

lieferung und fragmentarischen Erhaltung des hier vorgelegten Stückes möchte ich es mit dem Formulieren dieser Fragestellung bewenden lassen⁵⁹.

SUMMARY

Publication of the pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II. By combining palaeographical and prosopographical evidence, the text can be dated to the late 4th century B. C. Its owner(s) can, in all probability, be identified with those of the pBM 10288. The text contains a number of religious compositions perhaps belonging to one single

ritual. The best-preserved section contains an offering litany addressed to the chthonic gods, especially to different local forms of Osiris. Another part shows a royal declaration cast in the form of an ideal biography. Though used as funerary spells within the papyrus, the texts probably go back to a temple ritual. Some general observations on the genre of offering litanies and the tradition of royal eulogies within the framework of offerings are added, especially concerning an interesting parallel in Diodor I, 70.

KIM RYHOLT

The Late Old Kingdom in the Turin King-list and the Identity of Nitocris

0. Introduction

The present paper presents some of the results emerging from personal examinations of the Turin King-list in 1994 and 1995¹. Although the text itself was scrutinized, the examinations mainly concentrated on the fibres of the papyrus, which were studied with the aid of a light-table. During the work it soon became clear that numerous fragments were misplaced. It did, in fact, turn out that contrary to general belief there was not one column in the entire document that could not be improved somehow, either through the arrangement of the fragments or improvements, however slight, in the transcription.

The first examination was made in connection with the preparation of my study of the political situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period and was therefore mainly concerned with this period². During the second examination more attention was devoted to the rest of the papyrus. One of

the more important results was the fact that a hitherto unrecognized column, consisting of fragments that are currently misplaced, belongs between the present Column I and II. Accordingly, all the columns subsequent to the present Column I in Farina's and Gardiner's editions³ should be numbered one higher. I hope to publish a complete re-edition of the papyrus at a later date, incorporating the numerous fragments not included in the present mounting, some of which are wholly unpublished. The present study presents the results concerning the Late Old Kingdom section of the papyrus, where several fragments could be rearranged⁴.

1. The Reconstruction of the Late Old Kingdom Section in the Turin King-list

1.1. The Physical Arrangement of the Fragments

Based on the examination of the fibres, the following reconstruction of the Late Old Kingdom section in the Turin King-list, column 5, could be pro-

⁵⁹ Vgl. hierzu auch A. Gnirs, *Die ägyptische Autobiographie*, in: A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (PÄ 10; Leiden/New York/Köln 1996), S. 207–209.

¹ I am greatly indebted to Dr. A. M. Donadoni Roveri for permitting me to study the Turin King-list and for providing the necessary facilities. I would further like to thank J. P. Allen for correcting my English and for the comments included in the appendix.

² K. S. B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period* (CNI Publications, 20; Copenhagen, 1997).

³ G. Farina, *Il papiro dei re restaurato* (Rome, 1938); A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959).

⁴ A critical source evaluation of the Turin King-list and a rearrangement of the section containing the Second Intermediate Period may be found in Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, pp. 9–33, 69–75, 94–97, 118–119, 151–159, 163–165.

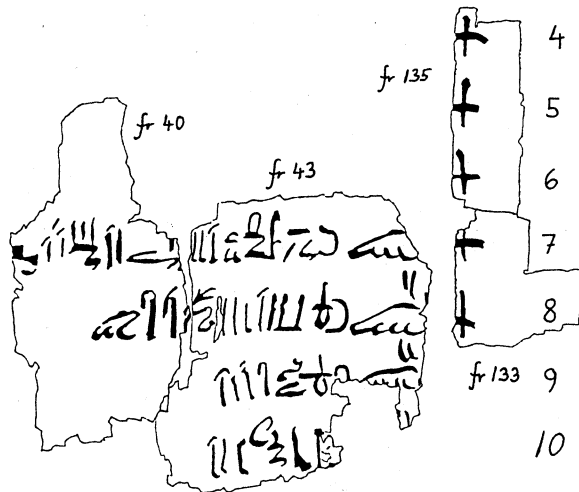




Fig. 1. Facsimile of the new joins in Turin King-list column 5. (Figure based on C. R. Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1842, pls. IV, VI)

duced⁵. Figure 1 contains a facsimile of the new joins, which is based on Lepsius's edition⁶. It may be noted that while this edition shows the papyrus in a somewhat better state than its present one, the facsimile is not always entirely accurate. Besides some inaccuracies in the rendering of certain signs that are insignificant for our purpose, it may be noted concerning column 5 that

- the signs  at the end of line 7 are inaccurately rendered,
- the head and wings of the bee in line 8 are omitted,
- the ligature  at the end of line 8 is inaccurately rendered,
- the traces shown in line 9, on fragment 40, are non-existent,
- the trace of *ir* towards the end of line 14 is omitted.

Lepsius's facsimile has been altered in figure 1 to accommodate the necessary corrections in lines 8 and

9. Figure 2, which is based on Gardiner's edition, shows the arrangement of the entire column with the text in hieroglyphic transcription.

The arrangement of the fragments is based exclusively on actual fibre correspondences and it may thus be regarded as definite except on two points. (1) The exact width of the column cannot be determined since there is a gap between the fragments on the right half (nos. 36, 40, 43, 46–48, 133, 135) and those on the left (nos. 59, 61, 63), and hence it is not possible to establish a vertical fibre correspondence. The approximate width can, however, be estimated on the basis of the suggested reconstruction of lines 14–17. (2) It cannot be excluded that further fragments other than those here included might be identified as belonging to this column.

In comparison to Gardiner's edition, the following improvements have been made:

Fr. 43 should be moved up one line. This rearrangement was already suggested more than 30 years ago by v. Beckerath⁷. The basis of his rearrangement was not an actual consultation of the fibres, however, but the assumption that Nitocris would be listed second after Pepi II in accordance with Africanus's version of the Manethonian Epitome.

