, 410,
 422, 466
 Genitival syntagma 133
 Geometric objects 257, 373
 George Syncellus 79, 80, 86, 87, 88, 108, 118
 Giza (Archives) Project (see also: HU-MFA
 Expedition) 274, 276, 315, 316, 320, 321,
 324, 325, 327, 328, 330, 331, 333
 Giza (see also: Herodotean Giza-group;
 Khufu; Khafre; Menkaure) 18, 29, 30, 31,
 32, 34, 35, 37, 45, 52, 93, 158, 220, 221,
 227, 270, 287, 303, 305, 306, 318, 321,
 324, 327, 328, 380, 484
 Buildings A–M 233, 241, 277, 278, 280,
 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289
 cemeteries (see also mastaba) 6, 7, 45,
 210, 211, 265, 266, 273, 278, 300, 316,
 324, 325, 328, 331
 Central Field East 227, 228, 266, 270,
 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 289, 293,
 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301,
 302, 306, 319, 320
 Central Field West 273, 298
 Eastern Cemetery 295, 316, 320, 330,
 333
 Eastern Town House 285
 House Unit 1 285
 Houses 227, 228, 236, 241, 242, 243, 245,
 248, 252, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283,
 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 304, 306
 Northern Lateral Ramp (NLR) 231, 289,
 290, 296, 297
 Royal Administrative Building (RAB) 281
 Silo Building Complex (SBC) 277, 289,
 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 297, 298, 303,
 304, 305
 enclosure 289, 290, 291, 292, 293,
 297, 298
 Southern Lateral Ramp (SLR) 288, 289
 Western Cemetery 273, 316, 317, 320,
 324, 327, 328, 329
 Workers Town 257, 280, 283
 Glacis 280
 Gloss, explanatory and for
 pronunciation 85, 89, 90, 96, 99, 100,
 101, 103, 106, 107, 111, 113, 114, 116, 145,
 147, 152, 158, 159, 160
 Gneiss 34
 Goats 25, 477, 481
 Goddess (see: Ennead; Hathor)
 Gods (see also: deities; Ennead; Followers of
 Horus; fortress/palace of; great god; Horus;
 Osiris; Pan; Ptah; Re; Sarapis) 2, 21, 23, 24,
 25, 35, 42, 50, 70, 79, 88, 114, 127, 132,
 156, 245, 368, 370, 372, 373, 374, 378,
 381, 386, 458, 462, 472, 474, 480
 God's father 410, 411, 418, 419
 God's sealer 410, 438, 440, 444
 Goedicke, Hans 230, 473, 476, 480
 Gold 100, 116, 339, 445, 476, 477, 478
 Golden Age 66, 115
 Goods 9, 23, 25, 27, 38, 41, 47, 48, 52, 65, 69,
 72, 92, 245, 247, 249, 252, 257, 258, 259,
 264, 265, 268, 303, 304, 440, 475, 476,
 481, 482, 486, 488, 489, 490
 Gosormies (Γοσωρμίτης) 89
 Gould, Stephen J. 12
 Gourdon, Yannis 11
 Government (see also: administration;
 bureaucracy; central; provincial; state),
 central/state 10, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 367,
 393, 394, 407, 421, 435, 470, 472,
 486, 488, 490
 local 10, 46, 70, 471
 offices/officials 46, 69, 417
 programs 67, 69, 72, 239
 spending 63, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 473, 490
 Governmental problems 26, 62, 427
 Governor 409, 432, 435
 Graecizing of words 77, 96, 97, 102, 103, 111,
 115, 118, 138, 139, 146
 Graeco-Roman Period 80, 81, 113, 158
 Graffiti (see also: Wadi Hammamat) 113,
 404, 475
 masons'/builders' 92, 93, 127, 128, 129,
 269, 270

- Grain 133, 241, 244, 245, 259, 281, 290, 345, 351, 478
- Granary (see also: silos) 231, 232, 239, 240, 241, 244, 281, 487, 489
- Granite objects 5, 40, 281, 386
- Grsdelloff, Bernhard 301
- Great God (see also: Osiris) 163, 460, 461, 462
- Great House (*pr ȝ*), in titles (see also: royal house) 230, 261, 262, 268, 287
- Great Seer (*wr m3*) priest 464, 466
- Great/High Land (*T3-wrj, (-)ταυ, *Θω*) 160
- Greatest of the Seers of Heliopolis 462, 463
- Greatest of the Ten of Heliopolis 463
- Greek, language/script/texts (see also: Ionic; Melesian; Old-Attic) 77, 86, 87, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125, 128, 139, 145, 146, 148, 157, 160
- Greek, people 81, 82, 83, 97, 98, 146, 148, 165, 264
- Greywacke 21, 28
- Griffins 381
- Grimal, Nicholas 430, 433
- Grosse Festdarstellung 39, 370, 381
- Grosse Hebseddarstellung 369
- Guard of the Temple Door 241
- Guard 241, 254, 261, 287
- Gubel, Eric 442, 443
- Gubla 445
- Gunn, Battiscombe 405
- Gypsum 270
- Hagel, Stefan 76
- Hair 110, 464
- Halicarnassus 97
- Handoussa, Tohfa 320
- Haplology/Haplography 101, 104
- Harbor 42, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 290, 305, 433
- Haremhab (Ἄρμαξ) 123
- Harhotep 204
- Harkhuf 423, 480, 481, 483, 487
- Hartho(y)t(h)es (*Hrw-Dhwjtj, Αρθώ(υ)της, Αρθώ(υ)θης*) 139
- Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts (HU-MFA) Expedition (See also: Giza (Archives) Project) 315, 316, 317, 319, 320, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330
- Harvest 394, 478
- Hassan, Selim 231, 236, 271, 272, 274, 275, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 293, 295, 296, 297, 300, 302, 320, 321
- Hathor
- cult (Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore) 21, 23, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 249, 405, 447
 - in *Heb-Sed* 22, 24, 29, 37, 40, 41, 52
 - temple 18, 19, 21, 23, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51, 474
 - triads/dyads 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 49, 50, 52
- Hatnub 28, 29
- Hatshepsut 397
- Headless Pyramid 416
- Hearth 261, 285
- Heb-Sed* (See also: Hathor; *Sed*-Festival)
- celebration of 31, 41, 45, 50
 - depiction/illustration of 18, 19, 22, 24, 29, 32, 36, 37, 39, 50, 479
 - provisioning of 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 52
- Hebrew 442, 443
- Hecataeus of Abdera 81, 82, 116, 117, 125, 126, 127, 145, 146, 155, 160, 172, 186
- Heirloom 305
- Heirs (see also: inheritance) 169, 267, 421, 459
- Heit el Gurab (HeG) 30, 257, 281, 285
- Hekanakht 258
- Helck, Wolfgang 76, 105, 106, 109, 128, 129, 140, 304, 339, 463
- Heliacal rising 340
- Heliopolis, Heliopolitan 77, 140, 154, 156, 166, 456, 459, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466
- Hellenic 84
- Helwan 5
- Hemankh, called Hemi 247, 248, 249, 250
- Hemetre 300
- Hemu 70
- Hemiunu 316
- Henqu 69

- Hephaestio of Thebes 78
 Herakleopolis parva (*Hw.t-n(w)-n(j)-njšwt*,
 Ἀνυσις) 102
 Herakleopolitan Dynasty 132, 393, 422, 423, 424
 Hermeneutes 169
 Hermes (Hermes Trimegistro) 80, 84, 85
 Hermetic writings 77, 78, 83, 114, 115
 Hermopolite (Hare) nome 28
 Herodotean Giza-Group 113, 115, 119, 126,
 128, 143, 144, 145, 146, 157, 162, 164
 Herodotus 82, 84, 88, 97, 102, 113, 114, 116,
 117, 125, 126, 127, 145, 146, 147, 148, 157,
 158, 180, 185, 197
 Hes-vase 272
 Hesy 6
 Hetepheres 331
 Heuristics 278, 286
 Hezi 220, 221
 el-Hibeh 80
 Hierakonpolis 3, 5, 6, 41
 fort (see also: Khasekhemwy) 40, 41, 45,
 271, 378
 Hieratic documents 100, 103, 104, 106, 119,
 126, 128, 145, 147, 208, 209, 219, 401,
 402, 432, 446, 460
 Hieroglyphic letters/script 6, 21, 25, 26, 33,
 35, 51, 110, 114, 116, 121, 122, 126, 250,
 260, 272, 327, 372, 373, 376, 403, 405,
 435, 444, 460
 Hieroglyphic texts 6, 200, 208, 209, 214, 217,
 221, 384, 435
 Hierogrammateus 111, 116
 High officials 7, 8, 10, 11, 63, 80, 137, 163,
 202, 204, 261, 263, 265, 268, 278, 283,
 286, 287, 306, 409, 417, 422, 462, 464,
 471
 High priest of Re 156
 Hikenu-oil 212
 Hippopotamus 159
Historiae (of Tacitus) 80
 Historicity 138, 397, 412
 Historiography 76, 82, 86, 130, 137, 145, 146,
 149, 153, 155, 156, 430, 434, 438, 447
hm-ntr priests 44, 48, 49, 259, 260, 261, 276,
 287, 288, 301, 302, 359
 house of 241, 256, 262, 283, 285
 Holistic 321
 Homer 96
 Homoeophony 116
 Homonymous 156, 158, 409
 Homophony 105, 150, 151, 157, 159
 Hordjedef (*Hrw-jdd=f*, ἀρτώτης) 132, 138,
 139, 140, 141, 142, 153
 Horus (see also: Following of Horus) 35, 41,
 111, 140, 379, 381, 383, 459
 Horus Demedjibtawy 411, 417, 419, 420, 422
 Horus Khaa-[?] 416, 417, 418, 419, 420
 Horus name 95, 98, 99, 161, 164, 305, 347,
 348, 359, 400, 401, 402
 Horus Netjerybau 416, 420
 Horwennefer 98, 160
 House of Cheti 155
 House of Sehetepibre 155
 House of the Statue 262
 House(s) (see also: Giza; great house; palace;
 royal; temple) 227, 228, 236, 245, 247,
 248, 254, 261, 263, 264, 303
 models 254
 size 258, 263, 279, 283, 284, 285, 286
 stela(e) 250, 251, 252, 256
 Household 252, 264, 267, 268, 269, 285,
 473
 Hry-ḥb 405
 Hudjefa (*Hw-df³*) 142
 Huni (*Hwj(w)*, *Hwnj*) 106, 107, 108, 136, 142,
 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151
Hwt 18–52 *passim*
 Hyksos Period 286, 432
 Hypocoristicum 110, 152
 Hölscher, Uvo 304, 328
 Iar(u) 275
 Ibi 221, 396
 Ibrahim, Mohammedani 317, 323
 Iconography 2, 3, 8, 21, 29, 32, 39, 202, 205,
 328, 372, 382, 383, 477, 479
 Ideogram 24, 435, 443
 Ideology 26, 67, 81, 131, 366, 380, 386, 387,
 432, 478, 479, 480
 Idi 401, 408, 409, 411, 417, 418, 419, 421
 Idu 221, 342
 Ihy 262
 Ii-nefret 24, 25
 Ikhi 248, 249
 Ima 204
 Imaisi 262

