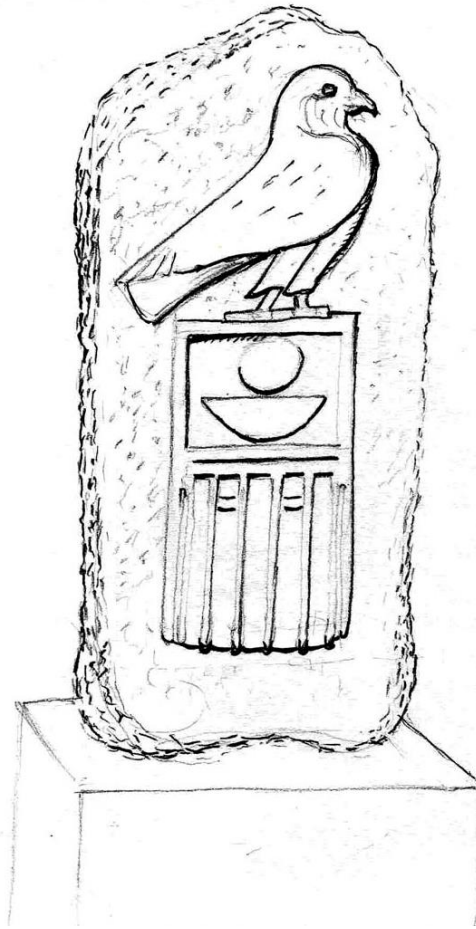


# Dark Dynasty

## The Formation of the Second Dynasty in Ancient Egypt



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I, Scott Allan, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is all my own and has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other university or institution. Where information has been derived from other sources, this has been indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'S. Allan', followed by a long horizontal flourish.

Scott Allan  
October 2016



## Preface

*Approaching a topic as vast and unknown as the Second Dynasty presents many problems.*

*Where to start? What direction to take? Where will it lead?*

*As a precursor to doctoral research on this same topic area, to try to provide a better understanding of the Second Dynasty and dispel myths, I hope this study will provide clarification on this 'dark dynasty'. By starting with a clarification of the cultural material I hope this will establish a strong foundation to expand research into areas of the Second Dynasty that are currently unknown or segmented into various research fields.*

*The thesis would not have been possible without the help of many people.*

*First my friend, Matthew Murrell, whose support and encouragement got me through each day. My supervisor Dr. Yann Tristant for his guidance and support on this challenging topic. Lorna Hankin for providing helpful advice in the final stages of this work. And my family, Sharyn, Renee, Peter and Indiana, for their support, encouragement and understanding during the completion of this work.*





## Abstract

*Positioned at the apex of the Pyramid Age the Second Dynasty of Ancient Egypt has remained poorly studied, widely considered a 'dark dynasty' due to a lack of archaeological evidence. This study will examine the archaeological evidence available to compare its similarities and differences to the First and Third Dynasties. Reviewing the textual, funerary, settlement and ceramic evidence the evolution of archaeological material will be highlighted rather than the sharp change a dynastic boundary implies. The unclear order of succession during the Second Dynasty has hindered analysis with unfounded theories on the attested rulers proliferating. During the past century the Second Dynasty has become regarded as a time of war and internal political conflict due to the reduced amount of evidence available ignoring the similarities in the cultural material. This study will begin to challenge these theories suggesting the Second Dynasty as a time of innovation and change, evolving from the unification of the First Dynasty and laying the foundations for the monumental construction of the Old Kingdom.*

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in this work are derived from the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (JEA) Abbreviations for Journals and Series.

AAR	African Archaeological Review
Ä&L	Ägypten und Levante
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
ARA	Annual Review of Anthropology
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
CRIPeL	Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de la papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CCE	Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte
DAI	German Institute of Archaeology, Cairo
DE	Discussions in Egyptology
EA	Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society
GM	Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JegH	Journal of Egyptian History
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JEHSO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
LingAeg	Lingua Aegyptica
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
SAA	Studies in African Archaeology
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Sammlung
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik





# 1 Introduction

*“In marked contrast, the succeeding Second Dynasty is most obscure, confounding the usual historical creed that suggests evidence increases with time.”*

A. Dodson, *The Mysterious 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty*.<sup>1</sup>

Most studies on the Second Dynasty start with similar disclaimers, describing it as one of the most mysterious periods of Egyptian history: a “dark age” or rather a “dark dynasty” where even the name and sequence of kings is unclear.<sup>2</sup> New excavations and artefacts are slowly enlightening this formative age; however there is still a reduced amount of material, which is difficult to interpret compared to neighbouring dynasties. During the late nineteenth century, WMF Petrie’s excavation at Naqada and Abydos, Upper Egypt, began modern Egyptology’s understanding of the late Predynastic and First Dynastic transition, including a clear definition of the cultural stages of the early Naqada culture.<sup>3</sup> Through excavation of the royal tombs at Abydos, the First Dynasty (3000-2890 BCE) is one of the best understood periods of the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic. The names and order of kings, as well as events during many of their reigns, are secure. The order of succession and identification during the Third Dynasty (2686-2613 BCE) is not quite as clear and still open to conjecture. However, royal names and funerary monuments are known for all five kings and much monumental architecture has

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<sup>1</sup> A. Dodson, 'The Mysterious 2nd Dynasty', *KMT* 7.2 (1996), 19.

<sup>2</sup> cf. T. Wilkinson, 'Dynasties 2 and 3', in: W. Wendrich, J. Dieleman, E. Frood, W. Grajetzki and J. Baines (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2014), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/xx002hkz8k>, 1–12; J. Kahl, *Ra is my Lord: Searching for the Rise of the Sun God at the Dawn of Egyptian History* (Wiesbaden, 2007), VII; J. Kahl, 'Inscriptional Evidence for the Relative Chronology of Dynasties 0-2', in E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D.A. Warburton (Eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Lieden, 2006), 102; Dodson, *KMT* 7, 19 for some of the recent works on the chronology and sequence of the Second Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> W.M.F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties Part II* (London, 1901b), 3ff; W.M.F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty Part I* (London, 1900), 3ff; W.M.F. Petrie and J.E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas 1895* (London, 1896), 18ff.

survived.<sup>4</sup> The intervening Second Dynasty (2890-2686 BCE) provides archaeologists with a proliferation of royal names, but a lack of royal tombs and a poorly understood cultural transition to archaeological material from the Old Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> Research of the Second Dynasty is further hindered by a philosophical belief that the end of the dynasty was a time of war, conflict and political instability, thereby excusing the lack of archaeological material and scholarly understanding of what evidence is available.<sup>6</sup>

By illuminating the Naqadian and Lower Egyptian Cultures, we can better understand the processes of acculturation and unification. However, the basic principles of evolving cultural practices are too often overlooked.<sup>7</sup> Although 'kingdom' and 'dynasty' have become codified into Egyptology, we need to carefully consider what a dynasty is, why the term is used and how this affects the interpretation of the evidence. This is especially true for the Early Dynastic period where data is collated and segmented to help define terminology, and formation processes were solidifying the Egyptian state and laying foundations for more than 3000-years of dynastic Egyptian history.<sup>8</sup> By separating the Second Dynasty from the First and Third Dynasties, archaeologists have carefully avoided its comprehensive study.<sup>9</sup> This study aims to

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<sup>4</sup> T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (Milton Park, 1999), 94–5.

<sup>5</sup> E.C. Köhler *et al.*, 'Naqada IIIC–D – The end of the Naqada Culture?', *Archéo-Nil* 21 (2011), 101–10; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 82–3.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkinson, *Dynasties 2 and 3*, 2; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 82–3; Dodson, *KMT* 7, 25–9.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. The difference between Naqada IIID1, Naqada IIID2 and Naqada IIID3 appears slight with variations in tomb architecture or inclusion of the latest beer jar (E.C. Köhler, 'On the Origins of Memphis – The New Excavations in the Early Dynastic Necropolis at Helwan', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Cialowicz and M. Chlodnicki (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002 (Leuven, 2004), 300–6).

<sup>8</sup> E.C. Köhler, 'The interaction between and the roles of Upper and Lower Egypt in the formation of the Egyptian state. Another review', in B. Midant-Reynes and Y. Tristant (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005 (Leuven, 2008c), 515–44; J. Trimble, 'Introduction: Social Change and Acculturation', in K. Chun, P. Organista and G. Marin (Eds), *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement and Applied Research* (Washington, 2003), 3–13; J.W. Berry, 'Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation', in A.M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some Findings* (Colorado, 1980), 9–25.

<sup>9</sup> I. Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 480–9.

clarify what is currently known about the Second Dynasty and why it is considered a separate dynasty from the First and Third. The study will review material dated to the Second Dynasty (or Naqada IIID period) and compare it with material from the First and Third Dynasties. The review will include four areas of cultural evidence of archaeological material from the Second Dynasty, to determine the dynasty's similarities and differences to its neighbouring periods.

These areas are:

- 1) textual evidence, including the names of kings and their possible position in the king-list
- 2) funerary evidence, including royal and non-royal tombs
- 3) settlement evidence from the Nile Delta and Upper Egypt
- 4) ceramics, including imported goods.

The study will highlight similarities and differences in the Second Dynasty material and discuss whether it evolved out of the First Dynasty (Naqada IIIC) archaeological evidence, if it is a precursor to the Third Dynasty, or neither. It also aims to review the theories of war and conflict related to the Second Dynasty, to determine their plausibility based on the archaeological evidence discussed and hopefully clarify what was occurring during these approximately 150 years. The study will begin with a historiographic review on what a 'dynasty' is, where the term came from, how it was applied to Egyptology and how it relates to the Second Dynasty. It will review the ancient Egyptian view of history, to determine how time and kings were divided up and how this relates to the modern dynastic divisions. This will be followed by an outline on the history of research on the Second Dynasty and the important archaeological sites. The study will continue by discussing a fundamental work related to the Second Dynasty (Newberry, 1922), as well as other works important to the study of the Early Dynastic period. It will carefully review any theories and how plausible they are, based on the archaeological material.

The comparative study of the textual evidence will include the names and titles from the king-lists, including seals and impressions, and how these compare to the archaeological evidence for each ruler. The Seth title of the late Second Dynasty is one of the most unusual features of the period and its relationship to the Horus title requires careful consideration. The study will compare other writings related to the period, including inscriptions of conflict and records of expeditions to bordering regions. Finally, all the textual evidence will be considered to try to clarify the order of kings from Qa'a to Netjerikhet, proposing a tentative order of succession for the Second Dynasty. The funerary evidence will consider tomb location and architecture for royal and non-royal burials, but will be limited to the elite or upper class burials rather than the lower classes or commoner graves.<sup>10</sup> The change in location of the royal necropolis, twice during the Second Dynasty, is poorly understood, particularly with so few tombs identified. However, the architectural development from the late Predynastic graves to the Old Kingdom pyramids can provide some insight.

The review of the settlement evidence from a selection of Nadaqa IID sites from the western and eastern Delta and Upper Egypt will aim to determine the extent of their occupation throughout the first three dynasties. However, it must be noted that settlement archaeology remains problematic despite the proliferation of excavations in the Nile Delta in recent years. For Nadaqa IID sites there appears to be a bias for excavations in the eastern Delta over the western, although this could indicate more settlements closer to trade routes. A similar issue is apparent between Upper and Lower Egypt, with few sites south of Cairo excavated (or re-excavated) since the early twentieth century. This has resulted in reliance on outdated excavation reports which are often poorly, and only partly, published according to modern

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<sup>10</sup> It is expected the scope of this evidence, and other areas of this study, will be expanded through further doctoral research on the Second Dynasty.

standards. The location of settlements will also limit this study as some sites are only known through their related cemetery with no domestic structures having been located.

Since Petrie's sequence dating, pottery vessels have become, and remain, one of the prime dating tools for the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods.<sup>11</sup> Where the Naqada cultural material ends and the Old Kingdom material begins is unclear; however the Naqada IIID is becoming better understood through the excavations at Helwan.<sup>12</sup> Ceramics from a funerary context dominate the typologies but often provide more diagnostic pieces. Stone vessels and imported ceramics will also be considered but this latter group remains poorly attested for in the Naqada IIID period.

As war, conflict and political instability dominate the scholarship on the Second Dynasty, this paper will examine the evidence discussed in the comparative studies for any evidence that supports these theories. First, it will review the concept of 'evidence of absence' for how it applies to these theories. It will discuss how conflict has come to underpin the modern scholarship on the Second Dynasty since the article by Newberry, before comparing the evidence of conflict during the Early Dynastic period. It is hoped this study will clarify how similar the Second Dynasty is to the First and Third Dynasties, rather than being a period of war, conflict and unfounded theories. Indeed, placed at the conjunction of the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom, the Second Dynasty is the transitional phase between these two formative periods of Egyptian history.

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<sup>11</sup> W.M.F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva - The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu 1898-9* (London, 1901a), 12.

<sup>12</sup> J. Smythe, 'New results from a second storage tomb at Helwan. Implications for the Naqada III period in the memphite region', in B. Midant-Reynes and Y. Tristant (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005* (Leuven, 2008), 164; Köhler in Hendrickx, et al. (Eds), *Origins*, 295–316.



## 2 Historical background

### 2.1 What is a dynasty?

The segmentation of time into manageable periods has become fundamental to the study of ancient Egypt. Scholars and their research are often locked into clearly confined chronological ranges, dedicating their time to either the Early Dynastic, Old, Middle or New Kingdoms. These ranges segment the culture from prehistoric times to the modern day and often appear to have forgotten linear time. While this division is not a new phenomenon in the study of ancient cultures, understanding where it started and how it relates to the various periods of Ancient Egypt is crucial to clarifying the relationship between neighbouring dynasties and the formation of the state.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.1.1 'Dynasty' and the king-lists

'Dynasty' can be defined as "a line of hereditary rulers"<sup>2</sup> underlying the familiar relationship between, usually, father to son, but in Ancient Egypt also mother to son.<sup>3</sup> Due to the reduced textual material for the early dynasties, this familiar relationship is often not clear. However, rulers did try to associate themselves with their predecessors, legitimising their rule at least in the eyes of the gods. By incorporating and reusing items from earlier royal burials in their own tombs, listing their names alongside ancestors on seal impressions and reinscribing artefacts with their names, they established a link with the past and created their own dynastic tradition.

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<sup>1</sup> C. Gamble, *Archaeology - the basics* (Milton Park, 2008), 132–3.

<sup>2</sup> J. Coulson *et al.*, *The Standard English Desk Dictionary*, Second ed. (Sydney, 1976), 264.

<sup>3</sup> *e.g.* Nimaathap as mother of Netjerikhet (Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 94; Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXIV.210).

Most king-lists date to the New Kingdom or later providing a skewed view of the early dynasties,<sup>4</sup> with the fragmentary Palermo Stone the closest contemporaneous list for the Early Dynastic period. No dynastic division appears on the preserved Palermo Stone fragments,<sup>5</sup> with only a dividing line incised between each ruler.<sup>6</sup> The Abydos and Saqqara king-lists confirm the Egyptian view of history as one continuous stretch of time, where the king identifies with his ancestors as well as with Horus, Re and Osiris.<sup>7</sup> It is not until the New Kingdom king-list of the Turin Canon that some 'dynastic divisions' can be seen.<sup>8</sup> What today is known as the first sixteen dynasties is divided in the canon into ten broad groups, with additional summations as subgroups.<sup>9</sup> The preserved headings appear to record dynastic relations, but these often do not reflect the archaeological record or known breaks, such as the First Intermediate Period.<sup>10</sup> Only one heading, equivalent with the Twelfth Dynasty, records a geographical reasoning for the group based on the location of the royal residence. However, the earliest groups are inferred to descend from "[Kings of the house of] King Menes", the traditional first ruler of the unified state.<sup>11</sup> The location of the royal residence, as

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<sup>4</sup> e.g. Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names were changed to conform to the New Kingdom or Late Period ideal of royal titles, with 'Re' being added to the end of kings' names (K. Ryholt, 'King Seneferra in the King-lists and His Position in the Early Dynastic Period', *JEGH* 1.1 (2008), 166–8).

<sup>5</sup> For this study all fragments despite their current location (London, Cairo and Palermo) will be referred to as the Palermo Stone. cf. Ch. 3.1.1.1 for further discussion on the Palermo Stone fragments.

<sup>6</sup> Based primarily on the division between Khasekhemwy and Netjerikhet however the names of these kings are not preserved and are identified by a statue made in Khasekhemwy's name (T. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt – The Palermo Stone and its associated fragments* (London, 2000), 18–20, 129–31).

<sup>7</sup> cf. the Nerferhotep Stela for an example of titulary during the Middle Kingdom where Nerferhotep states he is the 'son of Re', 'beloved of Osiris', 'the Horus', 'The Falcon of Gold', and 'born to the king's mother Kemi' (W.K. Simpson, 'The Neferhotep Stela', in W.K. Simpson (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 2003), 340).

<sup>8</sup> The precise date of the king-list is unknown however the tax register on the reverse, dated to the reign of Ramesses II, provides a *terminus post quem* for the list (K. Ryholt, 'The Turin King-List', *Ä&L* 14 (2004), 138).

<sup>9</sup> Ryholt, *Ä&L* 14, 139–40; D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Mississauga, 1986), 13.

<sup>10</sup> Dynasties 1-8 and 6-8 are summarised with the entire section preceded by a heading for Dynasties 1-10 (Ryholt, *Ä&L* 14, 141).

<sup>11</sup> Ryholt, *Ä&L* 14, 141.



a basis for dynastic groups, is reflected in the Ptolemaic work of Manetho, where the first ten dynasties are noted to have ruled from This, Memphis and finally Heracleopolis.<sup>12</sup>

Due to the poor preservation of the Turin Canon, the headings and summations provide little understanding on why the author grouped rulers as they did; however, that has not stopped concordance with the modern dynasties.<sup>13</sup> That names were listed one after another indicates the order of succession and familiar relationship within the overall document. However, it is not until the later kings, whose full titulary is known, that clear identification is possible.<sup>14</sup>

The king-lists of Seti I, Ramesses II and the Chief Lector Tjuloy list rulers back to the First Dynasty; however, their function differs from the Turin Canon, being cultic in nature.<sup>15</sup> The lists do not attempt to provide a complete list of rulers, often excluding problematic kings, and not showing any groups as seen in the Turin Canon.<sup>16</sup> While useful in placing certain kings relative to others, care must be taken with regards to rulers not listed, something that becomes more difficult for the Early Dynastic period where the names and order is not secure. All these lists provide information on how contemporary Egyptians viewed their past, with the Palermo Stone one of the few artefacts for understanding how the Egyptians of the Early Dynastic period viewed their historic line of kings. With the stone only recording division lines between a change of ruler and no indication of larger groupings comparable to dynasties until

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<sup>12</sup> Ryholt, *Ä&L* 14, 141.

<sup>13</sup> cf. Ryholt (2004: 141) where the limit of the preserved text is demonstrated but concordance still attempted: "[...] king Menes" (Heading for the 1<sup>st</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Dyn.), "Total of kings from Menes until..." (Summation for the 1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Dyn.), "[...] kings [...] Menes; their kingship, their years, and a lacuna [...]: 9[...]9 years and 15 days, and a lacuna of 6 years. Total: [...] 955 years and 1[...] days" (Summation for the 1<sup>st</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Dyn.), "Total 18 kings...." (Summation for the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Dyn.), "Kings of..." (Heading for the 11<sup>th</sup> Dyn.).

<sup>14</sup> Ryholt, *Ä&L* 14, 143.

<sup>15</sup> Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 18–21.

<sup>16</sup> Eighteen additional names are included after Pepy II however kings of the First and Second Intermediate Periods as well as controversial kings (eg. Hatshepsut and the Amarna rulers) are excluded from the Abydos king-list of Seti I (Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 18–21).

the Turin Canon, it is evident that contemporary Egyptians did not view their history as divided as Egyptologists cause it to be.<sup>17</sup>

### 2.1.2 'Dynasty' and Manetho

The first reference of the Greek term 'dynasty' (δυναστεία) in relation to Ancient Egypt can be dated to the Ptolemaic work of Manetho (Third Century BCE), the *Aegyptiaca*, now only preserved in quotes by later authors.<sup>18</sup> While the Turin Papyrus shows broad groups of kings there is no evidence of any other clear dynastic groupings in ancient Egyptian records until Manetho.<sup>19</sup> The *Aegyptiaca* records a history of Egypt, mostly lost, including a list of rulers and the length of their reigns. Manetho's rulers are grouped based on geographical information with the First and Second Dynasties from This/Abydos and the Third and Fourth Dynasties from Memphis.<sup>20</sup> It is assumed that as a high priest, Manetho had access to temple records, annals and king-lists, but the form the original records took and how they were contrived is mostly unknown.<sup>21</sup> Cultic king-lists and religious beliefs suggest the Egyptian kings viewed the succession as a long line dating back to Osiris and Horus as mythical ancestor kings. This would suggest that Manetho's dynasties are constructs of his own making, possibly based upon assumed geographical information of the royal residence.<sup>22</sup>

Modern Egyptology has long since codified Manetho's dynasties and clarified the order and length of many reigns based on archaeological evidence. Manetho's list shows errors and

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<sup>17</sup> E. Hornung *et al.*, 'Royal Annals', in E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D.A. Warburton (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden, 2006b), 20.

<sup>18</sup> W.G. Waddell, *Manetho* (Cambridge, 1940), 34.

<sup>19</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 27–9, 35.

<sup>20</sup> M.B. Rowton, 'Manetho's Date for Ramesses II', *JEA* 34 (1948), 57.

<sup>21</sup> Sealings of Hetepsekhemwy found in Qaa's tomb show the succession of rule across the traditional dynastic boundary, as well as with the change of rule from Khasekhemwy and Netjerikhet (Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 83, 94).

<sup>22</sup> M. Baud, *Djéser et la IIIe Dynastie* (Paris, 2002), 49.

confusion when comparing some dynasties, from variations in the number of rulers to the distortion of their names, making reliance on the *Aegyptiaca* as a historical document difficult.<sup>23</sup> Some of these errors can be attributed to the later authors who appear to have modified dates to align with and support the biblical chronology of the time they were written.<sup>24</sup> Archaeologists have clarified events at the dynastic boundaries, providing possible reasons for the location of these divisions. However, many divisions, mostly in the Early Dynastic period, remain unclear due to a lack of archaeological and textual material. The work of Petrie clarified many chronological issues of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic period through sequence dating. However, Manetho remains a strong influence on the dynastic divisions despite no clear understanding of what constitutes a Manethian dynasty.<sup>25</sup>

Through radiocarbon dating, Egyptologists are beginning to clarify the relative dates of the dynasties that Egyptology has relied upon. While still problematic, due to access to securely dated samples, the dynastic boundary of many periods of ancient Egypt have been confirmed.<sup>26</sup> However, due to the lack of historical records and variations in artefacts and cultural changes from site to site, early Egypt and the period of state formation have remained difficult to analyse.<sup>27</sup> Variations of several hundred years are indicated between the relative and absolute dates based on Bayesian modelling with the start of the Second Dynasty (dated between 2890–2850 BCE).<sup>28</sup> As more samples from secure contexts are tested, the dates of the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods should become clearer and clarify the exact length of the Second Dynasty.

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<sup>23</sup> Hornung *et al.* in Hornung, *et al.* (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 35.

<sup>24</sup> Hornung *et al.* in Hornung, *et al.* (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 36.

<sup>25</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, 6.

<sup>26</sup> C. Bronk Ramsey *et al.*, 'Radiocarbon-based Chronology for Dynastic Egypt', *Science* 328.5985 (2010), 1554

<sup>27</sup> M.W. Dee *et al.*, 'An absolute chronology for early Egypt using radiocarbon dating and Bayesian statistical modelling', *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 469.20130395 (2013), 1–2.