Fr. 40, which Gardiner placed under 'principal unplaced fragments', can be joined on the right of fr. 43. The fragment is roughly broken along the edges of one of the patches with which the papyrus was repaired in ancient times⁸. Because of the thickness of the patch, the fibres are more difficult to check than is usually the case. They do, however, strongly seem to correspond with fr. 43, and the arrangement is verified by the facts that one sign (*hrd*) is physically divided between the two fragments, that a patch must have occurred in this place, and that the formula *ir.n=f m nswyt ...* is expected in col. 5/7⁹. The arrangement refutes the suggestion by

⁵ Photographs of the Late Old Kingdom section in the Turin King-list can be found in L. Borchardt, *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des Alten Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte* (Kairo, 1917), pp. 42–45, pls. 4–6; Farina, *Il papiro dei re*, pl. IV; and E. Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino* (Torino, 1963), pl. 66. Borchardt's photographs, which include both the recto, verso, and the fibres, show an older mounting, while those of Farina and Scamuzzi show the present mounting. Fr. 43 is not included in any of the photographs.

⁶ C. R. Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums* (Leipzig, 1842), pls. III–VI.

⁷ J. von Beckerath, *The Date of the End of the Old Kingdom of Egypt*, *JNES* 21 (1962), p. 144; cf. also idem, *Some remarks on Helck's "Anmerkungen zum Turiner Königspapyrus"*, *JEA* 81 (1995), pp. 225–226.

⁸ The papyrus was pierced through its upper half while rolled up. The holes, which occur at an interval of about 16 cm., were mended before the king-list was written.

⁹ For the arrangement of this formula in the king-list and its significance, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, pp. 29–31. It may be noted that the patch actually occurs farther to the left than one would expect from its otherwise regular occurrence.

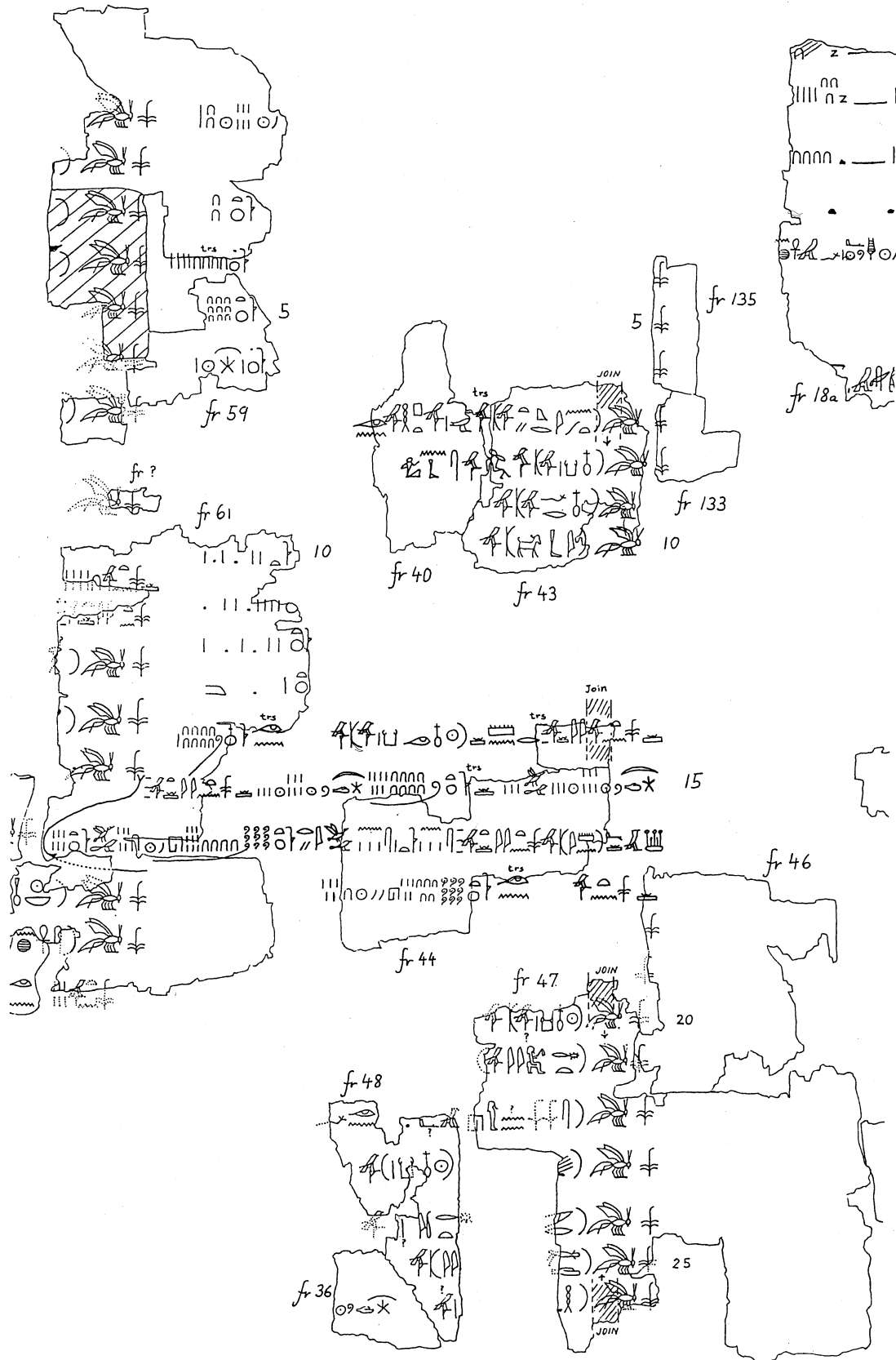


Fig. 2. Hieroglyphic transcription of Turin King-list column 5. (Figure based on A. H. Gardiner, Royal Canon of Turin, Oxford 1959, pls. XX, IX)

Wildung, based on Gardiner's incorrect transcription (see below, 1.2), that the fragment refers to Imhotep as a son of Ptah and Khereduankh, and that it should be placed in 3/9–10, to the right of fr. 18¹⁰. Similarly, Málek's suggestion that the fragment should be placed to the left of fr. 108 in col. IX must be rejected¹¹.

