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Ancient Egyptian Chronology

Edited by

Erik Hornung,
Rolf Krauss, and
David A. Warburton

Brill

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II. 4 CONTEMPORANEOUS EVIDENCE FOR THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF DYNs. 4 AND 5

Miroslav Verner

The crucial problem for reconstructing the relative chronology of Dyns. 4 and 5 is our ignorance of how the system of dating according to the “year/occasion of the (cattle) count” (*mpt zp*) was employed. Ever since Gardiner’s paper,¹ specialists have acknowledged that this census formed the basis for counting regnal years during the OK. The existence and use of the term *mpt m-ht zp* (“year after the count”) was taken as clear-cut evidence for a biennial census. However, the preponderance of *mpt zp* over *mpt m-ht zp* years among the burgeoning number of dates recovered in recent years from excavations, taken in conjunction with an entry on the Palermo Stone attesting the cattle count in two successive years of Snofru, indicates that the situation is much more complex. Nowadays, some Egyptologists maintain that the census was biennial during Snofru’s reign with the sole exception of the seventh and eighth counts which were conducted in successive years.² Others are of the opinion that a biennial system was not employed under Snofru,³ while yet others equivocate.⁴ For subsequent reigns, opinions fluctuate from the presumption of a biennial system⁵ to the assumption that on certain occasions an “odd” count could have been ignored.⁶ Finally, there is also the theory that annual cattle counts became more and more frequent during the OK until they became the rule by the end of Dyn. 6.⁷

Obviously the existence of the census per se is not at issue, but rather its regularity during the OK. However, a statistical review of documented

¹ Gardiner, “Years”, 11–28.

² E.g. R. Stadelmann, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Reiches”, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 229–239; Baud, “Ménès”, 121.

³ E.g. R. Krauss, “Pyramid”, 47–50.

⁴ E.g. Spalinger, “Texts”, 281.

⁵ E.g. Baud, “Ménès”, 122–123, 128–129.

⁶ Spalinger, “Texts”, 318.

⁷ Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 147.

dates, even if the list is incomplete and the attribution of some contested, allows some conclusions. For example, from the beginning of Dyn. 4 to the end of Dyn. 5, the years of the count and those following the count occurred in succession, and *mpt zp* years were consistently more frequently documented than *mpt m-ht zp* years. Moreover, no clear-cut tendency can be observed towards a marked decrease in the number of years following the count throughout the period.⁸ On the contrary, the evidence for *mpt zp* and *rnpt m-ht zp* from Snofru's reign at the beginning of Dyn. 4 to Djedkare's at the end of Dyn. 5 supports the opposite conclusion.

Could a cattle count take place in the year of a king's accession to the throne? Until quite recently, the opinion prevailed that the first cattle count of any given king's reign occurred during the first full year after his accession. But an entry among the annals inscribed on the stone recently discovered at South Saqqara casts doubt on this assumption, since the text explicitly mentions a (cattle) count of the year of the "Unification of the Two Lands" at the beginning of the reign of Merenre.⁹

The potential usefulness of the series, though incomplete, of *mpt zp* and *mpt m-ht zp* dates for Dyns. 4 and 5 is demonstrated by analysis of the data for both Snofru and Djedkare. Down to the present, the highest recorded number of *mpt zp* years for Snofru is 24; only half of them (viz., *mpt zp* 2, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23 and 24) are documented among the preserved dates. Can we assume that about the same proportion—i.e., ca. half of the evidence for the intervening *mpt m-ht zp* years—remains to date unattested? If so, the number (three) of such currently documented dates—*mpt m-ht zp* 10, 13 and 18—should be doubled. An estimate for the length of Snofru's reign based on these data would be $24 + 6 = 30$ years. Using other arguments, Krauss¹⁰ and, independently, Barta¹¹ arrived at nearly the same length for the king's reign.

Djedkare's highest documented census is the 21st (or possibly the 22nd). Thirteen other "occasions" are known: 1, 3, 4(?), 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18. In this series, seven (and possibly eight)

⁸ Contra Beckerath, *Chronologie*.

⁹ Baud & Dobrev, "Annales", 47.

¹⁰ R. Krauss, "The Length of Sneferu's reign and how long it took to build the Red Pyramid", *JEA* 82 (1996), 48.

¹¹ W. Barta, "Die Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie nach den Angaben des rekonstruierten Annalensteins", *ZAS* 108 (1981), 21.

mpt zp or about one-third of the total is still unattested. There are seven *mpt m-ht zp* dates preserved: 1, 3, 4, 7(?), 10, 14, and 17. Adding a third of this amount, or about two years, to the number of *mpt zp* (21 or 22?) and *mpt m-ht zp* (7) years actually attested yields 30 (or possibly 31) years for the reign. It must be emphasized, however, that for the present these calculations, since speculative, must be treated with reserve.

No matter how cautiously conclusions be drawn, the available data indicate that the dating system was irregular during Dyns. 4 and 5, and not principally biennial with few exceptions. In practice, annual cattle counts apparently prevailed. The theory that intervening years were omitted from the record under certain circumstances¹² is contradicted by the so-called masons' inscriptions which consistently refer only to *mpt zp* years. These short texts associated with the construction projects of the state are the most frequently preserved dated documents from Dyn. 4 and 5. Why should these inscriptions regularly omit every second year from the administrative record?

If an irregular dating system pertained during Dyns. 4 and 5, what economic and/or administrative necessity determined its irregularity? It is possible, for instance, that during the formative period of the bureaucracy the frequency of the census was linked to the financing of large projects—buildings, reclamation of land from the marshes, etc. Were consecutive census years occasioned by funding shortfalls? Were factors influencing the decision to organize the census annually or biennially always the same or did they differ?

