CONFERENCE

Tempus Fugit:
Challenging Time(s) and Text(s)
in Order to Refine Ancient Egyptian Historical Chronology

Austrian Archaeological Institute (Department of Classical Studies)
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For the Organising Committee

ABSTRACTS

Keynote Lecture

(1) Pascal Vernus, École Pratique des Haute-Études, Paris

How *tempus fugit* according to the Egyptian Consciousness of History

From the ancient Egyptian viewpoint, time consists of the millions of millions of years allotted to the creation before it returns to Nun. They are carrying a flood of events and situations which have been "vorprogrammiert" by the solar creator. After he has departed for the sky, he entrusted to the pharaoh, his proxy, the task of addressing and giving meaning to the remaining events and situations, so that the passage of time could be interpreted as the development of what he has left in latencies. Then, according to the Egyptian consciousness of history, *tempus fugit* not haphazardly, but actually carrying out the solar creator's programme.

Contributions

(2) David Aston, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Tuthmosis IV: Some Thoughts on His Reign Length

Tuthmosis IV is usually credited with a short reign lasting around nine years, since his highest known year date is that of Year 8 from Konosso. However, if that is the case then a number of factors would make Tuthmosis IV a truly exceptional pharaoh. Among other things he is the only king to be associated with at least three Great Wives, if not four — which is only surpassed by Ramesses II, and the only one to have had a Great Wife whilst still an *inpw*. His estate apparently continued to produce wine long after he had died, and, in so far as is provable, such is not the case for any other New Kingdom pharaoh. Moreover he is the only king with a presumed short reign to have claimed a second *sed* festival. Blue painted pottery from Saqqara, securely dated to the reign of Tuthmosis IV is early in style, whilst blue painted pottery from his Theban mortuary temple has more affinities to the later classic style, which, if contemporaneous, would argue for distinctly different northern and southern styles. This presentation re-examines some of these topics.

(3) Bettina Bader, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

The Use of Pottery Typology for Dating in Egyptian Archaeology: Practices and Problems

Since Flinders Petrie's work in Egypt, pottery has been utilised for dating archaeological contexts above all other possibilities for interpretation. He concentrated on creating pottery typologies as dating tool and used the Egyptian Dynasties and king's reigns as major chronological reference points rather than archaeological phasing. While typologies seem to simplify the analysis of the masses of ceramic material, they also hide varieties and perhaps generalise too much. For this reason, the application of abstracted typologies without regard for local idiosyncrasies is problematic in its own right. Recent scholarship acknowledges the

importance of a larger basis of single vessels for the creation of typologies and the importance of the assemblage of which pottery is a major component and often the only one.

Following this typological approach, a complex system of using Dynastic dates from more or less "secure" contexts from external sites and often also different artefact categories developed, which often ended in circular arguments. Previously, regional developments were also largely neglected assuming that, in politically stable periods, pottery production is the same all along the Nile.

Tying archaeology to dynastic dates, even without sufficient inscribed finds, has been followed for a long time and perseveres even until today, although archaeological phasing as primary reference point has largely become standard. Unequivocal links between archaeological phases and dynasties are rarer than usually appreciated especially in the earlier parts of Egyptian history before mass production of pottery became the norm and during times, when regionalism in pottery production is very strong. Pottery is, thus, a valuable dating tool, if applied with due diligence.

(4) Manfred Bietak, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

The Length of the Hyksos Rule in Egypt

The length of the Hyksos rule is mentioned in the Royal Canon of Turin, but its score is badly preserved. It was read in 1938 by Giulio Farina as 108 years, which was verified by Jürgen von Beckerath in 1952. In the meantime, this reading was contested by Kim Ryholt and Thomas Schneider who proposed as alternatives 140 + x and 180–189 years. Such a lengthening of the Hyksos period would change the reconstruction of the history of the entire so-called Second Intermediate Period considerably.