- Imapepy 230
 Imby 302
 Imhotep (Ιμούθης) 87, 100, 101, 106, 158,
 403, 420, 422, 423
 Imitation (of Old Kingdom dates) 132
 Immigration 61
 Impy 296
itmy-r (see: Overseer of)
 In-laws 408, 409, 410, 413, 417, 418, 421
 Incense 79, 257, 381
 Income 25, 28, 47, 50, 52, 63, 68, 261
 Indictio 93
 Industrial works 28, 52
 Inheritance (see also: heirs) 8, 407, 419
 Inscribed objects 5, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28,
 39, 81, 124, 125, 128, 163, 229, 245, 247,
 248, 249, 250, 252, 258, 265, 272, 273,
 274, 275, 305, 329, 376, 377, 386, 404,
 407, 432
 Inscription of Mes 309
 Inscriptional evidence 30, 76, 138, 416, 420
 Inscriptions (see also: autobiographical;
 biographical; Coffin Texts; Iny; graffiti;
 Pyramid Texts; Wadi Hammamat;
 Weni) 5, 25, 38, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50,
 51, 60, 69, 72, 91, 92, 94, 98, 113, 115,
 125, 132, 133, 154, 209, 250, 271, 273,
 275, 278, 378, 385, 395, 396, 418,
 419, 432, 441, 458, 459, 460, 463,
 476
 Inspector (*shd*)
 of the Great House 261, 287
 of priests 247, 248, 249, 408
 of scribes 286
 Instruction for
 Kagemni 113, 132
 Merikare 60, 65, 66, 72, 132, 212
 Instruction of
 Hordjedef 123, 140
 of Ptahhotep 60, 132, 212
 Instructor of singers 273
 Intef 423
 Intef II 423
 Intercalation 92, 318, 340
 Interpolation 79, 83, 85
 Inti 436
 Invasion 61
 Invocation offering 69, 245
 Iny 429, 436, 438, 439, 440, 444, 447
 Ionic dialect (Milesian Ionic dialect) 96, 97,
 102, 103
 Ionic-Attic proto-dialect 102
 Iput II 413, 481
 Ipi 402
 Ikeri 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 269
 Iren-ptah 363
 Irenakhti 300
 Ireru 270, 275, 276, 277, 278, 285
 Iri 262
 Isesi 292, 471
 Ishefi 230, 250
 Isimeru 262
 Isis 70, 81, 465
 Israel 161
 Isu 404, 420, 422, 423
 Itacism, itacistic 96, 97, 100, 102, 103, 104,
 120, 156
 Ity 402, 403, 420, 422
 Iuu 10
 Iytjenu 405, 413, 420, 422
 Jacquet-Gordon, Helen 25, 35, 37
 Jánosi, Peter 93, 299, 300, 302
 Jansen-Winkel, Karl 429, 430, 434
 Janssen, Jac 71, 471, 485
 Jéquier, Gustave 245, 246, 247, 248, 249,
 250, 251, 252, 256
 Jews, Jewish 80, 82, 83, 125, 161, 165
jmj-r (see: Overseer of)
 John of Nikiu 112, 113
 Johnson, Janet H. 76
jrj.n=f m mnwff formula (see also: date
 formula, year dating) 131
jrj.n=f m njšwjjt formula (see also: date
 formula, year dating) 131, 135, 136, 151
jšd-tree 154
 Juba II of Mauretania 82
 Jubilee Temple (*ʒb-mnw*) 132, 133
 Jubilees, of the king (see also: *Heb-Sed;*
 Sed) 384, 385, 386, 447
 Judaeo-Christian 83
 Judge (*sʒb/zʒb*) 263, 286, 435
 Jürgens, Peter 201
 Juxtaposition, in/of inscriptions 21, 36, 212,
 372, 376, 481, 486
 Juxtapositum 133

- Ka-chapel* 481, 482, 489
Ka-foundations 378
Ka-priests 267
Ka-servants (hmw-k³) 302, 304
Kaaper 303
Kaemheset 436
Kaemtjenenet 436, 437
Kagemni (see: Instruction for Kagemni)
Kahun 279, 281, 286
Kaiinpu 304
Kaikherptah 220
Kairisu 265
Kakai-is-the soul-ba 25, 305
Kakhet (K³-h.t.) 164
Kanawati, Naguib 10, 408
Kaplony 399
Karnak 132, 149
kaw-niswt 297
KD 141, 228, 229, 230, 246, 250, 279, 396,
 400, 402, 404, 407, 409, 411, 412, 413,
 417, 418, 419, 420, 422, 473, 477, 480,
 481, 482,
 484
Kemp, Barry J. 64, 66, 67, 71, 227, 254, 281,
 3 6 7
Kephren (Κεφρήν) 117
Kerma 429, 445, 446, 447
Kerpheres (Κερφέρης) 87, 105, 107, 117, 127,
 144, 145, 148, 165
Kesit 249
Kessler, Dieter 42
Khaa-[?] (see: Horus Khaa-[?])
Khafkhufu 204, 205, 225
Khafre 30, 34, 291, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304,
 306
 pyramid complex 29, 227, 292, 295, 300,
 301, 304, 305, 320, 321, 322, 333, 380
 valley temple 270, 292, 298, 304, 306,
 321, 331, 380
Khaiba (Ḫ̥j-b³) 162
Khaled, Mohammed 25, 33, 50
Khamerernebtⁱ 300, 301, 302
Khamerernebtⁱ II 300, 301, 302, 320
Khasekhemwy 2, 5, 40, 41, 476
enclosure/fort 40, 41, 45, 271, 378, 379, 380,
 385, 473
Khentika 490, 493
Khentawes I (Hnt-k³w.s.) 34, 52, 156, 227,
 299, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 456
Khentawes II 156, 293, 301, 302, 303,
 305
Khentawes
 basin 231, 277, 280, 283, 289, 290, 291,
 292, 294, 296, 298, 305
 causeway 231, 280, 281, 287, 288, 290,
 291, 295, 296, 306
 chapel 283, 290, 293, 306
 complex/monument 34, 227, 231, 273,
 275, 281, 289, 290, 293, 296, 298, 301,
 306, 320, 341
 closure 290, 292, 295, 305
 valley approach 293, 304
 valley temple 289, 290, 293
Khentawes Town (KKT) 227, 228, 231, 254,
 266, 270, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281,
 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290,
 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 300,
 301, 304, 305, 306
 doorways 1–5 227, 231, 293, 294, 295,
 296, 297, 298, 301
 enclosure (wall) 280, 288, 289, 290, 293,
 294, 295, 296, 298
Khenty-imentyw (see also: Osiris) 407, 483
Khenty-khekakh 33
Khenu 249
Khenukai 42
Kheops (see: Cheops; Khufu)
Kheper (Hpr) 164
Khet-priest/Attendant of Min 274
Khnumhotep 230, 265, 432, 436
Khubau 251
Khufu (see also: Cheops) 2, 6, 22, 28, 29,
 299, 300, 302, 327, 328, 489, 493
 pyramid complex 29, 270, 295, 298, 300,
 301, 303, 304, 305, 316, 319, 321, 328,
 380, 489, 493
 valley temple 305, 380
Khui 10, 407, 408, 409, 410, 413, 420, 421,
 422, 423, 436
Khuitref 69
Kikugawa 444
Kin, kinship 264, 267, 421
King (see also individual entries; calendar;
 date (year) formula; king-list; year dating),
 court of (see also: elite) 2, 9, 10, 11, 44,
 45, 64, 201, 208, 221, 466, 473
deceased (see also: Pyramid Texts) 51,
 63, 112, 155, 202, 205, 208, 265, 267,

- 268, 367, 379, 380, 394, 456, 457, 459, 460, 462, 465
 deification of 368, 382, 458
 in ritual (see also: Following of Horus; *Heb-Sed*; *Hwt*; *jubilee*; *Sed*) 2, 3, 125, 267, 367, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 381, 383, 385, 472, 474, 475, 476
 living 2, 6, 7, 10, 26, 28, 29, 45, 46, 47, 64, 221, 229, 230, 265, 268, 269, 270, 367, 378, 379, 381, 383, 393, 395, 407, 436, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 464, 465, 466, 473, 475, 478, 487, 489, 490
 King-list (see also: Abydos; Abusir; Saqqara; Royal Canon of Turin; Wadi Hammamat), Egyptian (Hieratic and Demotic) 119, 123, 128, 130, 133, 137, 141, 147, 161, 162, 166
 Greek (Egyptian in Greek reception) 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 88, 95, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121, 126, 128, 129, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 153, 154, 157, 158, 161, 162, 164, 165
 Kingmaker 418
 Kingship (see also: divine; *jrj.n=f m njšwjj.t*; *Sed*-Festival) 41, 265, 394, 406, 407, 408, 417, 421, 423, 458
 earthly 2, 376, 379, 381, 457, 459
 solar 368, 376, 379, 380, 383, 386, 387, 459
 Kitchens 256
 KKT Valley Complex (see: Khentkawes Town (KKT))
 KKT-E 231, 292, 293, 304
 Kleine Festdarstellung 381
 Kleine Hebseddarstellung 369, 370
 Koine (Greek Koine) 96, 102, 103, 120
Königsnovelle 81
 Kush 445, 446
 Kyphi (see: On the Production of Kyphi)
 Label (for goods) 5, 22, 258, 277
 Labor 63, 72, 249, 264, 269, 270, 306, 309, 478, 481, 483, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490
 Laborer 485
 Lacovara, Peter 240, 241, 244
Lamares-Problem 157
 Land 2, 23, 37, 41, 42, 47, 49, 112, 132, 230, 265, 267, 283, 304, 386, 423, 447, 470, 478, 489, 490
 Landscape 44, 279, 378, 435, 443
 Lapis lazuli 440, 445
 Late Period 100, 126, 152, 237, 471
 Latin 82, 160
 Layout (of an inscription) 138, 150, 413
 Leader (in titles) 43, 264, 266, 269, 275, 302, 403, 422, 436, 438, 463
 Leadership 62, 437
 Lebanon 442, 444
 Lector priest (*hry-hb*) 220, 230, 286, 405
 Legal documents 48, 249, 267, 304
 Legitimacy, legitimization 8, 21, 22, 34, 38, 52, 131, 397, 399, 411, 414, 421, 435, 459, 475
 Legrain, Georges 403, 404
 Lehner, Mark 34, 51, 316, 458
 Leipzig (Ägyptisches Museum) objects 329
Leipziger Weltchronik 146
 Leprohon, Ron 45, 230
 Lepsius tombs 316, 320, 325
 Letters 79, 80, 84, 85, 258, 318, 347, 401, 423, 429, 432, 481
 Levant 431, 432, 433, 434, 436, 437, 438, 442
 Levantine 83, 435, 436, 437, 438, 441, 442
 Levy (*srw*) 92, 485, 486
 Lexical 113, 133, 213
 Lexicon of Valerius Harpocratio 79
 Lexicon 77, 113, 279
 Libyan Desert 125
 Libyans 86
 Limestone
 architectural elements 5, 231, 232, 233, 234, 236, 238, 243, 244, 245, 247, 248, 252, 256, 270, 271, 276, 281, 290, 293, 294, 296, 297, 306, 329, 333
 objects 204, 228, 229, 250, 256, 257, 258, 272, 404
 Lineage 249, 264, 268, 269, 396, 405, 414, 415, 421, 459
 Lintel 40, 247, 249, 252, 275, 276, 277, 327, 329
 Lions 381
 Literary texts 60, 61, 66, 67, 81, 132, 140, 152, 156, 162, 395

