

II. 2 INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE FOR THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF DYNs. 0–2¹

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Sources

Contemporaneous king-lists intended as historical records are not at our disposal for reconstructing the chronology of the earliest dynasties nor for establishing the order of the kings. That such lists existed is shown by the Royal Annals.² The only contemporaneous sources are of a different nature, viz. a) kings' names inscribed on ritual or festival vessels or on administrative seals (and in one case, on a non-royal statue), useful in reconstructing the succession of kings; b) administrative labels citing eponymous events of specific years and stone vessels inscribed with festival notes which aid in determining the length of reigns. Later sources used for this study are restricted to the OK. It must be borne in mind that all sources, whether contemporaneous or later, may contain scribal errors,³ and that some, such as the Royal Annals, were subject to ideological influence.

Kings before Nar-mer

The earliest writing from Egypt preserves the names of several rulers who preceded Nar-mer, here considered the first king of Dyn. 1.⁴ Two

¹ I would like to thank Eva-Maria Engel and Barbara Kneißler for information and for help in preparing the documents.

² Wilkinson, *Annals*; M. Baud, "Les frontières des quatre premières dynasties. Annales royales et historiographie égyptienne," *BSFE* 149 (2000), 32–46; idem, "Ménès", 109–147.—Schäfer, *Annalen*, remains the fundamental publication for the Palermo Stone, the largest fragment of annals that has survived.

³ E.g. the labels Petrie, *RT I*, pl. 15: 16–17 where the meaning of the eponymous event was misunderstood—see G. Dreyer et al., "Umm el-Qaab, Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 11./12. Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 116 n. b; or, for the reign of Den, an entry in the Annals (Cairo Fragment 5, recto, lower part, 5) mentioning the planning (?) of a building which must have been erected under Djer, cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 246–247.

⁴ Recent scholarship favours Narmer over 'Aha for the role of Menes, first king of

of them are documented in the necropolis of This at Umm el-Qaab, Abydos: Iry-Hor and Sekhen/Ka.⁵ Archaeological evidence makes Sekhen/Ka the predecessor of Nar-mer and thus a successor of Iry-Hor.⁶ The presence of the element Hor in the name Iry-Hor can be cited in support of this interpretation, since the names of some other “kings” attested before Nar-mer also include the god’s name: Ny-Hor, Hat-Hor, and Pe-Hor. These “kings,” as well as some others, are presumed to have been local rulers or rulers who opposed the Thinite elite. Information for determining the chronological relationship of these rulers is provided solely by archaeological evidence.⁷ The following names are attested:

Ny-Hor, at Tura⁸

Hat-Hor, at Tarkhan⁹

“Trio” (three circles surmounting vertical strokes), from the eastern Delta,¹⁰ and perhaps also at Tura¹¹

Pe-Hor (alternatively read Iry-Hor and thus assignable to him), at Qustul¹²

Ny-Neit(?), at Helwan¹³

“Crocodile”, at Tarkhan¹⁴

“Bird and vertical sign”, at Tarkhan¹⁵

the First Dynasty; cf. Kitchen, *RITA* II, 533–534. Support for this interpretation is provided by Docs. 1 and 2 (see *infra*); cf. L. Morenz, “Gegner des Narmer aus dem Papyrus-Land: *NW* and *W^c-S*,” *GM* 189 (2002), 88. Baud, “Ménès”, 109–110, provides a summary of the arguments pro and contra both Nar-mer and ‘Aha.

⁵ Both readings are possible; see Kahl, *System*, 38–40.

⁶ W. Kaiser & G. D. Dreyer, “Umm el-Qaab, Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 2. Vorbericht,” *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 238.

⁷ See J. Kahl, “Hieroglyphic Writing during the Fourth Millennium BC: An Analysis of Systems,” *Archéo-Nil* 11 (2001), 106, fig. 3, and cf. W. Kaiser & G. Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 260–69; T. von der Way, *Untersuchungen zur Spätvor- und Frühgeschichte Unterägyptens* (Heidelberg: SAGA 8, 1993), 101.

⁸ Junker, *Turah*, 147, fig. 57; Kaiser and Dreyer (n. 6), 260–69.

⁹ Kaiser & Dreyer (n. 6), 260–69.

¹⁰ H. G. Fischer, “Varia Aegyptiaca,” *JARCE* 2 (1963), 44–47.

¹¹ Junker, *Turah*, 46–47, fig. 57; cf. Fischer (n. 10); von der Way (n. 7), 101.

¹² B. B. Williams, *The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L* (Chicago: OINE III, 1986), 163, pl. 76.

¹³ Identified in an inscription on a jar uncovered by Z. Y. Saad at Helwan in 1949 or 1950: E. C. Köhler & E. C. M. van den Brink, “Four Jars with Incised *Serekh*-Signs from Helwan Recently Retrieved from the Cairo Museum,” *GM* 187 (2002), 65–66, 76 fig. 1: 2, 77 fig. 2: 2.

¹⁴ G. D. Dreyer, “Horus Krokodil, ein Gegenkönig der Dynastie O,” in: *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffmann 1944–1990*, R. Friedman & B. Adams, eds. (Oxford: ESAP 2, 1992), 259–63.

¹⁵ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (1913), pl. 31:71; Dreyer (n. 14), 260.

“Scorpion”, at Hierakonpolis¹⁶
 a ruler with an obscure name, at Buto¹⁷

Not included in this list is a group of signs consisting of two falcons on a *serekh* (“Double Falcon”), known from Abydos, Tura, Beda, and the Sinai.¹⁸ Whether it represents a king’s name or is symbolic of royal authority per se, remains open. Several groups of signs on labels and in inscriptions on vessels from Tomb U-j at Umm el-Qaab, as well as signs on the Min colossi from Coptos, on the Libya Palette and on some other small finds, have been understood as kings’ names.¹⁹ But this interpretation is problematic.²⁰ The groups may be place names and/or the names of gods instead.²¹

Nar-mer to Qa-‘a: The Succession

Inscriptions preserved in seal impressions and on stone vessels have established a highly reliable model for the succession during Dyn. 1. Impressions of two different seals associated with the administration of the necropolis were found in the royal cemetery of Umm el-Qaab, Abydos. Both seals listed kings who were buried there. One dates from the time of Den or ‘Adj-ib (Doc. 1); the other is temp. Qa-‘a or Hetepsekhemwy (Doc. 2). According to Werner Kaiser, whose interpretation

¹⁶ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 25 (bottom), 26c; cf. G. Dreyer, “Ein Siegel der frühzeitlichen Königsnekropole von Abydos,” *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 41–42; W. Kaiser, “Zum Siegel mit frühen Königsnamen von Umm el-Qaab,” *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 116–17; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 92; W. Kaiser, “Zur Entstehung des gesamtägyptischen Staates,” *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 291 n. 23.