The stratigraphy of the site of Tell el-Dab'a comprises 23 phases from the early 12th Dynasty until the end of the 18th Dynasty. Some of the phases can be dated quite accurately by datum lines, others by ceramic dating and the first appearance of specific seals and seal impressions. The periods in between the datum lines can be calculated by average timespans. Within this structure, the beginning of the Hyksos Period can be recognised by a wealth of data such as a distinct change in the ceramic corpus, the first appearance of Hyksos scarabs, a change in the building material, changes in the sacred architecture and ritual practices, changes in food consumption, and last but not least in the growth of Avaris from c. 100 ha to c. 250 ha. The end of this era is recognisable by the abandonment of the town and new installations of the 18th Dynasty on a restricted part of former Avaris. Other fixpoints are a palatial precinct of the Tuthmosid Period which can be dated by numerous scarabs with royal names of the 18th Dynasty, the latest one with the name of Amenhotep II as *terminus ad quem* or even a *terminus post quem*. Finally, there is a fortress fixed by David Aston with ceramic dating to the reign of Horemheb. The calculations of the total length, the length of parts of the stratigraphy, and the average duration of phases always produce very similar scores. This allows building a coherent stratigraphy and chronology. The result for the length of the Hyksos Period is a surprise which will be revealed in the lecture.

(5) Aurore Ciavatti, Einstein Center Chronoi (Einstein Foundation, Berlin), Freie Universität Berlin

Challenging the Old Kingdom Relative Chronology: The Case Study of Snefru's Reign in Maidum

Refining the Old Kingdom's relative chronology is challenging. Some kings are still unknown and some successions remain unclear. But most of all, lengths of the attested reigns are not firmly established. Besides documentary gaps (the highest attested date does not necessarily correspond to the last year of a reign), the conversion of dates documented by contemporaneous sources into years of reign remains an open question.

Indeed, time-reckoning during the Old Kingdom depends on a complex year-count system, based on two types of year: "year of the x^{th} census" and "year after the x^{th} census of all the cattle of Upper and Lower Egypt". In the last decades, the regularity of this cattle count has been intensely discussed. Nevertheless, the crucial systematic verification of attested dates – on which the various theories are based – has been carried out only recently.

Among them, the data from the reign of Snefru are of primary importance, since their impact is particularly significant for any statistical approach of the ratio "year of the x^{th} census" vs. "year after the x^{th} census". This is why we accomplished a new study mission in Maidum, in order to check and collect, through scientific archives and in the field, and to correct attested dates from his reign. This investigation is now completed and our communication will present the unpublished results of our two-seasons-mission. These new data will now provide a solid scientific basis for further discussions about the time-reckoning during the Old Kingdom and the conversion of attested reign lengths into duration.

(6) Vivian Davies, Oxford Epigraphic Expedition to Elkab

Elkab and Hierakonpolis: Sobeknakht's "Kush" inscription and Horemkhauef's second stela

Our work on recording painted decoration in the tombs of Elkab and related sites, including Hierakonpolis, has gained much impetus through the availability of techniques of photographic enhancement, involving high resolution images processed through DStretch, to bring out colours faded or even invisible to the naked eye. The most recent application has been to the inscription (done wholly in red paint) in the tomb of governor of Elkab Sobeknakht II, dating to the Second Intermediate Period (16^{th} Dynasty): cast as an Address to the Living by the tomb-owner, the inscription, damaged and now incomplete in parts, describes an attack on Egypt by an alliance of southern enemies led by the kingdom of Kush together with consequent actions and events. The result of the process has been highly satisfactory both confirming and adding to our initial record. An image of the full, surviving text, as now established, will be presented here for the first time. Also to be shown will be a new record of a long-lost painted stela in the contemporary tomb of chief inspector of priests Horemkhauef at Hierakonpolis, its content (largely concordant with that of his famous stone stela) recently retrieved and reconstructed from archival sources.

(7) Charlotte Dietrich, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Dockets, Handles, Stoppers: Textual Material on Jars as Sources for Historical Chronology

The dating formulae appearing on a multitude of objects and monuments are the most obvious source for ancient Egyptian historical chronology. For the New Kingdom, another type of inscription is of great significance: jar dockets. They form a special source group as their great number and frequent mentioning of regnal years during this period is in stark contrast to the lack of any reference to which reign these years belong, and there is often little to no documentation of their precise archaeological context.

So far, special attention has been paid to wine jar dockets, their textual structure, and, in theory, the full record of all regnal years due to their annual issue. Although wine dockets may be comparatively elaborate, their and other dockets' formulaic curtness may hamper the precise understanding of these inscriptions. Additionally, the specifics of the use and reuse of inscribed jars remain often unclear and a matter of debate.

Furthermore, the dockets are not the only source of information to be found on jars. Seal impressions, in part with royal names, on mud stoppers and handles may be of considerable interest for both history and historical chronology, potentially supplementing the information given in dockets.

This presentation aims to give an overview of the data which may be gathered from dockets, handles and stoppers, and to discuss the opportunities and limitations of using the data available for historical chronology. For this purpose, details of the grammatical analysis of this type of short inscription and selected case studies of dockets from tombs and temples will be reviewed.