<sup>28</sup> Dee *et al.*, *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 469 (2013), 6.

## 2.2 The Second Dynasty

### 2.2.1 History of excavation

The earliest of Manetho's dynasties – the First and Second Dynasties – were poorly understood until the work of Petrie in the early twentieth century and the excavation of the royal tombs at Abydos. Two Second Dynasty tombs were identified amid the burials of the First Dynasty kings at Umm el-Qaab, including a pair of stelae inscribed to Seth Peribsen.<sup>29</sup> In 1898, J. E. Quibell recovered a number of items inscribed to Khasekhemwy, the last king of the Second Dynasty, at Hierakonpolis, most famously his seated statues.<sup>30</sup> Barsanti's discovery of the tomb of Hetepsekhemwy in Saqqara in 1901 – despite the extensive reuse of the plateau – added to the increasing corpus of information on the Second Dynasty.<sup>31</sup> In 1938, a nearby tomb discovered by Hassan was attributed to Ninetjer. Both tombs were lying partly under the Fifth Dynasty pyramid of Unas, however neither were accurately recorded.

These tombs confirmed an inscription on the statue of a priest that recorded the name of three kings identified as rulers at the start of the Second Dynasty.<sup>32</sup> A stela naming Ranef (see Figure 1), apparently recovered from Mit Rahina, is assumed to have adorned his tomb at Saqqara but its location remains unknown. More recently, the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) has reinvestigated the Second Dynasty royal tombs at Abydos and Saqqara, recovering further finds and clarifying the construction of the tombs (see Ch. 3.2). The Helwan necropolis and the tomb complexes below the New Kingdom tombs of Maya and Meryneith at south Saqqara are providing a clearer understanding of the socio-economic structure of Memphis during the Second Dynasty.

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<sup>29</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part I*, 1–7.

<sup>30</sup> J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis Part I* (London, 1900), pls.XXXIX–XLI.

<sup>31</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 21.

<sup>32</sup> Cairo JE 34557/CG1, Statue of Hetepdief inscribed with the names of Hetepsekhemwy, Ranef and Ninetjer.



*Figure 1. Stela of Raneb*

Metropolitan Museum, New York: 60.144 (Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24, Fig.2)

Archaeological material for the Second Dynasty is focused around two main sites, Memphis and Abydos. In the Memphite region, north and south Saqqara and Helwan served as the Second Dynasty necropolises for both royal and non-royal classes. The end of the dynasty then saw the royal necropolis returned to Umm el-Qaab, Abydos, with its history as a royal cemetery dating back to Naqada I.<sup>33</sup> Funerary enclosures of the late Second Dynasty are attested at Abydos near the First Dynasty enclosure remains, while identification of the 'fort' at Hierakonpolis and archaeological features at Saqqara continue to be debated. A large

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<sup>33</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 231.

collection of evidence comes from inscribed vessels reused in the Netjerikhet galleries at the Step Pyramid complex in Saqqara, with many dated to the reign of Khasekhemwy.<sup>34</sup> Through the sequence of rulers preserved in king-lists and the *Aegyptiaca*, a basic outline of the Second Dynasty was known, but the concordance with the archaeological material and Horus titles remained problematic. The first three rulers have been firmly established through an inscription on the statue of Hetepdief (see Figure 2), as well as the last two rulers through their tombs at Abydos.<sup>35</sup> Names of other rulers are attested but where they fit into the sequence of kings, or if they are other titles for already known rulers, remains a mystery.<sup>36</sup>



*Figure 2. Statue of Hetepdief*

Cairo Museum CG1

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<sup>34</sup> Netjerikhet, more commonly known as Djoser, will be referred to by his Horus name to maintain consistency with the Early Dynastic period where Horus (or Seth) names predominate.

<sup>35</sup> Egyptian Museum, Cairo: CG1 from Mit Rahina (Kahl in Hornung, et al. (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 102, 112); Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, 5–6.

<sup>36</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20.

### 2.2.2 Beginnings of conflict

In 1922, an article by Percy Newberry about the story 'The Myth of Horus' established a theory that the Second Dynasty was a period of conflict and political instability (see Ch. 2.3). This theory has persisted into the present day but has not been adequately explained.<sup>37</sup> Newberry's theory, while interesting, is not supported by the archaeological material or the textual evidence. However, it was almost seventy-five years before another attempt to analyse the Second Dynasty was made.<sup>38</sup> At the end of the twentieth century, the Second Dynasty was understood to be a period of conflict and political instability, although this was based on very little evidence.<sup>39</sup> Dodson (1996) (see Figure 3) incorporated new material to support the conflict theory; however the underlying concept remained circumstantial based almost entirely on the use of the gods Seth and Horus in the title of two kings.<sup>40</sup> Analysis of Nile flood levels have also added to the mystery during this period. Bell's (1970) analysis of Nile flood height measurements recorded on the Palermo Stone show a trend of reduced flood height from the end of the First through to the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>41</sup> A correlation between flood reduction and political instability appears during other periods of flood height variation, such as the First and Second Intermediate Periods. However, this theory requires further supporting evidence before a causation can be made for the Second Dynasty.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> P.E. Newberry, 'The Set Rebellion of the II<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty', *Ancient Egypt* I (1922), 40–6.

<sup>38</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 19–31.

<sup>39</sup> cf. Sample of literature mentioning the conflict during the Second Dynasty (W.B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1961), 98–101; C. Aldred, *The Egyptians* (London, 1961), 86–7; M.A. Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs* (London, 1980), 349; A.J. Spencer, *Early Egypt: The Rise of Civilisation in the Nile Valley* (London, 1993), 67–9; N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 56).

<sup>40</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 25–6.

<sup>41</sup> B. Bell, 'The Oldest Records of the Nile Floods', *The Geographical Journal* 136.4 (1970), 570, Fig.I.

<sup>42</sup> B. Bell, 'The Dark Ages in Ancient History. I. The First Dark Age in Egypt', *AJA* 75.1 (1971), 19; B. Bell, 'Climate and the History of Egypt: The Middle Kingdom', *AJA* 79.3 (1975), 261–2; Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs*, 312.



# The Mysterious 2ND DYNASTY

by Aidan Dodson

For such a formative phase in Egyptian history, the First Dynasty is remarkably well known. The basic sequence of rulers is clear and, although details are inevitably lacking, we have good evidence for a number of events in their reigns, in particular from the wood and ivory tablets that have come from the royal tombs at Abydos (Umm el Qaab).<sup>1</sup> Other information is provided by the series of great funerary enclosures that accompanied the royal tombs, lying northeast of them near the Abydene desert-edge.<sup>2</sup> A number of the dignitaries of the period are also recognizable figures, not only from material from the royal tombs, but also from the tombs of the nobles themselves, excavated by Bryan Emery (1903-1971) on the edge of the escarpment at Sakkara.<sup>3</sup>

In marked contrast, the succeeding Second Dynasty is most obscure, confounding the usual historical creed that suggests evidence increases with time. Even the exact number and order of its rulers is uncertain: while the beginning and end of the period are fairly well-defined, the middle years present a definite enigma.

19 KMT

Figure 3. *The Mysterious 2nd Dynasty* by A. Dodson (1996)



### 2.3 The Set rebellion of the Second Dynasty

As noted in Ch 2.2, Newberry's theory of Second Dynasty conflict and instability was based on the story 'The Myth of Horus'. However, the assumptions Newberry has made around the date of this play and the evidence it provides for the conditions in the Second Dynasty are tenuous and untested. Dating from the Predynastic era on the Scorpion macehead, Seth has long been a fundamental part of Egyptian mythology, although his relationship to the various gods has changed throughout time.<sup>43</sup> The mythological battle of Horus and Seth came to prominence during the New Kingdom. It is preserved in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* dated to the reign of Ramesses V, although parts of the story are attested during the Old and Middle Kingdoms.<sup>44</sup> The birthright of a son over his uncle is the underlying moral message; however the story also infers the importance of kingship through maintaining order over chaos.<sup>45</sup> The Ptolemaic Temple of Horus at Edfu records many important ceremonies, including the birth of Horus and his struggle against Seth for the rule of Egypt.<sup>46</sup> Possibly performed as a sacred play, the Myth of Horus records a battle between the gods while Horus was in Nubia suppressing a rebellion.<sup>47</sup> Based on the representation of Imhotep as the Chief Lector Priest reciting the Myth and an unclear dating within the text of 'Year 363 of Horakhty', Newberry asserts it

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<sup>43</sup> cf. McDonald for an interpretation of the iconography of the Seth animal (A. McDonald, 'Tall Tails: The Seth Animal Reconsidered', *Current Research in Egyptology* 1 (2000), 75–81; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 294).

<sup>44</sup> E.F. Wente Jr., 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth', in W.K. Simpson (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 2003), 91.

<sup>45</sup> Wente Jr. in Simpson (Ed.), *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 92.

<sup>46</sup> B. Watterson, *The Gods of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1984), 104–5.

<sup>47</sup> A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, 'The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama (Concluded)', *JEA* 30 (1944b), 5–22; A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, 'Additions and Corrections to A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, 'The Myth of Horus at Edfu-III' in *JEA* XXIX-XXX', *JEA* 30 (1944a), 79–80; A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, 'The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus Over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama (Continued)', *JEA* 29 (1943), 2–36; A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, 'The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama', *JEA* 28 (1942), 32–8; H.W. Fairman, 'The Myth of Horus at Edfu: I', *JEA* 21.1 (1935), 26–36.

records a Second Dynasty battle.<sup>48</sup> It is unclear why Imhotep is represented in connection with the Myth, other than him being deified during the Late Period.<sup>49</sup> Blackman and Fairman (1942) suggest the text may be based on an earlier work attributed to Imhotep, but it remains unclear that this is the same person as the Third Dynasty architect.<sup>50</sup>

The dating of the events of 'Year 363' by Newberry rely upon reconstructions of the Palermo Stone; however this has proved impossible until further pieces are discovered.<sup>51</sup> Gwyn Griffiths disputes Newberry's assumption but fails to clearly explain what 'Year 363 of Horakhty' refers to: after the founding of the Egyptian state or a mythological date referring to the 'Two Horizons' of sunrise and sunset.<sup>52</sup> Newberry further suggests a Second Dynasty date by identifying the rulers Peribsen and Khasekhemwy with the two gods through their serekhs.<sup>53</sup> Topped with Seth (Peribsen) and Horus and Seth (Khasekhemwy), the serekhs indicate a change in religious practice but are not a clear indication of conflict during the Second Dynasty. A stele of Khasekhem is also construed with a fragment mentioning the king's victory over Bow-Land, the location of Horus before the battle in the Myth.<sup>54</sup> The inscription recording a Second Dynasty battle between two competing kings is problematic for many reasons but the intervening 3000 years attests no evidence to support this connection. Newberry's theory has been called into doubt based on the lack of thorough investigation but the underlying conflict he proposed persists in modern scholarship and has not been

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<sup>48</sup> Newberry identifies Imhotep from the Temple of Edfu with the architect of the Netjerikhet Step Pyramid complex (Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* I, 42).

<sup>49</sup> Blackman and Fairman, *JEA* 28, 36.

<sup>50</sup> Text above the figure states "the chief lector, scribe of the god's book" (Blackman and Fairman, *JEA* 28, 36; J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'The Interpretation of the Horus-Myth of Edfu', *JEA* 44 (1958), 75).

<sup>51</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 45–6; Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 44, 75; Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* I, 42.

<sup>52</sup> Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 44, 75; Watterson, *Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 100.

<sup>53</sup> Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* I, 41.

<sup>54</sup> Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* I, 42; J.E. Quibell and F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis Part II* (London, 1902), 47–8.

adequately examined.<sup>55</sup> Due to the lack of evidence and understanding of the Second Dynasty, very little academic research has been dedicated to its study. Bard provides only three pages of review and other authors even less.<sup>56</sup> Dodson's article provides a good review of the Second Dynasty but continues to highlight the conflict of the period with circumstantial evidence, which is problematic as scholars often reference this work proliferating the idea of a period of internal instability and warfare.<sup>57</sup> This conviction by scholars appears to stem from Newberry's questionable interpretation of the Myth of Horus at the Temple of Edfu and needs to be challenged through analysis of the Second Dynasty evidence and understanding of the entire Early Dynastic period.

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<sup>55</sup> cf. Gwyn Griffiths for a detailed interpretation of the text based on the work of Blackman and Fairman (Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 44, 75–85).

<sup>56</sup> K.A. Bard, 'The Emergence of the Egyptian State', in I. Shaw (Ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 78–81; R.J. Wenke, *The Ancient Egyptian State: The Origins of Egyptian Culture (c. 8000-2000BC)* (Cambridge, 2009), 245.

<sup>57</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 19–31.



## 2.4 Literature review

Literature on the Second Dynasty as an entire period is scarce. Two modern articles (Dodson, 1996; Wilkinson, 2014) are the most concise and informative works on the period; however, their reliance on Newberry (1922) is problematic. The following articles have been selected for their general review of the entire Second Dynasty or their focus on a specific research area vital to the study of this “dark age” (*cf.* Kahl (2007), Wilkinson (1999, 2000) and Regulski (2010)). Baud (2002) is included for comparison to studies on the Third Dynasty. Recent excavations are also discussed in the work of Lacher (2008, 2011a, 2011b), Regulski (2009, *et al.* 2010, 2011a, 2011b) and Raven *et al.* (2001, 2008-09) to highlight the ongoing work and problems of analysing the end of the Early Dynastic period.

### 2.4.1 Dodson (1996)

The treatise by A. Dodson concisely reviews the Second Dynasty, often supported by evidence, however circumstantial theories are used to fill the large gaps in the archaeological material.<sup>58</sup> The information known at the date of publication includes the location of tombs and funerary enclosures; however it is proposed that the burning of the earlier tombs at Abydos is attributed to events during the Second Dynasty.<sup>59</sup> The change in location of the royal tomb back to Abydos for Peribsen and Khasekhemwy is also inferred as the result of conflict in the north, however it fails to account for the apparent victory of Khasekhemwy and why he still chose to be buried in the south, near his assumed enemy.<sup>60</sup> The extensive reuse of all the

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<sup>58</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 19–31.

<sup>59</sup> No evidence is provided to support the Second Dynasty burning of the royal tombs at Umm el-Qaab. Dodson does provide a cyclical reference to his later article, which references back to this article and provides no further information on this theory (Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20–1, 26; A. Dodson, 'The So-Called "Tomb of Osiris" at Abydos', *KMT* 8.4 (1997), 40); *cf.* Engel places the burning of the tombs between each individual king's burial and the First Intermediate Period, a period of approximately 500 years (E.M. Engel, 'The royal tombs at Umm el-Qa'ab', *Archéo-nil* 18 (2008), 36).

<sup>60</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 26, 28.

Abydos tombs and the Second Dynasty tombs at Saqqara have impacted on their archaeological context, making interpretation difficult. A review of the king-lists is also provided and an attempt to correlate the names summarises the problems well.<sup>61</sup> An interesting discourse is provided on the overseer of the *wꜥb* priests Shery, indicating that the cult of Peribsen continued into the Fourth Dynasty and supporting the peaceful transition of rule to Khasekhemwy.<sup>62</sup> Dodson, however, expands on Newberry's theory of a political war between the last two rulers based almost entirely on the Seth and Horus titles of their names.<sup>63</sup> The Myth of Horus at Edfu is highlighted as being a difficult text to rely upon, however Plutarch's record of the myth of Horus, Seth and Osiris is also referenced.<sup>64</sup> While Seth became a negative force in later periods, closer examination is needed on how he was viewed during the Early Dynastic period and his connection with the "opener of the ways" Wepwawet and other canid deities.<sup>65</sup>

Dodson conflicts with his own, and Newberry's, theory, explaining that the enemy of Horus Khasekhemwy was unlikely to have been Seth Peribsen but possibly a mysterious ruler recorded as 'Hudjefa' (translated as 'lacuna' in various king-lists).<sup>66</sup> Conflict during the reign of many rulers is evident, however expanding this evidence into a political war between competing kings, based on a text 3000 years later, is difficult to support (see Ch.4). The article also highlights areas where further study was needed, some of which has occurred or is in progress. However, large gaps in the evidence on the Second Dynasty remain.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20.

<sup>62</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 24.

<sup>63</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 25–6.

<sup>64</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 25–6.

<sup>65</sup> cf. Evans for a recent study on Wepwawet (L. Evans, 'The Shedshed of Wepwawet', *JEA* 97 (2011), 103–15).

<sup>66</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20, 28; H. Goedicke, 'King HwDf3?', *JEA* 42 (1956), 50–3.

<sup>67</sup> At the time of publication the Saqqara royal tombs were yet to be re-examined, the tombs of some rulers remain unknown, while possible fort structures at Saqqara are yet to have their function or date clarified (Dodson, *KMT* 7, 21–2,30).

#### 2.4.2 Wilkinson (1999, 2000, 2014)

Three works of T. Wilkinson's are of primary importance to the Second Dynasty. Both his book *Early Dynastic Egypt* (1999) and a recent article, 'Dynasties 2 and 3' (2014), for the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* provide the most complete view of the period, despite their lack of evidence. *Early Dynastic Egypt* first provides a historical outline reviewing each attested king of the dynasty, after which a thematic discussion covers topics important to the formation of the state and cultural development of the Early Dynastic period. The thematic discussion provides little additional insight into the Second Dynasty and the historical review is often poorly referenced.<sup>68</sup> The article 'Dynasties 2 and 3' provides a good summary of the Second Dynasty but, as indicated by the title, the discourse results in a brief review of both periods. Again the evidence is poorly provided to such an extent that graffiti from the Western Desert is inferred as a Second Dynasty ruler, when Wilkinson's earlier article dates the *serekhs* epigraphically to Naqada IIIB.<sup>69</sup> Both works rely heavily on Dodson's (1996) article but with less enthusiasm, leaving room for various interpretations when future evidence is discovered. However, internal conflict remains an underlying theme.<sup>70</sup>

The *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt* (2000) is the most recent and comprehensive study on the Palermo Stone and related fragments, and differs greatly from Wilkinson's other works discussed above. The work starts with a description of the fragments, their date, provenance and history, including a brief discussion on whether they originate from the same artefact.<sup>71</sup> Wilkinson provides a comprehensive review of previous scholarship on the stones, as well as the issues with attempted restorations. He makes it clear that any reconstruction is fruitless

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<sup>68</sup> e.g. The statue inscribed with the names of the first three rulers of the Second Dynasty is referred to simply as "an inscribed statue in the Cairo Museum" (see Ch.3.1.1.2 in this study) (Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 82).

<sup>69</sup> Wilkinson, *Dynasties 2 and 3*, 2; T. Wilkinson, 'A New King in the Western Desert', *JEA* 81 (1995), 205.

<sup>70</sup> Wilkinson, *Dynasties 2 and 3*, 2.

<sup>71</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 17–28.

until further pieces of the annals are discovered.<sup>72</sup> The first section of the work concludes with a discussion on interpreting the annals, their usefulness and what information they provide, which while fragmentary is one of the few textual artefacts for the early dynasties.<sup>73</sup> The main section of the work covers the transliteration, translation and commentary on the inscriptions which are clearly explained but could have been enhanced by inclusion of the hieroglyphic script.<sup>74</sup> The identification of each king is discussed with the events of their reign clearly detailed. This work builds upon the long history of research on the Palermo Stone and related fragments and due to its detail has become one of the corner stones of research on the Early Dynastic periods.

#### 2.4.3 Baud (2002)

M. Baud's work on the Third Dynasty ruler Djoser, *Djéser et la IIIe Dynastie* (2002), provides a detailed look at this important king at the start of the Pyramid Age. It details chronological problems, including the sequence of kings for the Third Dynasty, reflecting similarities in the preceding dynasty.<sup>75</sup> The fictional divide that a dynasty creates in the study of Egyptology is mentioned, as well as the problems of utilising the later king-lists for the Early Dynastic period.<sup>76</sup> Djoser is highlighted in the Turin Canon through the use of red ink, with Baud explaining that this division and the dynasties of Manetho are based on the geographic location of the capital.<sup>77</sup> This does not clarify the division of the first three dynasties when the capital is assumed to remain at Memphis, despite the various locations of the royal necropolis.<sup>78</sup> The issue of succession is discussed with few of the Third Dynasty kings securely

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<sup>72</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 28–60.

<sup>73</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 60–81.

<sup>74</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, Part II.83ff.

<sup>75</sup> Baud, *Djéser*, 49–52.

<sup>76</sup> Baud, *Djéser*, 50–2.

<sup>77</sup> Baud, *Djéser*, 52.

<sup>78</sup> Baud, *Djéser*, 55–6.



positioned and their length of reign unclear.<sup>79</sup> While focused on one ruler from the Third Dynasty, the work highlights many of the same issues when dealing with the Second Dynasty. However, it does not regard this period as a time of conflict and upheaval, despite the unclear succession, mostly due to the preserved monumental architecture.

#### 2.4.4 Kahl (2007)

As the only publication dedicated to the Second Dynasty, J. Kahl's book *Ra is my Lord* (2007) is a fundamental resource for this period. However, it only covers one aspect of religious practice at this early date.<sup>80</sup> Clearly dated to the Third Dynasty, the emergence of the Sun Cult and the god Ra during the preceding dynasty was not clearly understood.<sup>81</sup> Kahl's work is a clear review of the evidence for the sun god and has started to redefine what is known about the Second Dynasty and specifically the ruler Raneb.<sup>82</sup> Much of Kahl's argument relies on this king's name and its interpretation; however, even in its former translation, Nebra, the sun and the kingship are connected even if not specifically invoking the sun god.<sup>83</sup> Kahl discusses the ruler Weneg, and suggests the name as an alternate title for Raneb, making them one and the same king. However, this is closely based on the much later Pyramid Texts.<sup>84</sup> The study also reviews the chronology and suggests a new order of rulers for the Second Dynasty; however the focus is on Raneb and it fails to adequately investigate other problems regarding the order of succession.<sup>85</sup> A variety of evidence is provided from seals and impressions, inscriptions and titles, as well as personal names. These all indicate an early veneration of the sun god and the probable starting of a sun cult, much earlier than previously considered. While the work

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<sup>79</sup> Baud, *Djéser*, 57–9.

<sup>80</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, vii.

<sup>81</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, vii, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 1–2, 7–10.

<sup>83</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 7–8.

<sup>84</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 13–14.

<sup>85</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 16–17.

maintains a single focus, it is an important work for understanding the Second Dynasty and clarifying the order and names of rulers at this date.<sup>86</sup>

#### 2.4.5 Regulski (2010)

Based on her doctoral thesis I. Regulski, *A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt* (2010), provides one of the most concise reviews of late Predynastic and Early Dynastic texts to date.<sup>87</sup>

The discovery of Tomb U-j at Abydos, and its associated inscribed labels, confirms the starting date of writing in Egypt and allows greater analysis of its formative stages. Regulski provides a representative, rather than comprehensive study due to the continual discovery and publication of Early Dynastic texts, as well as the proliferation of unpublished material.<sup>88</sup> The study covers the chronological period from the earliest writings (c. 3250 BCE) to the start of the Third Dynasty (2700 BCE). and the use of continual text which makes it an important work for analysis of the Second Dynasty.<sup>89</sup> Regulski notes the continual problem of imbalanced sources due to the historic focus on mortuary archaeology opposed to settlement archaeology in the source material.<sup>90</sup> Geographical and chronological imbalances are also highlighted, with more than three quarters of the source material originating from Abydos and Saqqara, and the First Dynasty very well represented when compared to the scant material of the Second Dynasty.<sup>91</sup> The inscriptions are obtained from a comprehensive range of sources besides ceramic vessels, including labels (wood, ivory/bone), cylinder seals and impressions, stelae, statues, rock and architectural inscriptions, as well as a range of other inscribed sources.<sup>92</sup> The

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<sup>86</sup> Kahl's chapter on Dynasties 0-2 in *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* provides further information which was expanded on for his study of Raneb (Kahl in Hornung, et al. (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 94–115).