Fr. 44 preserves a sheet-join on its right side, along which it is broken. This was apparently not noticed by Gardiner. The same sheet-join is preserved in fr. 43 and fr. 47, and fr. 44 should be moved to the right so that the three fragments align vertically along the sheet-join. It may be noted that the sheet-join of fr. 47 is marked about 2 mm too far to the right in Gardiner's plate.


Frs. 133 + 135, which Gardiner removed from col. IV in his edition, should be put back where it was placed in Farina's edition. In Helck's recent reconstruction of the Turin King-list, the two fragments are placed farther down in the column (lines 10–14)¹², whereas v. Beckerath more recently has suggested that they should be placed near the top of the column (lines 2–6)¹³. Seyffarth's arrangement is, however, certain from the fibres; there is a perfect fibre correspondence between frs. 133 + 135 and fr. 18 to the right.


1.2. Transcription

The transcription does not differ much from that of Gardiner, except that the two summations which follow the Late Old Kingdom section (col. 5/14–17) and certain incompletely preserved signs are restored. The reconstruction of the two summations is discussed below (2.2). Other readings that require mention are:

Col. 5/4. There has been some debate as to how the damaged reign-length should be read. Only the numeral '4' at the end is preserved intact. Farina¹⁴

read *[rnp.t 1]4*. His reading has been maintained by some scholars, but the trace immediately before '4' is quite incompatible with '10'. The sign in question is clearly a dot¹⁵.

Helck has suggested that the traces should be read  *ibd 4, 4 months*¹⁶, but this reading is also impossible. The upper trace could in itself be read as part of the moon-sign, but the two following traces are not compatible with the group *ibd*. Hence, Helck places the stroke that follows the *d* much higher than it is otherwise written in order to make it conform with the traces, and the next sign – the dot – he turns into part of the sun-determinative.

There seems to be only one possible reading of the two first traces,  *rnpt*, and as such they are also transcribed by Gardiner. Not only do the traces match this group perfectly, the group also aligns exactly with the *rnpt* group in the line above and the two lines below. It may further be noted that with the notable exception of Teti, all the reigns from Nebka until Pepi II are recorded by years alone.

As for the damaged numeral following *rnpt*, the reading '40' proposed by Gardiner would suit the dot perfectly, since '40' in hieratic is written with a dot above a horizontal stroke¹⁷. In this case the reign was recorded as '44 years.' An alternative interpretation of the dot as a separation mark, which would produce '(0) years, 4 (months)' (cf., e.g., col. 8/16–17), seems less likely. The dot would be placed in slightly too high position, and since the record occurs in a section where the reigns are recorded by years alone, as noted above, one would expect *ibd* to have been written in case of an exception, just as in col. 4/26.

Col. 5/8. In line 2 of fr. 40, Gardiner adopted Lauth and Meyer's incorrect transcription

¹⁰ D. Wildung, *Imhotep and Amenhotep* (MÄS 36; München, 1977), pp. 30–32.

¹¹ J. Málek, *The Original Version of the Royal Canon of Turin*, JEA 68 (1982), p. 102. This arrangement is followed by Helck, *Anmerkungen zum Turiner Königspapyrus*, SAK 19 (1992), pp. 181–182.


¹² Helck, SAK 19 (1992), pp. 168–169.

¹³ v. Beckerath, JEA 81 (1995), 226. The reason for v. Beckerath's proposal is that he believes fr. 133 + 135 to be broken along a patch. It is actually along the sheet-join that it is broken, and the patch that has hitherto been missing in this area can now be identified as that of fr. 40.

¹⁴ Farina, *Papiro*, p. 31.

¹⁵ The dot is now partly obscured by a piece of transparent tape placed during someone's restoration of the papyrus, but can still be made out.

¹⁶ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königlisten* (UGAÄ 18; Berlin, 1956), p. 57; cf. also idem, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (HdO I, 1, 3; Leiden/Köln, 1968), p. 74, n. 3; idem, SAK 19 (1992), p. 168; and A. M. Abubakr – J. Osing, *Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich*, MDAIK 29 (1973), p. 132, n. 125.

¹⁷ Note that Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, p. 16 (note to IV 4), explicitly comments: '[L]epsius's facsimile] and Sch[iaparelli's photographs] show low down a dot that surely must indicate [∩∩∩∩]'.


seems to be the fact that the prenomen Netjerkare in the Abydos Canon is recorded in the place occupied by Nitocris in Manetho – i.e. as the immediate successor of Nemtyemsaf II – and that this, combined with the close phonetic resemblance, suggests an identification between the two. Much more recently also Goedicke, who appears to be unaware of Stern's comments, has suggested that *nt-ikr.ti* of the Turin King-list is nothing but a false etymology of the prenomen Netjerkare, *ntr-k3-r*³¹.

Petrie came up with an alternative and indeed very ingenious argument in favour of identifying Nitocris with Menkare. This may be cited in his own words: 'The only connection between Menkara and Netaqerti is provided by a curious error of late times. The third pyramid of Gizeh is stated by Manetho to have been built by Nitokris ... There is only one possible origin before us for this tale. The real builder of the pyramid being Men-kau-ra, he has been confounded with ... Men-ka-ra of the end of the sixth dynasty; and these tales thus lead us to associate the name Men-ka-ra with that of Netaqerti or Nitokris ...'³².