¹⁷ Von der Way (n. 7), 99, fig. 22: 6.

¹⁸ For documentation and discussion see E.-M. Engel, “Ein weiterer Beleg für den Doppelfalke auf einem Serekh,” in press; Junker, *Turah*, 47 fig. 57; J. Cledat, “Les vases de El-Béda,” *ASAE* 13 (1914), 119 figs. 3–4, 120 fig. 6; E. D. Oren, “Sinai,” *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, E. Stern, A. Levinson Gilboa & J. Aviram, eds., vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1993) 1388; Kaiser & Dreyer (n. 6), 260–269.

¹⁹ G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse* (Mainz: AV 86, 1998), 178–80.

²⁰ See B. J. Kemp, “The Colossi from the Early Shrine at Coptos in Egypt,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10 (2000), 211–242; J. Kahl, “Das Schlagen des Feindes von Hu: Gebel Tjauti Felsinschrift 1,” *GM* 192 (2003), 47–54. J. Baines, “The earliest Egyptian writing: development, context, purpose”, in: S. D. Houston, ed., *The First Writing. Script Invention as History and Process* (Cambridge, 2004), 150–189.

²¹ So J. Kahl, “Die frühen Schriftzeugnisse aus dem Grab U-j in Umm el-Qaab,” *CdE* 78 (2003), 112–135.

is followed here, the metal cylinder seal used to make the impressions subsumed under Doc. 1 was cut during the reign of Den and altered after his death.²² This accounts for the unsymmetrical sequence of kings' Horus names (written without *serekhs*)²³ and the name of the god Khent-imenty. The royal names are arranged from left to right: Nar-mer—'Aha—Djer—"Serpent"—Den—Meret-neit. (The sequence Djer—"Serpent"—is confirmed by Doc. 3, see *infra*). Social, rather than chronological reasons dictated that Meret-neit follows Den; as king's mother, her status was lower than her son's.²⁴ This interpretation is supported by the material (limestone)²⁵ of the stelae for her tomb at Umm el-Qaab and by seal impressions found there which are closer to those from the time of "Serpent" than to those temp. 'Adj-ib.²⁶ That Meret-neit is presumed to have served as regent for her son accounts for her burial among the kings at Umm el-Qaab.²⁷ Accordingly, the chronological order should be Nar-mer—'Aha—Djer—"Serpent"—Meret-neit—Den.

Several impressions from sealings of leather bags facilitated the reconstruction of a second cylinder seal, Doc. 2. Its design is similar to that of Doc. 1. Again, there are no *serekhs*. The sequence of kings' names from Nar-mer to Qa-'a is reversed, with mention of Khent-imenty, perhaps as tutelary deity of the necropolis.²⁸ Meret-neit is omitted, probably because of her lower status.²⁹ The royal names, arranged from left to right, are: Qa-'a—Semer-khet—'Adj-ib—Den—"Serpent"—Djer—'Aha—Nar-mer.

Inscriptions on stone vessels corroborate the succession Den—'Adj-ib—Semer-khet—Qa-'a (Docs. 4-8) or segments of it (Docs. 9-13, 15-17). Paleographical analysis shows that kings' names were added from reign to reign. Sometimes 'Adj-ib's name was erased (Docs. 10-11;

²² Kaiser (n. 16, 1987), 119.

²³ Dreyer (n. 16), 35, argues that this was intended to designate the rulers in question as deceased.

²⁴ So both Dreyer (n. 16), 37, and Kaiser (n. 16, 1987), 118 n. 13.

²⁵ Not one of the hard stones (grano-diorite, granite, or basalt) used for kings' stelae since the reign of Den; cf. Fischer (n. 10), 41-43.

²⁶ Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 495-496.

²⁷ A seal impression from Saqqara, tomb S 3503 may name Djer and Meret-neit; cf. W. B. Emery, *Tombs II*, 169 (2), fig. 226; Kaplony, *Inschriften II*, 1183 (730); *III*, fig. 730; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 101.

²⁸ Dreyer et al., "Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 7./8. Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 73.

²⁹ So Dreyer et al. (n. 28), 72.

cf. Doc. 15). Only a few of the inscriptions on these vessels use Horus names; in most cases they mention instead the *nsw bjt nb.tj* title + name.³⁰ Because other contemporaneous inscriptions give both names of a king, it is possible to equate Horus Den with *nsw-bjt* Khasty,³¹ Horus ‘Adj-ib with *nsw bjt nb.tj* Mer-pi-bia,³² Horus Semerkhet with *nsw bjt nb.tj* Iry-netjer³³ and also with a second unreadable *nsw bjt nb.tj* name,³⁴ and, finally, Horus Qa-‘a with *nsw bjt nb.tj* Sen,³⁵ *nsw bjt nb.tj* Sehetep³⁶ and *nsw bjt nb.tj* Qa-‘a.³⁷

The three *nsw bjt nb.tj* names of Qa-‘a can be interpreted as indicative of chronologically different periods of his reign. According to this proposal, Sen is the oldest of the three. On year labels of Qa-‘a,³⁸ Sen is associated with the official Henu-ka³⁹ who is documented under Qa-‘a’s predecessor Semer-khet.⁴⁰ The *nsw bjt nb.tj* name Sen and the official Henu-ka are both mentioned in connection with a “Sixth Occasion of Inspection”; another document citing the same event mentions the *nsw bjt nb.tj* Sehetep.⁴¹ Therefore, Sehetep will have replaced

³⁰ For the controversy about whether the element *nb.tj* belongs to the name or to the title, cf. Wilkinson, *Egypt*, 206–207.

³¹ Label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T: Petrie, *RT I*, 22, 40–42, pls. 11: 14, 15: 16; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 101, 123, 159, 169–170, 172–174, 188, 234; seal impression, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T: Petrie, *RT II*, pl. 19: 151; Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 127; *II*, 807 (730); seal impression, Umm el-Qaab, Cemetery T (?): Kaplony, *Inschriften II*, 1104 (83); *III*, fig. 83; seal impression, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T: Petrie, *RT II*, 25, 49, pl. 7: 5–6; Kaplony, *Inschriften II*, 1142 (364); *III*, fig. 364; label, Umm el-Qaab: G. Godron, *Études sur le Horus Den et quelques problèmes de l’Égypte archaïque* (Geneva, 1990), pls. 1: 1–3: 6; seal impression, Saqqara, Tomb S 3506: Emery, *Tombs III*, 68–69 (18), pl. 79: 18; Kaplony, *Inschriften II*, 1118 (196); *III*, fig. 196; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 191; seal impression, Abu Roash, Tomb M XII: P. Montet, “Tombeaux de la I^{re} et de la IV^e dynasties à Abou-Roach (deuxième partie)—Inventaire des objets,” *Kêmi* 8 (1946), 205–12, pl. 14; Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 135 (W); *III*, fig. 195; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 191.