- Literate 204, 207
 Livestock 90, 91, 477, 483, 485
 Looting 61
 Love 21, 33, 36, 38, 50, 69, 71, 220, 245, 247,
 249
 Lower Egyptian nomes 18, 19, 26, 27, 338,
 340, 404, 462
 Lower elite, rank 9, 49, 204, 261, 264, 286
- Maat* (see also: order) 2, 14
Maaty Boat 385
 Magistrates, court of 304
 Mahfud, Bishari 237
 Majerus, Elisabeth 318
 Manetho (*Μανέθω*, *Μανέθων*, *Μάνεθος*,
 Μανέθωθ, *Μανέθως*) 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83,
 107, 166, 396
 of Diopolis 77, 78, 79
 of Mendes (*Μένδης*) 77, 78, 79
 of Sebennytos 78, 79, 169
 the Egyptian 77, 79
- Manethonian (dynasties, chronology,
 tradition) (see also: Aegyptiaca; Epitome;
 Vorlaga/vorlagen) 10, 62, 80, 82, 95, 96,
 101, 104, 105, 110, 114, 117, 118, 121, 124,
 125, 126, 127, 128, 138, 142, 143, 146, 147,
 148, 155, 158, 159, 160, 162, 166, 394,
 395, 414, 415
- Manfalut 404, 423
 Mansion 24, 283
 Marc Anthony 82
 Mares (*Μάρης*) 89, 105, 108, 109, 144, 148,
 162
 Marriage 51, 52, 71, 82
 between royal and non-royal 10, 11, 64,
 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 418, 419,
 421, 424
- Masonry structures 142, 256, 295, 296, 297,
 299
- Mason's graffiti 92, 93, 127, 128, 129, 339
 Maspero, Gaston 210, 251
 Mastaba(s) 6, 45, 127, 205, 251, 265, 269,
 270, 277, 278, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299,
 300, 302, 303, 316, 318, 320, 321, 325,
 333, 432, 462, 490
- Mastaba D 110 328, 329
 Mastaba Faraun 141, 142
 Mastaba G 1223 325, 326
- Mastaba G 1998 316, 325, 327, 328
 Mastaba G 2000 325, 326
 Mastaba G 2001 325, 326
 Mastaba G 2108 (*Nefer*) 327
 Mastaba G 2129 323, 324
 Mastaba G 2130 (*Seniwehem*) 327
 Mastaba G 2137 323
 Mastaba G 2198 316, 321
 Mastaba G 3998 (*Hemiunu*) 316
 Mastaba G 5234 327
 Mastaba G 7208/20 (*Horjedef*) 140
 Mastaba G 7528-sub (*Meresankh III*) 330,
 331
- Mastaba G 7648 (*Akhtihotep* and
 Meritites) 127
- Mastaba G VI.S = M.VII 128
 Mastaba GW 38, 329
 Mastaba MIX 250
 Mastaba Mv (*Khubau*) 251
 Mayor 409
 Medical treatise 84, 87, 159
 Medjedu (*Mddw*) 164
 Meeting, between king and gods 370, 372,
 374, 380, 385, 386, 458
- Mehu 100
 Meidum 93, 113, 124, 164, 303, 380, 462
 Meir 29
 Mekes (*mks*) 22, 32, 37, 39, 40
 Meketre 281
 Memnon (son of Eos, king of Ethiopia) 160
 Memorial (see also: funerary)
 endowment/foundation 230, 239, 241,
 246, 252, 264, 269, 279, 300, 301, 306
 offerings/services 230, 245, 247, 265,
 268, 269
 temple 241, 259, 264, 268, 293, 300, 306
- Memphis (*Mn-nfr*, *Mn-nfrw*, *Μέμφις*,
 Μενόφρεως) 18, 29, 30, 157, 395, 471, 472,
 482
- Memphite 32, 37, 39, 45, 50, 62, 86, 89, 123,
 134, 151, 152, 153, 154, 267, 269, 309,
 396, 402, 413, 421, 471, 492
 cemeteries 45, 265, 269, 402
 cult 30, 31, 32, 37, 39, 49, 50, 140,
 472
 kings 62, 86, 87, 89, 123, 134, 140, 151,
 152, 153, 154, 159, 396, 421
- Memphite Qar 413

- Mencheres (Μεγχέρης, Μενχέρης) 88, 100, 117, 118, 127, 144, 148, 162, 165
 Mencherinos (Μεγχέρινος) 118, 127
 Mende (Μένδη) 77, 78, 79
 Mendes (Μένδης) 77, 78, 79
 Mendes Stela 81
 Menes (Μήνης) 151, 155, 157, 158, 159
 Menkare 412, 416
 Menkauhor 94, 292, 341, 342, 348, 349, 351, 352, 354, 356, 358, 360, 416
 Menkaure (see also: Mycerinus) 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 229, 230, 232, 234, 239, 241, 245, 246, 270, 284, 292, 293, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302, 304, 306, 471, 486
 pyramid, pyramid complex 127, 141, 142, 228, 229, 230, 231, 238, 250, 270, 279, 280, 281, 283, 289, 292, 293, 301, 303, 304, 305, 321, 324
 triads 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 49, 50, 51, 52, 232, 238, 274, 325, 380
 valley temple (see: MVT)
 Mentuhotep II 202, 204
 Merefnebef 220, 221
 Merenhor 414, 416
 Merenre I 68, 401
 Merenre II 412
 Merenre 9, 11, 124, 229, 241, 292, 339, 403, 407, 412, 438, 446, 480
 Merer 67, 438
 Meresankh III (see: Mastaba G 7528-sub)
 Merikare (See also: Instruction for) 423
 Meritites I 163
 Merka 5
 Mermin 262
 Meru 31, 204
 Meruruka 220, 265, 277
 Mery 408
 Mesochris (Μέσωχρις) 87, 104, 107, 109, 144, 145, 148, 162
 Metacharacterismus 96
 Metathesis 77, 104, 106, 112, 156
 Metjen 6, 25, 43
 Mezenet 10
 MFA (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) objects 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 273, 274, 484
 MFA expedition (see also HU-MFA) 315, 316, 317, 319, 320, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330
 Middle Bronze Age 432
 Middle Kingdom 29, 37, 43, 49, 60, 66, 67, 70, 72, 106, 113, 131, 133, 134, 135, 140, 142, 153, 159, 201, 202, 203, 241, 279, 281, 383, 410, 431, 432, 433, 441, 445, 446
 Miletus 103
 Military (see also: expeditions) scenes 99, 431, 437
 troops 437, 488
 Min 274
 Min-nakht 274
 Min-nefer 266, 267
 Mining 419, 423, 437, 489
 Minuscule (Greek, Byzantine) 95, 118
 Mirgissa 257
 MMA objects 484
 Model 241, 250, 254, 257, 267, 281, 458
 Modern cemetery 280, 288
 Modern road 288
 Momcheiri (Μομχείρη) 89, 99, 109, 162
 Monarch, monarchy (see also: king; pharaoh) 63, 64, 456, 459
 Monumental architecture 2, 3, 8, 63, 67, 296, 379, 435, 470
 Monumentalization of inscriptions (see also: entextualization) 200, 209, 210, 214, 216, 217, 218, 221
 Moreno Garcia, Juan Carlos 25, 26, 27, 41, 44, 45, 49, 51
 Morenz, Ludwig 474
 Mortuary complex/temples (see also: endowment; *Hwt*; Khentkawes; Neferirkare; Raneferef) 7, 9, 131, 141, 321, 364, 366, 367
 cult 6, 9, 25, 63, 64, 163, 267
 ritual/service 202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 268, 333
 texts (See also: Coffin Texts; Pyramid Texts) 195, 202, 203

- Moscheres (*Μοσχερῆς*) 89, 105, 117, 118, 127, 144, 148, 165
- Moss, Rosalind 274, 316
- Mother
- non-royal 70, 71
 - royal 23, 39, 52, 156, 293, 301, 302, 303, 399, 406, 407, 412, 414, 481
- Mount Seir 443
- mr*-embrace 33, 35, 36
- mrt*-temple 50, 51, 52
- Mudbrick structures 30, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 239, 241, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 254, 256, 258, 273, 274, 281, 284, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 305, 328, 376
- Multiplier effect 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13
- Murnane, William 166
- MVT 35, 36, 39, 52, 227–307 *passim*, 321, 325
- Annex 231, 232, 233, 238, 242, 270, 271, 272, 275, 280, 281, 288, 289, 292, 293, 306, 326
 - apartments 227, 231, 232, 240, 241, 242, 245, 252, 253, 254, 272, 273, 274, 275, 278, 281, 284, 285, 286, 306
 - central court 227, 236, 237
 - chambers 241, 242, 254, 274, 281
 - court, settlement in 23, 39, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 244, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 252, 253, 254, 256, 261, 262, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281, 284, 286, 287, 293, 306
 - doorways 231, 233, 236, 237, 238, 244, 252, 253, 254, 275, 276, 277, 288
 - first temple 229, 232, 234, 236, 242, 243, 280, 289, 305
 - magazines 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 245, 262
 - Occupation 1 232, 237, 238, 241, 281
 - Occupation 2 232, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 252, 254, 256, 273, 276, 278, 281, 284, 286, 293, 303, 306
 - Occupation 3 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 252, 256, 281
 - occupation of, occupation phases 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 237, 242, 245, 252, 254, 256, 262, 270, 273, 274, 278, 279, 280, 288, 289, 293, 306
 - sanctuary 229, 232, 239, 273, 306
 - second temple 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 243, 244, 271, 277, 280, 305
 - Vestibule 1 229, 231, 232, 233, 236, 237, 239, 242, 243, 244, 245, 270, 271, 275, 292
 - Vestibule 2 233, 270, 271, 288, 292
- Mycerinus (*Μυκέρινος*) (see also: Herodotean Giza-group; Menkaure) 105, 116, 117, 118, 120, 127, 128, 136, 138, 144, 147, 148, 164
- Myth 73, 82, 84, 127, 472
- Argivian 160
 - Cosmogonical 140
 - Osirian 111
- Málek, Jaromír 274, 431
- Naga el-Shebaykah 404
- Nahr al-Abrash 444
- Naked 67, 68, 69, 70
- Naming construction 21, 33, 35, 50, 338, 347, 363
- Naming years (see also: date (year) formula) 90, 91, 132, 155, 338, 339, 347, 351, 360
- Naos 417
- Naqada 6
- Narratives 60, 157, 415, 429, 430, 434, 435, 436, 438
- Naucratis 103
- Naval 436, 438
- Neb 144, 148
- Nebet 10, 405, 408, 409, 418, 419, 421, 423
- Nebhepetre-montuhotep 393, 403, 416
- Nebka(re) (*Nb-k3, Nb-k3-R'w*) 98, 99, 104, 105, 135, 137, 142, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 155, 162
- Nebmaat (*Nb-m3t*) 164
- Nebu 327, 328, 329
- Nebwenenef (*Nb-j-wnn-f*) 120
- Nechepso (*Νεχεψώ*) 78, 84
- Necherophes (*Νεχερόφης*) 86, 98, 99, 107, 108, 109, 144, 148, 159, 162
- Necropolis 6, 207, 220, 250, 295, 304, 402, 404, 406, 421, 446
- Nedem 249
- Nedyet 465
- Nefer(kamin) 416