In his otherwise important study of the Late Old Kingdom in the Turin King-list³³, v. Beckerath rejects both the identifications outlined above: 'We know of no prenomen of her. Thus the hypotheses identifying her with *Ntri-k3-r* or with *Mn-k3-r* of the Abydos List are very unlikely.' He suggests instead that Nitocris was omitted from the Abydos Canon because, in his opinion, 'probably she had not really been crowned as a king but rather reigned as a regent'. However, the simple fact that her prenomen was considered unknown can hardly be said to make the two proposed identifications very unlikely, simply uncertain. Von Beckerath's own explanation as to why Nitocris might have been excluded is, moreover, somewhat enigmatic. If Nitocris had never been undergone coronation and been crowned, then why should she be listed in the Turin King-list in the first place? Certainly all other rulers in this document whose existence we can verify actually held the proper titles of kingship.

The new reconstruction of the Turin King-list seems to solve the problems concerning the identity of Nitocris once and for all. It now emerges that the name Nitocris is actually followed by another name, Siptah. In all other cases where a king is recorded under two names in the king-list, these represent the prenomen followed by the nomen: i.e., the personal name of the king. Accordingly, we must identify Nitocris as the prenomen and Siptah as the nomen. The importance of these new conclusions is twofold. First, since the name Siptah is masculine (meaning 'Son of Ptah'), the obscure king 'Nitocris' must be regarded as a man rather than a woman. Second, the fact that Nitocris can now be shown to stand in the place of a prenomen, which it is clearly not by construction, lends considerable support to the suggestion that the name is a corruption. In view of the phonetic similarity between the names *nt-ikr.ti*/Νἰτωκρίς, the successor of Nemtyemsaf II in the Turin King-list and the Manethonian Epitome, and *ntr-k3-r*/Netjerkare, the successor of Nemtyemsaf II in the Abydos Canon, the identification between the two therefore seems inevitable.

Accordingly, the female king Nitocris never existed, but was instead a male king with the prenomen Netjerkare and the nomen Siptah. It is interesting to observe that while his prenomen had become corrupt by a false etymology in the Turin King-list, the contemporary Abydos Canon, which was based upon another tradition, preserved the correct form of his prenomen. Unfortunately for king Siptah, it was the tradition of the Turin King-list that survived until the Late Period and upon which the classical authors based themselves. This destined king Siptah to be remembered as a woman, albeit a beautiful one, for more than two millennia.

2.1.2.

Von Beckerath has shown that a number of kings were lost in the Turin King-list after the record of Nitocris and that the king here under discussion is identical with Neferkare Pepi-Sonb of the Abydos Canon³⁴. It can further be shown that the prenomen Neferkare was incompletely recorded as Neferka in



³¹ H. Goedicke, Zur Chronologie der sogenannten "Ersten Zweitenzeit", ZDMG 112 (1963), pp. 245–246.

³² W. M. F. Petrie, A History of Egypt. From the Earliest Kings to the XVIth Dynasty (1. ed.; London, 1894), p. 105.

³³ v. Beckerath, JNES 21 (1962), p. 144.

³⁴ v. Beckerath, JNES 21 (1962), pp. 144–145; cf. also table on p. 143. The question of the omitted kings is further discussed below (2.3).

the Turin King-list because it had been damaged by a large lacuna in the original from which the king-list was copied (see below, 2.3).

The corruption of Pepi-Sonb, , into Khered-Sonb, , might also derive from from the lacunae-riddled state of the original. Just possibly, the remains of the two *p*'s in the name Pepi were damaged and were somehow read as *hrd*, and one of the two reed-leaves in *y* as the divine determinative. This would presuppose that the nomen of the king had also been damaged, which, in view of the incomplete prenomina of both this king and his successor, is by no means unlikely.

Another possibility, which is perhaps more likely, has rather interesting implications. In the basilophorous name Pepi-Sonb, Pepi presumably refers to Pepi II rather than Pepi I. Pepi II was in later times remembered especially for his incredibly long reign and the fact that he was a mere child on his accession. The possibility that the element Pepi was deliberately replaced by the element *hrd*, 'child', may therefore be considered. In this connection, it is important to note that in basilophorous names of the Sixth Dynasty the prenomina and nomina appear to have been interchangeable³⁵. The main point seems to have been that the name referred to a specific king, and not which element was used. Accordingly, the name *hrd-snb*, 'the Child is Healthy', would be analogous to *ppy-snb*, 'Pepi is Healthy', and to *nfr-k3-r-snb*, 'Neferkare is Healthy'. This interpretation may be supported by the fact that the word *hrd* is followed by the divine determinative.

2.2. The Summations after the Late Old Kingdom

In the two last comprehensive studies of the Turin King-list, Redford and Helck translate, and attempt to restore, the two damaged summations following the Late Old Kingdom (col. 5/14–17). Their results are as follows:

Redford:³⁶

- A. [*dmd*] *nsywt* [*nfrty*^(sic)-*r* (?) ... *X rnpt.sn*] 181 [*ibd*] 6 *hrw* 3 [*wsf* 6¹] *dmd* (red) [...]

³⁵ Cf., e.g., the two like-named queens of Pepi I, the mothers of Merenre and Pepi II, who are both referred to as *nh=s-n-ppy* (Urk. I 279) and *nh=s-n-mry-r* (Urk. I 117–118).

³⁶ Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, p. 12.

'[Total] of kings [down to (?) ... X; their years] 181, 6 [months], 3 days; [*wsf* 6¹]; total [...]

- B. [*dmd* (?)] *nsyw* [*s3^c m*] *Mni nsyt.sn rnpt.sn wsf. [sn (?) ...]* [*9¹ hrw* 15 *wsf rnpt* 6 *dmd [nsyw X rn]pt* 955, *hrw* 10

'[Total] of kings [beginning with] Menes, their kingship, their years, [their (?)] *wsf* [...], [*9¹*] [months], 15 [*days*], *wsf*: 6 years. Total [of kings, X]; 955 [years], 10 days.'