<sup>87</sup> I. Regulski, *A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt* (Leuven, 2010), 2.

<sup>88</sup> Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 3.

<sup>89</sup> Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 5.

<sup>90</sup> Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 13.

<sup>91</sup> Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 15.

<sup>92</sup> See Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 16–46 for a detailed list of sources used in the study.

thesis discusses and chronologically details the palaeographic development of each Early Dynastic sign, providing a useful tool to the study of inscriptions during the formative stages of the Egyptian state. This work is a fundamental tool for the study of writing during the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods, expanding on *Egyptian Grammar* (Gardiner, 1957), and designed for the inclusion of new inscriptions as they are discovered and/or published.

#### 2.4.6 Lacher, Regulski and Raven *et al.*

In recent years, two excavations have worked on or near the site of the royal necropolis at south Saqqara. The German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Cairo re-examined the Second Dynasty royal tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer, while a team from the Leiden Museum of Antiquities and Leiden University examined the nearby New Kingdom burials, discovering two Second Dynasty elite tombs reused at later dates. These Second Dynasty discoveries have been published in a number of articles by C. Lacher (2008, 2011a, 2011b), I. Regulski (2009, *et al.* 2010, 2011a, 2011b) and M. Raven *et al.* (2001, 2008-2009). The examination of the royal tombs showed similarities in design and layout not recorded accurately by Barsanti (1901, 1902) and Lauer (1936) for the tomb of Hetepsekhemwy, and Barsanti (1901, 1902), Hassan (1938) and Munro (1983) for the tomb of Ninetjer.<sup>93</sup> The building phases were determined, clarifying similarities to other Second Dynasty rock-cut tombs, but on a larger scale.<sup>94</sup> Despite the thorough investigation, both the tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer have not been completely excavated or published.

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<sup>93</sup> C.M. Lacher-Raschdorff, 'The tomb of king Ninetjer and its reuse in later periods', in M. Barta, F. Coppens and J. Krejci (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010* (Prague, 2011a), 537; C.M. Lacher-Raschdorff, 'The Tomb of King Ninetjer at Saqqara', in R.F. Friedman and P.N. Fiske (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July – 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011b), 213; C.M. Lacher-Raschdorff, 'Das Grab des Hetepsechemui/Raneb in Saqqara Ideen zur Baugeschichtlichen entwicklung', in E.M. Engel, V. Müller and U. Hartung (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer* (Wiesbaden, 2008), 427, 430.

<sup>94</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 218–22; Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, *et al.* (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 441–7.

The Second Dynasty complexes below the New Kingdom tombs of Maya and Meryneith were excavated by the Dutch expedition, who at first identified them as royal tombs due to their proximity to the royal necropolis.<sup>95</sup> Pottery confirmed a late Second Dynasty date despite the reuse of both tombs during the New Kingdom and Late Period.<sup>96</sup> Both tombs lack a stairway dating them to the late Second Dynasty during the reign of Khasekhemwy, when shafts came into use in private tomb.<sup>97</sup> As the royal tomb of Khasekhemwy is known in Abydos and the use of an access shaft, opposed to stairs, the original tomb owners have been identified as members of the upper elite classes possibly related to the king (due to the proximity to the earlier royal tombs). These excavations have raised the question of the use and relationship of the upper classes to the royal necropolis during the Second Dynasty, a question which currently remains unanswered.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> M.J. Raven *et al.*, 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2002: The Tomb of Meryneith', *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 37 (2001), 97.

<sup>96</sup> I. Regulski *et al.*, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations in the Second Dynasty Necropolis at Saqqara. Season 2009', *JEOL* 42 (2010), 37–53; M.J. Raven *et al.*, 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2008: The Tomb of Ptahemwia', *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 41 (2008-2009), 20–2; Raven *et al.*, *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 37, 101–2.

<sup>97</sup> Raven *et al.*, *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 41, 19; Raven *et al.*, *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 37, 99.

<sup>98</sup> I. Regulski, 'Investigating a New Necropolis of Dynasty 2 at Saqqara', in R.F. Friedman and P.N. Fiske (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July – 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011a), 304; Regulski *et al.*, *JEOL* 42, 53; I. Regulski, 'Investigating a new Dynasty 2 necropolis at South Saqqara', *BMSAES* 13 (2009), 226.





## 3 Comparative study

### 3.1 Textual evidence

The textual evidence for the Second Dynasty is limited when compared to other periods of Egyptian history.<sup>1</sup> The names of various rulers are known from king-lists and archaeological contexts, but how these inscriptions relate to each other and our understanding of the dynasty remains problematic.

This chapter will review the names and identity of the Second Dynasty rulers by considering the various king-lists, mostly attested from late in Egyptian history, and contemporary material in the form of seals and labels. The change of the Horus title to include, or be replaced by, Seth at the end of the dynasty is important in understanding the theories of presumed conflict. This will be followed by a review of other inscriptions that relate to conflict during the Second Dynasty, as well as expeditions to the boarder fringes for mining and resource collection. The chapter will conclude by using all of this evidence to review the order of Second Dynasty kings, identifying any problems that remain in our understanding and identification of these early rulers.

#### 3.1.1 Names and titles

##### 3.1.1.1 King-lists

Redford (1986) defines king-lists as “*all groupings of kings, their representations and/or names which set out (a) to arrange the names in correct historical sequence, (b) to give for each name the length of reign, (c) to note conscientiously any gaps in (a) or (b)*”.<sup>2</sup> For the first three

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<sup>1</sup> cf. Regulski for a comprehensive study on the textual evidence of the Predynastic and First Dynasty (Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 47–85) and Baud for a comprehensive study of Netjerikhet, first ruler of the Third Dynasty (Baud, *Djéser*, 1–3ff), for comparison.

<sup>2</sup> Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 1.

dynasties, few king-lists meet this criteria and so the order of succession must be supplemented by the archaeological material, including inscriptions on pottery, year labels, seals and rock inscriptions. With the poor preservation and lack of material found for the Second and Third Dynasties, the order of rulers after Nynetjer until the Fourth Dynasty remains complicated and based on supposition (see 3.1.1.2).<sup>3</sup>

Dating to the Fifth Dynasty, the annals of the Palermo Stone, including the London and Cairo fragments,<sup>4</sup> are one of the only contemporary king-lists for the entire Early Dynastic period. However, due to their fragmentary nature little can be deduced of the complete order of kings.<sup>5</sup> The main purpose of the list appears to be a historical record for the height of the inundation, as well as a record of year names.<sup>6</sup> The naming of years was modified during the Second Dynasty from only specific events to the alternating biennial census supplemented by important events, usually related to the preservation of order and kingship.<sup>7</sup> Only two Second Dynasty kings can be identified by their Horus names in the annals (Ninetjer and Khasekhemwy), making it difficult to clarify the order of succession or concordance with other lists.<sup>8</sup> Attempts to reconstruct the Palermo Stone from the later king-lists have proved fruitless, due to the corrupted nature of the texts when compared to the archaeological record.<sup>9</sup> Supposition based on direct correlation of the order of names is the only way to connect the later king-lists with the archaeological record. However, the length of reign and even the names of kings display little resemblance to actual events.

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<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 94, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Palermo Stone (1028), London fragment (UC 15508), Cairo fragments – CG1 (44859), CG2 (39735), CG3 (39734), CG4 (44860), CG5 (18220) (Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 20–2).

<sup>5</sup> The exact date the annals were carved remains unclear however the uncorrupted names of Ninetjer and Khasekhemwy from later lists, together with the annals ending in the Fifth Dynasty, suggest an Old Kingdom date rather than later (Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 17, 23–4).

<sup>6</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 61–2.

<sup>7</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 64.

<sup>8</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 80, 119.

<sup>9</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 75–6, 80.



For the start of the Second Dynasty the statue of the priest, Hetepdief, can be used to connect three names recorded in Manetho, the Turin Canon and the Abydos king-list of Seti I. However, each list attests a different number of rulers.<sup>10</sup> Text towards the end of the Second Dynasty in the Turin Canon was long thought to be the name of an actual ruler, but Goedicke (1956) demonstrates the notation of a lacuna in the original documents the canon was copied from.<sup>11</sup> *Hwdj* is repeated in the Third Dynasty with no similar name recorded in Manetho; however the Abydos and Saqqara lists appear to preserve the same notation of a gap.<sup>12</sup> This lacuna has been used to support the theory of conflict where it apparently recorded the name of the enemy of Khasekhemwy but fails to take into account the Third Dynasty lacuna.<sup>13</sup>

The seals of Den and Qa'a from Abydos confirmed the order of kings for the First Dynasty, where they record each ruler in order from Narmer to their own reign.<sup>14</sup> Five Horus names are recorded for the Third Dynasty and reflect the same number of rulers in the later king-lists, but their order and concordance is yet to be convincingly confirmed.<sup>15</sup> Important documents in their own right and especially useful to periods contemporary with their transcription, the king-lists, including Manetho, are virtually useless in clarifying the order of Early Dynastic rulers without the support of the archaeological material.

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<sup>10</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20; Waddell, *Manetho*, 35–41; Kahl in Hornung, et al. (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 108; Cairo Cat. I (H.G. Fischer, 'An Egyptian Royal Stela of the Second Dynasty', *Artibus Asiae* 24.1 (1961), 45–6).

<sup>11</sup> Goedicke, *JEA* 42, 50–1.

<sup>12</sup> Goedicke, *JEA* 42, 50; Ryholt, *Ä&L* 14, 149.

<sup>13</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 28.

<sup>14</sup> G. Dreyer, 'Ein Siegel der frühzeitlichen Königsnekropole von Abydos', *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 34–5; G. Dreyer et al., 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im Frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 7./8. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 72–3.

<sup>15</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 94–5.

### 3.1.1.2 Seals and inscriptions

One of the most important inscriptions for the kings at the start of the Second Dynasty is preserved on the statue of the priest Hetepdief (see Figure 4).<sup>16</sup> The serekhs, each topped with a falcon, identify Hetepsekhemwy, Raneb and Ninetjer and are preceded by a bird on a stand variously identified as a falcon or phoenix.<sup>17</sup> The bird differs from the three falcons, and its style suggests that it is a heron on a shrine, similar to that seen on the Scorpion macehead representing Buto.<sup>18</sup> Discovered at Saqqara near two Second Dynasty tombs, it is highly likely the priest was associated with the mortuary cult of the three rulers.<sup>19</sup> Further investigation is needed on the connection of the heron with the mortuary cult of Second Dynasty rulers; however, during the Old Kingdom the *benu* bird, represented as a heron, is closely associated with the sun cult. The connection of Raneb to the sun cult and the representation of a heron on the statue of Hetepdief may indicate an earlier date for the mythology of the *benu* bird and *benben* stone with the sun cult, seen on maceheads and palettes from the late Predynastic period.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24, 45; Kahl in Hornung, et al. (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 112.

<sup>17</sup> Kahl in Hornung, et al. (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 112.

<sup>18</sup> Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24, 46; N.B. Millet, 'The Narmer Macehead and Related Objects', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 56; N.B. Millet, 'The Narmer Macehead and Related Objects (Correction)', *JARCE* 28 (1991), 224; S. Allan, *One Palette, Two Lands: The Myth of the Unification of Egypt by the Narmer Palette* (Unpublished thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, 2014), 76–7.

<sup>19</sup> Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24, 46.

<sup>20</sup> I. Shaw and P. Nicholson, *The Princeton Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (Princeton, 2008), 59; Watterson, *Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 47–8; Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 7–8.

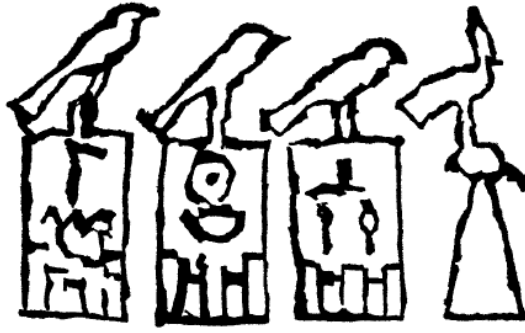


Figure 4. Inscription from the statue of Hetepdief

From right to left: possible *benu* bird of Buto followed by the *serekhs* of Horus Hetepsekhemwy, Horus Ranef and Horus Ninetjer (Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24, Fig.1).

The last king of the dynasty is confirmed through a familiar link to Netjerikhet, first ruler of the Third Dynasty.<sup>21</sup> Two seals identify Nimaathap, as ‘mother of the king’s children’ from Khasekhemwy’s tomb and another as ‘mother of the dual king’ dated to the reign of Netjerikhet.<sup>22</sup> It is not clear that Netjerikhet is Khasekhemwy’s son and may suggest that legitimacy to ruler came from Nimaathap, as a member of the preceding royal family.<sup>23</sup> Seals of Netjerikhet found in Khasekhemwy’s tomb at Abydos suggest he succeeded the last Second Dynasty King.<sup>24</sup> A seal of Khasekhemwy and two inked inscriptions, possibly names, were located in the complexes below the tombs of Maya and Meryneith confirming a late Second Dynasty date.<sup>25</sup> Further inscriptions dated to Khasekhemwy were recovered from Umm el-Qa’ab, now in the Brussels museum, detailing his *sed* festival, also attested on ceramics from

<sup>21</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 94.

<sup>22</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 94–5.

<sup>23</sup> Khasekhemwy’s legitimacy to rule may have come from his wife, Nimaathap, who could have been a daughter of the preceding king, Peribsen.

<sup>24</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXIV.

<sup>25</sup> Seal impression (SAK 2008 472), bowl fragment with ink inscription *Nfr-im3h=f* (SAK 2008 428-1), bowl fragment with ink inscription *Ny hḳ3-ḥnh* (reading uncertain) (SAK 2008 448) (I. Regulski, ‘Reinvestigating the Second Dynasty at Saqqara’, in M. Barta, F. Coppens and J. Krejci (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010* (Prague, 2011b), 703–6).

below the Step Pyramid complex.<sup>26</sup> The serekhs of other rulers have been iconographically dated to the Second Dynasty but where they fit into the succession remains a mystery (see Chp.3.1.3). While many inscriptions are attested on artefacts from the galleries of the Netjerikhet complex, these individual serekhs lack supporting information to be able to clarify their concordance with known kings, or their order and relationship in the Second Dynasty succession.

During the First Dynasty, seal impressions were supplemented with wood and ivory labels usually indicating a year name as well as the ruler.<sup>27</sup> Dating back to Naqada IIIA2 tomb U-j attests the earliest labels in Ancient Egypt originally tied to jars and other products, identifying the domain or nome where it originated.<sup>28</sup> The First Dynasty labels record extensive information, including the names of officials, the products they sent or offered to the king for his burial, and significant events through which the years were named.<sup>29</sup> The labels do not clarify the order of succession but do provide information on how the state was structured, the development of religion, and state and military activities of the king.<sup>30</sup> Supplementing the labels from the First Dynasty is the two seal impressions of Den and Qa'a discovered in Abydos, which list all the kings in order.<sup>31</sup> Compared to the First Dynasty, inscriptions during the Second and Third Dynasties are not as well attested; however expeditions to the Sinai are recorded by the kings' serekh, while a seal of Sekhemkhet records the first attestation of the name *3bw*,

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<sup>26</sup> It is suggested Khasekhemwy died just before the celebration of his *Heb Sed* leaving all preparations unused and repurposed by Netjerikhet (I. Regulski, 'Second Dynasty Ink Inscriptions from Saqqara paralleled in the Abydos Material from the Royal Museums of Art and History (RMAH) in Brussels', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Cialowicz and M. Chlodnicki (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002 (Leuven, 2004), 958–9).

<sup>27</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 110.

<sup>28</sup> G. Dreyer, 'Tomb U-j: A Royal Burial of Dynasty 0 at Abydos', in E. Teeter (Ed.), *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization* (Chicago, 2011), 134–5.

<sup>29</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 218–23.

<sup>30</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 218.

<sup>31</sup> Dreyer *et al.*, *MDAIK* 52, 72–3; Dreyer, *MDAIK* 43, 34–5.

Elephantine in Upper Egypt.<sup>32</sup> Stone bowls and a few seals record the serekh of Khaba but his precise position in the Third Dynasty is unclear.<sup>33</sup> During the Second and Third Dynasties the elite tombs at Saqqara record seventy royal inscriptions, compared to 590 for the First Dynasty.<sup>34</sup> This lack of information may be explained by the trend, from early in the Third Dynasty, of offering stelae depicting what the deceased would require in the afterlife rather than the actual goods.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.1.1.3 Horus Seth titles

The most unusual feature of the Second Dynasty is the inclusion of the Seth animal in the king's name for the last two rulers, Peribsen and Khasekhemwy. This variation is not attested in any other period of ancient Egypt, despite the close connection of the gods throughout the entire dynastic period.<sup>36</sup> Attested on seals (see Figure 5) but most notably on a pair of stelae, Peribsen replaced the Horus falcon with the Seth animal atop his serekh.<sup>37</sup>

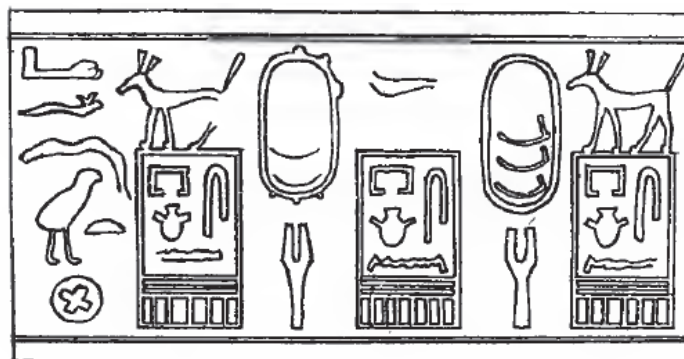


Figure 5. Seal of Peribsen

Umm el-Qa'ab, Abydos (Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, Pl.XXII.180)

<sup>32</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 99.

<sup>33</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 99–100

<sup>34</sup> Regulski in Barta, et al. (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 701–2.

<sup>35</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 111.

<sup>36</sup> Watterson, *Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 118.

<sup>37</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, 33, pl.XXXI.

Seals of Horus Sekhemib found in the tomb of Seth Peribsen at Abydos (see Figure 6) support the theory these were one and the same king.<sup>38</sup> It has been suggested that Peribsen changed his name part way through his reign in line with a change in religious practices around the worship of Seth; however, there is no evidence to contradict dual Horus and Seth titles.<sup>39</sup> Epithets of both rulers also appear to connected them, referencing tributes from, or a conqueror of, foreign lands: Horus Sekhemib-perenmaat *inw h3st* (tribute of foreign lands)/Seth Peribsen *inw Stt* (tribute of Setjet).<sup>40</sup>



Figure 6. Seal of Sekhemib

Tomb of Peribsen, Umm el-Qa'ab, Abydos (OIM E6252) (Teeter, *Before the Pyramids*, 231.87)

<sup>38</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXI.

<sup>39</sup> Shaw and Nicholson, *Princeton Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 246; Dodson, *KMT* 7, 25; a quantitative study will be completed through further PhD research to confirm this theory.

<sup>40</sup> The identification of Setjet is unclear due to the town determinative suggesting a location inside Egypt rather than the area of Syria-Palestine (Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 89–90; Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXII.181).

Seth is attested from the First Dynasty onwards but rose to prominence during the Second Dynasty, which may indicate the development of the mythology of Horus and Seth.<sup>41</sup> The dual titles of the two gods held by a single ruler is supported by the Horus Seth name of Khasekhemwy but how his Horus name, Khasekhem, fits into this sequence following Peribsen is unclear.<sup>42</sup> There is currently no evidence to support one title before or after another during Khasekhemwy's reign other than the Horus Seth name being the only one attested from his Abydos tomb.<sup>43</sup> This indicates he was buried with this name but does not discount his Horus name being used in Lower Egypt at the same time. Multiple titles for each king are attested from the First Dynasty with the *nsw.bity* and later the *nb.ty* titles setting a precedent for dual names. However, many kings remain only known by their Horus name.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.1.2 Other inscriptions

#### 3.1.2.1 Inscriptions of conflict

Inscriptions dating from the Second Dynasty recording conflict are used to support theories of war and instability, however these need to be compared with the neighbouring dynasties.<sup>45</sup> Some of the most important evidence for conflict are the two statues of Khasekhemwy (see

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<sup>41</sup> First Dynasty female title 'she who sees Horus and Seth' found on seals associated with the tomb of Den (Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXVII.128–9) as well as Seth appearing on a stela near the tomb of Djer (Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl. XXVII.96).

<sup>42</sup> In the attested examples Horus and Seth either look in the same direction, with Seth always following Horus, or they face each other. They can be depicted wear a single or double crown. When single, Horus wears the white crown and Seth the red crown (Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 240).

<sup>43</sup> A red granite 'lintel' naming Khasekhemwy was found broken outside the gateway to the Hierakonpolis 'fort', which could indicate his name when the structure was completed. However, the lintel would have had to be carved and integrated into the massive entrance before its completion (R.F. Friedman, 'New Observations on the Fort at Hierakonpolis', in Z.A. Hawass and J.E. Richards (Eds), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor* (Cairo, 2007), 326, 328).

<sup>44</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 200.

<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 2.2 and 2.3.

Figure 7) inscribed with prostrate figures recording “47209 northern enemies” (see Figure 8).<sup>46</sup>

The figures have papyrus stalks sprouting from their head indicating a marshland people, often identified with the delta.<sup>47</sup> The papyrus stalks evoke the same imagery from the Narmer Palette, which suggests an enemy from the delta fringes, possibly southern Levant or Libya.<sup>48</sup>



Figure 7. Statue of Khasekhem/wy

Hierakonpolis (Ashmolean Museum: AN1896-1908 E.517 (Teeter, *Before the Pyramids*, 225.81)

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<sup>46</sup> Cairo Museum JE 32161 and Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1980 E 517 (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis Part I*, 11; Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis Part II*, 44; B. Adams, 'A Fragment from the Cairo Statue of Khasekhemwy', *JEA* 76 (1990), 162).

<sup>47</sup> R.H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2003), 78.

<sup>48</sup> Allan, *One Palette, Two Lands*, 59–60; S. Mark, *From Egypt to Mesopotamia: A Study of Predynastic Trade Routes* (College Station, 1997), 91.