(8) Martin Fitzenreiter, Independent Researcher, Münster

The Past's two Bodies. On Meta-Narrative and Archaeological Evidence

In a way, the past as an epistemic entity appears to have two bodies. One body is shaped as a historical narrative, making events out of incidents and out of those events a tale of rise and fall, of shame and glory. Tales may vary according to intention and available data; from time to time one of it the one most compelling to a given audience becomes a meta narrative, highly influencing not only research to come, but most importantly structuring reception of and entanglement with the past in the present.

A second body of the past absorbs the matrix of cultural evidence. Contrary to the slim and fit body of narrative, it is ponderous and broad, not well defined and therefore not as presentable and exciting as his counterpart. Nevertheless, being as flexible as it is versatile, it has to plop in and fill the void with his masses, whenever the plot of a meta narrative loses its thread. Thus, both bodies may merge; often enough, however, they seem at odds. Cultural history and meta narrative are not necessarily in concordance, sometimes they are even contradicting, as e.g discussion demonstrate on how the First Intermediate Period should be construed: a catastrophe or a continuum. The presentation will explore, how these two bodies are interwoven and how or if chronology matters. Example will be the history of the late 2nd Millennium BCE, a.k.a. the "end of the New Kingdom".

(9) Roman Gundacker, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Queen Nitocris: A Colourful Figure on the Threshold between Historical Reality and Fanciful Imagination

The Royal Canon of Turin, Herodotus' historical account, and Manetho's king-list have long been considered to provide sufficient data in order to recognise a queen regnant Nitocris at the very end of the 6th Dynasty. However, more recent research has cast doubts on the existence of a ruler thus named because of total lack of contemporaneous attestations and Kim Ryholt's re-arrangement of fragments of the Royal Canon of Turin according to which not a queen, but a king was mentioned. This presentation will review the bits and pieces connected to the name Nitocris in both the meagre Egyptian and the flamboyant Graeco-Roman sources.

A closer look onto the various sources will reveal that many details have not at all or only superficially been addressed. E.g., despite elucidating remarks by G. Fecht, it has remained largely unnoticed that the name of queen Nitocris is attested in two distinct variants in the diverse tradition. This presentation will therefore start with a thorough linguistic and onomastic analysis of the name commonly given as Nitocris in order to review Egyptian and Graeco-Roman attestations in context and to assess how imagination and association enriched tradition. Finally, the origins and, if possible, the historical nucleus of queen Nitocris as colourfully reflected in late sources shall be searched for.

(10) Johannes Jüngling, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

How to Date (in) the Old Kingdom: Some Methodological Considerations

More than with any other period of Egyptian history, chronological research on the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom relies on direct attestations of individual calendar and regnal years. Thus, for the last decades, increasingly comprehensive collections of actually attested regnal years have formed an integral part of larger coherent works on Egyptian chronology, especially regarding the Old Kingdom, or else single publications in their own right.

Relying on written attestations raises the question of how to cope with chronologically relevant inscriptional material from these periods, in terms of both philology and pragmatics. The present paper will investigate the methodological issues connected to discerning and reading relevant inscriptions, as well as their attribution to a specific reign (including 'polychronic' objects and contexts). In addition, the epistemological potential and the limits of dealing with and extrapolating the available data shall be discussed and illustrated with a broad array of examples. Based on results of recent research, this presentation aims to develop a philologically solid guide to handling both extant and yet to be discovered written evidence for the chronology of the Old Kingdom.

(11) Claus Jurman, Independent Researcher, Vienna

Dissecting Synchronisms in the Late Third Intermediate Period

One of the main goals of Egyptological historiography has been to extend the range of securely datable events from the beginning of the 26th Dynasty to earlier periods of pharaonic history. For this endeavour, actual or postulated synchronisms between Dynasties 22–25 as deduced from Lower Egyptian – primarily Memphite – evidence play a decisive role. The present contribution shall look into the extent and nature of those synchronisms and provide a critical

appraisal of their validity and reliability. Rather than presenting results leading to a new absolute chronology, my aim is to lay bare some of the epistemic and methodological assumptions that have informed the debates during the past few decades.

