(3) *P. Oxy.* XLII 3042.2 has a date, as published, to year 5-3, which the editor considered might be 308/9 with omission of Galerius' years, or 310/311, with omission of both Galerius' and Maximinus' years. He cites only *P. Oxy.* 2579 (above, no.1) as a parallel. In fact, however, the papyrus has 15-3, as Dr. Coles informs us (he and J. R. Rea had independently noticed this error). The papyrus therefore belongs to 306/7.  

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6 Chastagnol (*supra*, n.4) 238 offered the desperate explanation, "...probablement parce que ce papyrus a été recopié après la mort de Maximin; les années sont alors celles de Constantin et Licinius." On p.235 he lists two further texts for year 7-5 = 312/3; these, however, are perfectly explicable, for both were written in 314, after Maximinus was dead and Constantine was the ruler of Egypt. Cf. *RPBE* 37.
...
So-called double dated inscriptions which name two kings have been considered fundamental evidence for Egyptian coregencies. Such inscriptions have been thought to specify one point in time reckoned by the synchronism of each monarch's regnal years. Combined with the highest known date of the senior king, the overlap of reigns has suggested the minimum duration for those coregencies. Thus, double dated inscriptions have been treated as if they were a distinct category of documents, identical with one another except for names and dates.

Focusing on the 12th Dynasty examples, the following study will demonstrate that because double dated inscriptions differ from one another, each should be evaluated on its own merit. As a result, it will be shown that they have been misunderstood.

The three 12th Dynasty double dated inscriptions which name two kings can be described as follows:

* This article has developed out of research for my doctoral dissertation, A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. John D. Schmidt and Professor Alan R. Schulman for their encouragement and advice. I alone am responsible for the views expressed.


This is a sampling of the authorities who follow the traditional interpretation of double dated inscriptions outlined below and should be understood as meant, though not specifically cited, when the generally accepted opinion is discussed.
The inscription at the top of the lunette of Intef's stela from Abydos is usually translated as "year 30 under the majesty of" Amenemhet I and "year 10 under the majesty of" Senwosret I juxtaposed on two horizontal lines (see fig. 1). Both kings are called 'nh dt; neither is mentioned in the body of the inscription which contains traditional formulae. The juxtaposition of year 30 of Amenemhet I with year 10 of Senwosret I has been considered as evidence for a coregency which began in year 21 of the senior king; his death in year 30, as recorded in Sinuhe,2 established its length at 10 years.

Leiden stela V,4.4 (Provenance unknown). Along the molding atop the cavetto cornice on the stela of Wepwawetō and reading outward from a shared, off-center 'nh, appear the titularies of Senwosret I and Amenemhet II (see fig. 2). Whereas Senwosret's titulary omits the Hr nbw element, the damaged titulary of Amenemhet apparently contained all five elements and thus occupied a larger portion of the line. Senwosret is called 'nh dt and Amenemhet di 'nh. Located outside the cornice decoration on the panel at opposite ends of the stela appear "year 44" and "year 2", though the rnpt- sign of each is destroyed, which are interpreted as the regnal years of the king named on the the corresponding side of the cornice. The main inscription contains customary phrases and lists the various offices held by Wepwawetō and functions he performed. The phrase, "this tomb which I made in the necropolis", also appears. Wepwawetō relates that Senwosret I (no epithet) appointed him to various positions, but makes no mention of Amenemhet.

3 A.M. Blackman, Middle-Egyptian Stories (Brussels 1972) R 5.
Aswan rock inscription. The third example is a rock inscription of Hapw located south of Aswan. Within the lunette is a winged sun-disk, below which appears a four-line text (see fig. 3). The inscription reads: "Made in year 3 under the majesty of Horus Sāmw t3wy (Senwosret II) corresponding to, hft, year 35 under the majesty of Horus Hkn-m-m3't (Amenemhet II). The trusty Sealbearer (?) Hapw came in order to inspect the fortresses of Wawat." Note that Hapw employs hft to relate the royal names and dates and only describes his task. The prenomen of Amenemhet, 'nh ḏḥ, is written vertically on the left side of the text and that of Senwosret di 'nh appears on the right.

Elements which all three inscriptions share in common are few in number. They contain names of two kings and two year numbers, are private inscriptions and none specify an exact month or day.