Helck:³⁷

- A. '[zus.] Regierungszeiten [von König *Tjtj* bis König *Nfr-jr-k3-R^c*] 181 Jahre, 6 Monate und 3 Tage, weggelassen 6 Jahre, zus. [187 Jahre, 6 Monate und 3 Tage] Regierungszeit'
- B. 'seit Menes: ihre Regierungszeit, (d. h.) ihre Jahre und das Weggelassene: [949 Jahre], 9 [Monate] und 15 Tage, weggelassen 6 Jahre, zus. seit König Menes] 955 Jahre <9 Monate> und 1[5] Tage.'

Objections may be raised against both sets of restorations and translations. Somewhat critically, Redford does not seem to have realized the nature of the two summations: the subtotals list the years that are preserved and the years that have been restored (*wsf*) separately, whereas the totals add together these two figures. In the case of the two summations here under discussion, this simply means that the six restored years (*wsf rnpt* 6) are listed separately in the subtotal, and that they are added to the preserved years in the totals. This was evidently clear to Helck, but he follows Redford's unfortunate restoration '9 [months]' in summation B and hence he is forced to make an emendation in order for the figures to add up. There are further, minor details in the reconstructions that appear to be incorrect (compare the restoration proposed below). Curiously, neither Redford nor Helck refers to Farina's study, which not only forms one of the main editions of the king-list, but actually contains a restoration of the figures that is, in my view, entirely correct.

Farina:³⁸

- A. '[*Totale*] dei regni [di questa corte, 14, che fa anni] 181 [me]si 6, giorni 3, vacanze 6, *totale* 1[87, mesi 6, giorni 3.]'
- B. '[*Totale*] dei regni [da] Mène, dei regni loro gli anni e le vacanze [fanno anni 94]9, giorni 15 le vacanze

³⁷ Helck, *SAK* 19 (1992), p. 171.

³⁸ Farina, *Papiro*, p. 32.

anni di regno 6. *Totale* [dei loro anni di regno] 955, giorni 1[5].'

Because of the confusion regarding the two summations, a detailed discussion of their nature and reconstruction seems pertinent.

The first summation (A), covering Dynasty VI–VIII, is the most damaged. It begins col. V, line 14. After a short lacuna, the word *nswyw*, one of the three plural writings of *nsw* in the king-list, is preserved. The others are (4/26) and (7/3). The lost first word may be restored after the summation for Dynasty I–V (4/26), *nswyw*, and that of Dynasty XII (7/3), *nswyw*, as *dmd*: i.e., [*dmd*] *nswyw*, 'Total of kings'. A longer lacuna of c. 7 cm. follows, ending with a trace of the sign *ir* and, continuing in the next line, the sum '181 years, 6 months, 3 days, and a lacuna of 6 (years)' follows³⁹. The trace of *ir* is not marked in Lepsius's facsimile. It is correctly read in Farina's version, whereas Gardner leaves it untranscribed. After the word *wsf*, the group *rnpt-sp* is omitted, but it can be emended on the basis of line 16 below where it occurs again. Since this is only a subtotal, the preserved years and the lacuna not having been added together, a final total follows. Only the word *dmd* and the figure 100 is preserved, but we may confidently restore 'Total: 1[87 years, 6 months, and 3 days]', since this would be the mathematically correct result of the total and since this reconstruction fills up the lacuna perfectly.

The long lacuna in line 14 is more difficult. Farina does not attempt a restoration. Helck suggests 'von König *Tj* bis König *Nfr-jr-k3-Rc*', which would suit the context well, except that the lacuna is much too short for this restoration. Redford's proposal, *nfryt-r NN*, 'down to NN', would suit the width of the lacuna much better. However, since the summation evidently covers Dynasty VI–VIII only, it seems doubtful that the preposition *nfryt-r* would have been used. In the summation of the mythological period, col. 2/9, the same preposition is used to sum up all the mythological kings. It would seem more likely

that *r-mn* was used, just as in the summation after Dynasty V, col. 3/26. Hence the restoration [*dmd*] *nswyw* *'r-[mn nfr-ir-k3-r^c x]*, 'Total of kings until Neferirkare', is here proposed. The summation is understood as summing up the total of kings from the last summation, that of Dynasty I–V, until Neferirkare.

The second summation (B), covering Dynasty I–VIII, continues directly upon the first in line 15. As with the first summation, a lacuna precedes the word *nswyw*⁴⁰. This is followed, in the next line, by a further, minor gap and the royal name *nni*, 'Menes'. This part of the summation is identical to that of Dynasty I–V (4/26) and can confidently be restored: [*dmd*] *nswyw* [*š3^c*] *nni*, 'Total of kings from Menes'. Then follows an apposition, a specification of what is summarized: *nswyt=sn rnpt=sn wsf* [*iry*], 'their kingship, their years, and a lacuna [thereto]': i.e., the total number of kings and their years, including the lacuna⁴¹. A similar apposition is used in the summation of the 'demi-gods' in the top half of col. III: e.g., line 4: [*dmd šhw*] 10 *nswyt=sn rnpt=sn m^cnh*, 'Total: ten spirits. Their kingship and their years in life: (etc.)'.

The subtotal of their collective period of reign follows. Only a damaged figure which may read 100, 200, etc., and the figure 9 is preserved of the years. As we shall see, no months were recorded, the number being zero. The number of days is preserved as 15, and then follows 'and a lacuna of 6 years'. This completes the subtotal. In line 17, the final total is then made. The sign for *dmd* is preserved and then a gap follows before the total period of reign: '955 years and 10 + days'. After the figure 10 a gap follows, and the figure may be anywhere from 10 to 19. However, matching this figure with what is preserved of the subtotal, it is possible to work out the years precisely. Since all that the final total does is to add the six years of the lacuna, as in the case of the previous summation, we can arrive at the subtotal by subtracting these six years from the total. The result is 949 years and 10 + days. This corresponds perfectly with what is preserved of the subtotal, where the years are recorded as 1[.]9, 2[.]9, . . . , or 9[.]9, the months as zero, and the days as 15. We can thus

³⁹ For the interpretation of *wsf*, see below (2.3). The reading of the word has still not been established with certainty, but the traditional reading is here maintained for convenience.