(12) E. Christiana Köhler, University of Vienna

The Materiality of Time – Building a Modern Chronological System for Ancient Egypt

Unless archaeological evidence is directly associated with royal names and other comparable elite information, or subjected to chronometric analysis, it cannot be reliably dated – and this applies to the vast majority of archaeological evidence, such as from provincial sites, domestic houses, or non-elite burials. This is because there is as yet no independent archaeological relative chronology for Ancient Egypt that would allow for dating artefacts together with any associated features by themselves. Also, the current periodisation of prehistoric and Pharaonic Egypt (e.g., Badarian, New Kingdom) being based on 19th and early 20th century historical and culture-historical thinking, is not suitable for accurate dating as it does neither reflect the recognised phases of material culture formation in the Egyptian Nile Valley and Delta nor account for distinct regional developments.

This presentation will explore the potential and significance of relative chronology for Egyptian archaeology and introduce the concept of the Materiality of Time as an integrated method combining tried and tested tools for archaeological relative dating (e.g., stratigraphy, typology) with archaeological science to overcome the present limitations in Egyptian chronology. It will also offer terminological and conceptual alternatives to using Egyptian historical chronology (e.g., 11th Dynasty, Persian Period) for dating archaeological materials.

(13) Mélie Louys, École du Louvre, Paris

Dating with Human Remains

Human remains can be an important source for establishing chronology, but not without its challenges. Their primary context is usually lost due to plundering, and excavations from the (early) 20th century often left little information about the original context of human remains.

This presentation uses our latest research on the site of Deir-el-Medina from season 2023. To respond to these limitations, we use different methods to date the material based on the mummification process and their association with dated artefacts. In fact, interdisciplinary research and collaboration between Egyptologists, linen specialists, ceramicists, and many more is mandatory to refine the dating of human remains.

As one of the best-known sites in ancient Egypt, Deir el-Medina has yielded a varied amount of archaeological material that can be linked to the study and dating of physical remains such as objects of daily life, funerary objects, written documents, well-preserved remains of dwelling houses, tombs of their owners. In spite of those available information, it is somehow challenging to provide a precise date. In the field, we are mostly relying on mummification style if some skin or the original position of the body are preserved. As most studies about mummification concern the Royals, we are learning a lot and closely work with linen specialists to assess mummification datable criteria for non-royals. More research on the subject could make a significant contribution on dating with mummies.

By closely examining those methods and collaborations, we will shed new light on the rarely acknowledged human remains by demonstrating their great importance, usefulness, and complementarity for and to chronology research.

(14) José Lull, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Chronology and Spread of the "Amarna Plague"

In *Contra Apionem*, Flavius Josephus reports that during the reign of Amenhotep III a large number of sick Egyptians, of all social conditions, were segregated from the rest of the population and taken to the eastern quarries. Contemporaneous documents seem to support the existence of a plague that affected Egypt in these years. At the same time, the Amarna letters also certify the ravages caused by the plague both in Cyprus and in some cities of the Egyptian Asian dominion, but it is difficult to know until when or for how many years this plague was a problem in Egypt and the Near East. A clue that can help in this matter is found in the Plague Prayers of the Hittite king Muršili II, in which he tells that the plague has been affecting Hatti for twenty years since it had been introduced by Egyptian prisoners taken in Amqa.

The duration of the plague, from the reign of Amenhotep III until the twenty-year anniversary of its existence in the country of Hatti depends largely on how we interpret and associate the Egyptian and Hittite chronologies, although in recent years various hypotheses of historical nature and absolute chronology based on, among others, the dating of solar eclipses and astronomical alignments have served to propose a chronological framework to try to answer our question.

(15) Gerald Moers, University of Vienna

Decorum: A Changing Constant

For a long time, Egyptology has argued for the existence of a system of decorum, mainly following John Baines. While the existence of this system has been deduced from the very form(s) of artistic representation itself, the scope of the Egyptological use of the concept has been widened specifically over the last decades.

This presentation does not only argue for the overall appropriateness of the Egyptological use of the concept but also provides a genuine Egyptian term that has been constantly used from the Middle Kingdom down to the Ptolemaic period to refer to a transmedial concept of appropriateness that guided the production of historically changing, but always adequate, forms in any type of media.

Examples will be given which will highlight the fact that forms produced by the concept of decorum in any medium will potentially blur modern standard distinctions as that of fact and fiction. Indeed, the concept of decorum may be considered the constructive black box which facilitates the transformation of accidental (historical) facts into acceptable versions of reality that would undermine such oppositions.