A special problem is the discrepancy between the available contemporaneous evidence and the reign lengths recorded of Dyns. 4 and 5 rulers in the *TC*. By contrast to the Manethonian tradition, the *TC* was long considered by specialists to be the standard against which contemporaneous data should be measured. Reign lengths given in the papyrus were sometimes used as evidence for annual cattle counts and at other times, for a biennial census. The compiler was presumed to have omitted one or more signs from some figures and to have mistakenly duplicated entries. Obviously, comparison of data from the very damaged papyrus with contemporaneous evidence can hardly be expected to provide a definitive version of OK chronology. The names of only three Dyn. 4 and 5 kings survive in the papyrus out of a presumed 17; three more partially-preserved names can be reconstructed. The

¹² Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti"; see also Spalinger, "Texts", 318.

remaining eleven are lost. Furthermore, the sequences at the end of Dyn. 4 and in mid-Dyn. 5 are by no means certain. Nor does evidence from contemporaneous documents always inspire confidence. For example, there is only a single case where the precise date of a king's death and the accession of his successor are known, viz. for Sahure^c followed by Neferirkare^c. Regardless, the exact length of Sahure^c's tenure still cannot be established, since we do not know how regularly the census was taken during his reign.

Disappointing as this may be, analysis of contemporaneous dates, both *mpt zp* and *mpt m-ht zp*, offers some stimulating insights. Assuming that the census was irregular throughout Dyns. 4 and 5, the minimum length of a given king's reign should equal the total of the highest attested census year (*mpt zp*) and the number of attested intervening years (*mpt m-ht zp*). A comparison of the results of such calculations with the data recorded in the *TC* is represented in the table that follows:

	Contemporaneous Evidence	<i>TC</i>
Dyn. 4		
Snofru	27 + x years	24 years
Cheops (Khufu)	13 + x	23
Ra ^c djedef	11 (10?) + x	8
Khephren (Ra ^c kha ^c ef)	15 + x	?
Bicheris	not attested	?
Mycerinus (Menkaure ^c)	14 (?) + x	18
Shepseskaf	2 + x	4
Thamphthis	not attested	2
Dyn. 5		
Userkaf	4 + x	7
Sahure ^c	8 + x	12
Neferirkare ^c	5 + x	?
Shepseskare ^c	not attested	7
Ra ^c neferref	1 + x	1
Neuserre ^c	8(?) + x	11 + x
Menkauhor	not attested	8
Djedkare ^c	28 (29 ?) + x	28
Wenis	9 + x	30

As can be seen, the estimate for the length of Snofru's reign exceeds the figure provided by the papyrus; the same is probably true for the reigns of Ra^cdjedef and Djedkare^c. On the other hand, the entry in

the *TC* for Shepseskare^c, if correctly associated with that king, does not reflect the contemporaneous record, since virtually no clear-cut evidence for this mysterious ruler has yet surfaced.¹³ Such discrepancies call into question the credibility of the papyrus for Dyns. 4 and 5.¹⁴

List of Contemporaneously Documented Dates, Dyns. 4–5

SNOFRU

TC III.9: 24 years

Manetho: Sôris—29 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 35 years (?)

mpt zp

- 2 (*n*) *tnwt*; Cairo frg no. 4¹⁵
- 7 (*n*) *tnwt*; Palermo Stone, recto 6¹⁶
- 7, *3bd III*; Maidum pyramid¹⁷
- 8 (18 ?), *3bd III šmw, sw 2*; Maidum pyramid¹⁸
- 8 (*n*) *tnwt*; Palermo Stone, recto 7¹⁹
- 12, *3bd IV šmw, sw 1* (?); Maidum pyramid²⁰
- 13, . . . *prt* (?), *sw 10*; Maidum pyramid²¹
- 13 (16 ?), *3bd I šmw, sw . . .*; Maidum pyramid²²
- 13, . . . *šmw, sw . . .*; Maidum pyramid²³
- 13 (16 ?), . . . *šmw, sw . . .*; Maidum pyramid²⁴
- 13; Maidum pyramid²⁵

¹³ M. Verner, "Who was Shepseskare, and when did he reign?", in: M. Bárta, J. Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000* (Prague, 2000), 581–602.

¹⁴ Verner, "Remarks".

¹⁵ H. Gauthier, "Quatre nouveaux fragments de la pierre de Palerme", in: G. Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien III* (Cairo, 1915), 50–52.

¹⁶ Schäfer, "Annalen", 30.

¹⁷ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", 20, pl. 8, A.20.

¹⁸ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.27.

¹⁹ Schäfer, "Annalen", 31.

²⁰ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.33.

²¹ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.1.

²² Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.11.

²³ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.5.

²⁴ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.9.

²⁵ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.2.

- 13; Maidum pyramid²⁶
- 14 (17 ?), *3bd II šmw, sw . . .*; Maidum pyramid²⁷
- 14 (17 ?), . . . *prt*; Maidum pyramid²⁸
- 14 (17 ?), *3bd I + x*; Maidum pyramid²⁹
- 15, *3bd II prt, sw 14*; Dahshur, Red Pyramid³⁰
- 15 (?), *3bd III prt*; Maidum pyramid³¹
- 15, *3bd III šmw, sw 10 + x*; Maidum pyramid³²
- 15 (?), *3bd IV šmw (?), sw 10*; Maidum pyramid³³
- 15 (?), . . . *šmw (?), sw . . .*; Maidum pyramid³⁴
- 15; Dahshur, Red Pyramid³⁵
- 16, *3bd I 3ht, sw 13*; Dahshur, quarry mark³⁶
- 16, *3bd III 3ht*; Dahshur, Red Pyramid³⁷
- 16, *3bd IV 3ht, sw 14*; Maidum pyramid³⁸
- 16, *3bd II (?) šmw, sw 12*; Maidum pyramid³⁹
- 16 (?), *3bd . . . prt, sw 2*; Dahshur, Red Pyramid⁴⁰
- 16 (?), *3bd I prt*; Maidum pyramid⁴¹
- 16 (?), *3bd III prt*; Maidum pyramid⁴²
- 16; Maidum pyramid⁴³
- 17, *3bd II prt, sw 10 + x*; Maidum pyramid⁴⁴
- 17, *3bd I prt, sw 20*; Maidum pyramid⁴⁵

²⁶ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.31.