⁴⁰ The scribe has actually written *nswywt*, 'kingship (pl.)', but this is certainly a mistake. The same mistake occurs in 5/11.

⁴¹ The excellent restoration *wsf* [*iry*] was suggested to me by James P. Allen.

restore the years as 949, by reading the 100-figure as 900 and restoring the figure 40. The subtotal is then 949 years and 15 days, plus a lacuna of 6 years. When the number of days in the total is then restored as 1[5] – i.e., as 955 years and 15 days – the calculation comes out.

The lacuna between the preserved *dmd* and the figure giving the total period of reign can be restored *dmd* [*nsw x ir n*] *rnpt 955 hrw 1[5]*, ‘Total: [*x* kings amounting to] 955 years and 1[5] days’, after the summation of Dynasty XII (6/3): *dmd nswyw nt hnw* [*it-t3wy?*] *nsw 8 ir n rnpt-sp 213 ibd 1 hrw 17*, ‘Total of kings of the residence of [Ittowe?]: 8 kings amounting to 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days’. This restoration would also suit the size of the lacuna perfectly.

A question that remains is how the scribe reckoned the number of kings in both of the summations. In order to answer this question, we must first look at what periods the two summations cover. Redford suggests that the first summation (A) covers that of Dynasty VI and the second (B) covers Dynasty I–VI. However, in that case the kings of Dynasty VII/VIII would have been excluded from both summations, which does not seem plausible. Since a summation is made after Dynasty V, we must assume that the next summation, after Dynasty VII/VIII, covers Dynasty VI–VIII. Similarly, then, the following summation (B) must cover the entire period from Menes until Dynasty VII/VIII, i.e. Dynasty I–VIII. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that both summations include the ‘lacuna of 6 years’ which can be shown to refer to the ten successors of ‘Nitocris’ (col. 5/7) who are omitted: i.e., the kings of Dynasty VII/VIII who had been lost through a lacuna in the course of transmission of the king-list (see discussion below, 2.3).

Returning to the question of what number of kings should be restored as the total in the two summations, this depends on when the summations were actually made. If they were part of the original composition and had not been damaged during its transmission, then the number was presumably 23 kings for summation A (Dyn. VI–VIII) and 62 kings for summation B (Dyn. I–VIII). These two figures consist of the number of records that can be made out for Dyn. VI–VIII and Dyn. I–VIII in the Turin King-list: i.e., a total of 13 and 52 respectively, with the ten omitted kings of the Late Old Kingdom (see below, 2.3) added to both figures.

It is, however, clear that the two summations cannot be original in their present form since they include a number of kings whose records were lost during the transmission of the text: i.e., the kings whose reigns were accounted for by the notation *wsf*, ‘lacuna’. If original and undamaged summations giving the total number of kings and years had been available, the inclusion of the notation *wsf* in the summations would obviously have made no sense.

This seems to leave three possibilities: (1) the two summations under discussion were not present in the original version of the king-list, (2) original summations were present, but had been damaged during the transmission and were replaced or restored, or (3) original summations were present, but only recorded the number of kings, not the years, which were then added later⁴².

In each of these cases it is possible that the number of kings was not present/preserved, just as the number of years was not. Hence it is feasible that the scribe recorded 13 kings as the total of Dynasty VI–VIII and 52 kings as that of Dynasty I–VIII, these being the preserved number of records.

2.3. Lacunae and Omission of Kings

It has long been known that a series of kings of the Late Old Kingdom included in the Abydos Canon were not included by name in the Turin King-list. However, the two summations that include the Late Old Kingdom in the latter source both incorporate six years qualified by the notation *wsf*. On this basis, v. Beckerath has argued – in his abovementioned study – that *wsf* denotes royal names which were wanting or intentionally omitted, and that the six years marked as *wsf* accordingly account for the mis-

⁴² This may be the case with the summation recorded after the Fifth Dynasty (4/26). Although incomplete, it seems impossible to restore the total duration of the period from Menes until Unas within the short lacuna since frs. 34, 45 and 46 appear to join directly. The summation should presumably be restored *dmd nswyw s3^c mni r-mn-[m wnis x]*, ‘Total of kings from Menes until [Unas: x]’. Redford’s restoration (Pharaonic King-Lists, p. 12) ‘*dmd* (red) *nsywt s3^c-[m] Mni r-mn [Wnis X rnpt.sn ...]*’ is much too long for the lacuna. It may also be noted that there is not room enough to restore *s3^c-[m]*, but this poses no problem since *s3^c* is well-attested as a simple preposition in texts from the New Kingdom onwards.

sing kings⁴³. This explanation is basically correct, but slight improvements in the details can be made.

A minor point is that v. Beckerath believed that eleven kings had been omitted (Abydos Canon, nos. 40–50). With the identification here proposed between 'Nitocris Siptah' of the Turin King-list and 'Netjerkare' of the Abydos Canon (no. 40), the number is reduced to ten kings.

More important is the interpretation of the notation *wsf*. In my recent study of the Second Intermediate Period, a chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the Turin King-list and its source value⁴⁴. It is argued that several stages of its transmission can be worked out in some detail, and one of the most important results was the fact the king-list could be shown to descend from a lacuna-riddled version. The purpose of the notation *wsf* was to record the presence of these lacunae. This is especially clear from two instances where the expression was used to signal that the number of months was lost from the record of a king's reign: 'King Sewose-*renre*: 12 years, *wsf*, [x] days' (11/8) and 'King Awibre: [x years], *wsf*, 18 days' (8/12). We may therefore translate *wsf* as 'lacuna', 'lost', or similar.