³² Seal impression, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb X: Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, fig. 245.

³³ Seal impression, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb U: Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, fig. 229.

³⁴ Label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: E.-M. Engel, *Das Grab des Qa‘a in Umm el-Qa‘ab: Architektur und Inventar* (Diss., microfiche, Göttingen 1997), 437, fig. 217: 5; label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Dreyer (n. 28), 73–74, pl. 14d.

³⁵ Three labels, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Petrie, *RT I*, pl. 17: 29; Petrie, *RT II*, pl. 8: 3, 12: 6; Petrie, *Abydos I*, pl. 11: 11.

³⁶ Label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Dreyer (n. 28), 74–75, pl. 14e.

³⁷ Stone vessel, prov. not known: Kaplony, *Steingefäße*, 26–32, pls. 4, 20 (32).

³⁸ Labels from Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Engel (n. 34), 455, figs. 221: 1 and 4.

³⁹ Cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 579.

⁴⁰ Cf. labels from his reign: Engel, (n. 34), 437, fig. 217: 1; Petrie, *RT II*, pl. 8: 5.

⁴¹ Two labels, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Engel (n. 34), 455, figs. 221: 1 and 4 (Sen); label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Dreyer (n. 28), 74–75, pl. 14e (Sehetep).

Sen in that year. The “Sixth Occasion of Inspection” could not have taken place before the king’s sixth year.⁴² The new *nsw bjt nb.tj* name Qa-‘a for the king is the youngest because it is associated with his *sed*-festivals.⁴³

The style and content of inscriptions attesting two enigmatic kings (Horus Senefer-ka⁴⁴ and Horus “Bird”)⁴⁵ date them to the time of Qa-‘a or slightly later.⁴⁶ Three explanations are possible: (a) Senefer-ka and “Bird” were rivals of Qa-‘a. At the beginning of his reign, Qa-‘a had the “peaceful” name Sen, “the one who fraternizes.” The change to Sehetep, “the one who pacifies” and to Qa-‘a “the one with raised arm” reflect political developments, viz. Qa-‘a opposition to and eventual victory over two opponents. This alternative is favoured here. (b) The names Senefer-ka and “Bird” are also names of Qa-‘a; i.e., he also changed his Horus name in the course of his reign.⁴⁷ (c) The names belong to rulers who reigned after Qa-‘a died. The brevity of their reigns did not permit either to arrange for Qa-‘a’s burial nor were any seals cut. Seal impressions found in Tomb Q at Umm el-Qaab leave no doubt that Hetep-sekhemwy buried Qa-‘a there.⁴⁸

Evidence for the Lengths of Reigns during Dyn. 1

During the Early Dynastic Period a regnal year was not numbered but identified by one or more specific significant events occurring in its course.⁴⁹ This is inferred from the existence of different names for the same year in contemporaneous sources (labels and stone vessels) and confirmed by the information provided by the Royal Annals. Perhaps the use of more than one event resulted from the necessity to “name” a year when it began, at a time when only scheduled festivals and

⁴² Presuming that there was only one “occasion” in any given year.

⁴³ Stone vessel, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q; Petrie, *RT I*, pl. 9: 8; stone vessel, private collection: Kaplony, *Steingefässe*, 26–32, pls. 4, 20 (12).

⁴⁴ Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 17: 86; Emery, *Tombs III*, pl. 38: 1; Kaplony, *Steingefässe*, 33 (13).

⁴⁵ Petrie, *RT II*, pl. 8A: 6; Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. IV: 17.

⁴⁶ For the sake of completeness, mention should be made of a seal impression from Tomb S 3505 at Saqqara which preserves traces of an otherwise unknown Horus name; see Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 147, 149; *III*, fig. 742.

⁴⁷ Cf. Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, 15 (86), with reference to the name Senefer-ka.

⁴⁸ Dreyer (n. 28), 71.

⁴⁹ Cf. Baud, “Ménès”, 109–147; idem, *BSFE* 149 (2000), 32–46.

ritual or cultic events could be selected to identify the year. At year's end, events unforeseen at its beginning, such as expeditions or campaigns, could have been chosen and cited retrospectively.⁵⁰ In general, isolated eponymous events are unsuitable for determining the sequence of regnal years, by contrast to *sed* festivals and other recurring events. Even if *sed* festivals were celebrated for the first time before regnal year 30,⁵¹ mention of one suggests a point later, rather than earlier in a given reign. A *sed* festival is documented for Den⁵² and 'Adj-ib;⁵³ Qa-ʿa celebrated a second.⁵⁴ Other eponymous events which took place repeatedly are also suggestive of a long reign. Examples are the "Sixth Inspection" mentioned above and a "Second Running of Apis" during the reign of Qa-ʿa.⁵⁵ However, it is not known whether these events occurred at regular intervals. Thus they provide only a vague idea of reign length at best.

The Royal Annals, which survive on fragments in Palermo, Cairo and London,⁵⁶ list entries for every year of Semer-khet's reign (cf. *infra*). For other kings, only some years are preserved.

⁵⁰ Similarly, Dreyer, *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 116 n. a.

⁵¹ Hornung & Stachelin, *Sedfest*, 62–63.

⁵² Label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T: Petrie *RT*, I, 21–22, 40–41, pls. 11: 5, 14: 12; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 71, 123, 160, 169–70, 215; label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T: G. Dreyer, *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 80, pl. 26a. The mention of a second *sed* festival without a king's name on the fragment of a stone vessel from Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T (Dreyer, *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 80, fig. 9 and pl. 26d) may refer to Den; alternatively, the fragment may be an intrusive find from the tomb of 'Adj-ib, of Semer-khet or—most probably—of Qa-ʿa.

⁵³ Stone vessel, Step Pyramid, Gallery H: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. III: 7; IV.2, 19–20 (35); Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 123–124; stone vessel, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb X, Q, U: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. III: 6; IV.2, 20; Petrie, *Abydos I*, pl. 5 (upper left); idem, *RT I*, 20–21, 39–40, pls. 6: 2, 7: 5 and 10, 8: 11; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 123, 192, 228; stone vessel, Saqqara, Tomb S 2446: Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), 13, 41, pl. 33: 5; Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. III: 4; IV.2, 20. Cf. K. O. Kuraszkiewicz, "Noch einmal zum zweiten Sedfest des Adjib," *GM* 167 (1998), 73–75.