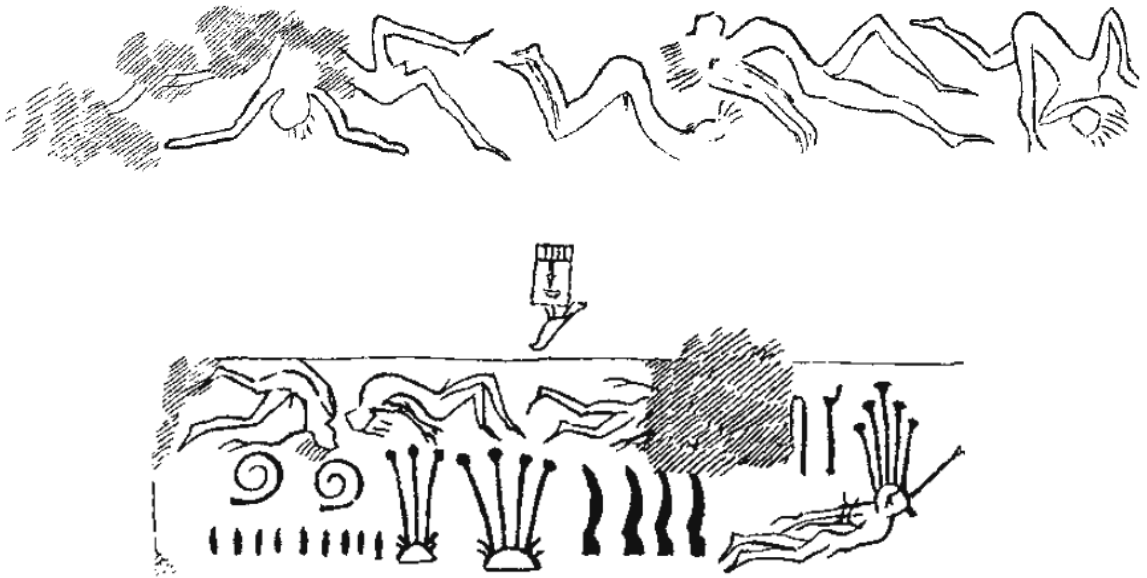


Figure 8. Inscription on statue of Khasekhem/wy

Top: side of base, Bottom: Front of base (Teeter, *Before the Pyramids*, 255.81)

Fragments of a stela found at Hierakonpolis also show iconography similar to the Narmer Palette, with the *serekh* of Khasekhem and an inscription “*humbling the foreign lands*”.<sup>49</sup> Nearby, a land hieroglyph with a head, surmounted by a bow, evokes a similar land-glyph on the Narmer Palette representing the king as Horus subduing a foreign people.<sup>50</sup> The bow-land is identified as Nubia, Ta-Sety, with the stela possibly recording a southern campaign. However, ‘the bowmen’ (*‘iwnitiw*) could also refer to peoples of the north-east, near Palestine and the Sinai, suggesting a prolonged northern campaign by Khasekhemwy.<sup>51</sup>

A vessel from Byblos attributed to Khasekhemwy, together with his statues and the stela, suggest increased foreign relations and military campaigns outside of Egypt during his reign.<sup>52</sup> With the inscription “*northern enemies*” associated with the *serekh* of Khasekhem, it is assumed the country was divided when the king took the throne and ruled over Upper Egypt

<sup>49</sup> Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis Part II*, 48, pl.LVIII.

<sup>50</sup> J.E. Quibell, 'Slate Palette from Hierakonpolis', *ZÄS* 36 (1898), 81–4.

<sup>51</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 92; Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 106, PS r.III.2.

<sup>52</sup> Breccia stone vessel fragment found in the temple area at Byblos (Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 92).

only.<sup>53</sup> This assumption remains problematic due to the unclear identification of regions and peoples in the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods, when the names of Khasekhemwy were in use.<sup>54</sup> The penetration of this theory into the scholarship of the Second Dynasty is best summed up by Wilkinson (1999) who states “*In the absence of hard evidence, this reconstruction of events must remain speculative, though it does fit with the available data well*”.<sup>55</sup> With the available data for internal conflict limited it remains difficult to speculate on what this evidence can tell us on its own.

Dated to Ninetjer’s thirteenth year, the Palermo Stone records possible conflict with the hacking up (*hbs*) of two places, Shem-Ra and Ha; however, the translation of ‘hacking up’ has remained problematic.<sup>56</sup> On the Cities Palette, animals stand over representation of cities holding a hoe, seeming to attack or destroy the walls.<sup>57</sup> The same hoe sign is seen on the Scorpion macehead where the king is making a canal or lake and participating in a foundation ceremony, indicating *hbs* could be the initial founding of a city rather than its destruction.<sup>58</sup> Dodson suggests ‘Hudjefa’, seen in some king-lists, is evidence that the original text suffered *damnatio memoriae* as it identified Horus Khasekhem’s enemy in the internal conflict of the late Second Dynasty.<sup>59</sup> Inscriptions suggest any conflict was focused outside of Egypt, therefore ‘Hudjefa’ appears to be damage to the original document rather than deliberate

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<sup>53</sup> Inscriptions on stone vessels from the temple of Horus at Hierakonpolis with Horus wearing the white crown only support this theory (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis Part I*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVIII; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 91).

<sup>54</sup> e.g. The papyrus people from the Narmer Palette and the statues of Khasekhemwy could indicate people of the Delta, western Delta, Libya, Eastern Delta, and/or Sinai and Southern Levant any of which could be an invading force from a land further afield.

<sup>55</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 92

<sup>56</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 125.

<sup>57</sup> Cairo Museum JE27434/CG14238 (Spencer, *Early Egypt*, 53).

<sup>58</sup> Millet, *JARCE* 28, 225; Millet, *JARCE* 27, 58.

<sup>59</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 92; Dodson, *KMT* 7, 28; Goedicke, *JEA* 42, 53.

damage. The focus outside of Egypt is preserved in the epithet of Sekhemib, *inw h3st* “conqueror (or tribute) of foreign lands”, which may identify him as Peribsen.<sup>60</sup>

Conflict during the First Dynasty is evidenced by a number of documents, the best known, the Narmer Palette, recording the victory of the king over a northern enemy from the delta fringes.<sup>61</sup> Campaigns against the Ta-Sety (Nubia) and expeditions to western Asia are recorded but the extent of conflict is unclear.<sup>62</sup> Labels dated to the reign of Den show military campaigns to southern Palestine and northern Sinai which are mirrored in his other name *Zmti* or *H3sti* written with a foreign land sign (N25).<sup>63</sup> The Palermo Stone records Den smiting the bowmen (*iwntiw*) of the north-east around the Sinai peninsula or southern Palestine, indicating the long history of conflict with northern enemies.<sup>64</sup> Conflict outside Egypt’s borders is further supported by an ivory gaming rod from the tomb of Qa’a, depicting a bound enemy identified with southern Palestine, *Sftt*.<sup>65</sup>

While expeditions to the Sinai are attested during the Third Dynasty there is limited evidence for conflict with Egypt’s neighbours, suggesting a relationship based on trade. During the Third Dynasty, both Netjerikhet and Sekemkhet conducted expeditions to Wadi Maghara in southern Sinai for mining and resource collection, with one inscription depicting Sekemkhet smiting a Bedouin captive.<sup>66</sup> At the end of the Second Dynasty under Khasekhemwy, an official held the title ‘overseer of foreign land’ reflecting an increased administrative relationship

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<sup>60</sup> See Chapter 3.1.1.3 (Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 90).

<sup>61</sup> The palette should not be viewed in isolation when considering the unification process and what information can be obtained from this artefact (Allan, *One Palette, Two Lands*, 64); cf. Allan, *One Palette, Two Lands*, Ch.6 for discussion on other artefacts of Narmer recording conflict during his reign.

<sup>62</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl. III; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 71.

<sup>63</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part I*, pl.XV; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 76–7, 156–7.

<sup>64</sup> Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 106; R. Givon, 'Asiaten', in W. Helck and E. Otto (Eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 463.

<sup>65</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part I*, pls. XII, XVII; cf. Wilkinson identifies the figure as Egypt’s enemies in general rather than a specific people or record of an actual event (Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 81).

<sup>66</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 99.

rather than conflict and war.<sup>67</sup> This new title indicates a developed and stable internal state with increasing administrative roles and complexities at the end of the Second Dynasty, pathing the way for the monumental constructions of the Third Dynasty.

Dated to the Fourth Dynasty, the tomb of the priest Shery must also be discussed in relation to the Second Dynasty kings. While now lost, the tomb recorded the titles of Shery as mortuary priest to Sened and Peribsen, more than a century after the end of their rule.<sup>68</sup> It is assumed that Sened was the last king to rule over all of Egypt before the internal conflict between Peribsen and Khasekhem; however, evidence is circumstantial.<sup>69</sup> Based almost entirely on the inclusion of Seth in his name, Peribsen has long been labelled a disturber of peace and instigator of the conflict and political upheaval so commonly depicted in the historiography of the Second Dynasty. Yet with his mortuary cult continuing into the Fourth Dynasty long after his death, it is difficult to see Peribsen in this light with his name preserved through the reigns of his apparent enemy and successor (see Ch. 4).<sup>70</sup>

### 3.1.2.2 Expeditions

Expeditions into the Eastern and Western deserts and Sinai are attested from the late Predynastic period onwards, including the First, Third and Fourth Dynasties, but it is only recently that evidence of one Second Dynasty expedition has come to light.

The *serekhs* of Iry-Hor, Narmer, Djer and Den are all attested from various parts of Egypt and the surrounding regions as evidence of their mining activities.<sup>71</sup> A Second Dynasty serekh was

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<sup>67</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 157.

<sup>68</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 88; Dodson, *KMT* 7, 24.

<sup>69</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 16–17; W. Kaiser, 'Zur Nennung von Sened und Peribsen in Sakkara', *GM* 122 (1991), 49–55.

<sup>70</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 16–17.

<sup>71</sup> P. Tallet and D. Laisney, 'Iri-Hoy et Narmer au Sud Sinai', *BIFAO* 112 (2012), 387–9; C.R. Hamilton, 'Enlightening the Enduring Engravings: The Expeditions of Raneb (in press)', *Archéo-Nil* 26 (2016b), 9–10.

discovered in 1936–37 near Armant. This appeared to be the name of Raneb but with inverted signs, which caused disagreement among scholars.<sup>72</sup> Hamilton (2016) convincingly argues that it should be attributed to Raneb based on the palaeography of the serekh and the errors present in Early Dynastic hieroglyphic inscriptions. This is further supported by a newly discovered serekh at Wadi ‘Ameyra.<sup>73</sup> Another serekh from Wadi Abu Kua is too badly damaged to be able to be attributed to Raneb, despite the claims of Wilkinson (1999) and Tallet & Laisney (2012).<sup>74</sup> The serekh of Raneb discovered at Wadi ‘Ameyra in 2012 has increased our understanding of the importance of the south Sinai during the Early Dynastic period, showing regular expeditions continuing under successive rulers.<sup>75</sup> The Wadi ‘Ameyra inscriptions dated to the First and early Second Dynasties show the well organised structure of the developing state, which continued to source copper and turquoise from the Sinai during the Third to Sixth Dynasties.<sup>76</sup> Hamilton suggests the evidence of Khasekhemwy’s northern conflicts (see 3.1.2.1) could indicate foreign expeditions similar to those recorded at Wadi ‘Ameyra, but this is purely circumstantial.<sup>77</sup> With expeditions for mining and resource collection continuing through the Third and Fourth Dynasties it is plausible that other Second Dynasty serekhs remain to be discovered in the Sinai.

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<sup>72</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 27.

<sup>73</sup> Hamilton, *Archéo-Nil* 26, 6–7.

<sup>74</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 169; Tallet and Laisney, *BIFAO* 112, 389.

<sup>75</sup> Tallet and Laisney, *BIFAO* 112, 389; Hamilton, *Archéo-Nil* 26, 7–9.

<sup>76</sup> N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta, 2005), 135ff; Hamilton, *Archéo-Nil* 26, 10–11.

<sup>77</sup> Hamilton, *Archéo-Nil* 26, 10–11.

### 3.1.3 Order of succession

The order of kings for the Second Dynasty remains one of the least known for dynastic Egypt (see Figure 9). Two problems are encountered when trying to clarify the order and names of the rulers between Qa'a and Netjerikhet: first the variety of names in the preserved king-lists do not easily correlate with each other (see Chapter 3.1.1.1), and secondly the lists do not reflect the scant archaeological evidence.<sup>78</sup> The work of Kahl (2007) is providing new clarification on the relationship of Horus titles to *nswt.bity* names but the proliferation of Second Dynasty kings has not been adequately explained. Based on seals from the tomb of Qa'a at Abydos it is accepted that Hetepsekhemwy oversaw his predecessor's burial, indicating a smooth transition of power; however, the familiar relationship remains unknown.<sup>79</sup> Two bowls support the inscription on the statue of Hetepdief, recording the names of the first three rulers. One bowl is inscribed with the *serekh* of Hetepsekhemwy facing the goddess Bastet and the *serekh* of Ranef, by a different hand.<sup>80</sup> The second bowl is inscribed with the *nsw-bity nb.ti* name of Ninetjer facing the *serekh* of Ranef which has been partly erased.<sup>81</sup> The name Weneg is also partly erased under that of Ninetjer, which Kahl (2007) convincingly shows is the *nsw-bit nb.ti* name of Ranef.<sup>82</sup> Ninetjer reinscribed the bowl for himself leaving one of the names of his predecessor, commonly seen throughout Egyptian history on monuments, as well as through repurposed grave goods.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> cf. Regulski, *Palaeographic Study of Early Writing*, 238 for a palaeographic study of the royal name sign combinations.

<sup>79</sup> G. Dreyer, 'A Hundred Years at Abydos', *EA* 3 (1993), 11; Dreyer *et al.*, *MDAIK* 52, 71–2; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 83.

<sup>80</sup> Cairo, JE 65413. The different scribal hand to incise the *serekh* of Ranef and its position behind that of Khasekhemwy indicates it was inscribed after the latter's death (Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 21).

<sup>81</sup> London, B EA 35556 (Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 21).

<sup>82</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 18–28.

<sup>83</sup> Ryholt, *JEGH* 1, 170–1.

The Palermo Stone provides the relative position of Ninetjer and Khasekhemwy, however little more can be determined for the order of kings than one ruled later than the other.<sup>84</sup> Khasekhemwy is able to be placed as the last king of the dynasty and predecessor of Netjerikhet through inscriptions identifying Nimaathap.<sup>85</sup> Between Nintetjer and Khasekhemwy the number and identity of the kings is unclear; however, a general outline of the dynasty can be deduced.

Ryholt (2008) shows that Seneferka is equated with Neferkara from the New Kingdom king-lists but this only provides a *terminus post quem* after Qa'a based on contemporary archaeological evidence.<sup>86</sup> Sherds inscribed with Seneferka's serekh are associated with inscriptions similar to those on sherds dated to Qa'a, but only one shows evidence of being secondarily inscribed.<sup>87</sup> Due to these similarities, scholars have assumed Seneferka was the immediate successor of Qa'a. However, no evidence confirms this and the associated inscriptions are not specific to the earlier ruler, being attested during other reigns.<sup>88</sup> With the sequence of kings after Qa'a known up to Ninetjer, Seneferka should be placed between Ninetjer and Peribsen, probably closer to the end of the dynasty based on Neferkara's relative position in the New Kingdom king-lists.

Kahl (2007) equates Horus Sa with either Nubnefer or Sened but the archaeology does not clarify the situation, with Horus Sa only attested from the galleries of the Step Pyramid.<sup>89</sup> The king-lists suggest Sened should be placed between Ninetjer and Seneferka; however,

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<sup>84</sup> Reconstructions of the Palermo Stone have proved fruitless until further fragments are found (Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 130).

<sup>85</sup> Wilkinson, *Dynasties 2 and 3*, 3; Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXIV.

<sup>86</sup> Ryholt, *JEGH* 1, 171.

<sup>87</sup> Ryholt, *JEGH* 1, 160.

<sup>88</sup> The institutions of the *pr-nsw.t*, *st*-phyle and *hw.t-s3-h3-nb* are named on sherds of Senferka and Horus Ba both which are not noted for showing any signs of re-inscription. These institutions are attested during several kings reigns and may date back to the First Dynasty (Ryholt, *JEGH* 1, 160 n.8, 161 Figs.1–6).

<sup>89</sup> Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 16–17.

Nubnefer remains an ephemeral king who may already be known by a different name. As discussed above, Horus Sekhemib is probably to be identified with Seth Peribsen through seals found in the latter's tomb at Abydos.<sup>90</sup> The tomb of Peribsen, near the tomb of Khasekhemwy (see Ch. 3.2.1.1), indicates their reigns were close together, which is further supported by the use of Seth in their titles. This confirms Peribsen as the predecessor of Khasekhemwy.

Horus/Seth Names <sup>91</sup>	<i>Nsw-bity nb.ti</i> name	Manetho <sup>92</sup>	Turin Canon <sup>93</sup>	Abydos <sup>94</sup>	Saqqara <sup>95</sup>
Horus Hetepsekhemwy	Hetep	Boethos	[...]bau	Bedjau	Baunetjer
Horus Raneb	Weneg	Kaiechos	Kakau	Kakau	Kakau
Horus Ninetjer	Ninetjer	Binothris	Banetjeren	Banetjeren	Banetjeru
(Sa?)	Nubnefer	Tlas	[...]s <sup>96</sup>	Wadjnes	Wadjnes
(Sa?)	Sened	Sethenes	Sened	Senedi	Sened
Horus Seneferka <sup>97</sup>		Chaires	Aka	Neferkare	Neferkare
		Nephercheres	Neferkasokar		Neferkasokar
Horus Sekhemib / Seth Peribsen	Sekhemib / Peribsen	Sesochris	<i>ḥw-df3</i> – 'lacuna'	<i>sd sy</i> – 'it is damaged'	<i>ḥw-df3</i> – 'lacuna'
Horus Khasekhem / Horus Seth Khasekhemwy	Khasekhemwy	Cheneres	Bebty	Djedjey	Beby

Figure 9. Revised order of succession for the Second Dynasty

<sup>90</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXI.

<sup>91</sup> Kahl fails to make account of other attested names for the Second Dynasty eg. Seneferka / Neferkare (Kahl, *Ra is my Lord*, 17 Fig.9).

<sup>92</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 35–41.

<sup>93</sup> Ryholt, *Ä&L* 14, 135–55; Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20.

<sup>94</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20; Ryholt, *JEgH* 1, 164.

<sup>95</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 20.

<sup>96</sup> Ryholt, *JEgH* 1, 164.

<sup>97</sup> Ryholt, *JEgH* 1, 159–73.



### 3.2 Funerary evidence

With only four royal tombs of the Second Dynasty identified, it is difficult to conduct a thorough examination of their development throughout the dynasty; however, similarities can be found. The understanding of the choice of locations for the royal burials and the relationship to the non-royal/elite cemeteries is also restricted through the limited data, relying on assumptions that the remaining royal tombs were located on the Saqqara plateau. The study of funerary evidence will be limited to royal (king) burials and non-royal (elite) burials. Non-royal burials will include members of the royal family and household who may or may not be related to the ruling king but have been granted access to specific necropolises. This distinction will limit the sites to Abydos, Saqqara and the surrounding Memphite region, including Helwan. Commoner graves will not be discussed as part of this study due to the lower number of sites excavated, the unsecure dating of Second Dynasty burials and access to unpublished data.<sup>98</sup> Funerary evidence will be further limited to the cemetery location and tomb architecture due to the prolific reuse of sites disturbing the primary context of grave goods. It is hoped these issues can be investigated further in future research to clarify the knowledge of the Second Dynasty.

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<sup>98</sup> It is hoped lower class graves can be added to future research on the Second Dynasty as more information becomes available including sites at Elkab, Naga ed Deir, Deir el-Bersha and Deir Abu Hinnis (B. Vanthuyne, 'Early Old Kingdom Rock Circle Cemeteries in Deir el-Bersha and Deir Abu Hinnis', in M.D. Adams, B. Midant-Reynes, E.M. Ryan and Y. Tristant (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 4. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, New York, 26th – 30th July 2011 (Leuven, 2016 in press), 427–59). For a list of cemeteries see S. Hendrickx and E.C.M. van den Brink, 'Inventory of Predynastic and Early Dynastic Cemetery and Settlement Sites in the Egyptian Nile Valley', in E.C.M. van den Brink and T.E. Levy (Eds), *Egypt and the Levant - Interrelations from the 4th through the early 3rd Millennium BCE* (London, 2002), 346–7.

### 3.2.1 Cemetery location

#### 3.2.1.1 Royal tombs

The four Second Dynasty royal tombs are attested from two sites, the First Dynasty royal cemetery at Abydos and the south Saqqara plateau. However, the problems with the order of succession (see Ch. 3.1.3) leaves a question mark over how many tombs remain to be identified.

##### 3.2.1.1.1 Saqqara

The site of south Saqqara became the new location for the royal necropolis for the early Second Dynasty (see Figure 10), with Hetepsekhemwy abandoning the ancient necropolis of Umm el-Qa'ab at Abydos.<sup>99</sup> The nearby tomb of Ninetjer and the lack of any other tombs at Umm el-Qa'ab suggest the remaining Second Dynasty kings were buried at Saqqara.<sup>100</sup> The last two kings of the dynasty, Peribsen and Khasekhemwy, returned to Abydos also constructing funerary enclosures. This brief interlude back to the ancient southern necropolis is still not clearly understood but continues to be used to support theories of conflict during the late Second Dynasty (see Ch. 4). Through the first three dynasties, we see two locations of prominent importance to the kingship and royal burial. The relocation between these two sites appears to be economic (Hetepsekhemwy) as well as religious (Peribsen and Khasekhemwy).

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<sup>99</sup> The tomb of Hetepsekhemwy is located 150m west of the pyramid of Unas (J.-P. Lauer, *Saqqara* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1977), 151–2.

<sup>100</sup> D. O'Connor, 'Pyramid Origins: A New Theory', in D.P. Hansen (Ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned* (Winona Lake, 2002), 173.

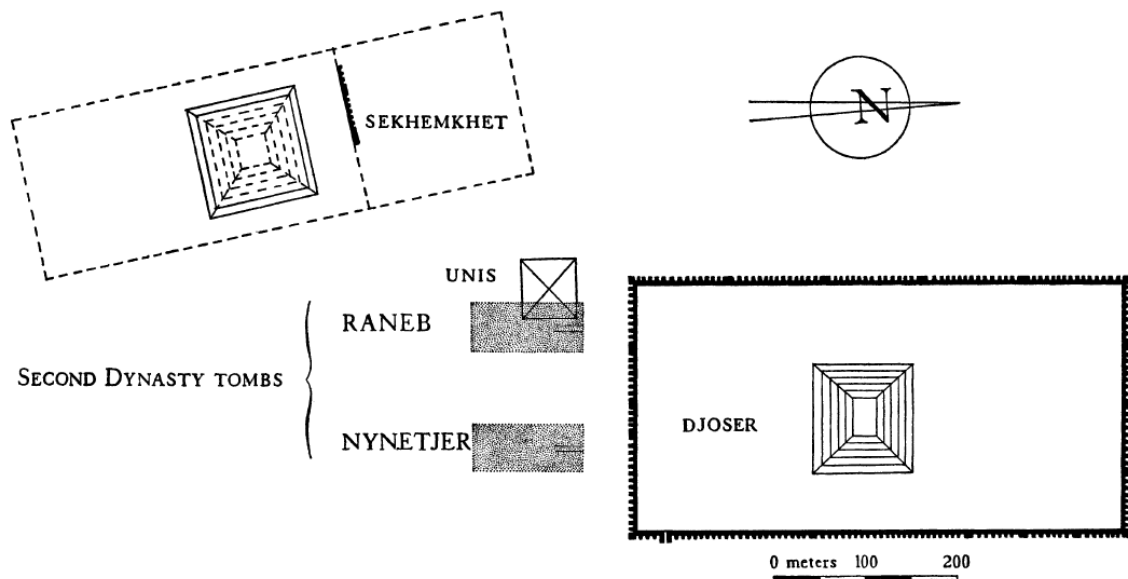


Figure 10. Location of the Second Dynasty tombs at south Saqqara

(Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24, Fig.8)

By the start of the Third Dynasty the economic heart of the country was firmly located at Memphis. This supported the increased mortuary activity, with the Saqqara and Giza plateau becoming the royal necropolis for the Old Kingdom. Van Wetering suggests the First Dynasty kings built cultic structures at south Saqqara similar to funerary enclosures, and dedicated them to the gods.<sup>101</sup> If structures already existed on the south Saqqara plateau then Hetepsekhemwy could have chosen the site for its proximity to the First Dynasty structures and economic centre of the country.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Four cultic structures of the First Dynasty are recorded on the Palermo Stone and year labels; King Djer: *smr-ntr.w* (Companion of the Gods), King Den: *swt-ntr.w* (Thrones of the Gods), King Semerkhet: *hrw.ib-ntr.w* (Horus, Heart of the Gods), King Qa'a: *K(3iw)-ntr.w* (High place of the Gods) (J. van Wetering, 'The Royal Cemetery of the Early Dynastic Period at Saqqara and the Second Dynasty Royal Tombs', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Cialowicz and M. Chlodnicki (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002 (Leuven, 2004), 1063–4).