- Nefer-seshem-Ptah 69
 Neferherenptah 300
 Neferhotep I 156
 Neferirkare 25, 50, 51, 138, 164, 219, 222, 266, 271, 292, 293, 301, 305, 346, 348, 381, 385, 401, 402, 416, 460
 decree (see also: Abydos decree) 484, 485, 486, 487
 papyri 258, 264, 265, 266, 270, 287, 288, 337, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 364, 460
 temple 25, 51, 254, 258, 259, 266, 284, 293, 301, 302, 303, 305, 344, 347, 348, 349, 355, 359, 360, 364, 385, 457, 460
Neferka (*Nfr-k3, Nfr-k3-Rw*) 104, 105, 107, 108, 142, 148, 150, 151, 153, 155, 416
Neferka(re) Khered 416
Neferkahor 416
Neferkamin 411, 414, 416
Neferkamin-anu 411, 414, 415, 416
Neferkare II 399, 406
Neferkare 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 245, 247, 397
 as a nomen 411, 412, 414, 415
Neferkare-Khendu 414
Neferkare-Neby 412, 416, 422
Neferkare-Pepseneb 398, 400, 414, 415, 416, 421
Neferkare-Tereru 414, 416
Neferkasokar 160
Neferkauhor 402, 404, 405, 411, 414, 418, 419, 420, 422
 decree (see also Coptos decrees) 409, 416, 419
Neferkaure 402, 411, 415, 416, 420
Neferkhu 303
Neferusobek 397
Nefru 202
Neith 412
Nekhbu 221
Nemty 50
Nemtyemsaf 230, 412
Neo-/Late Babylonian 442
Neo-Assyrian 441, 442
Neolithic Wet Phase 15, 61
Nephthys 465
Nepotism 8, 10
Neshi 267
Netjerikhet (*Ntrj-h.t*) 5, 144, 148, 473
Netjerkare 399, 412, 416
Netjerybau-Neferkauhor 416, 417, 418, 419, 420
New Kingdom 105, 119, 123, 126, 130, 134, 140, 141, 150, 152, 153, 155, 215, 217, 267, 371, 382, 399, 431, 441, 446, 479, 483, 488
New Year 90, 91, 276
Newoserre (*Nj-Rw-wśr, Nj-Rw-wśrw*, 'Paxθούρης) (see also Niuserre) 91, 93, 138, 156, 157, 164
Ni-maat-re 220, 296, 301, 302
Niche 34, 260, 261, 271, 272, 274, 290, 297, 327, 329
Niched architecture 290, 295, 302, 327, 376
Niheteptah 220
Nikaankh I 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49
Nikaure 128
Nile (see also: flood) 77, 79, 156, 290, 324, 333, 334, 336, 367, 433, 445, 482
Nineteenth Dynasty 108, 130, 139, 140, 147, 152, 154, 157, 267, 338, 397, 415
Ninetjer 473
Ninth Dynasty (see also: Heracleopolitan Dynasties) 132, 422
Nisutpunetjeri 163
Nitocris 199, 399, 400, 412
Niuserre (see also Newoserre) 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 46, 266, 291, 292, 293, 303, 306, 383, 386
 chapel 369, 373, 374, 375, 381, 383
 pyramid complex 36, 292, 293, 305, 382
 sun temple 36, 39, 366, 368, 369, 370, 374, 375, 376, 378, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 457, 458, 479
nawt-sign 25, 26, 291
Nobles (see also: elite) 64, 230, 269
Node, in a network 227, 228, 306
Nolan, John 34, 46, 91, 247, 292
Nomad 412, 437
Nomarch 9, 29, 44, 62, 63, 69, 423
Nome/district 18, 38, 40, 43, 46, 52, 61, 65, 79, 132, 160, 422, 471, 486
Nome standard 18, 19, 30, 43, 380, 383, 404, 462, 479

- Nome(s), in statuary/personification of 18, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 50, 51, 52, 380, 383, 404, 462
- Nomen* 95, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 106, 128, 161, 164, 399, 402, 404, 414
- Nomen agentis* 100, 106, 110
- Nominal sentence 156
- Non-royal 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 54, 201, 204, 207, 209, 218, 219, 223, 364, 396, 464, 471
- Inscriptions 201, 204, 207, 396
- People (see also: elite) 7, 204, 209, 405, 464, 471
- Tombs 6, 8, 201, 207, 218, 219, 364
- Northern Lateral Ramp (NLR) (see: Giza, Northern Lateral Ramp (NLR))
- Notitia dignitatum* 111
- Nubian (see also: Kerma; Kush) 281, 413, 414, 431, 446
- Numbers of people, per house 63, 254, 256, 258, 259, 262, 264, 281, 284, 285, 286
- Numerals (ancient) 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 124, 126, 147
- Nyankhisi 262
- Nydeb 262
- Nykaiankh 47
- Nykare 25, 414, 416
will of 475, 476
- Oasis 29, 72, 81, 432
- Obelisk 39, 251, 252, 369, 375, 376, 383, 464
- Occasion (in a reign; see also: year
dating) 229, 245, 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 345, 346, 348, 351, 354, 358, 359, 363, 400, 402, 418, 476
- Occasions of counting (see also: cattle
count) 337, 338, 339, 348
- Occupation, of jobs 8, 64, 410
- Ochus of Persia 78
- Offering
bearers 26, 39, 204, 381
formula 6, 23, 204, 210, 228, 267, 275, 276, 329, 461, 462
list 204, 210, 212, 213, 217, 218
places 6, 23, 212, 230, 232, 233, 243, 245, 252, 257, 271, 272, 273, 274, 283, 288, 292, 329, 375, 381, 386, 457, 461, 462, 475, 482
- rites/rituals 9, 51, 69, 163, 212, 214
- Offerings (see also: reversionary) 28, 39, 40, 230, 278, 283, 287, 288, 290, 303, 306, 457, 475, 482
of food 23, 40, 204, 230, 250, 283, 375
of objects 204, 245, 250, 252, 256, 257, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 283, 288
- Office(s) (see also: administration;
bureaucracy; government;
inheritance) 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 41, 62, 69, 92, 249, 252, 269, 270, 292, 409, 410, 417, 419, 422, 471, 485, 486, 487, 488
- Official (see also: administrator; elite;
title) 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 25, 42, 44, 46, 63, 69, 72, 113, 137, 153, 163, 202, 230, 250, 260, 261, 264, 265, 267, 268, 269, 278, 286, 287, 288, 294, 302, 305, 359, 393, 403, 409, 422, 430, 462, 464, 480, 487, 488
- Oil 212, 213, 440
- On Ancient Ritual and Religion*
(Περὶ ἀρχαῖσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβίας) 84
- On Festivals* (Περὶ ἑορτῶν) 84
- On the Production of Kyphi* (Περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων) 77, 79, 84
- Onomastics 409
- Opening of the mouth 333
- Orabi, Ahmed 291
- Order (see also: Maat; chaos) 2, 65, 435, 478
- Orthography, orthographic convention 84, 86, 87, 88, 95, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103, 115, 145, 146, 413, 458, 460
- Osiris 111, 160, 212, 213, 381, 382, 383, 405
cult of 8, 456, 459, 460, 461, 462, 464, 465, 466
statues of 380, 460
- Osiris-Wennefer 159
- Osorkon 479
- Othoes ('Οθόης) 102
- Ouenephes (*Wn-nfr*; Οὐενέφης) 159
- Ousaphaidos (Οὐσαφαῖδος) 123
- Ousaphais (Οὐσαφάῖς) 123
- Overseer of (a/the)
cattle 67
commissions 43, 487
divine things 247
granary 277
ḥntjw-š 230

- house 248
 Menkaure's pyramid 24
 new towns 44
 payments 487
 per-shena (*pr šn̄c*) 249
 phyle 286
 phyles of Upper Egypt 487
 priests (*hmw-ntr*) 69, 409
 priests of Hathor 44, 49
 purification priests of the King's Mother 301
 pyramid town of Menkaure 229, 287, 291
 Pyramid, Great is Khafre 291
 pyramid-town 420, 422
 ritual garments 413
 royal colonists 487
 scribes of crews 287
 scribes of Heliopolis 463
 scribes of the pyramid, Akhet-Khufu 302, 303
 scribes 301
 storehouse of the King's repast 276
 treasury 163
 Upper Egypt 8, 9, 92, 408, 410, 417, 419, 421, 471, 487
 Overtaxation 63
 Pagan 80, 82, 83, 113, 115, 165
 Painted Tomb 98 3
 Palace
 ceremonial 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 383, 385, 387
 royal 41, 159, 230, 369, 434
 Palaces of the Gods (*ḥ-ntr*) (see also: Fortress of the Gods) 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 383, 385, 386
 Palermo Stone 6, 7, 26, 91, 94, 124, 159, 339, 376, 378, 385, 386, 462, 470, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 495
 Pan 78, 79
 Panhellenic 103
 Panodorus of Alexandria 85, 111
 Panther skin 272
 Papazian, Hratch 25, 483, 489
 Papyrus (see also: Abusir; Neferirkare; Raneferef; Royal Canon of Turin; Wedjebten; Westcar)
 Baden No. 59 119, 146
 Berlin 10521 401, 412
 Berlin 9007 112
 El-Hibeh no. 70 80
 Gebelein I and II 45, 477, 478, 486
 Gebelein rouleau IV 128
 Heidelberg 412 97
 Oxyrhynchus 2544 78
 Prisse II (see: Instruction for Kagemni) 113
 Ptolemaic Homer papyri 96
 T 2145 (MafS) 209
 Papyrus, papyri (Egyptian and Greek) 49, 93, 96, 102, 111, 118, 155, 160, 208, 460, 477
 Parapet wall 233
 Passageway 237, 297
 Pater 258
 Pathway 232, 233, 238, 243, 244, 256, 295, 302, 306
 Patriarch 8, 407
 Patron 23, 41, 228, 258, 264, 306
 Paulus of Aegina 84
 Payment 9, 49, 478, 484, 487, 489
 Peg locks 256, 262
 Pelizaeus-Museum (Hildesheim) objects 329
 Penmeru 25
 Pepy I 3, 10, 11, 68, 69, 94, 208, 209, 220, 221, 254, 269, 270, 292, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 421, 422, 438, 440, 446
 decree (see also: Coptos; Dashur) 279, 280, 480, 481, 484
 Pepy II 11, 31, 33, 51, 62, 65, 68, 205, 206, 219, 221, 222, 245, 249, 251, 292, 338, 348, 399, 401, 403, 406, 407, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 417, 421, 424, 438, 440, 446, 480, 481
 decree (see also: Coptos; Giza) 229, 241, 245, 250, 276, 279, 280, 484, 485
 pyramid 34, 245, 247, 250, 252, 270, 408
 Persian(s) 81, 112, 154, 157, 160, 340, 446
 Pessimism 64, 66