(16) Massimiliano Nuzzolo, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, and University of Turin

The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments: New Insights into the Early History of Ancient Egypt

The Palermo Stone, together with its associated fragments (the five Cairo Fragments and the Petrie Fragment), is the oldest example of royal annals known to us from ancient Egypt. The annals are of pivotal importance for our knowledge of the early phases of ancient Egyptian history, particularly the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, roughly corresponding to the late Fourth and early Third Millennium BCE. Despite more than a century of study and research, the reading of these annals is still incomplete on account of the fact that a

considerable part of the stone is erased or damaged and not easily readable for the naked eye. Moreover, there is no consensus among scholars on original location and provenance, and some Egyptologists have even cast doubts on whether all the fragments originally belonged to a single copy. In very recent years, however, within the framework of the "Palermo Stone Project" which I had the pleasure to direct, the annals have been investigated by means of a combined set of new technologies, first and foremost "Reflectance Transformation Imaging" (RTI). Thanks to this new technology of 3D photographic documentation and reproduction, it is now possible to provide some new insights into the reading and understanding of the hieroglyphic texts engraved on the annals, especially on the two major fragments, i.e., the Palermo Stone and the so-called "Cairo Fragment 1". This paper will present major results obtained by the "Palermo Stone Project" concerning the reading of the hieroglyphic texts engraved on the annals stones and concerning the issue of whether the other fragments did belong to them or not.

(17) Elsa Oréal, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

My Kingdom for a Date! From Historical to Linguistic Periodisation and Back

What can historical linguistics bring to chronological problems? This paper aims to shed light on the questions raised by the traditional periodisation of the early history of the Ancient Egyptian language. Both historical periodisation and linguistic periodisation have seen their relevance challenged on internal grounds, as is well-known. However, the Egyptian case witnesses an even more complex situation in which historiography has had a significant influence on the diachronic approach to grammar. Thus, the very existence of Old Egyptian as a well-defined independent stage within Earlier Egyptian corresponding to the Old Kingdom is subject to discussion. Rather than an exhaustive inquiry into the various features that may be involved in its definition, I would like to address the question of how Egyptology came to the traditional periodisation of the language's historical first phase. Then, in an approach similar to what happens in other domains of historical studies, one may try to take into full account the fact that the fabric of time is made of distinct times as threads that need to be considered for themselves. Linguistic changes also occur at different rates and follow their own internal paths. A fine-grained study of Earlier Egyptian data shows such distinct threads. Does a critical approach to periodisation also imply that historical grammar is of little help in dating texts (and their content)? *The Book of Two Ways* is a good case in point that allows us to give a fresh look at the complex relationship between linguistic and cultural chronologies.

(18) Richard Parkinson, University of Oxford

Poetry and History: Reactions to the Accession of Senwosret I in *The Tale of Sinuhe*

The Tale of Sinuhe has been mined as a historical source, even though the poem's presentation of time and events is demonstrably expressive rather than chronologically consistent. In particular, the accounts of the various reactions to the death of Amenemhat I have been interrogated for evidence both for and against a coregency with Senwosret I, for a conspiracy involving the Royal sons on Senwosret's expedition, and for the guilty involvement of the narrator in a conspiracy. Read in a more experiential, phenomenological manner, the poem arguably moves to create a sense of increasing uncertainty that concludes in Sinuhe's own traumatised reaction. The poet's withholding of information for dramatic effect has caused considerable confusion among modern commentators, compounded by colonialist attitudes and

by a focus on political as opposed to personal histories, but a close reading of the relevant passages can suggest that the narrative is precise and coherent, and that it does not describe any conspiracies involving the members of the Libyan expedition. A consideration of the allusive use of language suggests that Sinuhe's own physical reaction is presented by the poet as extreme but in no way involving a sense of guilt or disloyalty.

(19) Perrine Poiron, Université du Québec à Montréal and Sorbonne University, Paris

Ideology, Propaganda, and Its Spreading: 22nd Dynasty's Official Discourse inside Official and Private Sources

The political history of the Third Intermediate Period is still difficult to understand, especially because of two main factors that limit its study. The first one is the chronology of the reigns, some of which took place simultaneously, complicates the understanding of the political context of their establishment. The second one is the influence of the identity and ethnic prism that remains the framework within which most researchers set their research. The terms used to set these studies within the chronology of pharaonic history imply that these events took place during a period of turmoil, of "chaos" – "chaos" caused by the presence of foreigners on the throne.