<sup>102</sup> Van Wetering proposes Hetepsekhemwy would have chosen the prime spot on the plateau which is where the Netjerikhet complex is situated but clearly couldn't as it was already occupied by First Dynasty structures, destroyed at the start of the Third Dynasty (van Wetering in Hendrickx, et al. (Eds), *Origins*, 1064).

The necropolis at Umm el-Qaab became the main cemetery for the Naqadian elite after the acculturation of the other Upper Egyptian polities, however Hierakonpolis remained an important religious centre. Due to the ancient history at Umm el-Qaab, the First Dynasty kings continued to be buried close to their ancestors in a culturally significant location after the unification of the state and the probable relocation of the royal residence at the start of the dynasty. The First Dynasty officials of Lower Egypt built their tombs at North Saqqara overlooking the valley and Memphis, often appearing to compete with the size and scale of the royal tombs in Abydos.<sup>103</sup> Despite years of confusion over the owners of the First Dynasty tombs it is clear that they belonged to high ranking officials of the First Dynasty kings, possibly part of the royal family.<sup>104</sup> The design differed from the royal tombs at Abydos with the wall decorations indicating Mesopotamian motifs.<sup>105</sup> This influence of Mesopotamian design mimics the evidence of trade and commerce, with Tell Brak through the First Dynasty providing an avenue for ideas as well as trade goods.<sup>106</sup>

The location of Memphis, at the apex of the Delta, would have made it a strategically important site for trade north and south, including mining expeditions to the Sinai. Herodotus states that Memphis was founded by Menes (Narmer)<sup>107</sup>, however based on the cemetery remains at Helwan, the archaeology indicates a settlement dating back into the late

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<sup>103</sup> B.J. Kemp, 'The Egyptian 1st Dynasty Royal Cemetery', *Antiquity* 41.161 (1967), 22–3; contra R. Stadelmann, 'A New Look at the Tombs of the First and Second Dynasties at Abydos and Sakkara and the Evolution of the Pyramid Complex', in K. Daoud, S. Bedier and S. Abd el-Fatah (Eds), *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan* (Cairo, 2005), 361–75.

<sup>104</sup> Kemp, *Antiquity* 41, 22–32; B.J. Kemp, 'Abydos and the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty', *JEA* 52 (1966), 13–22.

<sup>105</sup> While the external structure of the mastabas appears different they are similar to the exterior of the Abydos funerary enclosures. Further similarities are seen in the internal structure with the royal tombs at Umm el-Qa'ab with a sand tumulus covered with mudbricks over a chambered substructure (Kemp, *Antiquity* 41, 23).

<sup>106</sup> Mark, *From Egypt to Mesopotamia*, 128.

<sup>107</sup> Menes can now be convincingly identified with Narmer rather than Aha (T.C. Heagy, 'Who was Menes?', *Archéo-Nil* 24 (2014), 82–3).

Predynastic (Naqada IIIA2).<sup>108</sup> With the influence and importance of Memphis increasing throughout the First Dynasty, by the start of the Second Dynasty the kings would have wanted to relocate the royal necropolis to be near the economic and political hub of the country.<sup>109</sup> This resulted in Hetepsekhemwy relocating the royal burial ground to south Saqqara.<sup>110</sup> Located close to the tomb of Hetepsekhemwy is the only other Second Dynasty royal tomb known outside of Abydos, the tomb of Ninetjer. Extensive re-excavations at Abydos by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (DAI) under Gunter Dreyer leave little doubt that other Second Dynasty tombs remain undiscovered on the Umm el-Qa'ab.<sup>111</sup> However, the lack of clearly identified tombs, together with the confusion over the number of kings for this period, leaves a question over their location and how many remain to be discovered. Saqqara seems the likely candidate for the remaining royal tombs, with suggestions that some of them were repurposed into the Netjerikhet complex neighbouring the tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer.<sup>112</sup> With serekhs of Ranef also discovered in Hetepsekhemwy's tomb it has been suggested both kings were buried together, an idea that is not reflected in the design of the tomb or the mortuary ideology of kingship during the Early Dynastic period.<sup>113</sup> With an individual tomb identified for every king from Narmer to Hetepsekhemwy, it is highly unlikely Ranef was buried with his predecessor unless he died within weeks of ascending the throne.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Herodotus, *Histories*, Translated by G. Rawlinson (Ware, 1996), II.4, II.99; Köhler in Hendrickx, et al. (Eds), *Origins*, 307–10.

<sup>109</sup> van Wetering in Hendrickx, et al. (Eds), *Origins*, 1057.

<sup>110</sup> Köhler in Hendrickx, et al. (Eds), *Origins*, 311.

<sup>111</sup> cf. G. Dreyer *et al.*, 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 13./14./15. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 59 (2003), 68–137.

<sup>112</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 242.

<sup>113</sup> Only one main burial chamber has been identified in the tomb of Hetepsekhemwy despite its size (Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 441–7; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 242).

<sup>114</sup> The seal impressions of Ranef suggest he closed the tomb of his predecessor, Hetepsekhemwy, rather than being buried with him (Regulski in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 296).

### 3.2.1.1.2 Abydos

The last two kings of the Second Dynasty returned to the ancient necropolis at Abydos. Peribsen's burial there is used to support theories of internal conflict, however his mortuary cult continuing into the Fourth Dynasty suggests he was not regarded as a heretical ruler after his death (see Ch. 3.1.2.1). Therefore another reason besides conflict must be considered for the change of location, before a final return to the north for the Old Kingdom.

These last two rulers stand apart from other kings through their Seth titles, which may suggest a stronger connection with the traditional land of this god, Naqada and the surrounding Upper Egyptian nomes.<sup>115</sup> If the cult of Seth and the Myth of Horus developed throughout this period, Seth Peribsen may have considered Abydos a more appropriate location for his burial. With the likelihood that Peribsen can be identified with Horus Sekhemib, attested from Saqqara, a secondary funerary monument, such as a mortuary enclosure, may have represented his funerary cult in the north and the connection to the god Horus.

The tomb of Khasekhemwy further contradicts the theory of conflict between the last two rulers of the Second Dynasty, as Khasekhemwy did not return to Saqqara but chose to be buried near his predecessor. A mortuary enclosure at Hierakonpolis attests the name of Khasekhem, with Dodson suggesting this as the earlier planned burial site because the instability of the state restricted access to the Saqqara necropolis.<sup>116</sup> However, even after Khasekhemwy supposedly restored order he did not return to Saqqara but chose a southern location for his burial close to his predecessor, Peribsen, and his ancestors of the First Dynasty. That Peribsen and Khasekhemwy felt a stronger connection to Abydos is clear with the

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<sup>115</sup> The Horus Seth title of Khasekhemwy may further support the choice of the Upper Egyptian location being related to Seth at the end of the Second Dynasty however further investigation is needed. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 294–5; Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 197–9.

<sup>116</sup> This is despite no evidence of a burial being found at Hierakonpolis or an explanation provided as to why the funerary enclosures would be constructed before construction had started on a tomb (R.F. Friedman, 'Investigations in the Fort of Khasekhemwy', *Neken News* 11 (1999), 9–12; Dodson, *KMT* 7, 26).

construction of their nearby funerary enclosures mimicking and surpassing the monumental construction of the First Dynasty.

### 3.2.1.2 Non-royal tombs

During the early dynasties, two regions held prime importance for the non-royal classes: Abydos and the greater Memphite region, including Saqqara, Helwan and Abu Rawash. At Abydos, the non-royal burials of the First Dynasty must be viewed in context as the subsidiary burials form part of the tomb of the king.<sup>117</sup> In the north, the elite were allocated their own burial grounds at Helwan and north Saqqara in proximity to the capital. This continued to be used throughout the Second and Third Dynasties when the royal burial ground relocated from Abydos.

When discussing non-royal tombs, care must be taken to differentiate between the various social classes and the related necropolises and social stratification within them. Based on tomb size and preserved grave goods, the north Saqqara necropolis was reserved for the highest officials and probable members of the royal household. Other members of the aristocracy who were not directly related to the king were permitted tombs in this area, while lower elite classes were restricted from the Saqqara plateau to Helwan, Turah and Abusir.<sup>118</sup> The upper and middle aristocracy buried at Helwan often attest stelae associated with their

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<sup>117</sup> cf. the nearby site of Naga ed-Deir, Upper Egypt, for Second Dynasty burials (P.V. Podzorski, 'The Early Dynastic Mastabas of Naga ed-Deir', *Archéo-Nil* 18 (2008), 89–102).

<sup>118</sup> E.C. Köhler, 'Early Dynastic Society at Memphis', in E.M. Engel, V. Müller and U. Hartung (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer* (Wiesbaden, 2008a), 384–6. Variations in status occur within this royal family group with more important members being allocated tombs at Saqqara while others with slightly lower status are buried at Helwan, based on the size of their associated stelae (Köhler in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 389; E.C. Köhler and J. Jones, *Helwan II: The Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Funerary Relief Slabs* (Rahden, 2009), 82); J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1912-1914): Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), v–viii.

tomb; however this social stratification is not restricted to the male officials, with approximately half the stelae attributed to women.<sup>119</sup>

The non-royal tombs were long considered limited to north Saqqara, however recent discoveries near the pyramid complex of Netjerikhet at south Saqqara are challenging this long-held belief.<sup>120</sup> Subterranean complexes were discovered below the tombs of Meryneith and Maya at south Saqqara and dated to the late Second Dynasty. These included a seal impression naming Khasekhemwy, suggesting the tomb owner was a member of the royal court.<sup>121</sup> That these two non-royal tombs are located in proximity to the tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer raises questions over the social stratification of the north and south Saqqara necropolises at the end of the dynasty and the possible limit of the royal south Saqqara cemetery.<sup>122</sup> These late Second Dynasty tombs may help date the nearby structures of Gisir el-Mudir and the 'L-shaped' enclosure, both which have been variously dated from the Second to Third Dynasties (see Ch. 3.2.2.2).<sup>123</sup> Köhler has shown that society was highly structured at Memphis through the necropolis at Helwan. However, the precise nuances of

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<sup>119</sup> Köhler and Jones, *Helwan II*, 79.

<sup>120</sup> Regulski in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 293–311.

<sup>121</sup> Regulski in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 302–4, 303 Fig. 9.

<sup>122</sup> Pot marks found in the tombs are assumed to be names but it is unclear if these are the tomb owners. One name, *Nfr-im3h=f*, is also attested from the deposit below the Step Pyramid twice and in the tomb of Khasekhemwy at Abydos. It is likely *Nfr-im3h=f* was an official in the court of Khasekhemwy who provided offerings to the burial of the king and also goods for use in the kings *heb sed* jubilee that did not occur due to his sudden death (Regulski in Barta, et al. (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 694–708).

<sup>123</sup> Pottery from Gisir el-Mudir suggests a late Second Dynasty date and architecture shows similarity in design with the funerary enclosures of Khasekhemwy at Abydos and Hierakonpolis (Regulski in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 304–5). cf. R. Stadelmann, 'Die Oberbauten der Königsgräber der 2. Dynastie in Sakkara', *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (Cairo, 1985), 306; I.J. Mathieson et al., 'The National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Survey Project 1993–1995', *JEA* 83 (1997), 36, 53; A. Tavares, 'The Saqqara Survey Project', in C.J. Eyre (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3 – 9 September 1995* (Leuven, 1998), 1136; Stadelmann in Daoud, et al. (Eds), *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, 362–4; N. Kawai, 'An Early Cult Centre at Abusir-Saqqara? Recent Discoveries at a Rocky Outcrop in North-West Saqqara', in R.F. Friedman and P.N. Fiske (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, London, 27th July – 1st August 2008 (Leuven, 2011), 822–5.



these social stratum is not clearly understood, with members of the royal family also identified at Helwan.<sup>124</sup>

When the First Dynasty mastabas of Hemaka (S3035) and Merka (S3505) were constructed at north Saqqara, the plateau would have been relatively bare.<sup>125</sup> During the First and Second Dynasties, smaller tombs were constructed between the larger mastabas, with increased intensity during the Third Dynasty.<sup>126</sup> These earlier tombs were often built over by larger Third Dynasty mastaba with smaller tombs crowding around, even extending to the desert cliffs.<sup>127</sup> With the royal necropolis located at Saqqara from the Third Dynasty, proximity to the tomb of the king became an important concern for the upper classes. This reached its peak at Giza, with mastabas surrounding the pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> One king's son and two daughters are identified through the stelae at Helwan (Köhler in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 398; Köhler and Jones, *Helwan II*, 82). From the Fourth Dynasty *s3 nsw* became a title and did not necessarily reflect a direct relation of the king (N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), 312–13).

<sup>125</sup> cf. emery for detailed description of the tomb and contents of Hemaka, one of the largest non-royal tombs at Saqqara (W.B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara. The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), 1–2; Köhler in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 386–8; Kemp, *Antiquity* 41, 22–32).

<sup>126</sup> Tavares in Eyre (Ed.), *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists 1995*, 1139.

<sup>127</sup> Tavares in Eyre (Ed.), *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists 1995*, 1139. Many of these Third Dynasty mastaba, plundered in antiquity, were also reused or integrated into later subterranean structures such as the ibis and baboon catacombs (W.B. Emery, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara, 1968-9', *JEA* 56 (1970), 10; W.B. Emery, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara, 1968', *JEA* 55 (1969), 31; W.B. Emery, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara, 1966-7', *JEA* 53 (1967), 141).

<sup>128</sup> A. Dodson and S. Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2008), 23, 27.

### 3.2.2 Tomb architecture

#### 3.2.2.1 Royal tombs

##### 3.2.2.1.1 First Dynasty

The First Dynasty tombs at Abydos share many common features, all constructed out of mudbrick with a central subterranean burial chamber surrounded by subsidiary burials.<sup>129</sup> The evolution of the royal tomb from the late Predynastic to the First Dynasty can be seen through the increase in burial chamber size and the number of associated subsidiary chambers.<sup>130</sup> Djer's tomb increased in size and wall thickness compared to his predecessors but maintained similarities in its central sunken burial chamber surrounded by magazines and subsidiary burials.<sup>131</sup> It is assumed a superstructure similar to that covering the tomb of Djed would have been present on the majority of First Dynasty tombs, with the central chambers covered by a tumulus mound and the subsidiary burials covered separately.<sup>132</sup> Further innovations in royal tomb design occurred during the reign of Den with the first use of stone and the inclusion of a stairway to access the burial chamber.<sup>133</sup> The scale of Den's tomb, the largest other than Khasekhemwy's, reflects the length of his reign and may have allowed the time required for his architects to evolve the design.<sup>134</sup> A stone portcullis was integrated into the tomb of Qa'a with four magazines extending out from the entrance stairway, similar to the corridor tombs of his successors.<sup>135</sup> The architecture of the royal tombs during the First Dynasty retained

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<sup>129</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 137.

<sup>130</sup> La Loggia uses the term 'subsidiary chambers' rather than subsidiary burials so as to include areas used as magazines or those whose purpose is unclear (A.S. La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt's Early Dynastic Period: A Review of Mortuary Structures* (Unpublished thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, 2012), 171 n.613); cf. Engel, *Archéo-nil* 18, 32–7 for a concise overview of the construction and various elements of the Abydos royal tombs.

<sup>131</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 171–2.

<sup>132</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 172.

<sup>133</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 178.

<sup>134</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 178.

<sup>135</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 184; Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part I*, 14.

common features of a central subterranean chamber with surrounding subsidiary chambers and burials while new innovations occurred under various kings increasing the complexity of the tombs and allowing completion before interment.

#### 3.2.2.1.2 Second Dynasty

Two different style of tombs are attested during the Second Dynasty: rock-cut or mudbrick, both with subterranean chambers and evidence of superstructures. The building material and geology of the two locations, Abydos and Saqqara, denoted a change of construction style to ensure the tomb of the king survived for eternity.

The move to Saqqara by Hetepsekhemwy inspired a change in design of the royal tomb from the central chamber of the First Dynasty to successive chambers in an elongated pattern.<sup>136</sup>

The return to Abydos by Peribsen saw a return to the traditional construction methods of the First Dynasty, although this was not carried on by Khasekhemwy, who appears to have mimicked the elongated Second Dynasty design in mudbrick.<sup>137</sup> While variations can be seen between the First and Second Dynasty royal tombs, many features are common and their evolution traced into the Pyramid Age.

Discovered by A. Barsanti in 1901–02, the subterranean rock-cut tomb of Hetepsekhemwy is located southwest of the Step Pyramid complex, partly under the pyramid of Unas.<sup>138</sup> The 1936 plan by Lauer achieved a general idea of the tomb layout but failed to clearly identify the

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<sup>136</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 140.

<sup>137</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 141.

<sup>138</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 427. Ownership of the tomb has disputed due to the names of both Hetepsekhemwy and Raneb found on seal impressions from the tomb. These seals would appear to represent the closing of Hetepshekhemwy's tomb by his successor Raneb, just as Hetepsekhemwy's name is attested from the tomb of Qa'a at Abydos (Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 428).

construction phases and its later reuse.<sup>139</sup> The tomb is aligned north-south, often referred to as a corridor tomb, with 120 rooms covering an area 122m x 48m with no remaining evidence of a superstructure.<sup>140</sup> The central group of rooms (H, I, J) mimic the chambers seen in other second Dynasty mastabas, interpreted as representing a model house and further supported by Quibell's discovery of water jugs and latrines.<sup>141</sup> The burial chamber (J100) is synonymous with the main bedroom, surrounded by washrooms and staterooms as well as areas for other members of the household.<sup>142</sup> The various construction phases (see Figure 11) show the expansion of the tomb throughout Hetepsekhemwy's reign with additional corridors, stairways and magazines added to create a subterranean model palace. This limestone-cut tomb differs from the early First Dynasty royal and elite tombs, which were open-cut into the sand and then covered over with wooden beams and backfilled, later evolving rock-cut substructures.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 430. Lacher provides a reconstruction of the superstructure, trimmed with limestone or mudbricks, based on the excavation of Lauer however states that "no remains are preserved" (Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 430–1, Figs.3–4).

<sup>140</sup> Parts of the tomb are still to be excavated which will undoubtedly increase the number of rooms and corridors (Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 431–2).

<sup>141</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 435–7.

<sup>142</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 438. The tomb as a model house/palace can be seen dating back to Naqada IIIA2 in tomb U-j at Abydos (Dreyer in Teeter (Ed.), *Before the Pyramids*, 128–31).

<sup>143</sup> S3121 and S3120, dated to the reign of Qa'a, attest small rock-cut subterranean burial chambers accessed by a stepped corridor covered by a traditional First Dynasty mudbrick mastaba superstructure. S3042 and S3024, dated to the early Second Dynasty, include mudbrick dividing walls in the subterranean chambers as well as additional chambers as magazines (Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 433, 435).

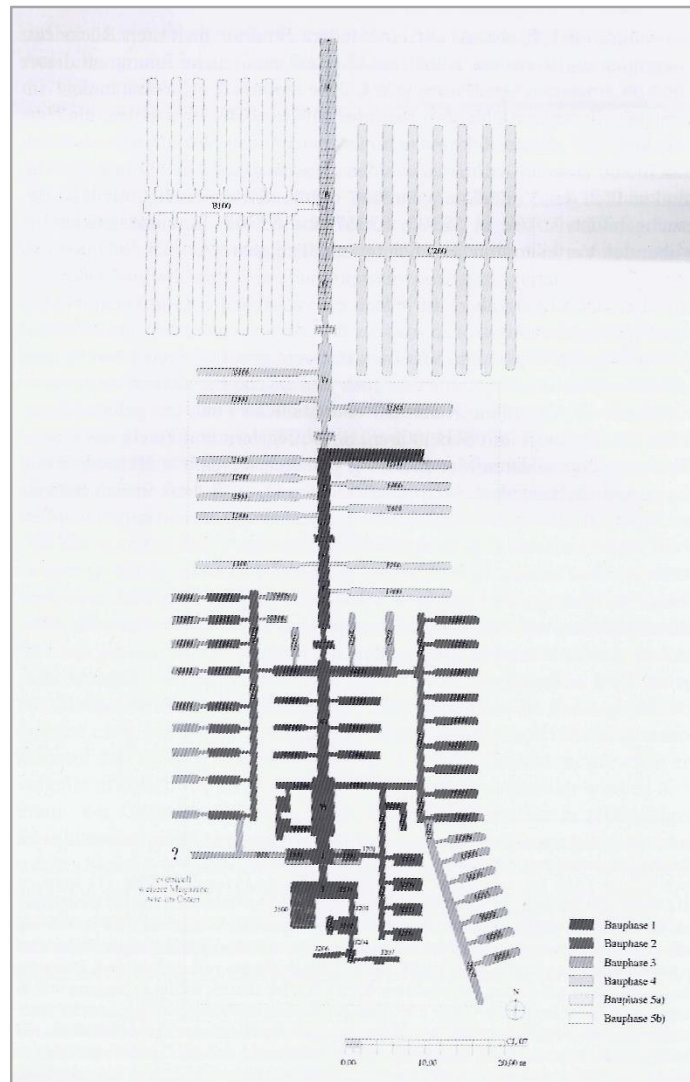


Figure 11. Tomb of Hetepsekhemwy

Construction phase plan of Hetepsekhemwy's tomb at Saqqara  
(Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, Fig.7)

The rock-cut tomb of Ninetjer is located about 150 metres east of Hetepsekhemwy and extends under the causeway of Unas, on the south-west side of the Step Pyramid complex.<sup>144</sup> Discovered in 1938, the tomb was not completely excavated until the re-examination by the DAI from 2003–09.<sup>145</sup> The 157 rooms extend over approximately 77m x 50m in a roughly

<sup>144</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 427.

<sup>145</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Barta, et al. (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 537; G. Dreyer, 'Ein unterirdisches Labrinth: Das Grab des Königs Ninetjer in Sakkara', in G. Dreyer and D. Polz (Eds), *Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit: 100 Jahre in Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 2007), 130–8.

north-south alignment similar to the tomb of Hetepsekhemwy. However, the central complex of rooms is labyrinthine rather than the more ordered chambers of the earlier tomb.<sup>146</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff interprets this collection of passageways and small rooms as representing streets and open courtyards to supplement the remaining rock as a model house and cult place.<sup>147</sup> The model cult place is attested in the tomb Hetepskhemwy close to the burial chamber, but the tomb of Ninetjer appears to contain three similar structures with one associated with the burial chamber (see Figure 12).<sup>148</sup> A central column of bedrock is retained while a corridor structure represents the path the king followed during the *heb sed* ritual.<sup>149</sup> Both the Second Dynasty tombs at Saqqara attest a long central corridor with magazines off both sides of the entranceway, a centrally aligned burial chamber and a westward extension of rooms representing the palace, all showing the similarity in design of the early Second Dynasty. The building phases of both tombs is similar, with a central complex of rooms created on a central alignment. Additional rooms and corridors added later suggests a reasonably long reign for each king<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Barta, et al. (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 537–9; Lacher-Raschdorff in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 217.

<sup>147</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Barta, et al. (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 542.

<sup>148</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 222–3.

<sup>149</sup> A similar feature is seen beneath the Step Pyramid complex of Netjerikhet where a central bedrock column is decorated in faience tiles with images nearby of the king running (Lacher-Raschdorff in Barta, et al. (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 541; Lacher-Raschdorff in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 224–7).

<sup>150</sup> Lacher-Raschdorff in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 218, 220.