- Peteartotes (*P3-dj.w-Hrw-jdd=f*; Πετεαρτώτης) 139
- Petosiris (Πετόσιρις) 78
- Petrie, W.M.F. 403
- Pharaoh(s), general (see also specific kings) 1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 64, 67, 112, 160, 279, 338, 348, 368, 373, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 386, 393, 395, 397, 401, 405, 409, 410, 411, 414, 415, 417, 421, 422, 423, 424, 461, 465, 480, 482
- Pharaonic 7, 62, 65, 81, 100, 196, 204, 410, 423, 471, 476, 488
- Philae 3
- Phoenicia 438, 442
- Phoneme 97, 446
- Phonology, phonological 96, 102, 110, 116, 441, 443, 445
- Phyle 63, 230, 241, 248, 250, 258, 259, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 275, 277, 284, 286, 287, 302, 304, 337, 344, 359, 463, 487
- division 259, 260, 268, 337, 344, 345, 346, 347, 360, 363
- parasite phyles 265, 266, 268, 302
- rotation/service 259, 260, 264, 268, 278, 287, 306, 337, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 358, 360, 362, 363, 364
- Physical Matters (Φυσικά or Φυσιολογικά) 84
- Physician 84, 159, 268
- Pilaster 276
- Pillar 39, 270, 292, 407, 471
- Pit, archaeological 141, 256, 296
- Pivot (door) socket 231, 244, 256, 295, 297, 331
- Plato 213
- Plinth 39, 331
- Pliny the Elder 81
- Plunder, archaeological 231, 238
- Plutarch 79, 80, 81, 84, 97
- Polemics 82, 83, 146, 394
- Policy 6, 8, 10, 393, 424, 429, 431, 465, 470, 471, 472, 475, 488, 489
- Political situation, generally 6, 7, 11, 44, 62, 63, 154, 165, 265, 339, 340, 348, 408, 421, 431, 432, 433, 435, 436, 447, 459, 462, 465, 466, 473, 475, 478
- Poor 8, 62, 67, 227, 464, 478, 482
- Popular tradition (in literature) 113, 121, 139, 141, 153, 156, 162, 165
- Population 65, 82, 489
- Port 433, 458
- Portal structure 236, 237, 243
- Porter, Bertha 274, 316
- Portico 27, 229, 233, 238, 243, 270, 271, 272, 292
- Posener, Georges 66
- Posener-Krieger, Paule 50, 51, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 287, 337, 348, 351, 358
- Potters 268
- Pottery 6, 22, 30, 41, 46, 238, 240, 245, 254, 256, 257, 272, 290, 297, 474
- Poverty 65, 247
- pr-wrw* 371
- pr-šn* (see also: overseer of) 489
- Pre-Old Coptic, Old Coptic 10, 103
- Predynastic 2, 378
- Prehistoric period 90
- Priest(s) (see also: Great Seer; high priest; *ḥm-ntr*; khet priest; lector; *śm*; *w'b*) 48, 49, 63, 157, 160, 208, 212, 213, 217, 249, 250, 269, 333, 368, 410, 457, 463, 481, 482, 485
- Priest of
- Khafre 302, 303
 - Khentkawes I 301
- Priest/Priestess of Hathor 31, 44, 49, 249, 405
- Priests' settlement 260, 261, 280, 283, 285, 287, 295
- Prince (see also: crown prince) 121, 139, 153, 163, 462
- Private (non-royal) people (see also: elite) 24, 71, 269, 274, 333, 461, 464, 488, 489
- inscriptions 5, 416, 437
- mortuary cult 64, 230, 267, 268, 269, 300
- tombs 26, 29, 63, 72, 268, 281, 460, 462
- Propaganda 21, 23, 26, 66, 67, 72, 81, 472
- Property 23, 25, 26, 48, 70, 264, 265, 267, 304, 483

- Prophecy of Neferty (see also: Forecast of Neferty) 66, 72
- Proprietor 241, 265, 266, 268, 274, 277, 285, 288, 289, 299, 301
- Prosperity 65, 67, 68, 72, 112
- Proto-Dynastic 378, 388
- Provinces, royal involvement in 6, 10, 23, 27, 41, 435, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 478, 481, 488, 489
- Provincial
- administration/government 23, 25, 27, 38, 41, 45, 46, 421, 473, 474, 481, 482, 486, 489, 490
 - families/officials (see also: nomarch) 8, 9, 10, 11, 44, 63, 269, 406, 408, 409, 410, 420, 435, 471
 - temples 19, 23, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 488, 489
- Pseudepigraphic works 78, 79, 80, 84, 114
- Pseudo-Apollodorus 86, 88, 99, 101, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 137, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 153, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166
- Pseudo-Eratosthenes 86, 88, 99, 101, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 129, 137, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 153, 161, 162, 164, 165
- Pseudo-Eupolemus 82
- Pseudoparticiple 156
- Ptahdjedef 153
- Ptahhotep 132
- Ptahshepses 8, 138, 164
- Ptolemaic Period 81, 83, 97, 99, 102, 113, 115, 154, 155, 471
- Ptolemies 80, 83, 145
- Ptolemy 77, 79, 80, 81, 85
- Ptolemy I Soter 79, 80, 81
- Ptolemy II Philadelphus 79, 80, 85
- Ptolemy III Euergetes 79, 80
- Ptolemy of Mendes (*Aegyptiaca* (Αἰγυπτιακά) of) 77, 79
- Punctuated equilibria 1, 4, 5, 12, 13
- Punt 381, 431, 433, 436, 441, 447
- Purification priests (see also: w^b -priests) 228, 276, 283, 301
- Pyramid complex (see also: individual kings; Bent pyramid; Meidum; Red Pyramid; Zawyet el-Aryan) 3, 8, 9, 19, 37, 38, 50, 159, 160, 228, 247, 265, 287, 289, 300, 301, 303, 306, 308, 368, 380, 381, 382, 387, 431, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 465, 490
- chapel 62, 233, 245, 247, 271, 281, 283, 301, 412
- Pyramid GIII-a 233, 271
- Pyramid GIII-c 271
- Pyramid temples (see also individual kings; Giza) 8, 24, 25, 205, 227, 228, 229, 233, 252, 254, 257, 273, 289, 292, 303, 306, 367, 368, 371, 382
- square antechamber in 292
- Pyramid Texts 11, 71, 132, 200–222
passim 383, 413, 415, 442, 456, 459, 460, 462, 463, 465
- Pyramid town (see also individual kings; KKT; MVT) 51, 227, 228, 230, 279, 280, 285, 286, 287, 291, 292, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 413, 420, 422, 485, 486
- Qaihedjet (*K3j-hd.t*) 161, 162
- Qa(a)ka(u)re-Ibi 398, 400, 402, 412, 415, 416, 418, 420, 422
- Qar 413
- Quack, Joachim F. 76, 441
- Quarries 28, 29, 227, 290, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302, 419, 423, 470
- Quarrying 25, 279, 280, 281, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299
- Quarrymen 298
- Queen (see also: Behenu; KHentkawes; Neith; Wedjebten) 11, 51, 82, 84, 157, 249, 281, 293, 386, 397, 399, 406, 413
- Pyramid/tomb complex of 11, 202, 209, 281, 293, 299, 300, 301, 331, 413
- Queen mother(s) 299, 301, 302, 399, 406, 426
- Rahotep 462
- Rainet 42, 43, 44, 46
- Ramesses II 149, 430
- Ramesses III 3

- Ramesside Period 42, 100, 123, 140, 141
 Ramp (see also: Giza) 231, 233, 238, 243, 288, 289, 290, 293, 296, 306
 Raneferef 245, 252, 292, 293
 papyri 228, 241, 245, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 270, 273, 283, 286, 287, 288, 292, 302, 303, 337, 339, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 360, 361, 362, 363
 pyramid complex 227, 228, 257, 303
 temple 227, 245, 254, 258, 262, 263, 284, 285, 287, 293, 302, 303, 337, 341, 344, 346, 351, 352, 354, 360, 361, 364
 apartments 245, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 284, 285, 286, 287, 306
 chambers 256, 260
 court 227, 228, 245, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 284, 285, 286, 287, 293, 305, 306
 Rank, of an official (see also: status) 42, 45, 261, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 270, 274, 283, 286, 287, 306, 405, 410, 417, 418, 421, 487
 Rashepses 359
 Ration 63, 258, 363
 Rawer 261, 265, 266, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 287, 295, 298, 302, 320
 Re/Ra (*R'w*)
 and king 379, 380, 382, 383, 386, 457, 458, 459, 461, 466
 cult 77, 156, 367, 368, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465
 fortress of 386
 in names 46, 121, 157, 245, 247
 Recitation, of texts/spells 200, 208, 209, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217
 Recontextualization 214, 217, 222
 Red Pyramid 123
 Red Sea (coast) 381, 433, 438, 454
 Redistribution 38, 46, 47, 48, 67, 68, 69, 70, 278, 303, 475
 Redjedef(*R'w-jdd=f*) 105, 119, 120, 122, 125, 129, 130, 136, 137, 139, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 153, 163, 164
 Reed 215, 271, 405, 441, 446
 Regeneration of the king (see also: *Heb-Sed; Sed*) 41, 368, 381, 383, 387, 464
 Region(s) (see also: provinces) 29, 37, 39, 46, 50, 65, 264, 381, 394, 404, 410, 433, 435, 437, 443, 445, 486
 Regional power (see also: bureaucracy; government; provincial) 12, 29, 37, 39, 46, 50, 56, 61, 65, 394, 408, 409, 420, 421, 422, 423, 435, 437, 443, 445
 Regional rulers 64, 267, 420, 422
 Regnal year (*rnp.t sp*) (see also: Calendar; Date formula; Year dating) 76, 90, 91, 94, 125, 126, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 143, 155, 338, 342, 343, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 360, 361, 362, 363, 400, 418, 476
 ante-dating 134, 135
 even year (*rnp.t sp*) 90, 91, 92, 93, 134
 odd year (*rnp.t m-h t sp*) 91, 92, 93, 123, 124, 134
 post-dating 135, 152
 Reign length (see also: census-cycle) 62, 76, 85, 108, 109, 113, 123, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 141, 142, 143, 153, 154, 162, 165, 348, 395, 400, 407, 416, 419
 Reisner, George 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 254, 272, 274, 275, 276, 281, 285, 292, 305, 315, 316, 318, 320, 321, 322, 324, 325, 326, 328, 329
 diary of 243, 275, 276, 324
 Rekhitre 300
 Relief decoration 39, 40, 45, 243, 245, 250, 266, 271, 272, 273, 276, 327, 370, 371, 374, 378, 382, 383, 403, 414, 437, 457, 463, 474, 475, 479, 480, 482, 490
 Religion, generally (see also: pagan) 8, 70, 71, 78, 79, 200, 464
 Religious practice, generally 5, 48, 49, 70, 72, 165, 204, 208, 218, 222, 380, 410, 456, 457, 460, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 478
 Religious texts, generally (see also: Book of Coffin Texts; Pyramid Texts) 69, 200, 202, 208, 221, 222
 Renfrew, Colin 4
 Renpetnefer 301