⁵⁴ *Sed* festival: stone vessel from Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Petrie, *RT I*, 20–21, 40, pl. 8: 7–7a; second stone vessel from Tomb Q: Petrie, *RT I*, pl. 9: 8; stone vessel from the Step Pyramid, outside Galleries H and B: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. IV: 4; IV.2, 24–25 (42); stone vessel in a Swiss private collection: Kaplony, *Steingefässe*, 34–38 (16), pl. 5: 22.

Second *sed*-festival: stone vessel from Saqqara, Step Pyramid, outside Galleries H and B: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. IV: 5; IV.2, 25 (43); another stone vessel from the Step Pyramid, Gallery B: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 8: 41; IV.2, 24 (41); stone vessel in a Swiss private collection: Kaplony, *Steingefässe*, 26–32, pls. 4, 20 (12).

⁵⁵ Label, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q: Engel (n. 34), 464, fig. 224.

⁵⁶ See note 2, above.

‘Aha: highly probable $x+2$ years (end of his reign)⁵⁷ and probably $x+5+y$ years (later years of his reign)⁵⁸

Djer: highly probable $10+y$ years (beginning of his reign)⁵⁹ and $x+9+y$ years (middle of his reign)⁶⁰

Den: $x+6+y$ years (middle of his reign)⁶¹ and highly probably $x+14+y$ years (later years of his reign)⁶²

‘Adj-ib: $x+2$ years (end of his reign)⁶³

Semer-khet: 9 years (his complete reign)⁶⁴

Qa-‘a: $2+y$ years (beginning of his reign)⁶⁵

Reconstructions of the Annals differ widely and must be considered highly speculative. Here statements about hypothetical reign lengths are disregarded.⁶⁶ The possibility cannot be ignored that Nar-mer’s reign was also recorded in the annals, especially now following on the discovery of a label at Umm el-Qaab citing one of his years.⁶⁷

Table II. 2.1. The kings from Nar-mer to Qa-‘a

Horus Names	<i>nsw bjt nb.tj</i> Names	Sed Festivals	Other Rulers
Nar-mer			
‘Aha			
Djer			
« Serpent »			Meret-neit
Den	Khasti	one	
‘Adj-ib	Mer-pi-bia	one	
Semer-khet	Iry-netjer and an unreadable name		
Qa-‘a	Sen		
	Sehetep		Senefer-ka, “Bird”
	Qa-‘a	two	

⁵⁷ Palermo Stone, recto, II: 1-2; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 90-91, fig. 1.

⁵⁸ Cairo fragment 5, recto, upper register; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 238-40, fig. 10.

⁵⁹ Palermo Stone, recto, II: 3-12; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 90, 92-103, fig. 1.

⁶⁰ Cairo fragment 1, recto, II; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 186-93, fig. 4.

⁶¹ Cairo fragment 5, recto, lower register; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 240-47, fig. 10.

⁶² Cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 103-19, fig. 1; Baud, *BSFE* 149 (2000), 37.

⁶³ Cairo fragment 1, recto, III: 1-2; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 193-94, fig. 4.

⁶⁴ Cairo fragment 1, recto, III: 3-11; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 194-201, fig. 4.

⁶⁵ Cairo fragment 1, recto, III: 12-13; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 201-202, fig. 4.

⁶⁶ For an instructive overview, see Wilkinson, *Annals*, 256-57.

⁶⁷ Dreyer, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 139, fig. 29 and pl. 5c.

Hetep-sekhemwy to Netjery-khet.⁶⁸ The Succession

The sequence of three Dyn. 2 kings is secure: Hetep-sekhemwy, who buried Qa-ʿa at Umm el-Qaab⁶⁹—Ra-ʿneb—Ny-netjer. The inscription on the shoulder of CG 1 (Doc. 18), a statue depicting a kneeling man (presumably a priest), lists these Horus names in that order. Additional support for the sequence is provided by inscriptions on stone vessels in different hands mentioning Hetep-sekhemwy and Ra-ʿneb (Docs. 19, 20).⁷⁰ In an inscription mentioning the *ka*-house of Hetep-sekhemwy on another stone vessel from the Step Pyramid (Doc. 21), the name Ny-netjer is written over an erased name. This document, along with the inscribed fragment of a stone vessel from the tomb of Per-ibsen (Doc. 22), substantiates the sequence on the statue Doc. 18. (During Ny-netjer's reign, Ra-ʿneb's name was erased several times; see Doc. 20, 21 (?), 22.)⁷¹

nsw bjt nb.tj Weneg⁷² is attested only by inscriptions on stone vessels found in the Step Pyramid and in Tomb S 3014.⁷³ Weneg's exact position, as well as the identification of his Horus name among those known, has remained open until now.⁷⁴ A long-known inscription from Tomb P at Umm el-Qaab (Doc. 22) provides the key to solving some of the problems associated with Weneg.⁷⁵ In the inscription the *nsw bjt nb.tj* name Ny-netjer faces the opposite direction from the name of Ra-ʿneb and that of his palace (Fig. II. 2.1). Ra-ʿneb's name is partially erased.

⁶⁸ Here and below the Horus name Netjery-khet is used to identify the first king of Dynasty 3, in preference to Djoser, since the latter is not documented in contemporaneous texts.

⁶⁹ See n. 48, above.

⁷⁰ For the sequence Hetep-sekhemwy—Ra-ʿneb, cf. the arguments of H. G. Fischer, "An Egyptian Royal Stela of the Second Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), 47–48 with n. 11.

⁷¹ A stone vessel inscribed with the names of Qa-ʿa and Ra-ʿneb (Kaplony, *Steingefässe*, 34–38 (16), pl. 5: 22) does not help to reconstruct the order of these kings.

⁷² For the reading, cf. B. Grdseloff, "Notes d'épigraphie archaïque," *ASAE* 44 (1944), 288–291.

⁷³ Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pls. V: 4, 19: 105, 20: 101–103 and 106–107; IV.2, 50–53.

⁷⁴ Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 103, proposed to identify him with the enigmatic Horus Sa, known from the mention of his *ka*-house in inscriptions on stone vessels from the Step Pyramid; cf. Lauer, *Pyramide V*, 7–8, pls. 6–7; Helck, "Die Datierung der Gefäßaufschriften aus der Djoserpyramide," *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 124.

⁷⁵ See the excellent photo published in the exhibition catalogue *Kemet alle sorgenti del tempo*, A. M. Donadoni Roveri & F. Tiradritti, eds. (Milan, 1998), 251.