This interpretation of *wsf* suits perfectly the fact that the ten missing kings of the Late Old Kingdom are accounted for by the notation '*wsf* 6 years' in the summation that follows this section. It further helps explain why the prenomen of the two kings immediately following the ten missing ones are incompletely recorded: Neferkare (Abydos Canon, 51) as Neferka (5/8), and Neferkamin (Abydos Canon, 52) as Nefer (5/9). Both of these names had clearly been damaged in part by the same large lacuna through which the names of their ten predecessors were lost, and the scribe simply copied what was left of the two names. Similarly, the interpretation would account for the omission of Monthhotep Sankhkare's successor Monthhotep Nebtawyre in the Eleventh Dynasty. The summation of this dynasty also includes a *wsf* notation, 'lacuna, 7 years' (6/18), and this almost certainly accounts for the latter Monthhotep's reign.

When the scribe was faced with a lacuna in which the entire record of one or more kings had been lost, the notation *wsf* was not only included in the summation for the section in question, but also included in the list itself to signal the exact location of the

missing king(s). The scribe did not let the brief notation take up a line of its own, however, but added it behind the record of the preceding king. At least two such instances are preserved. The record of Sonbef, the second king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (6/7), is followed by the notation '*wsf* 6 years'. This notation almost certainly accounts for king Nerykare, who belongs to the very beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty but is not otherwise present in the Turin King-list⁴⁵. Similarly, the record of king Nebsenire of the Fourteenth Dynasty (9/14) is followed by a *wsf* notation, although here the number of years are lost in a lacuna and the missing king cannot be identified.

We may therefore assume that the notation of the lacuna in the Late Old Kingdom section would have been added behind the record of Nitocris, as already suggested by v. Beckerath⁴⁶, and that the notation of the omission of Monthhotep Nebtawyre in the Eleventh Dynasty section would have been added behind the record of Monthhotep Sankhkare. Unfortunately the left-hand side of the column is lost in both instances and with it the two notations.

The total reign of the ten kings whose records were lost in the Late Old Kingdom section is recorded as a round six years. The length of reigns lost through lacunae is only preserved in two other cases. These are the two aforementioned kings: Monthhotep Nebtawyre, whose reign was recorded as a round seven years (6/18); and Nerykare, whose reign was also recorded as a round six years (7/6). Since the reigns of the Old Kingdom (with the exception of Teti) and those of the Eleventh Dynasty were recorded in round years, there is nothing conspicuous about the round figures of six and seven years recorded in those two instances.

However, in the case of the Thirteenth Dynasty, where the reigns consistently were recorded in years, months and days, the round figure is noteworthy. It may further be noted that only two contemporary attestations of Nerykare are presently known, both dated to his first regnal-year⁴⁷. It therefore seems rather likely that the six years allotted to this king was a round figure ascribed to him by an ancient scribe, in order to avoid chronological gaps in a damaged version of the king-list.

If this is correct, one must also regard the round six years ascribed to the ten lost reigns of the Late

⁴³ v. Beckerath, JNES 21 (1962), p. 145.

⁴⁴ Ryholt, The Political Situation, pp. 9–33.

⁴⁵ Ryholt, The Political Situation, pp. 318–319.

⁴⁶ v. Beckerath, JNES 21 (1962), p. 145.

⁴⁷ Ryholt, The Political Situation, p. 337, file 13/3.

Old Kingdom with some scepticism, especially since the figure is the same. This could suggest that the scribe simply regarded six years as an average reign. While the lacuna in the Late Old Kingdom accounted for more than one king, the scribe who made these emendations may not have been aware of that fact, especially if all he saw before him in his Vorlage was the notation *wsf*, 'lacuna'.

In the case of the Eleventh Dynasty it is noteworthy that the figure in question, seven years, is slightly larger than those estimated in the case of the Late Old Kingdom and the Thirteenth Dynasty. The possibility must be considered that an original summation of the dynasty actually contained the correct total in years. In that case, the scribe would have been able to add together the preserved reigns of the six other kings of the dynasty and simply subtract the total figure from the preserved total. He would then know how many years were not accounted for. In this case, the figure could be regarded as correct. However, if the total number of years was preserved intact in the original summation it would make little sense to replace it with a new summation where a subtotal recorded the preserved years and the missing reign separately and a final total added these two figures together once again⁴⁸. It may further be noted that the highest regnal-year attested for Monthhotep Nebtawyre is his second⁴⁹. It would therefore seem more likely that this figure too was an emendation.

Concerning the summations, the very fact that the years recorded in the *wsf* notations are recorded separately also tends to suggest that they are emendations. If the reigns had actually been preserved and only the names of the kings were lost, it would hardly make any sense to record those years separately and qualify them with the word *wsf*. This procedure does, in fact, attest to a remarkable conscience on behalf of the scribe in question.

2.4. Sixth Dynasty Chronology

With the confirmation that Gardiner had correctly read the reign in col. 5/4 as '44 years', a note on Sixth Dynasty chronology in the Turin King-list may be appropriate. The total duration of the Sixth and Seventh/Eighth Dynasties, excluding the ten missing kings to whom six years were attributed, is recorded as 181½ years. The preserved reigns of Pepi I and Merenre (apparently, with 44 and 20 years respectively), Pepi II (90 + x years), and the ephemeral kings (a total of 11 years) make up 165 + x years. This leaves a maximum of 16½ for Teti, Userkare, Siptah, Pepi-Sonb, and Neferkamin; less if Pepi II was ascribed a reign of more than 90 years. The latter three were presumably ephemeral kings. If they are ascribed a reign of just half a year each and Pepi II a reign of 90 years even, this would leave 15 years for Teti and Userkare. It would therefore seem highly unlikely that more than 15 years were allotted to Teti in the Turin King-list, unless we are to assume that there is some form of miscalculation in the preserved total. A reign of close to 15 years would not be incompatible with the fact that the highest attested date for Teti is the year after the sixth occasion, which presumably represents his 12th regnal-year. It may, however, be noted that only three dates from the reign of Teti are presently known⁵⁰.