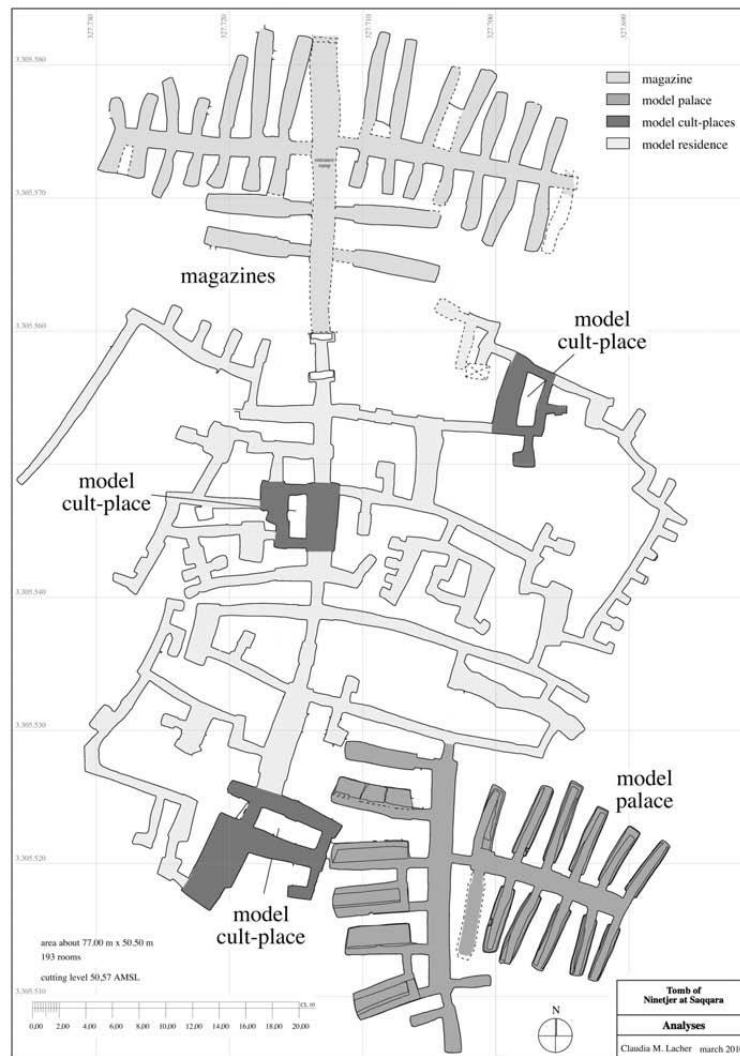


Figure 12. Tomb of Ninetjer

Model cult-place plan of Ninetjer's tomb at Saqqara  
(Lacher-Raschdorff in Barta, *et al.* (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara*, Fig.4)

With Peribsen's return to Abydos, similarities exist in the architecture and construction style of the First Dynasty tombs; however designs implemented in the early Second Dynasty tombs may also be present. A central mudbrick-lined chamber mimics the First Dynasty central wood-lined chambers in the relatively small tomb measuring 18m x 15m (see Figure 13).<sup>151</sup> Small cells divided by mudbricks, probably utilised as magazines, are also retained, however

<sup>151</sup> A.S. La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt's Early Dynastic Period* (Leuven, 2015), 186; La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 186.

these are now separated from the central chamber by mudbrick walls, which creates an access way encircling the tomb.<sup>152</sup> This access way appears to mimic the solid rock massif and surrounding corridor of the cultic place seen in the tombs of Hetepsekhemwy, Ninetjer and Netjerikhet, representing the *heb sed* ritual. Peribsen's tomb also appears to have been built in one stage, unlike the earlier tombs with different building phases.<sup>153</sup>

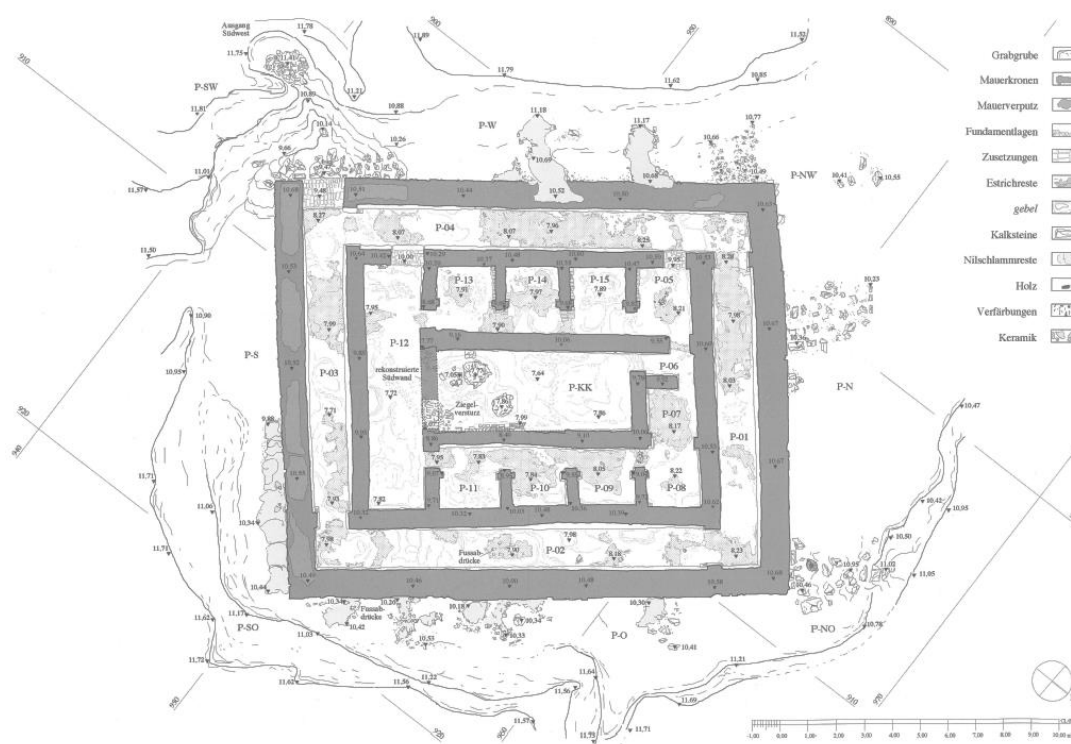


Figure 13. Tomb of Peribsen

Umm el-Qa'ab, Abydos (Dreyer *et al.*, *MDAIK* 62, pl.I)

Built in mudbrick and stone and constructed on an approximately north-south alignment, the 68m x 12m tomb of Khasekhemwy at Abydos also evokes the early Second Dynasty royal corridor tombs (see Figure 14).<sup>154</sup> Similar to the tomb of Den, the sunken central chamber was

<sup>152</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 186.

<sup>153</sup> G. Dreyer *et al.*, 'Umm el-Qa'ab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 16./17./18. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 62 (2006), 98–102.

<sup>154</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 187.



lined and paved with limestone slabs and possibly roofed in stone.<sup>155</sup> The central chamber and surrounding rooms appear to be part of the first construction phase and are similar in design to Peribsen's tomb.<sup>156</sup> Further chambers for magazines were added to the north and south, and the central burial chamber was covered with a mudbrick floor and further storerooms.<sup>157</sup> Evidence of a tumulus above the tomb is preserved in the collapsed bricks of the central section, possibly waterlogged after a heavy rainfall and the extra pressure of the sand from above.<sup>158</sup> These two late Second Dynasty tombs have no associated subsidiary burials, unlike their neighbouring tombs of the First Dynasty.<sup>159</sup>

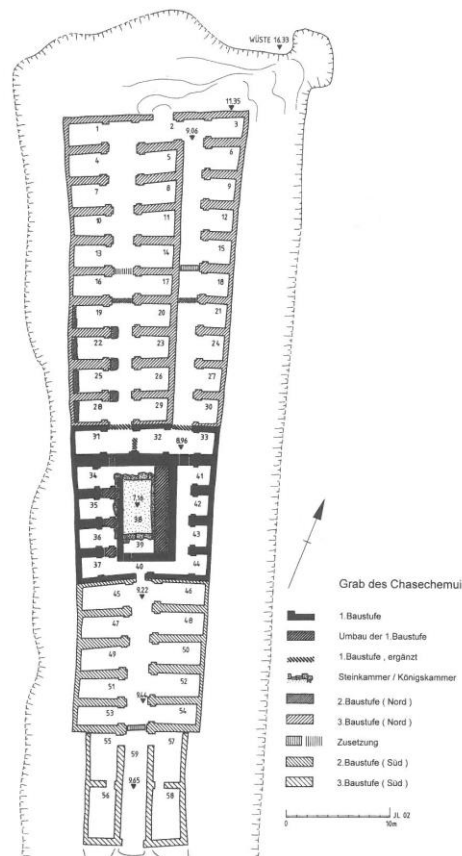


Figure 14. Tomb of Khasekhemwy

Plan of Khasekhemwy's tomb at Umm el-Qa'ab, Abydos (Dreyer, *et al.* MDAIK 59, Fig.16)

<sup>155</sup> Dreyer *et al.*, MDAIK 59, 138; La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 187.

<sup>156</sup> Dreyer *et al.*, MDAIK 59, 138.

<sup>157</sup> Dreyer *et al.*, MDAIK 59, 138.

<sup>158</sup> Dreyer *et al.*, MDAIK 59, 138; La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 187.

<sup>159</sup> L. Bestock, *The Development of Royal Funerary Cult at Abydos: Two New Funerary Enclosures from the reign of Aha* (Unpublished thesis, New York University, New York, 2007), 6.

### 3.2.2.1.3 Third Dynasty

The evolution of the royal tomb appears abruptly interrupted when the burials of Khasekhemwy and Netjerikhet are compared. The former is subterranean and in mudbrick, while the latter is monumental in scale and made of stone. However, all the royal structures of the First and Second Dynasty, as well as the development of the elite tombs at north Saqqara, need to be considered when discussing the Third Dynasty royal tombs.<sup>160</sup> The mudbrick funerary enclosure (Shunet el-Zebib) of Khasekhemwy (see 3.2.2.2) was copied in stone and combined with the burial chamber, superstructure and subsidiary buildings at the Step Pyramid complex to create a multipurpose site for the burial of the king and the maintenance of his mortuary cult.<sup>161</sup> The stone blocks used in the Step Pyramid mimic the size of mudbricks, increasing in size throughout the Third Dynasty.<sup>162</sup> Above the rock-cut burial chamber, a simple mastaba was first constructed, similar to the First and Second Dynasty elite tombs.<sup>163</sup> This was subsequently changed to a four-stepped design, appearing to be mastabas stacked on top of one another. This was later expanded to the six-step pyramid we see today.<sup>164</sup> It remains unknown why this change occurred but the evolution from the tumulus of the royal tombs at Abydos and the mastabas of the elite tombs at north Saqqara to the pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty can be seen in Netjerikhet's Step Pyramid, whose design continued to be improved throughout the Third Dynasty.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> A. Dodson, 'Mortuary Architecture and Decorative Systems', in A.B. Lloyd (Ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2014), 807; W. Kaiser, 'Zu den königlichen Talbezirken der 1. und 2. Dynastie in Abydos und zur Baugeschichte des Djoser-Grabmals', *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 6.

<sup>161</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 142; Kaiser, *MDAIK* 25, 16.

<sup>162</sup> Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 144.

<sup>163</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 248.

<sup>164</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 248.

<sup>165</sup> cf. La Loggia for an extensive discussion on the construction and evolution of the First and Second Dynasty burials and the implications this had on society (La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, Ch. 2 and 7).

The expansive corridor tombs of the early Second Dynasty were possibly due to the geology of south Saqqara, allowing deep large-scale excavation into the bedrock without the need for substantial retaining walls.<sup>166</sup> This was not the case in Abydos, where construction into the loose sand and gravel required shallow excavations to ensure a bearable load on the mudbrick retaining walls.<sup>167</sup> Dated to the reign of Khasekhemwy, a stone building, “the goddess endues”, named in the Palermo stone, foreshadows the massive building projects of Netjerikhet in the Third Dynasty.<sup>168</sup> With the first use of stone in a royal tomb dated to Den in the First Dynasty, and the massive structures of the Third Dynasty, Khasekhemwy’s use of stone shows the evolution of monumental architecture during the first three dynasties rather than the abrupt change that a dynastic boundary suggests.

### 3.2.2.2 Funerary enclosures

The royal funerary enclosures, or *Talbezirke*, date back to the reign of Aha, with three structures attributed to him discovered at the North Cemetery, Abydos. However, their origin remains unclear.<sup>169</sup> Built of mudbrick, these rectangular walls enclosed a space orientated south-east to north-west in all the preserved enclosures, with niching on the exterior wall similar to the elite mastabas at north Saqqara.<sup>170</sup> The best preserved enclosure, the Shunet el-

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<sup>166</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 44.

<sup>167</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 45; cf. La Loggia suggests the move from Abydos to Saqqara could have been based on the geology “as a governing factor” rather than the more likely move closer to the capital and economic centre (La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 44 Ch.2.2.1).

<sup>168</sup> Van Wetering believes this structure can be identified with the Gisir el-Mudir at south Saqqara (van Wetering in Hendrickx, et al. (Eds), *Origins*, 1070; Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 132).

<sup>169</sup> See Bestock (2008) for a discussion on the enclosures of Aha, the only king to attest more than one funerary enclosure at Abydos (L. Bestock, 'The Evolution of Royal Ideology: New Discoveries from the Reign of Aha', in B. Midant-Reynes and Y. Tristant (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005 (Leuven, 2008b), 1091–106). No enclosures can be dated before Aha and similar structures have not been discovered to clarify the formation and purpose of these structures (Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 5–6, 98–9).

<sup>170</sup> cf. L. Bestock, 'The Early Dynastic Funerary Enclosures of Abydos', *Archéo-Nil* 18 (2008a), 42–59 for a concise review of the development of the Abydos funerary enclosures; Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 100–1.

Zebib, dates to Khasekhemwy and is the only enclosure not dismantled shortly after its construction.<sup>171</sup> Other enclosures date to the reigns of Djer, Djet, Meretneith and Peribsen, with only the First Dynasty enclosures surrounded by subsidiary burials, like their nearby tombs (see Figure 15).<sup>172</sup>

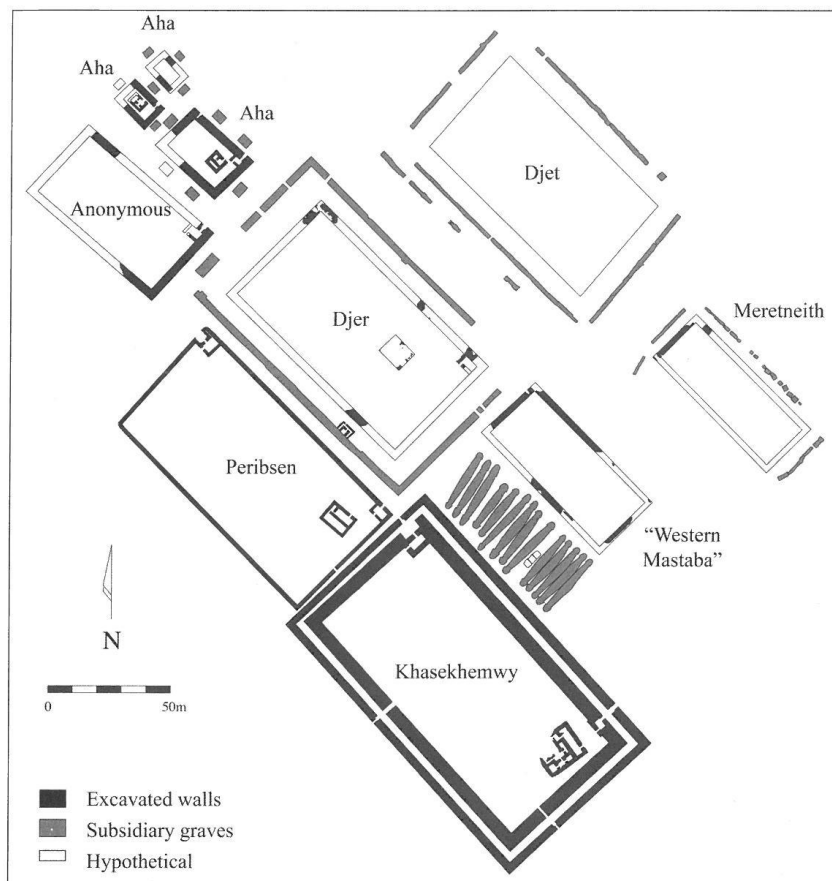


Figure 15. Funerary enclosures at Abydos

(Bestock, *Archéo-nil* 18, Fig.3)

<sup>171</sup> Dodson in Lloyd (Ed.), *Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 806. The enclosures, other than the Shunet el-Zebib, show signs of deliberate destruction and removal of their walls. This ritual destruction, as Bestock calls it, would had to have taken place after the burial of the occupants in the associated subsidiary burials of the First Dynasty (Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 142–3).

<sup>172</sup> Two other enclosures are undated including the structure known as the Western Mastaba (Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 6).

A structure is evident within both the Second Dynasty enclosures and the enclosure of Djer, as well as a brick covered mound at the centre of the Shunet el-Zebib.<sup>173</sup> The central mound and associated building contained within an enclosure wall evokes images of the Step Pyramid complex of Khasekhemwy's successor. Another enclosure (the so-called 'Fort') is known at Hierakonpolis naming Khasekhem, and assumed to be built in the early part of his reign; however, it differs from the Shunet el-Zebib.<sup>174</sup> With the importance of the god Horus at Hierakonpolis, the location may have been selected to honour the other god evoked in Khasekhemwy's dual title of Horus and Seth.<sup>175</sup> The function of these enclosures remains unclear but the relationship to the mortuary cult of the king and possibly to the burial preparations performed in the small building inside the enclosure are highly likely.<sup>176</sup> The buildings that are preserved are all offset from the alignment of the enclosure walls and located close to the eastern entrance with evidence of offerings within.<sup>177</sup>

Similarities between the funerary enclosures and the First Dynasty elite mastabas at Saqqara can also be seen with the south-east corner for offerings and cultic practices mimicked in the

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<sup>173</sup> D. O'Connor, 'New Funerary Enclosures (Talbezirke) of the Early Dynastic Period at Abydos', *JARCE* 26 (1989), 54.

<sup>174</sup> The enclosure at Hierakonpolis is more squared (64.7 x 56.7m) than the clearly rectangular enclosures at Abydos, as well as a more elaborate gateway than the simple entrances of the Second Dynasty enclosures. A central structure at Hierakonpolis is more elaborate with columns and the use of stone, not seen in the Shunet el-Zebib (Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 136). Two phases of construction are confirmed with an inner wall encased and enlarged by a second phase of mudbricks (Friedman in Hawass and Richards (Eds), *Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, 313–4); Friedman suggests the fort at Hierakonpolis was built to commemorate the king's heb sed jubilee or reunification of the country as no pottery from the end of his reign was found (Friedman, *Neken News* 11, 11–12).

<sup>175</sup> Dodson claims the enclosure was built at Hierakonpolis as Khasekhem could not get further north to Saqqara due to the conflict dividing the country. If Khasekhemwy reunified the country and later changed his name, he still chose to be buried in the south at Abydos near the tomb of his supposed enemy, Peribsen (Dodson, *KMT* 7, 26).

<sup>176</sup> Every king, and only kings, buried at Umm el-Qa'ab constructed funerary enclosures to supplement their tombs, with both surrounded by subsidiary burials (Bestock, *Archéo-Nil* 18, 46–7); Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 238; O'Connor, *JARCE* 26, 84; Kaiser, *MDAIK* 25, 17; Kemp, *JEA* 52, 16.

<sup>177</sup> Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 102.

enclosures, often surrounded by subsidiary burials.<sup>178</sup> The tomb of the king at Umm el-Qa'ab and the nearby enclosure together perform the function of the smaller and combined structure of the elite classes' mastaba tombs: firstly the burial and protection of the body with supplies for the afterlife, and secondly the maintenance of the mortuary cult and dedication of offerings.<sup>179</sup> With no enclosures known for the late First and early Second Dynasties, their purpose remains debated, however two possible enclosures near the Step Pyramid complex, known as the Gisir el-Mudir and the L-shaped enclosure, are sometimes attributed to these kings.<sup>180</sup> A rough stone wall, partly dismantled and possibly not finished, surrounds an earthen mound in the centre of the Gisir el-Mudir. No other structures have been found within, however it is suggested as a funerary enclosure for one of the nearby early Second Dynasty tombs or as a northern supplement to Khasekhemwy's 'fort' at Hierakonpolis.<sup>181</sup> The L-shaped enclosure consisting of mounded sand and gravel as well as 22 burials dated to the reign of Den have also been suggested as enclosures but the evidence is not conclusive.<sup>182</sup> It has been considered illogical by some scholars that these possible stone funerary enclosures would predate the mudbrick tombs and enclosures of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy at Abydos, despite stone being more easily available in the North.<sup>183</sup> The differing geology between the two sites, and the architectural history of the First Dynasty tombs and enclosures, explains the

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<sup>178</sup> Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 103.

<sup>179</sup> Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 103.

<sup>180</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 243; cf. the dry moat around the Step Pyramid complex (N. Swelim, 'The Dry Moat of the Netjerykhet Complex', in J. Baines, T.G.H. James, A. Leahy and A.F. Shore (Eds), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 12–22).

<sup>181</sup> The earliest pottery from the site, collected neat the East Wall, dates to the late Second / early third Dynasty (Tavares in Eyre (Ed.), *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists 1995*, 1136; Mathieson *et al.*, *JEA* 83, 36, 38).

<sup>182</sup> See Tavares in Eyre (Ed.), *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists 1995*, 1136–7 for comments on the L-shaped enclosure. Bestock and O'Connor discuss Kaiser's suggestion on a cult area dated to the reign of Den surrounded by subsidiary burials but does not identify it as a "Talbezirke" however no foundations have been found associated with the First Dynasty burials (Bestock, *Development of Royal Funerary*, 138; O'Connor, *JARCE* 26, 83).

<sup>183</sup> Hendrickx (personal communication) in Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 244.

preference of mudbrick over stone construction at Abydos in the late Second Dynasty, which should have no impact on the interpretation of the possible enclosures at Saqqara, once more data comes to light.

### 3.2.2.3 Non-royal tombs

The non-royal tombs of the Second Dynasty followed similar designs of the First Dynasty but integrate new improvements and innovations as seen in the royal tombs at south Saqqara.<sup>184</sup> The First Dynasty mastabas open-cut excavation style compared to the later tunnelled corridors and chambers of the Second Dynasty may have been due to the unfamiliar geology compared to the sand and gravel at locations such as Helwan and Abydos.<sup>185</sup> The increasing knowledge of the excavation and use of stone in non-royal tomb design can be seen in the late Second Dynasty complexes below the New Kingdom tombs of Meryneith and Maya at south Saqqara.<sup>186</sup> The complex below the tomb of Maya shows similarities to the earlier royal tomb of Ninetjer with rooms and narrow corridors accessed from a northern entrance. However, the size of this late Second Dynasty complex would suggest a non-royal tomb in or near the royal necropolis rather than a royal burial.<sup>187</sup>

#### 3.2.2.3.1 First and Second Dynasty mastaba

Mastabas at north Saqqara for the highest officials of the Second Dynasty included two cultic places, marked by stelae placed into the niched façade, duplicating the single cultic place of

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<sup>184</sup> General features of the First and Second Dynasty mastabas is an excavated or tunnelled substructure covered with a superstructure, rectangular in shape with a niched façade however the niching became less common throughout the Second Dynasty (La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 3–4); Engel highlights the similarities between the royal tombs at Abydos and contemporary tombs from other sites including Saqqara, despite the geological differences (Engel, *Archéo-nil* 18, 36).