²⁷ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.23.

²⁸ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.24.

²⁹ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.26.

³⁰ R. Stadelmann (n. 2), 234–235, fig. 2.

³¹ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.4.

³² W. M. F. Petrie, E. J. H. Mackay & G. A. Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis III* (London, 1910), 9, pl. V, 6.

³³ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.6.

³⁴ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.9.

³⁵ Stadelmann (n. 2), 233–5, fig. 1.

³⁶ *LD II*, I g.

³⁷ Stadelmann (n. 2), 234–235, fig. 2.

³⁸ A. Rowe, *The Museum Journal* 22 (1931), 26, pl. 38, fig. 2.

³⁹ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.3.

⁴⁰ H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 389–390, fig. 5.

⁴¹ Rowe (n. 38), 26.

⁴² Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.22.

⁴³ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.7.

⁴⁴ Petrie et al. (n. 32), 9, pl. 5, 2 left.

⁴⁵ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 7, A.13.

- 17, *ʒbd I prt, sw 22*; Maidum pyramid⁴⁶
- 17, *ʒbd III prt, sw ʿrg*; Maidum pyramid⁴⁷
- 17, *ʒbd III prt, sw . . .*; Maidum pyramid⁴⁸
- 17, *ʒbd III ʒht, . . .*; Maidum pyramid⁴⁹
- 17, *. . . prt*; Maidum pyramid⁵⁰
- 17, (*ʒbd*) *I + x prt*; Maidum pyramid⁵¹
- 17, (*ʒbd*) *I + x*; Maidum pyramid⁵²
- 17, *ʒbd . . .*; Maidum pyramid⁵³
- 17; Maidum pyramid⁵⁴
- 18, *ʒbd I prt, sw 21*; Maidum pyramid⁵⁵
- 23, *ʒbd II šmw*; Maidum pyramid⁵⁶
- 24, *ʒbd II ʒht, . . . (?)*; Dahshur, Red Pyramid⁵⁷
- 24, *ʒbd . . . prt, . . .*; Dahshur, Red Pyramid⁵⁸

Damaged evidence of *mpt ʒp*

- 10 + x, *ʒbd IV šmw*; Maidum pyramid⁵⁹
- 10 + x; Maidum pyramid⁶⁰
- (1)6 (?), *ʒbd I + x, sw 12*; Maidum pyramid⁶¹
- (1)6 (?), *ʒbd I + x, šmw (?), sw 2*; Maidum pyramid⁶²
- (1)7 (?), *IV šmw, sw 21*; Maidum pyramid⁶³
- . . ., *ʒbd IV . . ., sw . . .*; Maidum pyramid⁶⁴

⁴⁶ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.14.

⁴⁷ Petrie et al. (n. 32), 9, pl. 5,4.

⁴⁸ Petrie et al. (n. 32), 9, pl. 5, 3.

⁴⁹ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.12.

⁵⁰ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.16.

⁵¹ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.17.

⁵² Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.18.

⁵³ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 8, A.21.

⁵⁴ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.19.

⁵⁵ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 8, A.29.

⁵⁶ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 9, A.42.

⁵⁷ Reconstruction of a mason’s mark in *LD Text I*, 206 by Stadelmann (n. 2), 234–236, fig. 3.

⁵⁸ Stadelmann (n. 2), 239–240, fig. 4.

⁵⁹ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 8, A.34.

⁶⁰ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 8, A.35.

⁶¹ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.8.

⁶² Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.10.

⁶³ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 7, A.15.

⁶⁴ Posener-Kriéger, “Graffiti”, pl. 9, A.36.

- . . . , *3bd III šmw, sw* . . . ; Maidum pyramid⁶⁵
- . . . , *3bd III šmw, . . . 10 + x*; Maidum pyramid⁶⁶

*mpt (m)- xt zp*⁶⁷

- 10, *3bd I + x*; Maidum pyramid⁶⁸
- 13, . . . ; Maidum pyramid⁶⁹
- 18, *3bd IV šmw, sw (?) 5*; Maidum pyramid⁷⁰

damaged evidence of *mpt (m)-ht zp*

- . . . ; Maidum pyramid⁷¹

attested *mpt zp*: 2; 7; 8; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 23; 24

attested *mpt (m)-ht zp*: 10; 13; 18

mpt zp: *mpt (m)-ht zp*—12: 3

CHEOPS (KHUFU)

TC III.10 (?): 23 years

Manetho: Súphis (I)—63 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 23 years

mpt zp

- 4 (?), *3bd . . .*; G 2130, Khentika⁷²
- 5, . . . *šmw (?)*, *sw 5*; G 1203⁷³
- 8, *3bd I prt, . . . (?)*; a loose (?) block found at the upper end of the causeway, near the entrance to the king's mortuary temple⁷⁴
- 8, *3bd III šmw, sw 20*; G 4000, Hemionu⁷⁵
- 10, *3bd IV prt, sw 23 (or 24)*; G 4000, Hemionu⁷⁶

⁶⁵ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 9, A.37.

⁶⁶ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 9, A.41.

⁶⁷ For the transcription of *m-ht* see Edel, *Grammatik*, 180.

⁶⁸ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.30.

⁶⁹ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.32.

⁷⁰ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 8, A.28.

⁷¹ Posener-Kriéger, "Graffiti", pl. 9, A.38.

⁷² Attributed to Khufu by Smith, "Evidence", 118 fig. 6; 127 no. 4; so also Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1987), 269.

⁷³ Attributed to Khufu by Smith, "Evidence", 118, fig. 6; 127 no. 2, and by G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), 76 n. 2 and 391/19/.

⁷⁴ Attributed to Khufu by Smith, "Evidence", 119 fig. 7; 126f. no. 1; originally, A. Rowe read this date "year 13", see Reisner (n. 73), 71.

⁷⁵ Attributed to Khufu by Junker, *Giza I*, 159, fig. 24/10/, 161.

⁷⁶ Junker, *Giza I*, 161, no. 12.