To study this tumultuous period of pharaonic history, a stable and recurrent element close to the power during this time was isolated and observed: the goddess Bastet. Indeed, during the 22nd dynasty, a "new feature" integrates the official discourse of the kings: the use of "son of Bastet" and "son of Isis" epithets. By searching to understand when these links of filiation became part of the royal discourse, it allowed us to understand the reasons for its appearance. Then, the study of how this bond was developed over the course of the reigns and the elites' adaptation to the uses of these new titles when they mentioned the king revealed monarchs with a profoundly Egyptian cultural identity, anchored in tradition and ready to try everything to conform to it.

(20) Lutz Popko, University of Leipzig

Shards of a Distorting Mirror. Thutmosis III in the Eyes of Posterity

Thutmose III has been regarded since the 19th century as a kind of precursor of Alexander the Great and Napoleon and is considered "one of Egypt's greatest pharaohs" still today. The literature on his person is legion, outnumbering that on Khufu and Cleopatra combined. Considering his apparently extraordinary life and reign, it is little surprise that he was remembered in later times. Supposed reminiscences of his reign are scattered over three millennia – from the late 18th Dynasty to the Greco-Roman Period – and across Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Hebrew (?) sources, such as novels and king-lists, magical objects and health care texts, historical documents and travellers' anecdotes, proper names and iconographic sources. Although most of them are known and have been mentioned in articles and book chapters, they are usually discussed in isolation and (of course) evaluated from our modern perspective, which in turn is based on the biased modern reception of this king.

In this lecture, I intend to put these pieces together into a mosaic, unfinished and fuzzy as it may be, and I will attempt to trace trends and tendencies of his reception, thus using this example to illustrate the complexity of the emic and etic reception history in general.

(21) Julian Posch, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

The Fall of Khamudi: Reconsidering the Last King of the Hyksos

The influence of the Royal Canon of Turin on the research of pharaonic historical chronology can hardly be overstated. Due to the fragmentary state of preservation since its transport from Egypt to Italy, this papyrus has been an object of study in its own right with the surviving fragments repeatedly re-arranged and sometimes even re-attributed to other documents.

Despite these difficulties, the comparison of the data available on the preserved fragments of the Royal Canon of Turin with contemporaneous sources of the respective periods – if available –, shows varying degrees of consistency. In particular, the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period appear to offer a rather accurate picture and, therefore, especially the Second Intermediate Period's sequence of kings is mainly based on this document when other sources are scarce.

Such is the case for the 15th Dynasty, the so-called Hyksos kings. Regarding this dynasty, the Royal Canon of Turin preserves the name of the last king as well as the (disputed) summation of regnal years of the six kings belonging to this dynasty. Whereas the number of kings corresponds to that known from the Αἰγυπτιακά by Manetho, the last name within the section of the Hyksos kings of the Royal Canon of Turin – Khamudi – does not.

Khamudi is not known from any contemporaneous source so far, although some material has been attributed to him (e.g., Papyrus Rhind). Nevertheless, he is considered the enemy of the eventually victorious founder of the New Kingdom, Ahmose, and the successor of the infamous king Apophis.

Within this presentation, different objects and inscriptions as well as their attribution to Khamudi will be re-evaluated with the aim of shedding some light on this ephemeral figure.

(22) Anita Quiles, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo

The MERYT Project: Towards a New Chronometric Model for the Egyptian Old Kingdom

The MERYT project aims to build an accurate, high-resolution and multi-technical chronological model for the Egyptian Old Kingdom (c. 2900–2200 BCE) through an integrated approach, which brings together all the analytical criteria of Egyptology, archaeology, and archaeometry. It addresses the major issue of developing a dynamic chronological framework of the Old Kingdom, reign by reign, by building a statistical model reconciling Egyptological and analytical data.

In that respect, through a historical approach, textual sources keeping chronometric evidence have been re-evaluated to assess their reliability and to restore an updated succession of kings and the most accurate estimates of their reigns' durations. Such estimates will then be expressed as statistical laws. Through an archaeometric approach, we have carried out 14C dating series at the IFAO lab on samples almost all collected directly in on-going archaeological excavations in Egypt, the dating of which is clearly associated with a single reign (from the 1st to the end of the 6th dynasties). Specific improvements have been performed on the analysis protocols of textiles and bones to ensure their dating and to model accurately the results. We also have investigated possible regional offsets to IntCal within Egypt due to seasonal effects by analysing botanical samples from the Paris Herbarium. The whole is finally synthesised in a statistical Bayesian model, the formalism of which is fully developed for this project.

This talk will present first results of the Meryt Model and be concluded with further perspectives, bringing new insights into the start of the Egyptian civilisation.