<sup>185</sup> Stadelmann in Daoud, et al. (Eds), *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, 365.

<sup>186</sup> Regulski, *BMSAES* 13, 221–37.

<sup>187</sup> Regulski, *BMSAES* 13, 225.

the First Dynasty.<sup>188</sup> Towards the end of the dynasty and into the Third these stelae-marked cultic places took on a cruciform shape, later evolving into the false doors of the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>189</sup> A late First and a late Second Dynasty mastaba each attest additional alcoves in the main structure and cultic place, with the earlier alcove containing a pair of statue bases.<sup>190</sup> Other tombs contain corridors of a simplified form, decorated with reed matting, plaster and paint. These extended chambers and corridors were the precursors of the mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom.<sup>191</sup> The substructures of the mastabas changed from the open-cut excavation of the early First Dynasty, seen at Abu Rawash, to deep rock-cut shafts with side chambers blocked with mudbricks or stone, and later replaced by the stone portcullis.<sup>192</sup> A stairway from the eastern side became integrated to access the substructure after the reign of Den, and increased tunnelling expanded the number of chambers; features that became standardised during the Second Dynasty.<sup>193</sup> The increased number of chambers and corridors are inferred to represent the plan of a house for the afterlife as discussed above (see Ch. 3.2.2.1), but on a reduced scale when compared to the royal tombs.<sup>194</sup> The substructures of the tombs at Saqqara were mostly roofed with timber, but occasionally with limestone slabs

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<sup>188</sup> See the tomb of Ruaben (S2302) from the late Second Dynasty for an example of double cultic places to receive offerings, usually located on the eastern facing mastaba wall with one each at the north and south ends (Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 136, 140).

<sup>189</sup> A number of First Dynasty stelae or lintels from above the burial chamber have been discovered listing the titles of the tomb owner such as Merika (S3505) and another from S3506 (Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 140; Kemp, *Antiquity* 41, 28).

<sup>190</sup> S3505 and QS2407 (Kemp, *Antiquity* 41, 28).

<sup>191</sup> Kemp, *Antiquity* 41, 28–9; Mudbrick walls were infilled with sand and gravel or poured mud rather than solid brick construction, chambers were subdivided and covered with a stone or wood roof before covered with further mudbricks (Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, 1).

<sup>192</sup> La Loggia, *Engineering and Construction in Egypt*, 4; Y. Tristant, 'Deux grands tombeaux du cimetière M d'Abou Rawach (Ire dynastie)', *Archéo-Nil* 18 (2008), 131–47; Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, 9.

<sup>193</sup> Dodson states that the substructures during the Second Dynasty are “wholly different” from the First Dynasty tombs however he describes the features common to both dynasties and how they evolved (Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 138, 140).

<sup>194</sup> Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, 2, pl.XXX, e.g. Tombs S2302, 2337, 2307, 2429, 2406.



or a combination of both (S3507).<sup>195</sup> Covering the roof of the substructure was an earthen mound encased in mudbricks, similar to the royal tombs at Abydos, which was then hidden by the niched exterior mastaba walls.<sup>196</sup> At least one of these hidden tumuli (S3038) showed a stepped construction with a number of phases in its design, emulating the much later Step Pyramid.<sup>197</sup> In the mastabas of the early First Dynasty, the deceased had to be buried before the superstructure could be completed. That the superstructure continued to be built after the inclusion of stairs to access the burial chamber indicates the importance of the feature in the tomb design.<sup>198</sup>

Early Second Dynasty tombs at Helwan were simple pit tombs, while those later in the dynasty are often larger and include a staircase to access the burial chamber (see Figure 16).<sup>199</sup> The larger tomb size suggests to Köhler a wealthier and higher social class compared to the smaller tombs dated to the same dynasty.<sup>200</sup> When compared to the Saqqara mastaba, these First and Second Dynasty tombs at Helwan used fewer materials in their construction, further supporting the differing social stratification at Memphis.<sup>201</sup> Similar design innovations, on a smaller scale, can be seen at Naga ed-Deir, with the introduction of a small staircase and stone to line the excavated burial chamber, or corbelled roofing rather than the imported Lebanese

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<sup>195</sup> See A.S. La Loggia, 'Egyptian engineering in the Early Dynastic period: The sites of Saqqara and Helwan', *BMSAES* 13 (2009), 179–83 for structural analysis of the roof design in stone and timber during the First Dynasty at Saqqara.

<sup>196</sup> W. Kaiser, 'Zu Überbauten Strukturen in den Großen Nischengräbern der 1. Dynastie in Sakkara', in E.M. Engel, V. Müller and U. Hartung (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer* (Wiesbaden, 2008), 353.

<sup>197</sup> Kaiser in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 358–9, 361 Fig.5. Kaiser notes that tomb S3038 cannot be considered a precursor to the Step Pyramid despite the similarities in design and the central tumulus over the burial chamber (Kaiser in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 362).

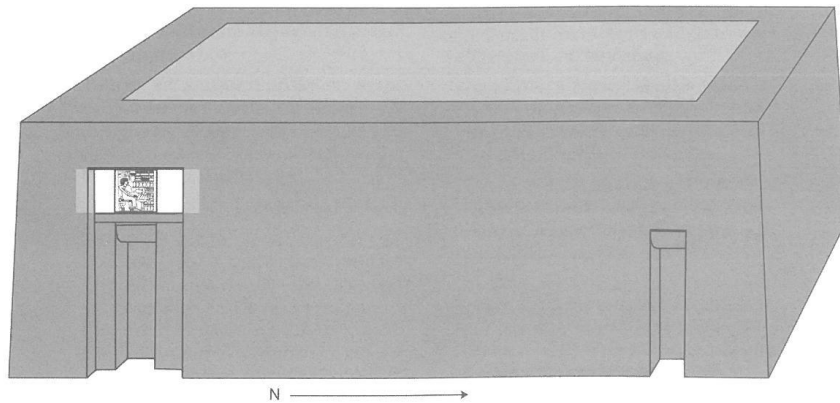
<sup>198</sup> Kaiser in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 364–5.

<sup>199</sup> Köhler in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 393; E.C. Köhler, 'The Helwan Cemetery', *Archéo-Nil* 18 (2008b), 113–30; W. Wood, 'The Archaic Stone Tombs at Helwan', *JEA* 73 (1987), 81–90; Z.Y. Saad, *The Excavations at Helwan. Art and Civilization in the First and Second Egyptian Dynasties* (Norman, 1969), 17–38.

<sup>200</sup> Köhler in Engel, et al. (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 393–4; E.C. Köhler, *Helwan I. Excavations in the Early Dynastic Cemetery Season 1997/98* (Cairo, 2005), 29–30.

<sup>201</sup> La Loggia, *BMSAES* 13, 178.

cedar utilised at Saqqara.<sup>202</sup> A simple small mudbrick tomb at Wardan near Abu Ghalib dated to the Second Dynasty shows tomb construction was not limited to the Memphite region.<sup>203</sup> Another tomb at nearby Maassara indicates the varying social stratification across the country, with rich grave goods hinting at a more extensive necropolis of the Second Dynasty surrounding Abu Ghalib.<sup>204</sup>



*Figure 16. Reconstruction of typical Second Dynasty mastaba at Helwan*

(Köhler, *Archéo-nil* 18, Fig.19)

### 3.2.2.3.2 Third Dynasty mastaba

The non-royal mastaba of the Third Dynasty at Saqqara are of similar design and construction of the late Second Dynasty, however many were reused, damaged or integrated into Late Period and Ptolemaic structures such as the ibis and baboon catacombs. Single or double burial shafts into the bedrock were refilled and surrounded by a mastaba containing magazines and storage rooms, however the façade remains flat with the cruciform cultic area

<sup>202</sup> These design innovations appear to be mimicking the rock-cut tombs in varying geology where tunnelling was not possible (La Loggia, *BMSAES* 13, 180; Dodson and Ikram, *Tomb in Ancient Egypt*, 141).

<sup>203</sup> H. Larsen, 'A Second Dynasty Grave at Wardan, Northern Egypt', *Orientalia Suecana* 5 (1956), 6–10.

<sup>204</sup> H. Larsen, 'Tomb Six at Maassara: An Egyptian Second Dynasty Tomb', *AcAr* XI (1940), 103–24.

for offerings containing niches hinting at the evolving false door.<sup>205</sup> Orientation of the superstructure changed during the Third Dynasty to replicate the alignment of the nearby Step Pyramid.<sup>206</sup> While major changes were occurring in the royal funerary architecture during the early Third Dynasty, the non-royal tombs retained the First and Second Dynasty designs, integrating new features throughout the Old Kingdom.

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<sup>205</sup> Emery, *JEA* 56, 10; W.B. Emery, 'Tomb 3070 at Saqqara', *JEA* 54 (1968), 11–13; W.B. Emery, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara, 1965-6', *JEA* 52 (1966), 7.

<sup>206</sup> W.B. Emery, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara, 1969-70', *JEA* 57 (1971), 3.



### 3.3 Settlement evidence

Analysing evidence from settlements remains problematic. Few settlements have been adequately excavated to provide a clear plan of the buildings, their size, function or distribution, with others only known through their cemeteries (e.g. Kahf Hassan Dawood).<sup>207</sup> Cemeteries can provide important information about their associated settlements but from a strictly mortuary context, leaving the settlement plan hidden to archaeologist.<sup>208</sup> Dating of settlement sites also hinders their analysis, especially during the Second Dynasty/Naqada IIID, due to the similarity of ceramics to the previous periods and an unclearly defined transition to the Old Kingdom materials.<sup>209</sup> While excavations have increased and improved our knowledge of Early Dynastic settlements in the Delta, the depth of sediment and height of the water table continues to be a problem for excavations of the earliest periods.<sup>210</sup> An imbalance is also evident geographically with more sites attested for the Eastern Delta than for the West.<sup>211</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Western Delta

The site of Tell el-Fara'in/Buto, in the northwestern Delta, covers an area approximately 1km<sup>2</sup>, with remains dated from the late Predynastic to the Roman period.<sup>212</sup> The DAI located a large

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<sup>207</sup> cf. Jucha (2011, 2014) for further studies on settlements in the periods prior to Naqada IIID (M.A. Jucha, 'The Nile Delta Since the End of the Lower Egyptian Culture until the Beginning of Egyptian State', in M.A. Jucha, J. Dębowska-Ludwin and P. Kołodziejczyk (Eds), *Aegyptus Imago Caeli. Studies presented to Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz on his 60th Birthday* (Kraków, 2014), 19–35; M.A. Jucha and A. Maczynska, 'Settlement Sites in the Nile Delta', *Archéo-Nil* 21 (2011), 33–50; F.A. Hassan *et al.*, 'Social Dynamics at the Late Predynastic to Early Dynastic Site of Kafr Hassan Dawood, East Delta, Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 13 (2003), 37–46).

<sup>208</sup> Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 102.

<sup>209</sup> Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 102; Hendrickx and van den Brink in van den Brink and Levy (Eds), *Egypt and the Levant*, 346.

<sup>210</sup> T. von der Way, 'Investigations Concerning the Early Periods in the Northern Delta of Egypt', in E.C.M. van den Brink (Ed.), *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta, Egypt: Problems and Priorities* (Amsterdam, 1988), 245.

<sup>211</sup> It remains unclear if this is due to less settlements in the Western Delta or less excavations compared to the Eastern Delta (Jucha in Jucha, *et al.* (Eds), *Aegyptus Imago Caeli*, 20).

<sup>212</sup> T. von der Way, 'Early Dynastic Architecture at Tell el-Fara'in-Buto', in M. Bietak (Ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten* (Vienna, 1996), 247. There is a gap in the archaeological record between the Old Kingdom (Schicht

building near the village of Sekhmawy, which has been only partly excavated and variously interpreted as a temple or palace.<sup>213</sup> However, its purpose remains unclear. Three large rooms (6.5-9m x 2.5m) are surrounded by a labyrinth of small corridors, doorways and rooms in a north-south or east-west alignment. There is an external wall (1.7m thick) exposed on the eastern side.<sup>214</sup> The expanded excavation under Hartung uncovered further rooms of the complex with three separate areas including magazines and storage, in use from the early First into the Second Dynasty.<sup>215</sup> The administrative function of the building appears clear, with magazines and possible areas for stone vessel manufacture located in the well-planned complex.<sup>216</sup> A kiln built into the entrance dates to the middle of the Second Dynasty and suggests the building was no longer in use for its original function at this date. Charcoal suggests part of the complex burnt down.<sup>217</sup> Drilling and surface surveys indicate the Early Dynastic settlement was located on the western side of Kom A, near a watercourse.<sup>218</sup> The

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VI) and Saite period (Schicht VII) where the site appears to have been unoccupied but statues and architectural fragments of New Kingdom date have been recovered (U. Hartung *et al.*, 'Tell el-Fara'in - Buto. 11. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 68 (2012), 113–14; U. Hartung, 'Recent Investigations at Tell el-Fara'in/Buto', in B. Midant-Reynes and Y. Tristant (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005 (Leuven, 2008), 1206; D. Faltings, 'Recent Excavations in Tell el-Fara'in/Buto: New Finds and Their Chronological Implications', in C.J. Eyre (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3 – 9 September 1995* (Leuven, 1998), 365–6).

<sup>213</sup> The palace-like building was in use from early First to the end of the Second Dynasty with pottery, labels and seals appearing to identify it as the royal estate "Palace of the Harpooning Horus" however no direct evidence has been located (Hartung in Midant-Reynes and Tristant (Eds), *Origins 2*, 1195; von der Way in Bietak (Ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 251–2).

<sup>214</sup> von der Way in Bietak (Ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 247–9; earlier excavations noted a change in building style in Layer IV (Naqada IIIC) and intrusive pits after Layer V back-filled with material pre-Late Period (Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 102–3; D. Faltings *et al.*, 'Zweiter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in Buto von 1996 bis 1999', *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 154–6).

<sup>215</sup> Hartung in Midant-Reynes and Tristant (Eds), *Origins 2*, 1211–2.

<sup>216</sup> Hartung in Midant-Reynes and Tristant (Eds), *Origins 2*, 1213.

<sup>217</sup> This date appears problematic with Hartung's identification of the building as the "Palace of the Harpooning Horus" which is attested during the reign of Netjerikhet/Djoser (Hartung in Midant-Reynes and Tristant (Eds), *Origins 2*, 1213; von der Way in Bietak (Ed.), *Haus und Palast*, 251).

<sup>218</sup> J. Wunderlich, 'The natural conditions for Pre- and Early Dynastic settlement in the Western Nile Delta around Tell el-Fara'in, Buto', in L. Krzyzaniak, M. Kobusiewicz and J. Alexander (Eds), *Environmental Change and Human Culture in the Nile Basin and Northern Africa until the Second Millennium B.C.* (Poznan, 1993), 259–66.

tiny pottery fragments often do not allow a clear distinction between the cultural boundaries of the ceramic material.<sup>219</sup>

### 3.3.2 Eastern Delta

The density of settlements in the Eastern Delta is being reconsidered, with surveys and excavations indicating more settlements than first thought and in closer proximity to each other.<sup>220</sup> The chronological extent of surveyed sites is unknown, which would affect the distribution. It appears smaller settlements were grouped around a larger central site, such as Tell el-Farkha, during the Naqada III period.<sup>221</sup>

Located on a *gezira* in the Eastern Delta, Tell el-Farkha shows extensive settlement patterns generally located on the lower edges, close to the arable land but high enough to avoid the annual flood (approximately 1.5-2m above the ancient floodplain). The highest parts were utilised as the settlement's cemetery.<sup>222</sup> Dating from Naqada IID, the site has a complex history, having been utilised for almost 1000 years before diminishing during the Old Kingdom.<sup>223</sup> By the end of the First Dynasty, silos had replaced earlier domestic buildings on the Central Kom when the administrative buildings moved to the Western Kom.<sup>224</sup> During the Old Kingdom the trade route moved to nearby Mendes, after which the prosperity of Tell el-Farkha declined until its eventual abandonment.<sup>225</sup> The cemetery on the Eastern Kom attests

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<sup>219</sup> Hartung in Midant-Reynes and Tristant (Eds), *Origins* 2, 1204–6.

<sup>220</sup> Jucha in Jucha, et al. (Eds), *Aegyptus Imago Caeli*, 27.

<sup>221</sup> Jucha in Jucha, et al. (Eds), *Aegyptus Imago Caeli*, 29.

<sup>222</sup> E.C.M. van den Brink, 'Settlement patterns in the Northeastern Nile Delta during the fourth–second millennia B.C.', in L. Krzyzaniak, M. Kobusiewicz and J. Alexander (Eds), *Environmental Change and Human Culture in the Nile Basin and Northern Africa until the Second Millenium B.C.* (Poznan, 1993), 282.

<sup>223</sup> M. Chlodnicki, 'The Central Kom of Tell el-Farkha: 1000 years of history (c. 3600-2600 BC)', in R.F. Friedman and P.N. Fiske (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, London, 27th July – 1st August 2008 (Leuven, 2011), 43.

<sup>224</sup> Chlodnicki in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 48, 54.

<sup>225</sup> Chlodnicki in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 54; cf. Kom el-Khilgan, 5km north of Tell el-Farkha, where a gap in the archaeological material between Naqada IIIC (Phase 3) and Sixth Dynasty (Phase 4) may indicate a similar decline due to the relocate to large settlements and proximity to trade routes (Y. Tristant *et al.*, 'Human

two types of graves distinguished by their pottery styles. The younger group dated to Naqada IIC2-IIID (late First/early Second Dynasty) based on its beer jars.<sup>226</sup> Four settlement phases were also attested on the Eastern Kom, partially situated directly above the graves dating from the Early Dynastic to the Old Kingdom.<sup>227</sup> The pottery (see Ch. 3.4.1), together with the excavations on the Central and Western Koms, indicate a continuous settlement on the site from the late Predynastic through the First and Second Dynasties until the Old Kingdom.

At Tell el-Murra, 10km west of Tell el-Farkha (see Figure 17), a settlement dated to Naqada III (and possibly earlier) was discovered and attested through until the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>228</sup> Toward the end of Naqada III, there appears to be a similar reduction in size of the settlement, as seen at Tell el-Farkha; however Tell el-Murra continued to be occupied.<sup>229</sup> This reduced in, or abandonment of, settlements is attested throughout the Eastern Delta at a number of sites during Naqada IIC and is attributed to the populous relocating to larger settlements as the economy shifted.<sup>230</sup>

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occupation of the Nile Delta during Pre- and Early Dynastic Times. A view from Kom el-Khilgan', in B. Midant-Reynes and Y. Tristant (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005 (Leuven, 2008), 470–1).

<sup>226</sup> M.A. Jucha, 'The development of pottery production during the Early Dynastic period and the beginning of the Old Kingdom: A view from Tell el-Farkha', in R.F. Friedman and P.N. Fiske (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, London, 27th July – 1st August 2008 (Leuven, 2011), 956.

<sup>227</sup> Jucha in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins 3*, 957.

<sup>228</sup> M.A. Jucha *et al.*, 'Tell el-Murra (Northeastern Nile Delta survey): Season 2011', *PAM* 23/1 (Research 2011) (2014), 150; M.A. Jucha *et al.*, 'Tell el-Murra (Northeastern Nile Delta Survey). Season 2010', *PAM* 22 (2013), 105–120.

<sup>229</sup> Jucha *et al.*, *PAM* 23/1 (Research 2011), 150; M.A. Jucha, 'Tell el-Murra – Results of Survey and Prospects for Research', in J. Bodzek (Ed.), *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 17* (Krakow, 2013), 58.

<sup>230</sup> Jucha *et al.*, *PAM* 23/1 (Research 2011), 150–1.



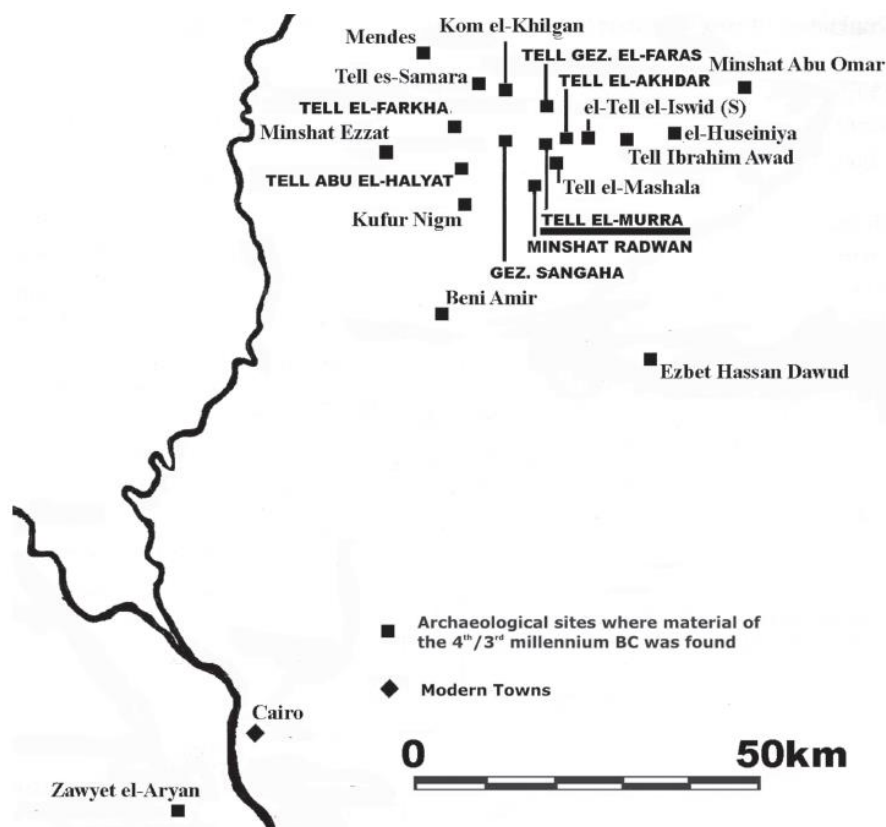


Figure 17. Northeastern Nile Delta sites

Tell el-Murra (Jucha, *Studies in Ancient Art* 17, Pl.1.1)

Located in the Sharqiya province of the Eastern Delta, Tell Gabbara and Tell el-Masha'la have undergone only preliminary surveys, which indicate the presence of two late Predynastic to Early Dynastic settlements.<sup>231</sup> Late Predynastic finds at Tell el-Masha'la indicate a settlement extending into the First Dynasty.<sup>232</sup> Located 0.5km away, Tell Gabbara's one week preliminary survey discovered bread moulds, other ceramics and lithics clearly dated to late Naqada III.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Y. Tristant and M. De Dapper, 'Predynastic Man and Landscape in the Samara Area (Eastern Nile Delta, Egypt): A Geological Approach', in M. De Dapper and F. Vermeulen (Eds), *Of Man River. A Geo-Archaeological Aspect of Rivers and River Plains* (Ghent, 2009), 606; S.R. Rampersad, 'Introducing Tell Gabbara: New Evidence for Early Dynastic Settlement in the Eastern Delta', *JEA* 94 (2008), 95, 97; S.R. Rampersad, 'Report of the First Field Season at Tell el-Masha'la, Egypt 2002', *JARCE* 40 (2003), 171 n.2.

<sup>232</sup> The full expeditions of the University of Toronto are yet to be published (Rampersad, *JARCE* 40, 171 n.2, 185–6; M. Abd el-Hagg Ragab, 'A Report on the Excavations of The Egyptian Antiquities Organization (E.A.O.) at Beni 'Amir and el-Masha'la in the Eastern Nile Delta', in E.C.M. van den Brink (Ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition; 4th.–3rd. Millennium B.C.* (Jerusalem, 1992), 212–13).