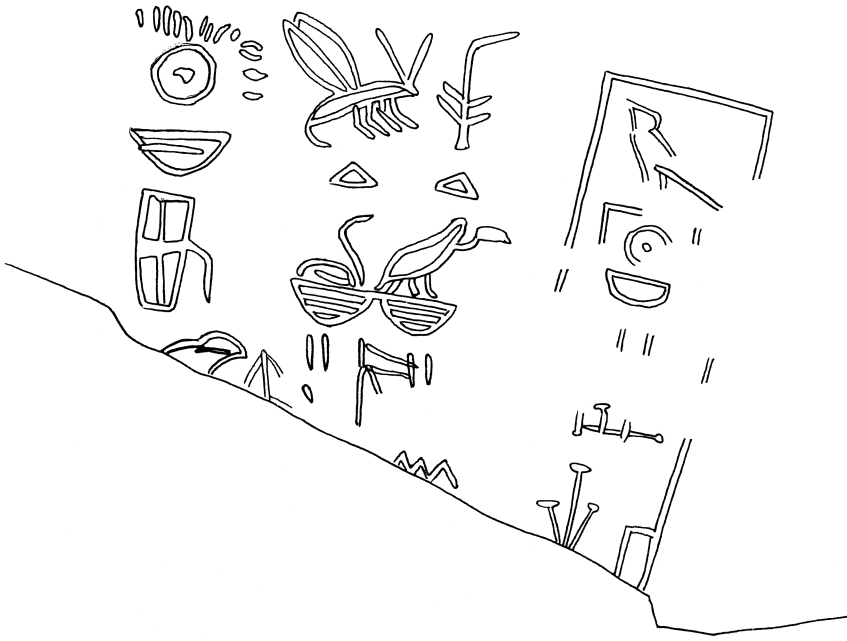


Fig. II. 2.1. Inscription on stone vessel fragment BM EA 35556
(drawing after photo: E.-M. Engel)

Scrutiny of the inscription reveals that the name Ny-netjer is written over Weneg. Traces of the plant sign used to write Weneg are discernible, as are the enigmatic strokes to the upper left and right of it (Fig. II. 2.2) which are also attested in another of his inscriptions.⁷⁶ Thus Ny-netjer must have been Weneg's successor, and the original inscription referred to the palace of Horus Ra'-neb and to *nsw bjt nb.tj* Weneg. Therefore the Horus name of *nsw bjt nb.tj* Weneg should be Ra-neb.

nsw bjt nb.tj Nub-nefer is attested only on two stone vessels from the Step Pyramid (Docs. 23, 24).⁷⁷ Both inscriptions mention him in connection with a building called Ḥwt-mn.t-ḥ. Another stone-vessel inscription associates this structure with the Gold name Ren.⁷⁸ The Palermo

⁷⁶ Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 20: 104; IV.2, 50.

⁷⁷ Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. VI: 3-4.

⁷⁸ Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 19: 98.

might be identical with Horus Sa, who is known from the mention of his *ka*-house in inscriptions on stone vessels from the Step Pyramid.⁸⁴

It is not clear whether the next two names—Horus Sekhem-ib and Seth Per-ibsen—belonged to a single ruler or to two different kings. Per-ibsen certainly claimed to rule over all of Egypt,⁸⁵ but the sources do not confirm this. Contemporaneous evidence for Seth Per-ibsen is restricted to UE between Elephantine and Beit Khallaf, just north of Abydos,⁸⁶ except for his funerary cult in association with *nsw bjt* Sened at Saqqara.⁸⁷ Sekhem-ib is attested at Abydos and Saqqara. Seal impressions mentioning Sekhem-ib come from the tomb of Per-ibsen, while at Saqqara, stone vessels with Sekhem-ib's name were found in the Step Pyramid. But this does not prove that Sekhem-ib exercised influence in the Memphite region, since these vessels could have been brought to Saqqara from Abydos after Sekhem-ib's death. Theories about the relationship between the names Sekhem-ib and Per-ibsen⁸⁸ suggest that (a) Sekhem-ib and Per-ibsen were names borne simultaneously by a single king;⁸⁹ (b) Horus Sekhem-ib was the older name of Seth Per-ibsen;⁹⁰ (c) Horus Sekhem-ib buried Seth Per-ibsen and was thus his successor.⁹¹ Down to the present there is no compelling argument favouring one alternative over the others.

The last king of Dyn. 2 was Horus-Seth Kha-sekhemwy. His power base seems to have been Hierakonpolis where he is attested as victor over northern enemies under the name Horus Kha-sekhem.⁹² Presumably

⁸⁴ Cf. note 74 above and M. J. Raven, "Les fouilles de Leyde dans la tombe de Mérytneith à Saqqara. Campagnes 2001–2002," *BSFE* 155 (2002), 31.

⁸⁵ Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, fig. 368; cf. Kahl, *System*, 83–84.

⁸⁶ Cf. Kahl, *System*, 356–58 (Quellen 2887–2914).

⁸⁷ In the tomb of Shery, see note 83, above. Kaiser considers dynastic and political reasons that might have led to the institution of Per-ibsen's cult under Kha-sekhemwy.

⁸⁸ Cf. Schneider, *Lexikon*, 405; Wilkinson, *Egypt*, 90–91.

⁸⁹ E.g., Grdseloff, *ASAE* 44 (1944), 295.

⁹⁰ E.g., E. Drioton & J. Vandier, *L'Égypte⁴* (Paris, 1962), 164.

⁹¹ E.g., Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 103–104.

⁹² Cf. the statues Cairo JE 32161 (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, 11, pls. 40 (upper), 41 (left); Quibell & Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), 27–28, 44) and Oxford Ashmolean Museum E 517 (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, 11, pls. 39, 40 (bottom); Quibell & Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, 31, 43–44. See now H. Sourouzzian, "L'iconographie du roi dans la statuaire des trois premières dynasties," in: *Kunst des Alten Reiches. Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991* (Mainz: DAIKS 28, 1995), 141–43, pl. 51. Cf. also the following stone vessels: Cairo CG 14724: Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 38 (upper); P. Kaplony, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Steingefäßen mit archaischen Königsnamen," *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 26 (53), pl. 6; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 72, 106–107; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures. Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster,

later in his reign, Kha-sekhem took the Horus-Seth name Kha-sekhemwy to demonstrate that peace and harmony had been restored through his actions.⁹³ Considerable circumstantial evidence exists for Horus Netjery-khet as the successor of Kha-sekhemwy: (a) a seal with the names of officials used once together with a seal of Kha-sekhemwy and then with a seal of Netjery-khet (Doc. 25); (b) Ny-maat-Hep,⁹⁴ mother of the royal children and king's mother (of Netjery-khet) is attested on seal impressions in Kha-sekhemwy's tomb at Umm el-Qaab as well as in Tomb K1 at Beit Khallaf (Doc. 26a–b); (c) many seal impressions naming Netjery-khet which come from Kha-sekhemwy's tomb.⁹⁵