(23) Anthony J. Spalinger, University of Auckland

Timelines: Commemorating Events Singly and Iteratively

A reconsideration of the development, or switch, between the early lunar calendar in Ancient Egypt and its later replacement, or counterpart, the civil calendar, is connected to commemorative events. The following discussion will concentrate upon the early so-called royal "Annals" (Palermo Stone etc.) as well as the first series of festival calendars that are known to us. One major issue concerns the iterative nature of many festivals, whether or not they reflect purely lunar-determined events, and those which occurred but once within a year (note that the concept of "Year" comes immediately to the fore). The change to a more regular system of time reckoning greatly affected the entire system of religious and royal celebrations, but also brought into focus how they would henceforth be fixed in time.

(24) Andréas Stauder, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris

On Dating Middle Egyptian Literary Texts: Some Strategies and Partial Results

Walking through a few practical examples, this presentation will review strategies – linguistic and otherwise – to narrow down the dating of some Middle Egyptian literary texts. In addition to reconstructing aspects of linguistic change and modelling written registers of language, relevant parameters concern, in varying combinations, the manuscript attestation of a given text, its compositional structure, its position in the Middle Egyptian literary tradition, issues of literary decorum, and, although in no simple way, apparent "historical detail". All strategies come with inherent limitations, and the most fruitful approach consists in combining these whenever possible. Even so, horizons of expectation must be set according to the problem at hand.

The following texts will be considered in particular in the course of the exercise: *Neferti*, *The Loyalist Teaching*, *Khakheperreseneb*, the *Teaching of Amenemhat*, and the *Teaching of Kheti*. While very precise datings are generally difficult or even impossible to come by, an overall picture emerges that contradicts the long dominant propaganda model of the functions of Middle Egyptian literature with its heavy concentration of literary production specifically in the early reigns of the 12th Dynasty. Middle Egyptian literature, it appears, developed more gradually over time, and directly historicist frames of interpretation tend to be problematic.

Beyond Middle Egyptian literary texts, this presentation also seeks to make a more general point: that strategies for dating texts must depend heavily on the types of texts considered, their position in a relevant textual tradition, and their very modes of textual production and transmission, among other dimensions. In view of the many dimensions and configurations involved, there can, therefore, be no such thing as a dating method of general application. While the question of dating can be asked in apparent positivistic terms, its effective practice is inherently hermeneutical.

(25) Sarah Symons, McMaster University

The Final Hour: Sirius in Star Clocks and Tables

Any dated record of modellable astronomical phenomena, such as the annual heliacal rising of Sirius (the *prt-spdt* event), are of acute interest in chronological studies of ancient Egypt, yet are frustratingly rare and often problematic. Sirius (Sopdet) was a member of two assemblies of "timekeeping stars" that appear in documentary contexts alongside and linked with the Egyptian civil year. These assemblies are 1) decans, stars of ten-day periods, which are the basis of the early Middle Kingdom diagonal star tables or clocks (from c. 2150 BC); and 2) hour stars, used in the Ramesside star clock tables (c. 1100 BCE). Unlike the decans, which occur in other contexts such as astronomical diagrams, the hour stars are only known from the Ramesside star clocks. In both, Sirius' motion upwards through the rows of each type of table is referenced regularly every ten days of the civil year in the diagonal tables and more sporadically in the Ramesside tables. The motion in the Ramesside star tables is explicitly linked with time periods during the night. These data are temptingly close to locating those civil dates in the solar year at a few points in the Middle and New Kingdoms, and thus offering astronomical support for a chronology of that time period.

This talk will discuss the difficulties of narrowing down the temporal provenance of star clocks and will explore issues in using the diagonal and Ramesside star clock tables as proxies for dated heliacal rise records.

(26) Filip Taterka, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Erasing a Reign: Hatshepsut's *damnatio memoriae* Revisited

Hatshepsut's *damnatio memoriae* is one of the most spectacular cases of history rewriting in ancient Egypt. Originally thought to have been instigated right after Hatshepsut's demise, it is now commonly believed to have been started no earlier than twenty years after the commencement of Tuthmose III's sole rule, even if the latter dating was originally proposed upon inaccurate analysis of the textual data. Scholars also still debate the issue of who is to be held responsible for Hatshepsut's *damnatio memoriae*: is it Tuthmose III, Amenhotep II, or perhaps the clergy of Osiris?