- Residents of towns (see also: MVT; priests settlements; Raneferef temple) 232, 258, 260, 261, 280, 285, 287, 288, 295, 304, 432
- Resources 18, 27, 47, 63, 64, 70, 410, 423, 433
- Retaining wall 233, 297
- Revenue 69, 477, 478, 484
- Revered by Chephren 163
- Revered by/with his Mistress 247, 249
- Revered with Ptah 248
- Reversionary (*p̄hr*) offerings 41, 47, 228, 241, 264, 301
- Revolution 61
- Rewoser (*R'w-wšr, R'w-wšr.w*) 156, 157
- Rhatoises ('Ρατοίσης) 88, 118, 120, 128, 129, 144, 147, 148, 162, 165
- Rhayosis ('Ραῦωσις) 89, 118, 120, 128, 144, 148, 165
- Richards, Janet 434, 435
- Rights (see: Usufruct)
- Ritual running ceremony 39, 370, 371, 372, 374, 375, 379, 386
- Ritual(s) (see also: Census; Followers of Horus; *Heb-Sed*; Maat; offering; opening of the mouth; *Sed*; Wag) 47, 200, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 340, 359, 375, 381, 385, 386, 474, 490
- objects 257, 413, 415, 472, 475, 479
- scripts/texts (see also: Pyramid Texts) 200, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222
- rnp.t sp* (see also: regnal year) 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 141, 400, 412, 418
- Roccati, Alessandro 444, 445
- Rock inscriptions 378, 384, 385, 403
- Rock-cut tomb 295, 296, 297, 320
LG 85 = G.8156 128
LG 87 = G.8152 163
- Roeder, Günther 31
- Roman Period 70, 81, 83, 93, 102
- Roof 236, 243, 256, 260, 261, 262, 285, 287, 303
- Rotation of service (see: Phyle, rotation/service)
- Roth, Ann Macy 265, 266, 267
- Roud 249
- Royal
acquaintance 44, 487
companion 264
court 138, 267, 268, 405, 406, 410, 438, 447, 465, 466, 473, 474, 480, 482
cult (see also: *Heb-Sed*; jubilee; *Sed*) 28, 34, 38, 45, 64, 132, 229, 230, 265, 306, 333, 367, 368, 372, 373, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 383, 385, 388, 392, 406, 412, 458, 465, 469, 473, 491
- decrees (see also: Coptos; MVT; Neferirkare; Pepi I; Pepi II; Teti) 93, 228, 230, 250, 347, 348, 396, 408, 413, 416, 419, 421, 424, 435, 481, 483, 489
- domain/endowment/foundation (see under second entry word)
- family 7, 10, 42, 137, 163, 202, 406, 408, 409, 412, 414, 416, 417, 418, 423, 437, 471
- house/estate/palace (see also: great house; royal residence) 27, 41, 47, 159, 239, 369, 407, 408, 410, 421, 424, 475, 478, 481, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489
- iconography 2, 423, 437
- ideology 81, 366, 387, 472
- memorial temples (see under Memorial)
- Monuments (generally) 2, 34, 63, 131, 159, 395, 415, 458, 459, 461, 490
- Mortuary complex (see also specific kings) 7, 9, 366, 381, 406
- names 100, 107, 119, 292, 300, 396, 397, 398, 400, 402, 404, 405, 411, 412, 413, 414, 422
- power (see also: administration; government; provinces) 6, 27, 44, 45, 47, 80, 238, 270, 339, 410, 457, 470, 471, 473, 474, 477, 478, 481, 482, 487, 488, 489
- statuary (see also: Menkaure statues) 2, 256, 273, 359, 367, 381, 460
- throne 376, 379
- tombs (see: Tombs, royal)
- Royal Canon of Turin (= P. Turin 1872) 95, 99, 100, 101, 105, 107, 108, 109, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 164, 338, 359, 363, 396, 400, 407, 411, 412, 415, 416, 418, 420, 421
- Royal Mother 301, 302, 303, 406, 414

- Royal Residence 24, 47, 92, 303, 485, 486
 Royal wife 245, 247, 299, 406
 Rudjdjedet 156
 Rudjisi 262
 Ruler (see: Pharaoh(s), general; see also:
 specific kings)
 Ryholt, Kim 399, 400
 Rzeuska, Teodozja 328, 330
- Saab el-Rigal 403
 Sacerdotal texts 210, 213, 214, 216, 217
 Sacred Book, The ('Η ἐρὰ βίβλος) 84, 88, 114
 Sage 85, 132
 Sahathor 156
 Sahidic dialect 111, 115
 Sahure (Śḥ-wj-R'w) 29, 33, 51, 138, 163, 164,
 292, 381, 386, 401, 462, 475
 Pyramid complex 50, 274, 375, 380, 381,
 382, 436
 Valley temple 25, 305
 Saite 157
 Sakhebu (Śḥbw) 156
 Saleh, Wahiba 320
 Sanctuary (see also: temple; MVT) 5, 31,
 205, 375, 386, 447
 Sand-dwellers 437
 Saophis (Σαῶφις) 89, 106, 114, 115, 117, 126,
 127, 128, 143, 165
 Saophis (II) (Σαῶφις) 89
 Saqqara 7, 45, 138, 220, 221, 265, 266, 270,
 277, 339, 378, 400, 402, 407, 412, 413,
 415, 421, 422, 436, 462
 Saqqara king-list 95, 98, 99, 100, 107, 123,
 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 164, 165
 Sarapis 80, 81
 SBC (see: Silo Building Complex)
 Schatzkammern 375
 Schneider, Thomas 18, 76
 Scorpion 215
 Screen wall 229, 233, 238, 292, 306
 Scribal error 95, 104, 106, 110, 111, 113, 115,
 118, 120, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129, 131,
 133, 144, 148, 150, 151, 152, 158, 165, 215,
 216, 402
 Scribal tradition 103, 472
 Scribe(s) 46, 98, 304, 412, 463, 475
 Scribe of the crews 287, 288
 Heliopolis 463
 phyle 230, 248, 250, 269, 463
 pyramid 302, 303
 sacred shrines 79
 treasury of the estate 24
 Script 5, 6, 95, 441, 442
 Scroll 155, 200, 209, 212, 214, 217, 347
 Seafaring 433, 436
 Seal(s), sealing(s) 45, 46, 254, 257, 258, 259,
 260, 262, 286, 290, 291, 292, 305, 363,
 399
 Seal impression 30, 139, 399, 432
 Sealers (*ḥtmw*) 286
 Sealing of rooms/objects 125, 214, 219, 259,
 260, 261, 262, 267, 287, 303, 304
 Seankhenptah 248, 249, 250, 269
 Season, of the year 338, 340, 344, 346, 348,
 358, 363, 383, 457
 Sebennytos (*Tb(w)-ntr*, Σεβέννυτος) (see also:
 Manetho) 78, 102
 Sebercheres (Σεβερχέρης) 88, 100, 121, 122,
 129, 144, 147, 148, 162, 165
 Sechem 136
 Second Dynasty 5, 27, 40, 41, 130, 134, 146,
 151, 160, 378, 401, 473, 475
 Second Intermediate Period 139, 140, 149,
 156, 157, 311
 Sed-Festival (see also: *Heb-Sed*; jubilee) 2,
 22, 24, 29, 37, 38, 39, 45, 50, 51, 52, 154,
 457, 458
 chapels 265, 269, 271, 281, 300, 373, 379,
 489
 Sedjes (Śds) 149
 Sehetepibre 155
 Seidel, Matthias 21, 51, 59
 Seidlmayer, Stephan 60, 61, 65, 68
 Seila 6
 Seirah 443
 Sekhemkare 163, 413
 Sekhemkhet (Śhm-h.t) 161, 162
 Sekhemra 262
 Sekhmet 51
Selection of Chronography ('Εκλογὴ
 Χρονογραφίας of George Syncellus) 86
 Seleucid 154
 Semitic 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 454

- Senbi 29
 Senedjemib Inti 219
 Seniwehem 327
 Senwosret I 446
 Senwosret II 131, 132, 133, 134, 279
 Senwosret III 432, 446
 Sephouris ($\Sigma\eta\varphiou\tau\varsigma$) 87
 Septuagint 80, 82, 198
 Sepulcher 204, 217
 Serdab 271, 272, 274, 295
 Serekh 291
 Serf 264, 286
 Serpent 215
 Servant (see also: *dt*) 71, 268, 306
 Servant of the seal 247, 248
 Service personnel (in a temple) (see also:
 phyle) 49, 63, 205, 206, 249, 254, 258,
 261, 265, 269, 270, 301, 302, 306
 Seshat 50, 154
 Seshemnefer II 316
 Sesochris ($\Sigma\acute{e}\sigma\omega\chi\rho\varsigma$) 160
 Sesorthos 87
 Sesostris ($\Sigma\acute{e}\sigma\omega\sigma\tau\varsigma$) 100, 160
 Sesostris I 100, 131, 132, 133, 134
 Sesostris III 446
 Sesostris-ankh 132
 Seth 463, 465
 Sethe, Kurt 337, 338, 476
 Sety I 98, 149, 160, 397, 398
 Seventh Dynasty 130, 134, 146, 394, 395,
 396, 414, 415, 417, 421, 422
 Shabaqa Stone 140
 Shadduf, Mohammed 319
 Shamshi-dutana 432
 Sharecropping 478
 Shareholders 227, 241, 245, 250
 Shartu 443
 Shaw, Ian 285
 Sheded-kakay 359
 Sheep 25, 443, 477
 Sheikh Said 18, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 52
 Shemay 400, 405, 408, 409, 411, 413, 417,
 418, 419, 420, 421, 422
 Shenay 207, 220, 221
 Shenufi ($\Upsilon\acute{e}\no\theta\phi\varsigma$, $\Upsilon\acute{e}\no\no\theta\phi\varsigma$) 112
 Shepses-akheti 301
 Shepseskaf ($\check{S}p\acute{s}\acute{s}-k\dot{\beta}=f$, $\check{S}p\acute{s}\acute{s}-k\dot{\beta}-R^w$) 5, 46,
 121, 128, 129, 130, 136, 137, 138, 141,
 142, 144, 145, 147, 148, 156, 163, 164, 165,
 302
 decree 228, 229, 279, 475, 476
 work in Menkaure complex 228, 229,
 233, 234, 236, 238, 241, 242, 271, 281,
 293, 306, 475
 Shepseskare 122, 138, 164, 292, 348
 Shepseskhet ($\check{S}p\acute{s}\acute{s}-h.t$) 164
 Ships 381, 433, 436, 438, 440, 447
 Shunet al-Zabib 473
 Sibilant 122, 446, 447
 Sidereal year 339, 340
 Silo Building Complex (SBC)
 (see under Giza)
 Silos (see also: granary) 227, 232, 240, 241,
 242, 244, 245, 252, 261, 277, 281, 283,
 290, 291, 478
 Silver 305, 440, 445
 Silverman, David P. 201
 Simpson 258
 Sinai 6, 342, 403, 431, 433
 Sinope 80
 Siptah 399
 Sirios ($\Sigma\acute{e}\rho\iota\o\varsigma$) 89, 108, 111, 116, 125, 144, 148,
 165
 Sirius 340, 477
 Sisires ($\Sigma\iota\sigma\iota\phi\varsigma$) 122
 Sixth Dynasty 4, 10, 11, 13, 23, 24, 31, 34, 49,
 63, 65, 71, 91, 93, 94, 124, 130, 131, 134,
 149, 151, 152, 155, 200, 204, 205, 207,
 209, 218, 220, 221, 227, 228, 229, 233,
 235, 238, 241, 243, 245, 246, 247, 265,
 276, 277, 304, 337, 341, 345, 347, 348,
 378, 393, 394, 395, 396, 399, 401, 405,
 406, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 415, 416,
 420, 421, 422, 424, 432, 434, 435, 436,
 438, 441, 446, 463, 464, 466, 471, 475,
 479, 480, 484, 486
 Skeletons 247, 324
 Skepticism 70, 71
 Slaves 488
 Sleeping chambers 254, 256
 sm-priest 266, 270, 272, 273, 274, 295, 302
 Small step pyramids 19, 37, 38