The following Horus names of Dyn. 2 can be associated with *nsw bjt nb.tj* names or *nbw*-names:

Horus Hetep-sekhemwy: *nsw bjt nb.tj* Hetep⁹⁶

Horus Ra'-neb: *nsw bjt nb.tj* Weneg (see P. 102–103, above)

Horus Ny-netjer: *nsw bjt nb.tj* Ny-netjer,⁹⁷ *nbw* Ren⁹⁸

Horus Sekhem-ib(-Per-en-maat): *nsw bjt nb.tj* Sekhem-ib-Per-en-maat⁹⁹

Seth Per-ibsen: *nsw bjt/nsw bjt nb.tj* Per-ibsen¹⁰⁰

Horus-Seth Kha-sekhemwy(-Hetep-netjerwy-imef): *nsw bjt nb.tj* Kha-sekhemwy-Hetep-netjerwy-imef¹⁰¹/Kha-sekhemwy-Nub-khetsen¹⁰²

1985), 245; B.G. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms* (Heidelberg: SAGA 5, 1994), pl. 2a; Philadelphia, Penn. Univ. Mus. E 3958: Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 38 (bottom); Helck, *Thinitenzeit* 72, 106–107; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 245; Oxford, Ashm. Mus. No. not known: Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 37 (middle, right); Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 72, 106–107. Presumably also from Hierakonpolis are: Saqqara, no. 662: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 3: 18; IV.2, 8 (18); Helck (n. 74, Datierung), 132 n. 7; private collection: Kaplony, *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 24, 26, fig. 54.

⁹³ Cf., e.g., Wilkinson, *Egypt*, 91–92.

⁹⁴ See S. Roth, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende der 12. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: ÄAT 46, 2001), 59–67.

⁹⁵ See, for the moment, Dreyer, “Der erste König der 3. Dynastie,” *Stationen*, 31–34.

⁹⁶ Seal impressions: Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, figs. 281–82.

⁹⁷ Presuming identical Horus and *nsw bjt nb.tj* names imply identity; for the latter, see Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 15: 73.

⁹⁸ Palermo Stone, recto, IV.

⁹⁹ Again, presuming identical Horus and *nsw bjt nb.tj* names imply identity; for the latter, see Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 18: 87–94.

¹⁰⁰ As the preceding. For *nsw bjt* Per-ibsen, cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, fig. 368; for *nsw bjt nb.tj* Per-ibsen, cf. Petrie, *RT I*, pl. 4: 7.

¹⁰¹ As the preceding. For *nsw bjt nb.tj* Hetep-netjerwy-imef, cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, fig. 214

¹⁰² As the preceding. For this *nsw bjt nb.tj* name, cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (London, 1925), pl. 8: 18.

The Lengths of the Reigns of Dyn. 2-kings

Contemporaneous sources yield comparatively little information about the duration of reigns during Dyn. 2. Some stone vessels from the Step Pyramid bear inscriptions citing specific events.¹⁰³ One of them mentions the “Fourth Occasion of the Sokar Festival” (probably year 24);¹⁰⁴ another, the “Seventeenth Occasion (of the cattle count)” (probably year 34).¹⁰⁵ These dates have been ascribed to Ny-netjer, since he seems to have been the only ruler of the dynasty to have reigned more than 30 years.¹⁰⁶ For the same reason, inscriptions mentioning a *sed* festival are thought to refer to him.¹⁰⁷ The Annals preserve information about three kings of Dyn. 2: Ny-netjer, years 6–21¹⁰⁸ and perhaps $x + 9$ years at the end of his reign;¹⁰⁹ Per-ibsen, $6 + y$ years from the beginning of his reign;¹¹⁰ Kha-sekhemwy, perhaps years 3–6¹¹¹ and most probably years 12–18 towards the end of his reign.¹¹²

Chronologically Significant Inscriptions, Dyns 1-3

- Doc. 1 5 clay impressions of a cylinder seal
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den—‘Adj-ib
 a-c: Abydos, find nos. Ab.K 300, 301a-b
 d: Abydos
 e: London, UC 188 (provisional no., assigned by Kaplony)

¹⁰³ Lauer, *Pyramide V*, 88–90, (nos. 273–75), figs. 172–74.

¹⁰⁴ Lauer, *Pyramide V*, 88 (no. 273), fig. 172; Helck (n. 74, Datierung), 128; Wilkinson, *Egypt*, 85–86.

¹⁰⁵ Lauer, *Pyramide V*, 88–89 (no. 274), fig. 173; Helck (n. 74, Datierung), 128; Wilkinson, *Egypt*, 86.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Helck (n. 74, Datierung), 128. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 120, estimates a 39-year reign for Ny-netjer.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Helck (n. 74, Datierung), 130 and Lauer, *Pyramide V*, 3–7, 59, figs. 6–13: 91. But cf. I. Regulski, who assumes a *sed* festival of Kha-sekhemwy (I. Regulski, “Second Dynasty Ink Inscriptions from Saqqara Parallels in the Abydos Material from The Royal Museums of Art and History (RMAH) in Brussels”, in: S. Hendrickx, R. F. Friedman, K. M. Cialowicz & M. Chlodnicki, eds. *Egypt at its Origins* (Leuven: OLA 138, 2004), 960–967.

¹⁰⁸ Palermo Stone, recto, IV. 1–16; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 119–29, fig. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Cairo fragment 1, recto, IV. 1–9; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 202–206, fig. 4.

¹¹⁰ Cairo fragment 1, recto, IV. 10–15; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 202–203, 207–208, fig. 4.

¹¹¹ London fragment, recto, upper part; cf. Wilkinson, *Annals*, 248–51, fig. 11.

¹¹² Palermo Stone, recto, V. 1–7; cf. Baud, *BSFE* 149 (2000), 36–38; Wilkinson, *Annals*, 130–36, fig. 1.

Table. II. 2.2. The kings from Hetep-sekhemwy to Netjery-khet

Horus and/or Seth Name	<i>nsw bjt nb.tj</i> Name	Gold Name	Sed Festivals
Hetep-sekhemwy	Hetep		
Ra ^c -neb	Weneg		
Ny-netjer	Ny-netjer	Ren	one(?)
Sa(?)	Nub-nefer		
	Sened		
Sekhem-ib	Sekhem-ib		
(Per-en-maat) /	(Per-en-maat) /		
Per-ibsen (one ruler?)	Per-ibsen (one ruler?)		
Kha-sekhem /	Kha-sekhemwy		
Kha-sekhemwy	(Hetep-netjerwy-imef) /		
(Hetep-netjerwy-imef)	Nub-khetsen)		
Netjery-khet	Netjery-khet	Nub(?)	