On the other hand, these inscriptions do differ. The manner in which the royal names and years are arranged varies considerably, and each text differs in content and purpose. These factors warrant individual study and evaluation of each of the inscriptions.

Other 12th Dynasty private stelae name two kings at the top, but are undated. The prenomina of Senwosret II and Amenemhet III face each other within the lunette of Cairo 20691. The epithets do not include di 'nh, 'nh ḏḥ or m3'-ḥrw; neither king is mentioned in the inscription below.

On Louvre stela C 7 and BM 258 the prenomina of Amenemhet III and Amenemhet IV are present. Both kings are

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5 J. de Morgan et al., Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I (Vienna 1894) 25 no.178; Lepsius, Denkmäler II, 123 e; Porter and Moss, Bibliography V, 247. Breasted verified the date as year 35, ARE I, §616, note b.
6 Lange and Schäfer, op.cit. II, 318-319.
7 A.J. Gayet, Musée du Louvre; stèles de la XIlle dynastie (Paris 1889) pl.VI.
neither inscription makes further mention of the kings. The Sehetep-ib-Re stela, Cairo 20538, is inscribed on front, back and sides. Within the lunette on one side are the Horus name and epithets of Senwosret III, ‘nh dt. The inscription includes titles of Sehetep-ib-Re, ceremonies performed by him and the Instruction. On the reverse side the lunette is identical except for the substitution of the Horus name of Amenemhet III, ‘nh dt, and the text enumerates offices held by the owner. The stela apparently was composed during the sole reign of Amenemhet III.\(^9\) The appearance of ‘nh dt or di ‘nh with the names of two kings does not prove that both were alive at the same time.\(^10\) Amenemhet III is the subject of the Instruction and below it he is noted as ‘nh dt r nhh, whereas Senwosret becomes m3ţ-hrw.\(^12\)

Each of the four stelae above, naming two successively ruling kings at the top, probably designates sovereigns during the owner’s lifetime or those whom he served through-

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\(^11\) For a recent study of di ‘nh and ‘nh dt designating deceased persons as well as living ones see Murnane, \textit{op.cit.}, 267-72. See also P. Smither, "The Writing of Ḥtp Di Nsw in the Middle and New Kingdoms," \textit{JE 23} (1939) 37 regarding Cairo stela 20702; J.W.B. Barns, "Four Khartoum Stelae," \textit{Kush} 2 (1954) 21; T. Säve-Söderberg, \textit{Ägypten und Nubien} (Lund 1941) 142 n.2 and K. Martin, \textit{Aêgyptiaca} 1 (1974) 287-95. These authors by no means exhaust the instances of deceased kings referred to as di ‘nh or ‘nh dt. It should not be surprising that the deceased were "given life" or named with the wish that they "live forever." Egyptian funerary practices testify to the belief that one could continue to live forever.

\(^12\) A similar change of epithets occurs on a stela of Senwosret III from Deir el Bahri which designates both him and Nebhepetre in the top register as di ‘nh dt, whereas within the main text Senwosret is still di ‘nh and the deceased Nebhepetre becomes m3ţ-hrw. E. Naville, \textit{The XIIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahri I} (London 1907) pl.XXIV.
out his career, and does not specify that both were ruling when the object was composed. Sehetep-ib-Re utilizes a different lunette to commemorate each king served, while the others combined the kings into one.

Through pharaonic history private inscriptions mention two or more kings during whose reigns the owner lived or whom he served. In the 12th Dynasty, three kings are named on the jambs of a tomb facade, and kings appear in the biographical portion of texts which associate stages in a man's life with the monarch at the time. For reference, the year of birth or age when performing something is noted and specific events are recalled and dated to the king. The appearance of two kings upon a

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13 The top register of the undated BM stela 175 (Hieroglyphic Texts II, pls.1-2) names Senwosret III: "Behold the beauties of the good god ḫw-Rḫˁ, justified" and refers to him with the epithets "Beloved of Nespawet, Lord of the Sacred Land" and "Beloved of Osiris Wenennefer, Lord of Abydos." He is not named again on the stela, though he is probably intended when, in the second register, Nebipusenwosret calls himself "a child under the feet of the king, a pupil of Horus, lord of the palace," just as Ikhernofret too was a pupil of Senwosret III (Berlin 1204: Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I [Leipzig 1913] 172). The rest of the biography only notes Nebipusenwosret's activities under Amenemhet III. His participation in a sed-festival of Amenemhet, known to have occurred in year 30 (D. Dunham, Naga-ed-Der Stelae of the First Intermediate Period [Boston 1937] 19-20, pl.1.V.1), confirms that Senwosret III was dead.