- 10, *3bd I šmw*, *sw 10 + x*; G 4000, Hemiunu⁷⁷
- 10, *3bd II šmw*, *sw 10 + x*; G 4000, Hemiunu⁷⁸
- 12, *3bd II šmw*; G 2120, Seshatsekhentiu⁷⁹
- 12, *3bd II . . .*; G 7130–40, Khufukhaf I⁸⁰

mpt (m-)ḥt zp

- 13⁸¹

attested *mpt zp*: 4, 5, 8, 10, 12

mpt (m-)ḥt zp: 13

mpt zp: mpt (m-)ḥt zp—5: 1

RA'DJEDEF

TC III.11 (?): 8 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 9 years

mpt zp

- 1, *3bd III prt*, . . .; pyramid of Ra'djedef⁸²
- 11 (or 10 ?), *3bd I pr(t)*, *sw 24* (?); boat pit, south side of Khepos's pyramid⁸³

attested *mpt zp*: 1, 11 (10 ?)

mpt (m-)ḥt zp: not attested

mpt zp: mpt (m-)ḥt zp: 2: 0 (?)

⁷⁷ Junker, *Giza I*, 158, 160; 159 fig. 24/1/.

⁷⁸ Junker, *Giza I*, 159 fig. 24/2/; 160.

⁷⁹ Attributed to Khufu by Smith, "Evidence", 118, fig. 6; 127 no. 3, and by Spalinger, "Texts", 285; according to N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), 117 no. 6, the reign of Khephren is also possible.

⁸⁰ Attributed to Khufu by Smith, "Evidence", 119, fig. 7; 127 no. 8, and by W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978), 9. This dating also accords with Stadelmann's theory that Khufukhaf I assumed the name Khephren after succeeding Ra'djedef, see *SAK* 11 (1985), 165–172.

⁸¹ K. P. Kuhlmann, in: *Tides of the Desert—Gezeiten der Wüste. Contributions to the Archaeology and Environmental History of Africa in Honour of Rudolph Kuper* (Köln: *Africa Praehistorica* 14, 2002), 125–138.

⁸² M. Vallogia, in: *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqara dédiés à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (Montpellier, 1997), 419.

⁸³ According to I. E. S. Edwards, in: *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in honour of A. F. Shore* (London, 1994), 101, 105 n. 20, Posener-Kriéger read "year 10" (i.e. "year of the 10th cattle count"); see also R. Krauss, *Orientalia* 66 (1997), 3 n. 16. Both readings are possible; however, the reading of the left column with the date is not doubt-free, and the right column of the graffito is almost illegible, see A. M. Abubakr & A. Y. Mustafa, *The Funerary Boat of Khufu*, in: *BABA* 12 (1971), 11, fig. 6 bottom left.

KHEPHREN (RA'KHAEF)

TC III.12: 20 + x years

Manetho: Suphis (II) 66 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 26 years*mpt zp*

- 1, *3bd IV 3ht, sw 5*; ostrakon from Helwan tomb 299 H 2⁸⁴
- 5, *3bd III prt, sw 22*; ostrakon from Helwan tomb 335 H 2⁸⁵
- 7, *3bd IV prt, sw 10*; G 7530–40, Meresankh III⁸⁶
- 7, *3bd IV prt, sw 20*; G 7530–40, Meresankh III⁸⁷
- 10, *3bd III šmw, sw 24*; ostrakon Leiden J 429⁸⁸
- 10 (?), *3bd III šmw, . . .*; G 7350, Hetepheres II (?⁸⁹)
- 12, *3bd II šmw, sw 10*; G 7650, Akhtihotep and his wife Meretites⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Z. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941–1945), Suppl. ASAE* no. 3 (Cairo, 1947), 106, pl. 42 a left; as Spalinger notes, “Texts”, 287, Khephren’s cartouche in the inscription clinches its assignment to his reign.

⁸⁵ Saad (n. 84), 107, pl. 43 at right; probably temp. of Khephren.

⁸⁶ Attributed to Khephren by D. Dunham & W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), 3 fig. 1; see also Smith, “Evidence”, 127 no. 9, 119 fig. 7.

⁸⁷ Attributed to Khephren by Dunham & Simpson (n. 86), 3 fig. 1; see also Smith, “Evidence”, 127 no. 9, 119 fig. 7. Anthropological examination of Meresankh III’s bones put her age at death at about fifty, see V. G. Callender, *Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (Melbourne, 1998), 172–173.

⁸⁸ According to H. Goedicke, *JEA* 54 (1968), 24, 28–29, pl. 5 no. 4, the ostrakon is of the same date as those of Helwan; thus *mpt zp* 10 probably refers to Khephren. Cf. also, *idem*, *Old Hieratic Palaeography* (Baltimore, 1988), pl. 16.

⁸⁹ According to Reisner (n. 73), 73 n. 2; see also Smith, “Evidence”, 119 fig. 7, 127 no. 9. The date was inscribed on the back of a block from G 7350, purportedly built for Hetepheres II. However, Smith identified the figures in the relief on the front as Hetepheres II (?) and Meresankh III (?), and he dated it to the time of Shepseskaf (*HESPOK*, 1946, 164–165, 302, pl. 45 a). The attribution of G 7350 to Hetepheres II is not based on textual evidence. P. Jánosi, *ZAS* 123 (1996), 56–57, has questioned Smith’s conclusions. He suggests that the relief might have originally shown an anonymous prince followed by his mother and his wife. No doubt the attribution of the date is fraught with difficulties, regardless of the fact that a high date and Shepseskaf’s reign are mutually exclusive, which leaves either Khephren or Menkaure’. Since Meresankh III was probably buried in the tomb intended originally for her mother at the beginning of Menkaure’s reign (see the dates *mpt zp* 1 and *mpt (m-)ht zp* 1 sub Menkaure’), it would be surprising to find her represented with her mother in a tomb built as late as Menkaure’s reign. When considering the data from G 7350 and G 7530–40 and with due circumspection in view of the complex stratigraphy and unclear chronology of cemetery G 7000, one is inclined to assign the date to Khephren.