Prov.: a-d, Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T; e, not known but probably also Tomb T.

Comment: See Pp. 96–97, above

Bibliography: Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, fig. 809; Dreyer, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 33–43, pls. 3–5; Kaiser, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 115–19; Dreyer, *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 61

Doc. 2 several clay impressions of a cylinder seal
 Dyn. 2, reign of Hetep-sekhemwy
 Abydos, find. nos. Ab.K 1486–1500
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab, Tomb Q

Comment: See Pp. 96–97, above

Bibliography: Dreyer, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 72–73, fig. 26, pl. 14b–c

Doc. 3 2 fragments of a serpentine bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Djer—“Serpent”
 Berlin, Egyptian Mus. 15453 and Abydos, find no. Ab.K 5089
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab Tomb Z and Tomb T, respectively

Comment: These fragments bear incised Horus names attesting the segment Djer—“Serpent” of the sequence established by Doc. 1.

Bibliography: Petrie, *RT II*, 25, pl. 7: 1; V. Müller et al., “Umm el-

Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 11./12. Vorbericht”, *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 109–10, fig. 22a, pl. 10a.

Doc. 4 schist bowl
 Dyn.1, reign of Den, with inscriptions added under ‘Adj-
 ib—Qa-‘a
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 88345
 Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, Gallery B

Comment: The bowl bears four incised *nsw bjt/nsw bjt nb.tj* names: Khasty, <Mer>-pi-bia, Iry-netjer, and Qa-‘a.
 Bibliography: Lauer, *Pyramide III*, pl. 19: 2; IV.1, 10, pls. I: 7, 4: 21; IV.2, 10–12.

Doc. 5 6 fragments of a schist plate
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with inscriptions added under ‘Adj-
 ib—Qa-‘a
 Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, Gallery H

Comment: The inscriptions record the *nsw bjt/nsw bjt nb.tj* names Khasty, [Mer-pi-]bia, Iry-netjer and <Qa->‘a.
 Bibliography: Firth and Quibell, *The Step Pyramid II* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 105: 3; Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, 9–10, pl. 4: 20; IV.2, 9–12; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 113, 187.

Doc. 6 2 fragments of a schist bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with inscriptions added under ‘Adj-
 ib—Qa-‘a
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 55254–55255
 Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, outside Galleries H and B

Comment: The adjoining fragments bear four incised *nsw bjt/nsw bjt nb.tj* names, Khasty, Mer-pi-bia, Iry-netjer and Qa-‘a.
 Bibliography: Gunn, *ASAE* 28 (1928), 156, 158, pl. I: 2; Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid II*, pl. 88: 1; Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, 10, pl. 4: 19; IV.2, 9–12; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 113, 187.

Doc. 7 calcite bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with inscriptions added under ‘Adj-
 ib—Qa-‘a
 Michailidis collection
 Prov.: not known

Comment: The bowl bears the *nsw bjt/nsw bjt nb.tj* names Khasty, Mer-pi-bia, Iry-netjer and Qa-ʿa.

Bibliography: Kaplony, *Beschriftete Kleinfunde in der Sammlung Georges Michailidis. Ergebnisse einer Bestandsaufnahme im Sommer 1968* (Istanbul, 1973), 6 (25), pl. 7: 25.

Doc. 8 “pyroxen-syenit” bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with inscriptions added under ʿAdj-ib—Qa-ʿa
 Swiss private collection
 Prov.: not known

Comment: The bowl shows four incised *nsw bjt/nsw bjt nb.tj* names: Khasty, Mer-pi-bia, Iry-netjer and Qa-ʿa.

Bibliography: Kaplony, *Steingefäße*, 20–24 (9), pls. 2, 17, 18

Doc. 9 “black stone” (diorite?) bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with added inscriptions of ʿAdj-ib and Semer-khet
 New York, MMA 58.125.2
 Prov.: not known (ex. Michailidis collection)

Comment: The bowl shows three incised *nsw bjt/nsw bjt nb.tj* names: Khasty, Mer-pi-bia and Iry-netjer.

Bibliography: Kaplony, *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 13 (22), pls. 3: 22, 4: 22.

Doc. 10 fragment of a rock crystal bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with added inscriptions of ʿAdj-ib and Semer-khet
 London, BM EA 49278
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T

Comment: Mer-pi-bia, originally incised near the name Khasty (untouched), was erased and replaced by Iry-netjer, documenting the sequence Khasty, Mer-pi-bia, Iry-netjer.

Bibliography: E. Naville, *The Cemeteries at Abydos I* (London, 1914), 35, pls. 8 (lower right), 14: 1; Spencer, *Objects*, 42 (271), pls. 23: 271, 26: 271.

Doc. 11 fragment of a stone vessel
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with added inscriptions of ʿAdj-ib and Semer-khet

Paris, Louvre E. 11035
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T

Comment: As Doc. 10.

Bibliography: E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1895-1896*, (Paris 1899), pl. 42; K. Sethe, "Die ältesten geschichtlichen Denkmäler der Ägypter", *ZÄS* 35 (1897), 3; Lauer, *Pyramide IV.2*, 10.

Doc. 12 fragment of a quartz-crystal bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with added inscription of 'Adj-ib
 Philadelphia, Univ. Mus. E 06847
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab, Tomb U

Comment: The names Khasty and Mer[-pi]-bia are incised on the fragment.

Bibliography: Petrie, *RT I*, 19, 38-39, pl. 5: 9; II, pl. 47: 31.

Doc. 13 fragment of a red limestone bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den, with added inscription of 'Adj-ib
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 34378
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab, Tomb T

Comment: The vessel may have originally shown more names than Khasty and Mer-pi-bia.

Bibliography: Petrie, *RT I*, 19, 38-39, pl. 5: 12.

Doc. 14 three adjoining fragments of a calcite vessel
 Dyn. 1, reign of Den with added inscription of 'Adj-ib
 London, BM EA 32659
 Prov: Umm el-Qaab, Tomb X or Z¹¹³

Comment: 'Adj-ib's Horus name is written in front of the *nsw bjt* name Khasty.

Bibliography: Petrie, *RT I*, 19, 38, pl. 5: 11; Spencer, *Objects*, 41 (268), pl. 25: 268.

Doc. 15 three adjoining fragments of a schist bowl
 Dyn. 1, prior to the reign of Semer-khet, with inscriptions
 added naming Semer-khet and Qa-ʿa

¹¹³ Cf. Spencer, *Objects*, 41 (268).

Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 55268 (one fragment only)
 Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, outside Galleries H and B

Comment: The field in the serekh has been cut down, i.e. the name Semer-khet has been substituted for another.