These circumstances have generally been ignored by chronologists, who have often attributed to Teti a reign of 30 years, or even more, in accordance with Africanus's version of the Manethonian Epitome, despite the fact that the Epitome is well known to be highly unreliable regarding the chronology of certain periods, including the Old Kingdom.

⁴⁸ The summation (6/18) reads: [*dmd*] *nsw 6 ir n rnpt 1[36 wsf] [rnpt] 7 dmd 143*, '[Total:] 6 kings, amounting to 1[36] years and [a lacuna] of 7 years. Total: 143'. Alternatively, the figures may be restored '1[37]' and '144' since it cannot be excluded that a fourth stroke was missing in the lacuna following the figure '143'.

⁴⁹ J. v. Beckerath, 'Mentuhotep VI.', *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (1982), pp. 69–70.

⁵⁰ A. Spalinger, *Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom*, SAK 21 (1994), p. 303.

2.5. The Kings of the Sixth Dynasty/Late Old Kingdom

Table 1. The Kings of the Sixth and Seventh/Eighth Dynasties

Reconstructed Succession	Abydos Canon	Turin King-list
Teti	34: Teti	5/1: [. . .], [. . . years], 6 months, 21 days
Userkare	35: Userkare	5/2: [. . .], [. . .]
Meryre Pepi I	36: Meryre	5/3: [. . .], 20 years
Merenre Nemtyemsaf I	37: Merenre	5/4: [. . .], 44 years
Neferkare Pepi II	38: Neferkare	5/5: [. . .], 90 [+ x] years
Merenre Nemtyemsaf II	39: Merenre Nemtyemsaf	5/6: [. . .], 1 year, 1 month, (0 days)
Netjerkare Siptah	40: Netjerkare	5/7: Nitocris Siptah, [. . .]
Menkare	41: Menkare] — 5/7: [Lacuna, 6 years]
Neferkare	42: Neferkare	
Neferkare Neby	43: Neferkare Neby	
Djedkare Shemai	44: Djedkare Shemai	
Neferkare Khendu	45: Neferkare Khendu	
Merenhor	46: Merenhor	
Neferkamin	47: Neferkamin	
Nikare	48: Nikare	
Neferkare Tereru	49: Neferkare Tereru	
Neferkahor	50: Neferkahor	
Neferkare Pepi-Sonb	51: Neferkare Pepi-Sonb	5/8: Neferka(re) Khered-Sonb, [. . .]
Neferkamin Anu	52: Neferkamin Anu	5/9: Nefer(kamin), [. . .]
Qakare Ibi ^a	53: Qakaure	5/10: Ibi, 2 years, 1 month, 1 day
Neferkaure	54: Neferkaure	5/11: [. . .], 4 years, 2 months, (0 days)
Neferkauhor Chui . . . (?) ^b	55: Neferkauhor	5/12: [. . .], 2 years, 1 month, 1 day
Neferirkare	56: Neferirkare	5/13: [. . .], 1½ years

^a In the pyramid-texts of Ibi his prenomen is written *k3-k3-r^c*, and the form *k3-k3w-r^c* found in the Abydos Canon may therefore be regarded as slightly incorrect. The pyramid and its inscriptions is published by G. Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Aba* (Cairo, 1935).

^b The nomen of Neferkauhor is preserved on a decree from Koptos (no. J), but no photograph has ever been published and the only published hand-copy by Sethe (Urk. I 298) leaves much doubt as to its reading. The only sign that seems certain is a bull on a standard, which itself may be read in several ways. Hayes, *JEA* 32 (1946), p. 16, originally suggested the reading *k3(?)pw-ib(=i)*, '(My)-heart-is-the-Bull (?)'. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (ÄA 14; Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 197, 200, 201–202, cf. fig. 24, later suggested that the first part of the name should be read *hw wi*. Although a name *hw wi DN*, 'May DN protect me', would make good sense (cf. *hnm hw=f wi*), it must be noted that this reading is not compatible with Sethe's copy. Goedicke's reading is adopted by v. Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20; München, 1984), pp. 59, 60 n. 7, 188, except that the latter interprets the bull as *hpw*, 'Apis'. Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of the relevant fragment are unknown and Sethe's reading cannot be checked.

APPENDIX

After this article was completed, James P. Allen sent me two alternative interpretations of the nomina of Netjerkare and Neferkare. They are here reproduced with his kind permission.

'Although the identification of Turin's *nt-jkrtj z3-ptḥ* with Abydos's *ntr-k3-r^c* seems inevitable, I'm still uncertain about the reasons for the apparent Turin "corruption" of the name. Phonologically the two names are not as similar as it might appear from the transcription alone. Turin's *nt-jkrtj* was presumably vocalized **nitaqrati*, judging from the Greek Νίτωκρις. The vocalization of *ntr(j)-k3-r^c* is less clear, but should have been something like **natirikari^ca*. I'm

not sure the two were close enough to be a Hörfehler. As you note, however, *nt-jkr.tj* cannot be a prenomen. Is it possible that the nomen was *nt-jkrtj z3-ptḥ* rather than just *z3-ptḥ*? The *jkrtj* element is normally interpreted as the 3fs stative *jkrtj* "is excellent", but $\overset{\Delta}{\backslash}$ is not a normal spelling of the stative ending. I might be tempted to read the name as *jkrtj-nt* "He of Neith's *jkrtj*-serpent" (Wb. I, 138, 4) except that the Greek seems to indicate *nt-jkrtj* – unless the Greek is a vocalization of *ntr(j)-k3-r^c*. The Manethonian tradition of a female pharaoh is not necessarily an argument for reading the name as *nt-jkr.tj* "Neith is excellent", however; it could simply derive from the presence of *nt* in the name. In any case, I think