⁹⁰ Attributed to Khephren by Smith, “Evidence”, 119 fig. 7, 127–128 no. 11 b; see also Reisner (n. 73), 73 n. 1. For doubts about the attribution to Khephren, and a still higher date of *mpt zp* 13 (see below) from the tomb of Akhtihotep, see P. Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie*. (Wien 2005), 71–73, 443.

- 12 *Tnwt* . . . ; LG 87, Nikaure⁹¹
- 13, *ꜥbd IV* . . . ; G 7650, Akhtihotep and his wife Meretites⁹²

mpt (m-)ḥt zp

- 4 *Tnwt, ꜥbd II šmw, sw 3*; ostracon from Helwan tomb 305 H 2⁹³
- 4 *Tnwt, ꜥbd II šmw, sw 4*; ostracon from Helwan tomb 305 H 2⁹⁴
- 5, *ꜥbd II šmw, sw 8*; ostracon from Helwan tomb 322 H 2⁹⁵
- 5, *ꜥbd III prt, sw 22*; ostracon from Helwan tomb 335 H 2⁹⁶

attested *mpt zp*: 1, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13

attested *mpt (m-)ḥt zp*: 4, 5

mpt zp: *mpt (m-)ḥt zp*—6: 2

BICHERIS

TC III.13 (?): . . . ? . . . years

Manetho: 22 years (Bicheris, preceded by Ratoises, was inserted by Manetho between Mycerinus and Shepseskaf.)

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 7 years

MYCERINUS (MENKAURE^c)

TC III.14 (?): 18 (28 ?) years

Manetho: Mencherés—63 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 28 years.

⁹¹ *Urk. I*, 16.14; see also H. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich* (Wien, 1970), 21–22. There is no unanimity on the dating of the will of Khephren's son Nikaure. For instance, Strudwick (n. 79; 107) concluded that Nikaure should have been born in Khephren's reign, "and thus would be no older than twenty-two at the end of his father's reign". Consequently, *mpt zp* 12 should then apply to Khephren's successor Menkaure^c. With reference to art historical criteria and the replacement of *Tnwt* by *ipt* in the date (the former being supposed by Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 22, to have disappeared by the beginning of Dyn. 5), Spalinger ("Texts", 294) opts for Menkaure^c, too. But Baud, *Ménès*, 128, argues that Khephren's name occurs in Nikaure's tomb with such an insistence that the date should refer to this king. Jánosi (n. 90), too, does not exclude the attribution of the date to Khephren, provided that Nikaure was born before his father ascended the throne. Taking all the arguments in account, including the possibility that Khephren might have become king later in his life, one is inclined to assign this date to him.

⁹² Attributed to Khephren by Smith, "Evidence", 119 fig. 7, 128 no. 11.

⁹³ Saad (n. 84), 106–107, pl. 42 b right. For the translation and interpretation, see H. G. Fischer, *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 187–190; Spalinger, "Texts", 287.

⁹⁴ Saad (n. 84), 106–107, pl. 42 b left. For translation and the reference of the ostracon, see Fischer (n. 93), 187–90; see also Spalinger, "Texts", 287.

⁹⁵ Saad (n. 84), 107, pl. 43 a right; see Spalinger, "Texts", 288.

⁹⁶ Saad (n. 84), 106–107, pl. 43 b right; see Spalinger, "Texts".

mpt zp

- 2, *3bd II prt, sw 22*; G VI S⁹⁷
- 2, *3bd IV šmw, sw 22*; G 7530–40, Meresankh III⁹⁸
- 11, *3bd . . ., sw 10 + x*; G VI S⁹⁹

The following dates from the Gebelein papyri can probably be attributed to Mycerinus:¹⁰⁰

mpt (m-)ht zp

- 2, *3bd . . . 3ht, sw 20*; Gebelein, frag. A¹⁰¹
- 3, *3bd III prt, sw 26*; Gebelein, frag. B¹⁰²
- 11, . . .; Gebelein, rouleau IV¹⁰³

attested *mpt zp*: 2, 11

attested *mpt (m-)ht zp*: 2(?), 3(?), 11(?)

mpt zp: *mpt (m-)ht zp*—2: 3(?)

SHEPSESKAF

TC III.15 (?): 4 years

Manetho: Sebercherés—7 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 5 years

⁹⁷ Junker, *Giza X*, 75, fig. 35.9, 78, no. 10. With regard to the occurrence of this date on some blocks at the site, Junker attributed the date to Menkaure^c because of the presence of his crew names.

⁹⁸ Dunham & Simpson, (n. 86), 3, fig. 1 e; see also Smith, "Evidence", 116 fig. 4, 126 no. 2. The date is inscribed to the north of the subsidiary niche, eastern façade, of the mastaba (from the date on the south side, only . . . *prt, sw 17* survived). Reisner attributed the date to Khephren, see Smith, "Evidence"; Spalinger, "Texts", 286, accepts this dating, though with some hesitation. However, Reisner's dating can be seriously questioned. If the tomb was built around the 7th census of Khephren, as indicated by two masons' inscriptions (Simpson & Dunham (n. 86), 3, Fig. 1 b, c), the lower date found on the mastaba's façade can hardly be earlier. But to which event did the date refer? The attribution of the date to Menkaure^c seems to be, therefore, more probable. For the complex, and the problem of its history, see Jánosi (n. 90), 500 and *idem*, *ZAS* 123 (1996), 46–62.

⁹⁹ Junker, *Giza X*, 75 fig. 35.10, 77 no. 9; because Menkaure^c's crew names were found on some blocks at the site, Junker attributed the date to his reign.

¹⁰⁰ P. Posener-Kriéger, *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 216 and *idem* in: *Fs Elmar Edel: 12. März 1979* (Bamberg, 1979), 318–331.

¹⁰¹ Posener-Kriéger (n. 100; 1979), 318–331.