- Smendes (*Nj-św-b3-nj-Dd(w).t, Ἐσβενδῆτις*, Σμένδης) 157
- Smith, Mark 201
- Smith, William Stevenson 327
- Sneferu (*Śnfrw*) 5, 6, 26, 38, 39, 43, 85, 90, 93, 94, 95, 105, 110, 111, 112, 113, 119, 123, 124, 126, 132, 136, 137, 142, 143, 145, 146, 150, 153, 163, 379, 380, 431, 485
- decree 280
- estates/*hwty* 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38, 39
- mrt* temple 50, 51
- pyramid, pyramid town 52, 303, 164, 280, 413
- temple (for *Heb-Sed*) 22, 25, 27, 28, 39, 50
- Sobekhotep IV 156
- Social class/standing 8, 9, 10, 11, 72, 201, 202, 204, 205, 208, 209, 210, 270, 286
- Social unrest 61
- Sodalities 269
- Sokar 50, 385, 391
- Solar boat 125, 375, 376, 384, 385
- Solar cult (see also: kingship; Osiris; Re) 456, 459, 463, 464
- Solar temples (see: Sun Temple(s)) (see also: Abu Ghurab; Niuserre; Userkaf))
- Soldiers 258
- Sole companion (*śmr w'ty*) 230, 251, 261, 287
- Son
- divine 23, 52, 111, 116, 459
 - non-royal 69, 70, 132, 247, 249, 273, 304, 403, 422
 - royal 6, 89, 160, 230, 300, 303, 381, 399, 407, 409, 411, 412, 413, 418, 419, 421, 422, 423, 437
- Sophe (Σόφε) 114, 115
- Soris (Σώρις) 88, 110, 111, 144, 148, 162, 165
- Souphis (Σοῦφις) 88, 105, 113, 114, 115, 117, 126, 144, 148, 158, 162, 165
- Souphis (ΙΙ) (Σοῦφις) 88
- South Saqqara 265, 402, 412
- South Saqqara Stone 94, 339, 475, 479
- Sovereign (*jtjj*; see also: king; pharaoh) 159
- Sowada, Karen 432, 433, 438
- Soypis (Σώψις) 87
- Spalinger, Anthony 402, 438
- Spanios (Σπάνιος) 111
- Special purpose groups 264, 267, 269
- Spencer, Patricia 24, 25
- Sphere of influence 6, 44, 423, 477, 483
- Sphinx 295, 297, 298, 320, 321, 322
- Spouse 247, 406, 413
- Stadelmann, Rainer 38, 279, 280, 283, 304
- Stairs, steps 242, 243, 244, 245, 260, 261, 262, 266, 272, 286, 287, 290, 296, 370
- Standard Theory (for dating) 337, 339, 340, 341, 348, 349, 351, 352, 354, 355, 358, 359
- State
- administration (see also: administration, general; central; government) 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 44, 47, 49, 67, 410, 436, 470, 471, 477, 478, 482, 487, 488, 489, 490
 - development of 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 69, 81
 - power of 2, 6, 11, 18, 41, 45, 47, 67, 71, 340, 393, 394, 395, 410, 421, 424, 430, 433, 435, 445, 447, 470, 489, 490
- Statuary 50, 81, 260
- private 264, 271, 272, 273, 274, 407, 462
 - royal (see also: Menkaure) 2, 21, 23, 34, 35, 39, 149, 232, 238, 256, 274, 321, 325, 359, 367, 379, 381, 460
- Statuettes 257, 446, 447
- Status (see also: rank) 10, 11, 45, 49, 268, 283, 285, 286, 407, 408, 421, 436, 489
- Stave 272, 273
- Steindorff, Georg 328, 329
- Stela, stelae
- Private 5, 65, 250, 251, 252, 256, 271, 272, 273, 274, 327, 408, 446
 - royal 80, 81, 99, 159, 161, 163, 228, 229, 276, 292, 399
- Stephanus of Byzantium 78, 79, 97
- Steward of the great estate 44
- Stoichos (Στοῖχος) 89, 101, 104, 108, 109, 144, 148, 162
- Stone building(s) 5, 24, 30, 45, 87, 125, 214, 217, 219, 228, 229, 233, 247, 249, 252, 271, 281, 327, 369, 379, 418
- Stone cutting/working 28, 270, 296, 297, 298, 418
- Stone objects (see also: Palermo Stone; South Saqqara Stone) 6, 22, 200, 208, 209, 217, 229, 245, 249, 252, 271, 272, 285, 304, 376, 379, 434
- Stonemason 304

- Storage, storerooms 9, 25, 51, 52, 232, 240, 244, 249, 252, 259, 260, 262, 265, 277, 281, 290, 324, 375
- Strabo 81
- Street 294, 295, 296, 301, 316, 327
- Street of the Priests 296, 302
- Strudwick, Nigel 230, 480
- Sub-director of the *hm-ntr* priests 359
- Subsidiary pyramids (see: Pyramid G_{III})
- Substitutes (in service) 261, 278, 306
- Subterranean chamber (in tombs) 141, 204, 210, 214, 216, 217, 219, 222
- Suda (Σοῦδα) 77, 78, 79
- Sudan 429
- Sumur/Simyra 429, 442
- Sun disk 133, 137, 301, 383, 401, 404
- Sun god (see: Re/Ra),
- Sun Temple(s) (see also: Abu Ghurab; Niuserre; Userkaf) 7, 39, 51, 138, 303, 366, 367, 368, 371, 375, 376, 378, 380, 381, 382, 385, 386, 387, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 464
- Room of Seasons 383, 457
- Sun-priests 466
- Superstructure 129, 141, 142, 250, 299
- Symbol, symbolic 18, 24, 37, 38, 39, 41, 50, 52, 113, 218, 257, 267, 368, 370, 373, 376, 381, 383, 386, 458
- Symbolism in/symbolic architecture 10, 18, 19, 23, 52, 252, 254, 366, 368, 370, 380, 387, 458
- Syncellus 79, 80, 86, 87, 88, 108, 118, 395, 396
- Syrian 381
- Tablet 85, 140, 258, 432
- Tacitus 80
- Tallet, Pierre 433
- Tank 293, 301
- Tax 485, 486
- collection 374, 471, 473, 480, 481, 482, 489
- exemption 9, 63, 483, 485, 489
- Tax-cycles 93
- Taxation (system of) 8, 69, 92, 112, 470, 471, 472, 473, 475, 477, 478, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 487, 488, 489, 490
- Tehna 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52
- Temple (see also: cult; Dendara; divine; funerary; Hathor; Hwt; Khafre; Khufu; Menkaure; mortuary; MVT; priests; provincial; pyramid temple; Ramesses II; Sety I; Sneferu; sun temple; valley temple), building 10, 366
- courtyard 252, 283, 376, 379, 386
- functionary 261, 287
- libraries 145
- personnel 47, 163, 254, 258, 259, 290
- staff 254, 259, 261, 285, 483
- Tenants, land 283
- Tenth Dynasty 130, 132, 134, 135, 422
- Terminus technicus* 107, 133, 134, 144, 149
- Terrace (architectural) 280, 287, 303
- Terraced land 231, 279, 289, 296
- Testament of Nikaure 128
- Teti (*Tjt*; Ὄθόης) 10, 68, 69, 102, 131, 151, 152, 219, 220, 221, 222, 292, 341, 342, 343, 345, 347, 348, 349, 351, 356, 358, 359, 360, 363, 436
- decree (see also Abydos) 483, 484, 485
- obelisk 464
- pyramid, pyramid cemetery 265, 405, 416, 422
- Textual criticism (see also: *terminus technicus*) 107, 144, 162
- Thamphthis (*Pth-jdd=f*, *Ddj=fPth*, Θαμφθίς) 88, 122, 129, 138, 139, 141, 144, 148, 162
- Theban Table of Kings* 149
- Thebes (Boetia) 78, 84
- Thebes (Egypt) 45, 77, 204, 258, 393, 423
- Thera 102
- Thieves hole 274
- Thinite Period 155
- Third Dynasty 4, 29, 37, 45, 74, 76, 86, 88, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 114, 117, 121, 125, 126, 127, 130, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, 166, 184, 196, 379, 397, 411, 471, 472, 473, 479
- Third Intermediate Period 126, 152, 157
- Thirteenth Dynasty 139, 156, 285
- Thirty-first Dynasty 154
- Thompson, Elizabeth 42, 44
- Thoth 77, 78, 82, 154, 267, 268, 276

