

KING ḤWDF?

By HANS GOEDICKE

THE Turin Royal List (III, 2) gives as the next to the last king of the Second Dynasty the name ḥwdf. The same name, although largely destroyed, appears again in III, 7 between *Dsr-Tti* and *Hw-[ny]*. The Abydos list, our best hieroglyphic account, does not mention this king in Dyn. II, and in Dyn. III a king ḥwdf is indicated in the pertinent place.¹ The other monumental king-list, the Saqqārah list, is likely to have listed this king in Dyn. II (no. 10), but unfortunately this entry is rather severely damaged.² No indication of a king with this name is, however, given in Dyn. III. Manetho, the late chronicler, gives neither in Dyn. II nor in Dyn. III a name which could be identified with that in the Turin Royal List. No documents of a king with this name are preserved in any way and the assumption of the existence of a ruler named *Ḥwdf* in Dyns. II and III is solely based upon the Turin Royal List.³

A name of this form is not attested for a private person either. Concerning its existence as a royal name, even in distorted spelling, as is the case with a considerable number of the royal names of the early period, for which the scribe of the Turin Royal List adopted spellings different from those occurring on the contemporary monuments of those Pharaohs, one feature seems particularly striking. It is the use of the group ḥ. Even assuming that the late scribe should have used a peculiar spelling for the name of a king whose name was not familiar to him, the presence of this sign, indicating 'evil', as a part of the name appears highly suspicious.

The occurrence of this group ḥ, previously also transcribed ḥ,⁴ is not restricted to these two occurrences. It appears also three times in col. VIII as part of names.⁵ The instances are: VIII, 5 (ḥwdf); VIII, 7 (ḥwdf); and VIII, 10 (ḥwdf). In two of the instances it is with certainty preceded by *df*, as in the names under discussion. It remains to say that neither one of those rulers of the late Middle Kingdom

¹ Cf. the photograph in Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 146.

² Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, Taf. I.

³ So Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, p. 146, and Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 166, 627.

⁴ Cf. Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, opp. p. 125, n. 3.

⁵ The restoration of the royal name (ḥwdf) in VI, 18 seems highly uncertain, as there are no traces which could justify it. Against it speaks furthermore the fact that this king *Sdf-krr* is well attested by a considerable number of monuments, none of which uses a determinative of this kind after the element *sdf*. If, indeed, the size of the lacuna should demand the restoration of a determinative, a point which is not clear from the photograph published by Farina, the inclusion of ḥ in ḥ could only be by erroneous analogy on the part of the scribe. That *df* in this context is not identical with the word discussed here is clear from the fact that it is in the causative. If we discard the restoration of ḥ in the cartouche of *Sdf-krr*, the fact that this name has a definite meaning contrasts it with the unintelligibility of the three names in col. VIII which contain ḥ as an element; also these obscure names occur nowhere else, whereas *Sdf-krr* is well known. For the monuments of this king see *Fouilles de l'Inst. fr.* x, 115 f. and the cylinder in Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 343, fig. 226, top row, fourth from the left.

is attested by any other source. From the occurrences it can be concluded that the group *ꜥ* serves as determinative to a word *df3*.

In addition to those occurrences as part of a royal name, the group furthermore occurs four times in the Turin Royal List. All of them are connected with the indication of dates. In the earliest example, IV, 16 and IV, 17, it is followed by the indication of six years, both times being part of a summary of the duration of the preceding reigns. In this instance the group *ꜥ* is considered to indicate an interregnum between Dyn. VI and Dyn. VIII. It is also found in VI, 6 after the complete entry concerning the King *Shm·k3·rc Imn·m·hst·snb*, followed by the indication of six years. Since it is already preceded by an account of the regnal years of this Pharaoh, now lost, it cannot be connected with this person. The two other instances, again in column VIII, are in a broken context. In VIII, 12, written as a rubric, it is followed by the entry of days ruled by the preceding Pharaoh, while in VIII, 14 it follows, likewise as a rubric, after the indication of months and days of the reign.

We thus have two principal contexts in which the group *ꜥ* appears in the Turin Royal List. The one is as part of royal names, the other in connexion with the length of reigns. It seems justified to postulate identical significance in all cases where the group appears, since the assumption of a varying usage of it as part of the royal name, on the one hand, and in connexion with the date indication, on the other, appears most unlikely to me.

In view of these facts the assumption that *ꜥ* is used here as determinative of *df3* 'food' cannot be correct, since the use of the same word in connexion with date-indications gives no sense whatsoever.¹ Moreover, *df3* 'food' as an element of a royal name is not attested elsewhere, and it seems that it was not used as a compound in names for a king except in the form of a causative verb in the name *Sdf3·k3·rc*, but which application is basically different from the nominal one presupposed for *df3*. Finally, the appearance of the 'evil' bird, even though it might result from an erroneous spelling of the scribe, seems highly suspect and would be in strong contradiction to the otherwise highly honorific treatment received by the royal name.