¹⁰² Posener-Kriéger, *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 215–216.

¹⁰³ Posener-Kriéger, *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 215–216.

mpt zm³ twy

- Palermo Stone¹⁰⁴
- *3bd II šmw, sw 10*;¹⁰⁵
- *3bd II šmw, sw 10*; G 5552¹⁰⁶
- *3bd III šmw, sw . . .*; G 7450¹⁰⁷
- *3bd IV šmw, sw 4*; G 7450¹⁰⁸

mpt zp

- 1, *3bd 1 šmw, sw 21* (G 753040, Meresankh III)¹⁰⁹

mpt (m-)ḥt zp

- *tpy, 3bd II prt, sw 28*¹¹⁰
- 1 (n) *ipt (!) ih twt nbt*, edict of Shepseskaf for the pyramid of Mycerinus¹¹¹

attested *mpt zp*: 1

attested *mpt (m-)ḥt zp*: 1

mpt zp: mpt (m-)ḥt zp—1: 1

THAMPHTHIS

TC III, 16 (?): 2 years

Manetho: Thamphthis—9 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 2 years

USERKAF

TC III.17: 7 years

Manetho: Usercherés—7 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 159: 8 years

¹⁰⁴ Schäfer, "Annalen", 32–33.

¹⁰⁵ Attributed to Shepseskaf by Helck, in: *Fs Goedicke*, 107.

¹⁰⁶ Attributed to Shepseskaf by Helck (n. 105), 107–108.

¹⁰⁷ Attributed to Shepseskaf by Helck (n. 105), 107–108.

¹⁰⁸ The date to the right of the entrance to Meresankh III's chapel refers to the preparation of the queen's burial. Reisner attributed it to Shepseskaf, see Smith, "Evidence", 126, fig. 4, 118; Jánosi (n. 90), 501 concurs. But Dunham & Simpson (n. 86), 8, pl. 2 a, fig. 2, and also Spalinger, "Texts", 288–289, assign it to Menkaure^c.

¹⁰⁹ The date, inscribed on the left side of the entrance to Meresankh III's chapel and referring to the completion of the queen's burial, was attributed by Reisner to Shepseskaf, see Smith, "Evidence", 126, fig. 4 on p. 118. Jánosi (n. 90), 501, attributes the date to Shepseskaf, too. On the other hand, Dunham & Simpson (n. 86), 8, pl. 2 a, and also Spalinger, "Texts", 289, attribute the date to Menkaure^c.

¹¹⁰ G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The temples of the third Dynasty at Giza* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 278 no. 1; see also H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden: *ÄA* 4, 1967), 16–17, fig. 1 and P. Jánosi, *GM* 141 (1994), 49–54.

¹¹¹ Schäfer, "Annalen", 34.

mpt zp

- 3; Palermo Stone, verso 2¹¹²
- 3, *3bd III prt, sw . . .*; sun temple of Userkaf¹¹³

mpt (m)-xt zp

- 1 (*n*) *tnwt*; Cairo frag. no. 1 recto 2¹¹⁴

attested *mpt zp*: 3

attested *mpt (m)-xt zp*: 1

mpt zp: *mpt (m)-xt zp*, 1: 1

SAHURE^c

TC III 18 (?): 12 years

Manetho: Séphrés—13 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 13 years

mpt zp

- 1; Cairo Frg. no. 1 verso 2¹¹⁵
- 2, *3bd I smw, sw 20*; mason's inscription, mortuary temple of Sahure¹¹⁶
- 4, *3bd IV 3ht, sw 12*; masons' inscription, mortuary temple of Sahure¹¹⁷
- 5, *3bd I 3ht*; sun temple of Userkaf, tablet A¹¹⁸
- 5, *3bd III prt*; sun temple of Userkaf, tablet B¹¹⁹
- 5, *3bd III smw*; sun temple of Userkaf, tablet C¹²⁰

mpt (m)-xt zp

- 2 (Palermo Stone, verso 3)¹²¹
- 5, *3bd II prt*; sun temple of Userkaf, tablet D¹²²
- 6; Palermo Stone, verso 4¹²³

¹¹² Schäfer, "Annalen", 34.

¹¹³ Haeny, in: *BABA* 8 (1969), 41–42 no. 6.

¹¹⁴ Gauthier (n. 15), 45–46, pl. 26.

¹¹⁵ Gauthier (n. 15), 47.

¹¹⁶ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure I*, (Leipzig, 1910), 88, M 26.

¹¹⁷ Borchardt (n. 116), 89, M 29.

¹¹⁸ Probably to be attributed to Sahure^c, see Verner, "Remarks", 386–390.

¹¹⁹ Probably to be attributed to Sahure^c, see Verner, "Remarks", 386–390.

¹²⁰ Probably to be attributed to Sahure^c, "Remarks", 386–390.

¹²¹ Schäfer, "Annalen", 36–37.

¹²² Probably to be attributed to Sahure^c, see Verner, "Remarks", 386–390.

¹²³ Schäfer, "Annalen", 38–39. To date, this is the highest contemporaneous date attested for Sahure^c's reign. A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1982), 48, for instance, read the worn signs as 7 and, provided the census was biennial, evidence for year 15 of Sahure^c's reign. However, as pointed out by Wilkinson (*Annals*, 168), 6 is a more likely reading than 7; in case of a biennial census, it would refer to year 13.

attested *mpt zp*: 1, 2, 4, 5
 attested *mpt (m)-xt zp*: 2, 5, 6
mpt zp: mpt (m)-xt zp, 4: 3

NEFERIRKARE^c

TC III.19 (?): length of reign lost
 Manetho: Nefercherés—20 years
 Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 20 years

mpt zmʿ kwy; Palermo Stone verso 4¹²⁴

mpt zp

- 5; Palermo Stone verso 5¹²⁵
- 5, *ʒbd IV ʒht, sw 4*; mason's inscription, pyramid of Khentkaus II¹²⁶
- 5, *ʒbd IV*; mason's inscription, pyramid of Neferirkare^{c127}

attested *mpt zp*: 5
mpt m-ht zp: not attested
mpt zp: mpt m-ht zp—1: 0

SHEPSEKARE^c

TC III.20 (?): 7 years
 Manetho: Sisirés—7 years
 Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 7 years

RA'NEFEREF

TC III.21 (?): 1 year
 Manetho: Cherés—20 years
 Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 11 years

mpt zp

- *tpy, ʒbd IV ʒht sw 4 + x*; pyramid of Ra'neferef^{c128}

attested *mpt zp*: 1
mpt (m-)ht zp: not attested
mpt zp: mpt (m-)ht zp—1: 0

¹²⁴ Schäfer, "Annalen", 39.