The aim of this presentation is to re-evaluate the following issues related to Hatshepsut's *damnatio memoriae*: 1) the starting date and duration of the dishonouring of Hatshepsut; 2) its various phases as reflected in her monuments; 3) the reasons behind it. In the analysis I will use both textual and epigraphic sources, mainly, but not exclusively from Thebes, including the unpublished evidence from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, which shed important light on all the aforementioned issues.

(27) Ursula Verhoeven, Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mayence

Dating Based on Hieratic Palaeography? Possibilities and Limitations

Ancient Egyptian cursive scripts are found on a variety of textual media and transmit the whole range of textual genres. The dating of such manuscripts, inscriptions or graffiti – inked or engraved – becomes a challenge, if there are no meaningful finding circumstances, credible date information, or an assignment to known persons. In such cases, the layout, individual characters, ligatures, word spellings, or the ductus are compared with other, reliably dated sources in order to achieve a chronological classification down to individual scribes.

A. Erman first used palaeography as a method in 1890 to date Papyrus Westcar into the Hyksos period, which by others has undergone very different dating (5th, 11th–12th, 13th, 17th–18th, 22nd Dynasties). His student G. Möller laid the foundation for a century of research on the development of book writing with his "Hieratische Paläographie" in 1908–1911. However, he used only 32 sources for almost three millennia of book writing history. Various palaeographies on individual epochs or text corpora followed from about the second half of the 20th century, nowadays supplemented by databases, and research also focused on the analysis of idiosyncrasies to identify personal handwritings and related manuscripts. The increasing number of edited sources shows that very different sign forms could be in use at one time in one place: The educational level, profession, experience, and age of the scribe, but also temporal, spatial, and personal circumstances of the act of writing significantly influence the handwriting. Moreover, the same character could take different forms within a single text, and the scribe could usually choose between very cursive, moderate or calligraphic, and even archaic versions of writing, depending on context and function. Against this background, purely palaeographic dating can become difficult and uncertain.

(28) Jean Winand, University of Liège

Writing History with Stories or Understanding Stories with History?

History as a principled scientific approach is relatively new. If compared to those dealing with Classical Antiquity, Egyptologists are rather fortunate as they can rely on abundant and diversified types of documents. If the evidence is quite satisfactory as regards the functioning of the different administrative levels that kept the machine running (from state level down to small villages), the picture dramatically changes as one considers the narrative that shaped the society, especially in the royal and elite circles. Since the beginning of Egyptology, scholars have been fascinated by texts that seem to express some meta- discourse. That is especially true for texts that explicitly refer to well-known historic events. Thus Gardiner once famously wrote that there was every chance that the tomb of Sinuhe will eventually be discovered with the hero's autobiography carved on its walls. Between those who take seriously famous texts as *The Tale of Sinuhe*, *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, *The Teaching of Amenemhat*, or *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* as ready-to-use pieces of evidence for reconstructing history, and those who consider, no less seriously, that such texts are better analysed first as literary pieces, without denying the relevance of understanding their *Sitz im Leben*, the debate will probably continue for some time even if the balance now seems to tilt more on the literary side. In this lecture, the case of *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* will be re-opened. It will be argued that using fictional texts – here stories – for reconstructing the past is at best dubious, but that, on the contrary, history as it can be reconstructed by using written and non-written documentary sources, can significantly contribute to a better understanding of the literary pieces.

(29) Annik Wüthrich, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Between Ideology and Chronology: The 21st Dynasty in Micro- and Macroscopic Perspective

Establishing a historical chronology of the 21st Dynasty remains a vexing problem, especially so for the first part of this period. This is mainly due to the scarcity of royal sources – and of dated sources in general – but also due to the particular status adopted by the High Priests of Amun from the end of the 20th Dynasty onwards. While the establishment of the succession of

kings of this period essentially rests on the data kept by the Manethonian sources, the "dynastic" arrangement of the High Priests of Amun in Thebes is based on contemporaneous sources left by these individuals and their direct or indirect entourage. It is characteristic of these dated sources to be of non-properly royal nature and to forego a reference to the reigning sovereign. This presentation will therefore discuss this particular kind of documentation and propose to link the absence of royal referents to an ideological specificity of the early 21st dynasty. The practice will then be compared to previous eras to assess whether this was a practice specific to the Amunian theocracy of the Third Intermediate Period or if we can observe a similar pattern during earlier periods especially depending on the writing media on which these data are kept.

We are looking forward to welcoming you here in Vienna!

Roman Gundacker, Annik Wüthrich,

Charlotte Dietrich, Johannes Jüngling, and Julian Posch

The Organising Committee