15 P.E. Newberry, El Bersheh I (London n.d.) pl.V.


17 Cairo 20518: Lange and Schafer, op.cit. II, 113; Manchester 3306: J. Garstang, El Arhabah (London 1901) pl.V; T.E. Peet, The Stela of Sebek-khu (Manchester 1914); BM 1236: Hieroglyphic Texts IV, pl.6.


private inscription, therefore, is not uncommon. It is the double dated single event which appears to be unusual.

On Cairo stela 20516, Intef apparently juxtaposes regnal dates 30 and 10 under Amenemhet I and Senwosret I respectively. The method of writing "regnal years", however, may indicate a different meaning hitherto overlooked. Rather than the expected $h^{\text{st}-sp}$ for regnal dates, both year hieroglyphs are $rnpt$ (M 4), without "t" or stroke determinative, which normally designate calendrical years.

Private persons sometimes note that they spent a number of years under a particular king. 11th Dynasty stelae use the expression $ir.n(.i)$ (i$\nu$ (z n $rnwt$), "I spent a period of time, great of years" to indicate a long span of years served under a king who is then named. One man records that within one such long period "I followed three kings." From the Old Kingdom on, there are instances where people even specify the total number of years they held particular positions, served or lived under certain kings. The $rnpt$ sign (M 4) usually desig-

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Simpson, Terrace, pl.4. Berlin 1198, op.cit. I, 177.

20 K. Sethe, Die Entwicklung der Jahresdatierung bei den alten Aegyptern (Unters. 3, Leipzig 1905); A.H. Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," JEA 31 (1945) 11-28. Two damaged blocks from Karnak each contain a "$rnpt$, plus t, 20", Lepsius, Denkmäler Text III, 29. Because of the very brief context, one cannot determine whether dates or "20 years" were recorded. Lepsius recorded a Nile height date as "$rnpt$ 15", though shading the "ten-sign", Denkmäler III, 139k, 1.2. Dunham republished the text as R.I.K. 5, clearly reading "$h^{\text{st}-sp}$", D. Dunham and J.M.A. Janssen, Second Cataract Forts I; Semna Kumma (Boston 1960) 140.

21 J. Polotsky, Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie (Unters. 11, Leipzig 1929) §42. Correct "Kairo 34346" to read "36346".

22 Clere and Vandier, op.cit., §24. A contemporary of Nebhepetre says of his earlier position: "I spent years in the house of Hty when it was the king's house." Ibid., §30.

nates such years, though the writing ḫt-sp is attested. 24

I suggest that on Cairo stela 20516, rnpt 30 and rnpt 10 represent 30 and 10 years which Intef spent under Amenemhet I and Senwosret I. 25 ḫr, "under", and ḫr ḫm n, "under the majesty of," appear on other examples of years spent "under" kings. 26

Since 30 years also equals the length of Amenemhet's reign, Intef may have been appointed to an office when the new king took the throne. Intef's career may have begun before Amenemhet became king, but he did not want to be associated with the earlier times. 27

Clearly, the present reconsideration of Cairo 20516 has repercussions. Since the notion of regnal dates is discarded and the epithet ḫn ḫt does not confirm that Amenemhet I was still alive, 28 then all, some or none of the 10 years under Senwosret I may have occurred while the elder king ruled. One can only state that the stela may note a coregency, while the certainty that it lasted 10 years has to be abandoned.

24 Caminos, ibid. For the reading of the word for regnal year see also E. Edel, "Zur Lesung von f .ToolStripSeparator 'Regierungsjahr'," JNES 8 (1949) 35-39.

25 In Egyptian accounting procedure "the numeral follows the noun, which, as a general rule, exhibits the singular form." A.H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, §261. R. Moftah, "Ära-Datierungen, Regierungsjahre und Zahlwortspiele," CdE 39 (1964) 51, believes that the dates on the stela are examples of "Zahlwortspiele", to be read as words signifying an "Ausrüstungsperiode...die man beim Übergang vom Leben zum Tod durchlebt."