¹²⁵ Schäfer, "Annalen", 40.

¹²⁶ Probably to be attributed to Neferirkare^c, see Verner, *ŽAS* 107 (1980), 159, fig. 3; *idem The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus* (Prague, 1995), 43–45.

¹²⁷ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-keʿ-re*^c (Leipzig, 1909), 46 and n. 6.

¹²⁸ Corrected copy: Verner, *ŽAS* 126 (1999), 76, fig. 6.

NEUSERRE^c

TC III.22 (?): 11 (+ x years ?)

Manetho: Rathurés—44 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 31 years; cf. *ibidem* 208, where the figure 30—or 20 ? + 1 or 5 ?—is given

mpt zm3 (t3wy)

• unpublished potsherd no. 763/I/84-x, mortuary temple of Ra'neferref

mpt zp

• 1, *3bd I 3ht, sw 10 + x*; unpublished potsherd no. 531/I/82, mortuary temple of Ra'neferref

• 1, *3bd tpy 3ht, . . .*; unpublished potsherd no. 763/I/84-e, mortuary temple of Ra'neferref

• 2, *3bd III šmw, sw 10*; a potsherd found by Borchardt¹²⁹ in (or to the west of ?) the mastaba of Djadjamankh in Abusir

• 5 (?), *3bd III prt, (sw) wpw*; masons' inscription, mastaba of Ptahshepses¹³⁰

• 7, *3bd III 3ht, sw 1 (or 7 ?)*; jar for beef fat no. 531/I/82, mortuary temple of Ra'neferref

mpt (m-)ht zp

• 2, *3bd 3 3ht, sw 24*; masonry block, found in the southern "Eckbau" of the mortuary temple of Neuserre^{c131}

attested *mpt zp*: 1, 2, 5(?), 7

attested *mpt (m-)ht zp*: 2

mpt zp: *mpt (m-)ht zp*—4(?): 1

MENKAUHOR

TC III.23: 8 years

Manetho: Mencherés—9 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 9 years

DJEDKARE^c

TC III.24: 28 years

Manetho: Tancherés—44 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 38 years

¹²⁹ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-r^c* (Leipzig, 1907), 139.

¹³⁰ To be attributed to Neuserre: M. Verner, *Baugraffiti der Ptahshepses Mastaba* (Prague, 1992), 110, graffito no. 194.

¹³¹ Borchardt (n. 129), 145.

mpt zmš Bwy

- *šbd III prt, sw 29*; tomb of Wepemneferet¹³²

mpt zp

- 1, *šbd II šht, . . .*; unpub. pap., (mortuary temple) archive of Ra'neferet, pl. 51 A
- *mpt tpy (sic), . . .*; unpub. pap., archive of Ra'neferet, pl. 76 A
- 3, *šbd IV šht, sw 25*; papyrus archive, temple of Neferirkare¹³³
- 5, *šbd IV šht, . . .* unpub. pap., archive of Ra'neferet, pl. 76 C
- 6, *šbd IV prt, sw 22*; wooden box for linen found in the tomb of Nefer and Kahay¹³⁴
- 8, *šbd IV šmw*; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare¹³⁵
- 9; rock stela, Sinai¹³⁶
- 10, *šbd IV . . ., sw 24*; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare¹³⁷
- 11, *šbd II šht, sw 11*; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare¹³⁸
- 14, *šbd tpy šmw (šbd II šmw)*; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare¹³⁹

¹³² The date, mentioned in Wepemneferet's will on a wall of his tomb (S. Hassan, *Giza II*, Cairo, 1936, fig. 219), was attributed by Spalinger ("Texts", 302, with a reference to K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, Chicago, 1960, 66) to Wenis. However, the persons mentioned in the tomb include a craftsman named Ra'neferet-ankh. If born in the reign of Ra'neferet, which seems probable, he could have been about 30 to 40 years old at the beginning of Djedkare's reign. If this date be ascribed to Wenis, he would have been very old at the time of that king's accession. The date should, therefore, refer to Djedkare rather than Wenis.

¹³³ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 13, 13 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, 480.

¹³⁴ H. Altenmüller & A. Moussa, *The Tomb of Nefer and Kahay* (Mainz: AV 5, 1971), 18, 43–44, fig. 11. The excavators assigned the date to Djedkare. However, Spalinger, "Texts", 302 suggested either Ra'neferet or Neuserre. Surely Ra'neferet can be excluded (see above sub Ra'neferet). The tomb seems to have been built in the time of Neuserre, as the excavators surmised; see also, e.g., N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées de l'ancien Égypte* (Bruxelles, 1989), 135. However, as pointed out by Altenmüller & Moussa, the burial in shaft no. 8, where the box with the date was found, was the last one made in the tomb and should be contemporary with Nefer's children. The dating of the inscription to the time of Djedkare is, therefore, very plausible.

¹³⁵ Posener-Kriéger, de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 69, 69 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, 490.

¹³⁶ A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet & J. Cerný, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I* (London, 1952), pl. VIII, no. 14; II, 61.

¹³⁷ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 72, 72 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, 490.

¹³⁸ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 53, 53 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, 490.

¹³⁹ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 2, 2 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, 490.