Df3, the phonetic value of the word, according to the above-mentioned occurrences, is in my opinion identical with *dfi*, attested by the medical literature with the meaning 'to sink in'.² The same root is found as *df* 'to deteriorate', of a building,³ although only attested from Greek times. Identical with this word is *wdf*,⁴ spelled with *d* since the Middle Kingdom. In its intransitive use it has the meaning 'to hesitate'; it also is found as a transitive and has then the significance 'to let become forgotten'.⁵ These different forms all are basically identical, the primary trend expressed being material decay. It is in this way that I propose to understand *df3* in the Turin Royal List,

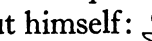

¹ Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, 166, n. 1 says about its significance: 'Man erwartet etwa "überschüssig", d.h. "nicht mitzuzählen" (oder umgekehrt?)). . . .'

² *Wb.* v, 569, 4.


³ *Wb.* v, 569, 7.


⁴ *Wb.* I, 388. For the change of the weak radical, cf. Otto, 'Die Verba Iae inf. und die ihnen verwandten Verba im Ägyptischen', *ZÄS* 79, 41 ff.



⁵ *Wb.* I, 389, 4.

indicating gaps in the original from which the text was copied, as frequently done by *wš*.¹ *Dfš* and *wš* are thus to be considered as synonyms. Support for this identification can be found in a passage in the Hatnub Graffito no. 12, 1. 3-4² where a man proudly speaks about himself:  'I was a scribe of restoring the gaps (destroyed papyri), skilled with his fingers.' *Dfdfw*, not attested elsewhere, is apparently a reduplication of *dfš*, used here of mutilated papyri. It is in this connexion significant that the man is at the same time *sš mdšt-ntr* 'scribe of the divine book', and it is tempting to assume that his activity as restorer of defective papyri has something to do with this profession of his.³ A parallel case to this indication concerning the restoration of papyri is already attested from the late Dyn. VI⁴ by the title  'scribe of what was found destroyed', but here with the use of *wš*. The holder of this title is likewise *sš mdšt-ntr*, as we have found in the case quoted above.

Since *dfš* thus has to be recognized as having the significance of indicating a gap in the original from which the Turin Royal List was copied, the instances where it occurs become fully understandable. In the cases of those three royal names, mentioned above, it accordingly indicates that only part of them was still legible to the scribe, the rest having been destroyed, which in all cases is the end of the name.

In the same way the indication  has to be understood when used in connexion with the accounts of the length of reigns. In VIII, 12 it probably is to be considered that the figure giving the number of months was missing, while in VIII, 14 it seems necessary to take it as an indication of a gap following the entry. This might either mean that there was a lacuna to the subsequent entry or else that an additional statement in the same line was lost.

As for the occurrence in the grand total after Dyn. VI, where the group  is followed by the indication of six years, it likewise cannot be considered as having the significance of 'interregnum', an idea which hardly would fit to the concept of perpetuity of Egyptian kingship, which demands a continuous occupation of the throne. The occurrence there seems rather to express that for a period of six years the names of the rulers, who represent Manetho's Dynasty VII, were lost in the original, although the length of their reigns was known to the later scribe.⁵ In the same way I propose to interpret also the identical entry in VI, 6, following *Shm·kš·rc Imn·m·hšt·snb*.

We now can return to the question with which we started, the King *Hwdfš* of Dyns. II and III. Applying the results of our investigation of the significance of , there can be no doubt that no king with this name ever existed. According to the use of this expression to indicate a lacuna, as found in col. VIII, we might well assume in III, 2, the fully preserved entry, that the missing royal name started with  and that only the other signs of it were lost in the original.⁶ Although this explanation appears to be



¹ *Wb.* I, 368, 10.

² Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 28.

³ It is interesting to mention that even in modern Judaism a scroll containing the Torah cannot be discarded, but always has to be mended when damaged or partially destroyed.

⁴ Cairo 1353 and also Mariette, *Mastabas*, G. h, 438.

⁵ The full record of this period is most likely to be preserved by the Abydos list in the entries from no. 43 to no. 52.

⁶ The  after  seems hardly to be of any significance, but to be rather a filling.

possible, I wonder if we may not have here a derivative of *df* formed by a *ḥ*-prefix. If my conjecture is correct, even though such a word does not seem to be attested,¹ it would be likely to have the meaning 'fully lost', as a prefixed *ḥ* causes the intensification of the meaning of the simplex.² In that case the entry in the original has to be assumed as completely lost, possibly even that in this place there was a larger lacuna, covering more than one line. Supporting such an assumption is the fact that for the specific chronological position occupied by this expression in the Turin Royal List we have more than one ruler attested by the contemporary monuments. This is particularly the case for Dyn. III, where the account given in the Turin Royal List is in wide disaccord with Manetho's record, which gives 9 (according to Africanus), or 8 (according to Eusebius) rulers for Dyn. III, which seems more likely to conform with the monuments of the known Pharaohs of that period than the other account with its rather limited number of kings.

Summing up, we can say that a Pharaoh named *Ḥwdf* never existed in Dyns. II or III, but that this entry in the Turin Royal List has to be understood as the indication of a lacuna in the original from which the scribe of the New Kingdom copied that record.

¹ *Wb.* III, 214, 3 gives *ḥdf* as the name of a deity, but the correctness of the reading is doubted.

² Thausing, 'Über ein *ḥ*-Präfix im Ägyptischen', *WZKM* 39, 287 f.