Bibliography: Gunn, *ASAE* 28 (1928), 158, pl. 1: 5; Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pls. IV: 3, 8: 38; IV.2, 22, (38); Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 101–102.

Doc. 16 part of a schist bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of ‘Adj-ib, with added inscription of Qa-‘a
 Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, Great South Court

Comment: The two *nsw bjt nb.tj* names incised on the vessel are Mer-pi-bia and Qa-‘a; Iry-netjer was not mentioned.

Bibliography: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 8: 36; IV.2, 21 (36).

Doc. 17 schist bowl
 Dyn. 1, reign of Semer-khet with added inscription of Qa-‘a
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 88344
 Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, Gallery B

Comment: The treatment of the serekhs shows very well that different hands inscribed the two Horus names Semer-khet and Qa-‘a.

Bibliography: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 8: 39; IV.2, 22; Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 593.

Doc. 18 granite statue of a kneeling man
 Dyn. 2 or 3
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1
 Prov.: Mit Rahineh

Comment: The sign preceding the names Hetep-sekhemwy, Ra-‘neb and Ny-netjer incised in that order on the right shoulder blade of the figure has been interpreted to read divine ancestor (Helck), falcon (Fischer), or phoenix (Moret).

Bibliography: *PM III* (2nd ed.), 864; A. Moret, “L’influence du décor solaire sur la pyramide,” in: *Mélanges Maspero I* (Cairo, 1961), 624, fig. 1; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), 45–46; E. L. B. Terrace & H. G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (London, 1970), 25–28; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 240.

Doc. 19 diorite bowl

Dyn. 2, reign of Hetep-sekhemwy, with added inscription of Ra^c-neb

Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 65413

Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, Gallery H

Comment: The Horus names of Hetep-sekhemwy and Ra^c-neb, incised by different hands, face the goddess Bastet.

Bibliography: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pls. II: 8, 11: 58; IV.2, 31-32; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), 46-47.

Doc. 20 flint bowl

Dyn. 2, reign of Hetep-sekhemwy (or earlier) with inscriptions naming Hetep-sekhemwy and Ra^c-neb

Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41981

Prov.: Giza, Valley Temple of Mycerinus

Comment: Both Horus names, incised by different hands, face the goddess Bastet. Hetep-sekhemwy is incised over an erasure, while Ra^c-neb, partially erased, is written behind Hetep-sekhemwy. Reisner argued that Ra^c-neb was succeeded by Hetep-sekhemwy on the basis of the partial erasure of Ra^c-neb's name, but Docs. 21 and 22 show that Ra^c-neb was Hetep-sekhemwy's successor.

Bibliography: G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge/Mass., 1931), 102 (1), 179 (1), pl. 70c.; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), 46-47; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 72, 103.

Doc. 21 footed schist bowl

Dyn. 2, reign of Hetep-sekhemwy or Ra^c-neb, with added inscription of Ny-netjer.

Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, Gallery B

Comment: The bowl provides evidence for the reign of Ny-netjer being later than that of Hetep-sekhemwy. A reference to the "ka-house of Horus Hetep-sekhemwy" follows the name Ny-netjer. As Lacau and Lauer noted, Ny-netjer could have been substituted for the name of another king (Hetep-sekhemwy or Ra^c-neb.)

Bibliography: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, pl. 15: 74; IV.2, 36 (74); Helck, *Thinitenzeit* 195-196.

- Doc. 22 fragment from the rim of a bowl of volcanic ash
 Dyn. 2, reign of Ra^c-neb, with added inscription of Ny-
 netjer
 London, BM EA 35556
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab, Tomb P

Comment: See Pp. 102–103, above

Bibliography: Petrie, *RT II*, 26, 51, pl. 8: 12; R. Weill, *La IIe et la IIIe dynasties* (Paris, 1908), 150; Spencer, *Objects*, 42 (275), pl. 26: 275; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 103, 195–96 (n. 130); Spencer, in: *Kemet* (see n. 75, above), 251.

- Doc. 23 fragment of a schist bowl
 Dyn. 2, reign of Ny-netjer or slightly later
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 55268
 Prov. Saqqara, Step Pyramid, outside Galleries H and B

Comment: *nsw bjt* Nub-nefer is mentioned in connection with the building Ḥwt-mn.t^cnh, also attested from the reign of Ny-netjer.

Bibliography: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, 6, pl. VI: 3; IV.2, 48–49.

- Doc. 24 fragment from the rim of a schist bowl
 Dyn. 2, reign of Ny-netjer or slightly later
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 55294
 Prov.: Saqqara, Step Pyramid, outside Galleries H and B

Comment: *nsw bjt* Nub-nefer is mentioned in connection with the building Ḥwt-mn.t^cnh; cf. Doc. 23.

Bibliography: Lauer, *Pyramide IV.1*, 6, pl. VI: 3; IV.2, 48–49.

- Doc. 25 clay seal impressions
 Dyn. 2, reign of Kha-sekhemwy
 Oxford, Ashm. Mus. A 1909.1118A-D, F-O; London, UC
 112–114 (nos. assigned by Kaplony)
 Prov.: Abydos, Shunet ez-Zebib

Comment: The seal (Kaplony, *Inschriften III*, fig. 346) with names of officials, which made these impressions was used in tandem with a seal of Kha-sekhemwy as well as with another naming Netjery-khet; cf. P. 106, above.

Bibliography: Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 164–66; II, 869 n. 1011; III, figs. 269, 346 and 801.

Doc. 26a clay seal impressions
 Dyn. 2 or 3, reign of Kha-sekhemwy or Netjery-khet
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 11106-112, 11143, 11145;
 Châteaudun 38(2) (no. assigned by Kaplony); Paris, Louvre
 no no.; Toronto, ROM B 2324; London, UC 92(2), 95, 96
 (nos. assigned by Kaplony); Abydos (cf. Dreyer, *infra*)
 Prov.: Umm el-Qaab; Tomb V

Comment: These impressions from the tomb of Kha-sekhemwy mention Queen Ny-maat-Hep as mother of the royal children.
 Bibliography: Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 161; II, 855 (983), 1137 (325); III, fig. 325; Dreyer, *Stationen* (see n. 95 above), 33.

Doc. 26b clay seal impressions
 Dyn. 3, reign of Netjery-khet
 London, UC 149-52 (nos. assigned by Kaplony)
 Prov.: Beit Khallaf, Tomb K1

Comment: These impressions from a tomb dating to the reign of Netjery-khet name Queen Ny-maat-Hep as king's mother. Therefore one can conclude for a sequence Kha-sekhemwy—Netjery-khet.
 Bibliography: Kaplony, *Inschriften I*, 167; II, 873 (1070), 1137 (326); III, fig. 326.