- 15, *3bd IV prt*, (*sw*) *wpw*; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare^{c140}
- 15, *3bd IV 3ht*, *sw* 27; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 20 B
- 15, *3bd IV 3ht*, *sw* 28; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref^{c141}
- 15, *3bd I*, . . .; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 21 L
- 15 (*n*) *T(nwt)*; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 3 A
- 16; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare^{c142}
- [1]6, *3bd IV smw*, *sw* 28^{c143}
- 17, *3bd III*; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 8 D
- 18, *3bd III smw*, *sw* 'rq; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 45
- 18, *3bd IV smw*, *sw* 'rq; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 63 A
- 21 (22 ?), *3bd IV 3ht*, *sw* 12; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare^{c144}

damaged evidence of *mpt zp*

- 2 + x, *3bd I* . . ., *sw* . . .; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 76 B
- 10 + x; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 85 C
- 11 + x *Tnw(t) ih* ('wt nb); unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 1 A.

mpt (m-)ht zp

- 1, *3bd IV 3ht*, *sw* 'rq; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 77 A
- 1, *3bd IV smw*, *sw* 1; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 77 B
- *tpy*; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 82 0
- 3; rock stela, Sinai.^{c145}
- 4, *3bd III smw*, *sw* 15; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 76 C.
- 4, *3bd III smw*; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 69 A
- 7 (?), *3bd I 3ht*; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 76 D
- 10, *3bd IV smw*, *sw* 21; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare^{c146}

¹⁴⁰ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 47, 47 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 490.

¹⁴¹ Posener-Kriéger, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar* II (Cairo, 1985), 195–210.

¹⁴² Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 1, 1 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 490.

¹⁴³ *Urk* I, 63.11; W. S. Smith, "Evidence", 113 n. 2; see also E. Eichler, *SAK* 18 (1991), 146–147 (letter of Izezi to Senedjemib).

¹⁴⁴ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 41, 41 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 490. Posener-Kriéger transcribed the numeral following *mpt zp* as 21. There is, however, the trace of another vertical stroke which allows the reconstruction '22'.

¹⁴⁵ Gardiner et al. (n. 136), I, pl. VII, no. 13; II, 60.

¹⁴⁶ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 14, 14 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 490.

- *mpt zp (m)-xt zp* (sic) 14, *3bd I 3ht*, *sw* 28; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 66 B
- 14, *3bd . . . 3ht*; unsp. pap., archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 76 J
- 17, *3bd I šmw* (?), *sw* 23; sarcophagus of Idu, Abusir¹⁴⁷

damaged evidence of *mpt (m)-xt zp*

- 4 + x, *3bd I 3ht*; unsp. pap., mortuary temple archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 77 I
- 10 + x, . . .; unsp. pap., mortuary temple archive of Ra'neferref, pl. 76 E

documents dating from the time of either Djedkare' or Wenis:

- *mpt zp* 4, *3bd IV prt*, *sw* 2; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare^{c148}
- *mpt zp* 4, *3bd I šmw*, *sw* 'rq; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare^{c149}
- *mpt zp* 11, *3bd III prt*, *sw* 3 (?); mason's inscription, tomb of Rawer II¹⁵⁰

attested *mpt zp*: 1, 3, 4(?), 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21 (22?)

attested *mpt (m)-xt zp*: 1, 3, 4, 7 (?), 10, 14, 17

mpt zp: *mpt (m)-xt zp*, 15(?): 7(?)

WENIS

TC III.25: 30 years

Manetho: Onnos—33 years

Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155: 20 years

¹⁴⁷ M. Verner, *SAK* 8 (1980), 258–260, pl. 16. A new examination of the badly damaged inscription showed that the date should be read *mpt (m)-ht zp* 17 rather than *mpt zp* 14, as suggested shortly after the discovery of the tomb.

¹⁴⁸ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 11, 11 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 491, was hesitant about the attribution of this date to either Djedkare' or Wenis.

¹⁴⁹ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 11, 11 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 491 was hesitant about the attribution of this date to either Djedkare' or Wenis.

¹⁵⁰ Junker, *Giza* III, 223–235; *idem* *Giza* VIII, 39f. Though a sealing bearing the name of Djedkare' was found in the tomb, the attribution of the date to him is somewhat uncertain. Nevertheless Baer (n. 132), 98, assigned the tomb to the end of Dyn. 5, while Harpur (n. 72), 213, dates it mid-Djedkare' to Wenis.

mpt zp

- 3, *3bd IV 3ht, sw 11*; mason's inscription, anonymous mastaba "L", Abusir¹⁵¹
- 6, *3bd II šmw, sw 28*
- 8, *3bd IV šmw*; papyrus archive, mortuary temple of Neferirkare¹⁵²

mpt (m)-xt zp

- 4, *3bd I prt*¹⁵³

Concerning several dates whose attribution is uncertain (Djedkare^c or Wenis), see above under Djedkare^c.

attested *mpt zp*: 3, 6, 8

attested *mpt (m)-xt zp*: 4

mpt zp: *mpt (m)-xt zp*, 3: 1

Postscript.—Unfortunately, the edition of this volume has been delayed by four years. In the meantime, there has appeared some new information relating to the subject of my article to which I could not respond. For instance, a work by J. Š. Nolan (*The Original Lunar Calendar and Cattle Counts in Old Kingdom Egypt in: AH 17, 2003, 75–97*) offering the explanation of the imbalance between the “years of an occasion” and “years after an occasion” in the contemporaneous Old Kingdom documents. Moreover, some new conclusions concerning the dated documents of the late Fifth Dynasty eventuated as a result of an examination of the papyri from Raneferef's mortuary temple archive (see P. Posener-Kriéger, M. Verner, H. Vymazalová, *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The Papyrus Archive*, in press). It is thus a matter of some regret that this article could not be as comprehensive as I would have liked.

¹⁵¹ M. Verner & V. Callender, *Djedkare's Family Cemetery* (Prague, 2002), 103.

¹⁵² Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 54 c, 54 A c; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, 491.

¹⁵³ Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 50, 50 A; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives II*, 491.