- Thrace 78, 79
 3D approaches 315, 331
- Threshold 231, 233, 236, 238, 244, 245, 249, 288, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297
- Throne 34, 139, 156, 338, 376, 379, 406, 407, 411, 412, 414, 415, 418, 421, 460
- Thynabounoun (*T3-hwt-(nj.t.)nb=j-wnn=f*, Θυναβουνούν) 120
- Timotheus of Athens 80
- Tin 440, 445
- Titles, of officials (see also: individual entries; administrator; official) 5, 45, 69, 260, 261, 264, 265, 269, 283, 286, 287, 289, 417, 446, 472, 487
- administrative 9, 24, 44, 45, 230, 248, 249, 250, 251, 261, 262, 263, 264, 269, 277, 286, 287, 291, 301, 303, 407, 409, 410, 417, 418
- growth/decrease in 6, 9, 62, 463
- hononific 49, 62, 266, 270, 273, 277, 408, 409, 410, 417, 418, 419
- religious 24, 31, 32, 40, 41, 44, 45, 79, 247, 248, 249, 250, 261, 266, 269, 270, 272, 274, 286, 287, 291, 300, 301, 302, 303, 359, 363, 368, 405
- royal 247, 299, 301, 302, 381, 407, 412, 423, 459
- Titulary 404, 408, 411, 419, 423
- Tjenti 304
- Tjetu 221
- Tjuloy 149
- Tokens 245, 252, 256, 257, 258, 267, 303
- Tomb
 building 5, 72, 269, 296, 478, 489
 chapel 29, 217, 265, 267, 268, 269, 300, 301, 304, 321, 326, 327, 331, 446
 private 5, 6, 8, 10, 26, 29, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 69, 72, 140, 149, 155, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 208, 210, 212, 219, 228, 245, 250, 251, 252, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 281, 289, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 316 320, 321, 323, 324, 325, 327, 328, 330, 331, 332, 364, 418, 419, 430, 434, 435, 436, 446, 460, 461, 462, 464, 473
 royal 5, 7, 11, 159, 160, 163, 200, 201, 202, 205, 208, 210, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217,
- 218, 219, 221, 247, 269, 279, 300, 302, 304, 331, 367, 378, 379, 380, 381, 462, 464, 465, 473
- shaft 247, 296, 304, 318, 321, 323, 324, 330, 331, 332
- Toponym 77, 78, 96, 97, 102, 103, 110, 111, 112, 119, 120, 157, 160, 441, 442, 443, 444, 446, 447
- Topos 81
- Tosorthros (Τόσορθρος) 87, 100, 101, 105, 107, 109, 144, 145, 148, 151, 152, 158, 162
- Tosertasis (Τοσέρτασις) 87, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 144, 148, 158, 162
- Town(s), generally (see also: individual sites; Khentkawes Town (KKT); pyramid town) 21, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37, 38, 43, 48, 117, 285, 483, 485, 486
- Toys 257
- Tradition
 Abydene 151, 153
 Heliopolitan 154, 166
 in Greek transmission of Egyptian kings (see also: orthography) 10, 85, 101, 104, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115, 120, 126, 138, 142, 158, 395, 414
- local, popular 121, 139, 141, 151, 153, 156, 162, 165, 380, 410, 415
- Memphite 123, 134, 135, 151, 152, 153, 154
- royal, political 6, 7, 23, 115, 130, 152, 155, 202, 379, 380, 394, 404, 409, 415, 420, 472
- Theban 135
- Transaction 304
- Transcription
 from Egyptian to Greek, Graecizing 95, 96, 97, 99, 102, 103, 104, 122, 139, 145, 152
 of particular Egyptian letters 33, 441, 444, 445, 446, 447, 460
 to monumental surface 208, 209, 215, 218
- Transfer, of goods 9, 23, 48, 52, 260
- Transition (of dynasties, periods) 7, 67, 131, 281, 341, 343, 348, 359, 393, 394, 412, 421
- Translation (of particular Egyptian words, phrases) 26, 30, 33, 34, 41, 44, 45, 47, 49,

- 113, 230, 264, 304, 410, 460, 476, 483,
485, 486
- Translation, of non-Egyptian texts 80, 82,
112, 145, 146, 160
- Transmission of texts 86, 87, 101, 123, 133,
158, 165, 208, 215, 216, 396, 415
- Travertine 270
- Treasurer (see also: sealer) 251
- Treasury 260, 470, 477, 487, 488, 489, 490
- Treatise 77, 78, 84, 114, 115, 159
- Trench (archaeological) 280, 291, 305
- Tribe, tribal 264, 269
- Tribute 381, 440
- Tripartite house 285
- Troy 160, 161, 423
- True Book of Sophe, the Egyptian, and of the Hebrews' Divine Lord of Powers Sabaoth. A Secret Book of Zosimus of Thebes* (Βίβλος ἀληθῆς Σόφε Αἰγυπτίου καὶ θείου Ἐβραίων κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων Σαβαώθ. Ζωσίμου Θεβαίου μυστικὴ βίβλος) 114
- Tucker, Aviezer 429, 434, 447, 455
- Tukurasu 446
- Tumulus 295
- Tunnel 295
- Turin king-list (see: Royal Canon of Turin
(= P. Turin 1872))
- Tutankhamun 397
- Tuthmosis III 115, 132, 133
- Twelfth Dynasty 130, 131, 133, 135, 139, 140,
154, 204, 257, 285, 446
- Twenty-tenth Dynasty 154
- Twenty-Fifth Dynasty 152
- Twenty-Second Dynasty 152
- Twenty-Seventh Dynasty 98
- Twenty-Sixth Dynasty 152, 409
- Two-chamber houses 286
- Two-dimensional 3, 370
- Ty 265, 266
- Tyreis (Τύρεις) 87, 101, 102, 103, 107, 109, 144,
145, 148, 151, 162
- Udjebten (see: Wedjebten)
- Ugarit, Ugaritic 443, 444
- Unas 3, 9, 10, 33, 219, 277, 287, 292, 293,
338, 341, 343, 345, 348, 350, 351, 353,
354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 362,
363, 436
- Pyramid Texts 132, 212, 213, 222
- Uncial (Greek) 95, 104, 106, 116, 118, 120, 125
- Under Supervisor of the *hm-ntr*-priests 262
- Unique One of the Greatest of the
Festival 273
- Unit
- agricultural 26
 - housing (see also: Giza) 241, 244, 246,
254, 256, 279, 280, 283, 284, 285
 - of a phyle 347
 - of bread 258, 303, 304
- Univerbation 133
- Upper Egypt/Egyptian 8, 9, 18, 21, 26, 27, 28,
38, 45, 48, 90, 91, 92, 115, 338, 340, 373,
387, 393, 396, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409,
410, 414, 417, 418, 419, 421, 422, 423,
424, 435, 471, 487
- Urk. (Urkunden)*
- Urk. I* 26, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 69, 91, 94,
138, 141, 163, 164, 207, 220, 221, 228,
229, 304, 307, 338, 403, 404, 475, 476,
480, 483, 484, 485, 486
 - Urk. II* 81
 - Urk. IV* 133
 - Urk. VII* 132
- Uronarti 257
- Userkaf (*Wśr-kȝ=f*, *Wśr-kȝ-Rˁw*)
- pyramid complex of 7
 - reign of 5, 10, 42, 43, 45, 46, 51, 137, 138,
156, 163, 164, 266, 280, 292, 476
 - sun temple of 7, 364, 381, 386, 457
- Userkare 220, 221
- Usufruct 249, 267, 269, 306
- Usurpation 10, 13, 418, 421
- Utopia 67
- Valerius Harpocratio 79
- Valley temples, general (see also: Khafre;
Khentkawes; Khufu; Menkaure; Niuserre;
Sahure) 380, 381
- Vase 22, 29, 245, 445
- Vault 247, 250, 254, 260
- Veneration 11, 113, 119, 139

- Verner, Miroslav 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 305, 351, 476
- Vessels 22, 29, 212, 238, 272, 328, 329, 376, 446
- Village 25, 26, 42, 112, 160, 227, 228, 229, 252, 259
- Visualization 316, 330, 331
- Vita Karoli Magni* 93
- Vizier 7, 10, 266, 401, 405, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 413, 417, 418, 419, 421, 435, 471, 487
- Vorlage* (of Manetho, Pseudo-Apollodorus/ Pseudo-Eratosthenes) 96, 99, 104, 116, 126, 127, 128, 131, 143, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 153, 156, 158, 159
- Vorlage A* 103, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151, 152, 153, 158, 159
- Vorlage B* 103, 145, 146, 147, 153, 154
- Votive 257
- Vowels 96, 97, 105, 111, 117, 121, 122, 447
revocalization 97
shwa-vowel 96, 99, 101, 103, 111, 115, 118, 122
vocalization 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 112, 118, 120, 121, 122, 157, 160, 443, 446
- Vymazalová, Hana 24, 261, 262, 263
- wab (*w'b*) priest 44, 47, 48, 49, 228, 262, 276, 283, 286, 301
- Wadi Cemetery 327, 328
- Wadi el-Jarf 433, 437
- Wadi Hammamat 418, 419, 422, 423
graffiti/inscriptions 121, 139, 140, 153, 166, 396, 402, 403, 420, 422, 423
- Wadi Maghara 6, 338
- Wadjkare 402, 420, 422, 423
- Wag Feast/Festival 267, 268, 276
- Wage 63, 478, 489
- Wall decoration,
inscriptions (see also Pyramid
Texts) 209, 210, 214, 215, 217, 219
scenes 26, 27, 28, 39, 380, 385, 458
- Wall of the Crow 285
- Wandering, of the Egyptian calendar 338
- Washing ritual 371, 372
- Waterway 290, 305, 485
- Wealth of people 8, 13, 60, 67, 68, 72, 435, 477, 478, 489
- of the state 9, 435, 470, 471, 475, 477, 478, 487, 488, 490
- Weaving 256
- Wedjebten 62, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251, 269, 413, 414
- enclosure 230, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 256, 259, 264, 274, 278
- pyramid 227, 228, 230, 245, 246, 247, 248, 254, 258, 264, 270, 273
- secondary enclosure 230, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 256, 259, 264
- Welfare 67, 71, 72
- Weni 10, 91, 92, 403, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438
- Wep-em-nefert 296, 304
- Weser 296
- Weserib (*Wśrjb*) 164
- Westcar Papyrus 113, 114, 121, 139, 140, 153, 156, 162, 166, 459
- Western Deffufa 446
- Western desert 384, 432
- Western Europe 93
- Western oasis 432
- White Walls of Memphis 18, 19, 30, 32
- Wife 10, 23, 51, 52, 245, 247, 267, 299, 301, 405, 406, 407, 412, 413, 414
- Wildung, Dietrich 431
- Willem, Harco 201, 202
- Witnesses 304
- Wood, objects of 6, 140, 209, 231, 241, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260, 262, 271, 295, 297, 304, 323, 324
- Wool 443
- Word stress (stress rules, Greek accents
irrelevant for Egyptian) 77, 96, 97, 99, 104
- Word-final (in language) 97, 100, 101, 103, 115, 119, 121, 123, 139
- Work crews/gangs 63, 125, 128, 264, 269
- Workforce, workers 25, 46, 49, 269, 270, 271, 286
- wsht* court 262, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376
- Yam 480, 481
- Yamḥad 441

- Year dating (see also: calendar; date (year) formula; Palermo Stone; regnal year) 92, 93, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 159, 400, 472, 473, 474
year after 62, 91, 94, 124, 125, 128, 132, 133, 141, 337, 339, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 348, 358, 359, 476
year of 90, 91, 94, 124, 127, 128, 129, 133, 337, 338, 340, 344, 345, 346, 351, 354, 358, 359, 363, 400, 402, 418, 476
Yuenre 300
- Zawiet el-Meitin 6
Zawyet el-Aryan 120, 129, 164
Zeppelin 333
Zig-zag entrances 283
Zosimus of Panopolis 114, 115