26 Helck, Historisch-Biographische Texte, 110-111; Clère and Vandier, op.cit., §20.

27 Sobek-khu omits Senwosret II from his biography, though he notes his birth under Amenemhet II and career under Senwosret III. Garstang, op.cit.

28 In the third register a man named Hetep is designated as a lector priest, ḫry-ḥb, of ḫm-m-ḥt ḫn ḫt It-tȝwy. Simpson calls attention to the use of ḫn ḫt after Amenemhet's name to support the opinion that the stela was "probably composed in the lifetime of Amenemhet I." ("Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty: I-II," JARCE 2 [1963] 53). However, the epithet is not conclusive. For lector priests of deceased kings see H.E. Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes (New York 1947) figs. 40-43.
The interpretation of a period of time spent under kings also may apply to Leiden stela V, 4. Wepwawetô would thus have spent 44 years under Senwosret I and 2 years under Amenemhet II. Once again, the years counted may or may not have overlapped in a coregency, but the certainty would be lost.

The word for "year" on Leiden V, 4 differs from that on Cairo 20516. The circular sign which is visible above each number should be considered either a sp-sign (O 50), signifying that the time is counted by the regnal years each king ruled while Wepwawetô lived or served them, or it may be an early use of the sun time determinative (N 5) following the year-sign.

On the other hand, at face value two regnal dates are recorded. To what would the dates refer? The same question can be posed about any single date atop a private stela from Abydos or a tomb. The date may indicate the time of the person's death or burial, carving or erection of the object, or something else. We cannot be certain what the date on a stela designated, nor that the same thing was commemorated by all stelae which bear a date. In fact, most private Middle Kingdom stelae are undated.

The inscription on the Leiden stela may clarify the answer for it. The text mentions "this tomb which I made in the necropolis of the Sacred Land" (1. 3). Perhaps completion of the tomb was commemorated by the stela which dated the event.

It has been assumed that two dates on the Leiden stela must refer to the same point in time. Such need not be true, however, since private stelae do date multiple

29 Such as in Caminos, op.cit.
30 Sethe, op.cit., 89.
31 Simpson's comment that "it is generally assumed that the date on private stelae is that of the individual's death" (Terrace, 3 n.20) is questionable.
32 For example, not counting Cairo 20516, only 15 of the 780 stelae published in Länge and Schafer, op.cit., bear dates.
events. For example, Khnumnakht's stela begins with a date of year 7 under Senwosret I followed immediately by the statement, "I was born in year 1" of Amenemhet I. A Serapeum stela bears three dates of Ramesses II. Years 16 and 26 in the upper portion designate burials of Apis bulls, whereas the main inscription is from year 30. Antedating of inscriptions is known to have occurred as well as the addition of dated colophons.

I would suggest that if the Leiden stela does record two dates, then each designates a different event separated in time from one another. For example, any two of the events noted above could have been commemorated.

Location of the royal names and years on the cavetto cornice is unusual. Only a small percentage of similarly shaped Middle Kingdom stelae are inscribed along the top molding of the cornice and none bears a date on the panels beside the plant decoration. In fact, the inscription at the top of the Leiden stela gives the appearance of being added after the text and scenes below. A different hand can be detected at work on the cornice inscription from that of the main text. In the latter, the sun-hieroglyph is larger, particularly in the writing of $hpr-k3-R$ which occurs in both places, the $hpr$-beetle (L 1) is more detailed, the knots on the skins of the $ms$ signs

33 Cairo 20518: Ibid., II, 113-14.
34 KRI II, 369-70.
36 A Montuhotep carved an inscription in year 20 of Senwosret I and added to it when he returned in year 24: A. Fakhry, The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi (Cairo 1952) 33-34, no. 14. See also the Elephantine copy of Amenhotep II's Amada stela, Urk. IV, 1299 and Amarna boundary stelae A and B, N. de G. Davies, El Amarna V (London 1908) pl.XXXIII.
37 For example, only one out of the 65 similar stelae published in Lange and Schäfer, op.cit.
38 Photograph in Boeser, op.cit.