<sup>233</sup> Rampersad, *JEA* 94, 98–105.

These finds were associated with mudbrick walls, appearing to be domestic rather than funerary, of a substantial complex extending beyond the 16m<sup>2</sup> trench. Further excavation is required to determine the use and extent of this Early Dynastic site.<sup>234</sup> At Tell Ibrahim Awad in the Eastern Delta, a Second Dynasty settlement appears to interrupt the chronology of a temple complex dated from Dynasty 0 to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>235</sup> Settlement deposits of vessel emplacements and bread moulds cover the excavation area (Phase 4) with some cut into the lower archaeological layers (Phase 5a-b); however, no evidence of structures has been found.<sup>236</sup>

### 3.3.3 Upper Egypt

In Upper Egypt, many Naqada IIID settlement sites are yet to be re-examined to modern archaeological standards. These include Qift/Koptos, which Petrie excavated in 1894, recovering large curved-back flint knives typical of the Early Dynastic period.<sup>237</sup> A similar situation is seen at Abydos near the temple site, where Petrie discovered a First Dynasty town with some contemporary burials that lasted until the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty. Little more is known of the architectural remains.<sup>238</sup> From 1989 to 2005, Adaima, 25km north of Hierakonpolis, was excavated, uncovering almost 1000 years of occupation in the settlement and associated cemeteries.<sup>239</sup> Between Naqada IIIC and IIID, the archaeological record shows

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<sup>234</sup> Rampersad, *JEA* 94, 103.

<sup>235</sup> W.M. van Haarlem, 'An Introduction to the Site of Tell Ibrahim Awad', *Ä&L* 10 (2000), 13; D. Eigner, 'Tell Ibrahim Awad: Divine Residence from Dynasty 0 until Dynasty 11', *Ä&L* 10 (2000), 29.

<sup>236</sup> The top of the tell has been removed for the planting of a modern orchard resulting in the destruction of neighbouring areas of the excavation site, therefore little to no more information can be expected on this phase (Eigner, *Ä&L* 10, 29).

<sup>237</sup> The curved back becomes straighter throughout the Second Dynasty with the attested knives suggesting a late First/early Second Dynasty site (W.M.F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), 3–4, pl.II).

<sup>238</sup> W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos. Part 1* (London, 1902), 9.

<sup>239</sup> N. Buchez, 'Adaima (Upper Egypt): The stages of state development from the point of view of a 'village community'', in R.F. Friedman and P.N. Fiske (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July – 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011), 31.

a break in cemetery remains when the associated settlement may not have been occupied, after which the site inhabited a smaller area (c. 2km<sup>2</sup>) into the Third Dynasty.<sup>240</sup> This reduction in settlement size is reflected in the lack of high status burials during Naqada III, suggesting the elite departed the site for large towns and cities.<sup>241</sup> This same reduction in settlement size and change in tomb status is also attested at Armant, 50km north of Adaima, and mimics the reduced settlements during Naqada IIIC/IIID in the Eastern Delta sites.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Buchez in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 35.

<sup>241</sup> Buchez in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 35, 38.

<sup>242</sup> Buchez in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 38.



### 3.4 Ceramic evidence

#### 3.4.1 Pottery vessels

By Naqada IIIA2, Upper and Lower Egypt show one cultural group across the country, with a homogeneous pottery style that saw the Lower Egyptian Culture pottery replaced by the Naqadian ceramics.<sup>243</sup> In Lower Egypt, Naqada IIIC1 and IIIC2 (equivalent with the First Dynasty), are related through the cylindrical jars, which become less well-made and eventually disappeared during Naqada IIID.<sup>244</sup> Despite the disappearance of the cylindrical jars, the Naqada IIIC and IIID forms shows similarities in style and development from the previous Naqada stages.<sup>245</sup> This is also the case at the end of the Naqada culture. Old Kingdom styles start to develop during the final stages of Naqada IIID, showing that *“the Naqada III pottery material represents a clear line of ceramic vessel development leading to Old Kingdom types.”*<sup>246</sup> Tombs dated to the reign of Qa’a (last king of the First Dynasty) attest Naqada IIID styles; however, the end of the Naqada IIID period currently cannot be clearly defined due to the lack of securely dated samples.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> S. Hendrickx, 'Naqada IIIA-B, A Crucial Phase in the Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture', *Archéo-Nil* 21 (2011b), 65–80; S. Hendrickx, 'The Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture: Problems and Possibilities', in J. Spencer (Ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt* (London, 1996), 59. cf. A. Wodzinska, *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery - Volume 1: Fayum A-Lower Egyptian Culture* (Boston, 2010a), 119, 151 for an overview of Naqada II and Lower Egyptian Culture ceramics.

<sup>244</sup> Hendrickx in Spencer (Ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, 59; cf. Petrie for traditional sequence dates for ceramic typologies (Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 13–17).

<sup>245</sup> The Naqada culture definition and subdivisions are largely based upon the typological development of Petrie’s Wavy Handled Class and more specifically cylindrical vessels, however the end of the Naqada III period is still unclear as well as the divisions of the Naqada IIID period (Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 102; Köhler in Hendrickx, *et al.* (Eds), *Origins*, 299).

<sup>246</sup> A. Wodzinska, *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery - Volume 2: Naqada III-Middle Kingdom* (Boston, 2010b), 29; Hendrickx in Spencer (Ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, 63.

<sup>247</sup> Hendrickx in Spencer (Ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, 64.

#### 3.4.1.1 Lower Egypt

At Buto Layer IV, equivalent with the First Dynasty/Naqada IIIC, there is a dramatic increase and new appearance of some ceramic wares, in line with the change of architecture discussed above (see Ch. 3.3).<sup>248</sup> Most of these ceramic types continue at similar levels through the successive layers (IV-V, V) showing no abrupt variation of pottery production at Buto during the Second Dynasty.<sup>249</sup> A similar increase is attested on the Eastern Kom at Tell el-Farkha, where excavations of the settlement and graves create a continuous assemblage, showing pottery dating from the Early Dynastic into the Old Kingdom.<sup>250</sup> Phase 6c (end of the First/start of the Second Dynasty) attests new forms, including spouted vats and red-polished bowls with internal rim, while some styles from earlier phases gradually disappear.<sup>251</sup> Other ceramic forms from earlier phases continue throughout phase 6c and into phase 7, dated to the Third Dynasty and highlighting the gradual and stable development of pottery production through the Second Dynasty in the delta region.<sup>252</sup>

#### 3.4.1.2 Memphite region

The Second Dynasty complexes below the tombs of Maya and Meryneith at Saqqara showed a mixed ceramic assemblage due to the reuse and disturbance of the site. However, a number of diagnostic pieces were recovered.<sup>253</sup> Typical late Second Dynasty vessels were found in the lower layers of fill, such as the Type 4 wavy surface 'beer' jars, 'torpedo' elongated

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<sup>248</sup> Medium quality white and red slipped Nile silt wares (21211, 21221), red slipped and polished wares (21421), jars with vertically scraped surface (early beer jars of Types 1 and 3, 21101), restricted vessels made of Nile silt fabrics with coarse limestone, calcite or quartz inclusions (21424, 21224 and related wares) (Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 103; E.C. Köhler, *Tell el-Fara'in - Buto III. Die Keramik von der späten Naqada-Kultur bis zum frühen Alten Reich (Schichten III bis VI)* (Mainz, 1998), 5–11 Figs.2–11).

<sup>249</sup> Köhler, *Tell el-Fara'in - Buto III*, 53, 58.

<sup>250</sup> Jucha in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 961–70.

<sup>251</sup> *cf.* Jucha for a list of all styles including bread moulds of various styles, flat based vessels with scraped surface and angular jars that gradually disappear (Jucha in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 966–7).

<sup>252</sup> Jucha in Friedman and Fiske (Eds), *Origins* 3, 970.

<sup>253</sup> Regulski *et al.*, *JEOL* 42, 38.

storage/wine jars and marl 'storage' vessels with restricted neck – parallels of those seen in the tombs of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy, and at Helwan.<sup>254</sup> Cylindrical jars are not attested in the Naqada IIID graves at Helwan however, stone vessel forms continue to be produced into the Old Kingdom.<sup>255</sup> Wine and beer jars are commonly substituted for the cylindrical vessels in the early Naqada IIID graves (Group IIICD and Group IIID1) rather than using stone vessels, with their shape becoming more elongated evolving towards those found in the tomb of Peribsen.<sup>256</sup> The evolution of the beer jar is also characteristic for Köhler's Group IIID3 and IV tombs where the later 'beer jar' type appears, without replacing the earlier, until the Third Dynasty (Group IV).<sup>257</sup> The site of Helwan is providing good dating information for the end of Naqada III and will hopefully continue to clarify the Naqada IIID period, however absolute dating remains unclear.<sup>258</sup> While the clarification of the Naqada IIID stages is vital for understanding this period, the dating of tombs is based on a small number of vessel forms.<sup>259</sup> This division of Naqada IIID into smaller segmented periods mimics the larger dynastic division of Egyptian history, ignoring the evolution and cultural development of pottery production so data can be efficiently collated.

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<sup>254</sup> Regulski *et al.*, *JEOL* 42, 38; E.C. Köhler and J. Smythe, 'Early Dynastic Pottery from Helwan – Establishing a Ceramic Corpus of the Naqada III Period', *CCE* 7 (2004), 133–4.

<sup>255</sup> Köhler in Hendrickx, *et al.* (Eds), *Origins*, 300, 301 Fig.2.

<sup>256</sup> Köhler in Hendrickx, *et al.* (Eds), *Origins*, 300.

<sup>257</sup> The earlier ovoid beer jar type with shoulder and lip is joined by the new type with direct rim and wavy surface in Group IIID3 before disappearing in Group IV when new pottery types are attested (Köhler in Hendrickx, *et al.* (Eds), *Origins*, 306).

<sup>258</sup> J. Smythe, 'The Pottery from Operation 3/Tomb 1 at Helwan', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Cialowicz and M. Chlodnicki (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002* (Leuven, 2004), 317–35.

<sup>259</sup> Smythe in Midant-Reynes and Tristant (Eds), *Origins* 2, 153.

### 3.4.1.3 Upper Egypt

Comparisons of the pottery from Elkab to that of Elephantine indicate the site (CS1 and CS2) dates from early to mid-Second Dynasty before the reign of Khasekhemwy, due to the lack of bowls with an internal rim.<sup>260</sup> It appears the site may have been briefly abandoned or repurposed during the early Third Dynasty due to the limited beer jar fragments but further excavation of the estimated four to five hectare site is required.<sup>261</sup> The Type 4 beer jar is also a diagnostic piece for Elephantine where it is attested from late Second Dynasty and into the Fourth.<sup>262</sup> When compared to the Second Dynasty the internal rim of the Type 4 beer jar becomes more pronounced during the Third Dynasty which is also attested at Buto and Helwan.<sup>263</sup> The wine jars often seen in Lower Egypt are rare at Elephantine with large ovoid marl storage jars, restricted neck and thick external rim, utilised from late Naqada III and into the Old Kingdom.<sup>264</sup>

### 3.4.2 Stone vessels

The cylindrical beaker is one of the defining artefacts of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic period with dating of burials often relying on the typology of this stone vessel form, however care must be taken when distinguishing between the many variations and sub-types.<sup>265</sup> The earliest forms feature convex sides or flared bases often with no band decoration (see Figure

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<sup>260</sup> The internal rim bowls are believed to have developed out of unrestricted bowls with concave walls made of Nile B2 silt which have had the top cut off creating an angular rim (S. Hendrickx *et al.*, 'The Pottery from the Late Early Dynastic and Early Old Kingdom Settlement at Elkab (Excavation Season 2010)', in B. Bader, C.M. Knoblauch and E.C. Köhler (Eds), *Vienna 2 – Ancient Egyptian Ceramics in the 21st Century. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Vienna, 14th–18th of May, 2012* (Leuven, 2016), 269, 272).

<sup>261</sup> Hendrickx *et al.* in Bader, et al. (Eds), *Vienna 2*, 272, 274.

<sup>262</sup> Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 108; Köhler and Smythe, *CCE* 7, 133.

<sup>263</sup> Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 108.

<sup>264</sup> Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 108.

<sup>265</sup> *cf.* Aston for detailed problems with the most recent stone vessel typology by el-Khouli, specifically the cylindrical beaker (B. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms* (Heidelberg, 1994), 75 n.571; A. el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels. Predynastic Period to Dynasty III. 3 vols.* (Mainz, 1978), #371–3).



18).<sup>266</sup> During Naqada III these earlier forms evolve, first becoming straight sided with concave forms developing during the First Dynasty.<sup>267</sup> With the development of these new forms decoration bands were added to the exterior face, from a simple wavy ridge towards cord designs (see Figure 19).<sup>268</sup> The change in design and decoration of the cylindrical beaker during the First Dynasty indicates a time of change and manufacture style which then continued through the Second Dynasty and into the Old Kingdom relatively unchanged. Other stone vessels types show a similar change during the mid-Naqada III period, such as bowls and dish forms, maintaining similar styles through the Second Dynasty/Naqada IIID period.<sup>269</sup> Aston's analysis of the stone material used for these vessels showed certain stones could be used for dating, independent of the typology, but dependant on the correct identification of the stone.<sup>270</sup> While many types of stones are used for long periods (*e.g.* yellow limestone, serpentine, breccia) others show a short timespan for use as stone vessels, especially during the Early Dynastic period (see Figure 20).

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<sup>266</sup> Aston, *Stone Vessels*, 99.

<sup>267</sup> Aston, *Stone Vessels*, 99 Fig.20; Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 18–19.

<sup>268</sup> Aston, *Stone Vessels*, 99.

<sup>269</sup> Aston, *Stone Vessels*, 106–17; Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 10–11.

<sup>270</sup> Aston, *Stone Vessels*, 171.

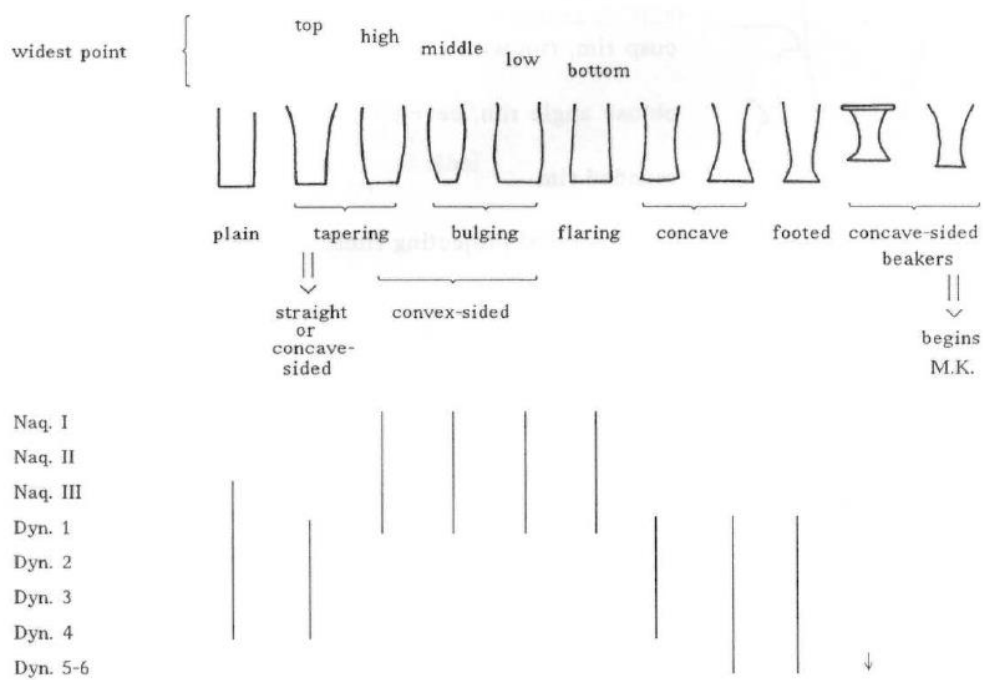


Figure 18. Date range of cylindrical stone beaker forms

(Aston, *Stone Vessels*, Fig.20)

Bands		
	2 wavy ridges	Naq. III - Dyn. 1 (SD 78-81)
	wavy ridge	Naq. III - Dyn. 1
	incis. wavy line	Dyn. 1
	notched band	Naq. III - Dyn. 1 (SD 78-80)
	cord	Dyn. 1-3 + Dyn. 4 Myc., Dyn. 5 Sahure
	left hand cord	Dyn. 1 (SD 80-81, Djet-Anedjib only)
	plain band	Dyn. 1-3 + Dyn. 4 Myc.
	double cord	Dyn. 1 (SD 81, Merneith only)
	no band	Naq. I on

Figure 19. Date range of cylindrical stone beaker band decoration

(Aston, *Stone Vessels*, Fig.20a)

STONES	PreD	Naq. III	Dyn.				FIP	MK	SIP	NK	TIP	LP+
			1-2	3	4	5-6						
andesite porphyry C	x											
black + grey shelly limestone	x											
mica schist	x	x	x									
translucent green serpentine	x	x	x									
granodiorite	x	x	x	x								
andesite porphyry B	x	x	x	x								
pink + yellow limestone	x	x	x	x								
hornblende diorite B and C	x	x	x	x	x							
red/pink limestone	x	x	x				x					
hornblende diorite A	x	x	x	x	x	x		x				
siltstone	x	x	x					x				x
yellow limestone w/ bk. veins	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
grey limestone	x	x	x	x					x	x		
serpentine with black veins	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
red + white limestone breccia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
alabaster	x	x	x	x						x		x
basalt	x	x	x	x	x	x				x		x
yellow limestone	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
travertine	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
andesite porphyry A		x	x									
amethyst		x	x									
malachite		x	x									
purple-striped tuff		x	x									
granite		x	x	x	x							
quartz crystal		x	x			x						
lapis lazuli		x	x					x				
diorite gneiss		x	x	x	x	x				x		
green tuff			x									
dolomite			x	x								
rose quartz			x		x							
meta. and. porph./ amphibolite			x		x							
carnelian			x					x				
obsidian			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
quartzite			x									x
andesite porphyry D			x									x
gabbro					x							
marble					x							
anhydrite								x	x			
hematite								x	x			
steatite								x		x		
granular black serpentine								x				x
agate											x	x

Figure 20. Chronology of stone types

Certain stone types used for vessels throughout Egyptian History (Aston, *Stone Vessels*, Fig.21).

### 3.4.3 Imported materials

Imports from the Levant are rarely attested after Naqada IIIC, only being found at Abydos and the Memphite region in royal and elite contexts, suggesting a change in foreign relations and trade networks between Egypt and southern Levant during the First and Second Dynasties.<sup>271</sup>

The lack of imports may need to be reconsidered with five vessels recovered from the Helwan cemetery showing comparisons with EBII-EBIII Levantine Red Polished and Metallic Ware vessels.<sup>272</sup> Petrographic analysis showed the vessels were likely produced in the northern Levant around north Lebanon requiring a reassessment of who had access to these imported wares during Naqada IIIC2-IIID.<sup>273</sup> *“There is no obvious reason why contact with the Levant should have suddenly ceased”*<sup>274</sup> during the Second Dynasty but currently a lack of evidence is hindering further interpretations. Local Egyptian imitations of these vessels have also been discovered at Helwan in Naqada IID1-2 tombs with juglets made in Nile silt copying EB II-III Red Polished or Metallic Ware vessels.<sup>275</sup>

The distinction between imported and non-local must be clarified as seen at Kafr Hassan Dawood, Wadi Tumilat in the north eastern Delta, where non-local stone and copper materials as well as six imported ceramics were recovered from graves dated from Naqada IIIA-IIID (KHD

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<sup>271</sup> Hartung *et al.* cautions care must be taken when trying to determine the level of trade based on imported vessel counts in tombs due to the apparent relationship between tomb size and number of vessels, especially until the end of the First Dynasty (U. Hartung *et al.*, 'Imported Pottery from Abydos - A New Petrographic Perspective', *Ä&L* 25 (2015), 326; E.C. Köhler and M.F. Ownby, 'Levantine Imports and their Imitations from Helwan', *Ä&L* 21 (2011), 31; S. Hendrickx and L. Bavay, 'The Relative Chronological Position of Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Tombs with Objects Imported from the Near East and the Nature of Interregional Contacts', in E.C.M. van den Brink and T.E. Levy (Eds), *Egypt and the Levant. Interrelations from the 4th through the Early 3rd Millennium B.C.E.* (London, 2002), 74–5).

<sup>272</sup> Vessels show similarities being medium sized with burnished ovoid to globular bodies, tall narrow necks and small, flat bases (Köhler and Ownby, *Ä&L* 21, 36).

<sup>273</sup> Lesser elite and middle class socio-economic groups are buried at Helwan showing their access to these imported vessels (Köhler and Ownby, *Ä&L* 21, 40, 43).

<sup>274</sup> Hartung *et al.*, *Ä&L* 25, 326.

<sup>275</sup> Two vessels from Op.4/83 and one from Op.4/19 with a further vessel located in the Saad excavation material stored in the Cairo Museum (Köhler and Ownby, *Ä&L* 21, 31–2).

III-KHD VII).<sup>276</sup> While some pieces were imported from outside of Egypt, namely southern Levant, most of the material studied to date comes from the Nile Valley and Upper Egypt.<sup>277</sup> Despite the partial excavation of the site, KHD VII (Naqada IID) shows a reduction in these non-local materials similar to the reduced ceramics attested at other north eastern Delta sites (see 3.4.1).<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> The ceramics were not included in the preliminary study of the Kafr Hassan Dawood imported material and so cannot be discussed further (J.M. Rowland, 'Interregional Exchange: The Evidence from Kafr Hassan Dawood, East Delta', in A. Maczynska (Ed.), *The Nile Delta as a centre of cultural interactions between Upper Egypt and the Southern Levant in the 4th millennium BC* (Poznan, 2014), 272 Tab.1, 275).

<sup>277</sup> Rowland in Maczynska (Ed.), *The Nile Delta*, 288.

<sup>278</sup> Rowland in Maczynska (Ed.), *The Nile Delta*, 277 Fig.3, 280 Fig.6.



## 4 War, conflict and an absence of evidence

*“In some circumstances it can be safely assumed that if a certain event had occurred, evidence of it could be discovered by qualified investigators. In such circumstances it is perfectly reasonable to take the absence of proof of its occurrence as positive proof of its non-occurrence.”*

Irving M. Copi, *Introduction to Logic*<sup>1</sup>

Proliferating the scholarship on the Second Dynasty is the idea that it was a time of war, conflict, upheaval and political instability. This chapter will outline this idea, where it has come from and what evidence there currently is for conflict during the Early Dynastic period. First the theory of absence of evidence will be reviewed as it plays a fundamental understanding on how the Second Dynasty has come to be viewed. The work of Newberry (1922) and Dodson (1996) will again be examined to outline how the theory of conflict has permeated modern scholarship before a brief discussion on the archaeological evidence for conflict.

### 4.1 Absence of evidence or evidence of absence?

One of the many fallacies used to reason an argument is *argumentum ad ignorantiam* (argument from ignorance) where something that has not been proved false must be true.<sup>2</sup> Commonly known as ‘absence of evidence’ these informal logic concepts propose that if something cannot be seen or found then it proves it did not exist. Further suppositions can then be made based on this “confirmed” lack of evidence creating false dichotomies to support unfounded theories. Contrary to this theory is ‘evidence of absence’ where evidence

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<sup>1</sup> I.M. Copi, *Introduction to Logic* (New York, 1961), 58.

<sup>2</sup> The opposite can also be argued, that something is false because it has not been proved true (Copi, *Introduction to Logic*, 57).

can be overwhelmingly shown to prove that something did not exist or occur.<sup>3</sup> In the Science field null results are often questioned as to their viability as either evidence of a negative result or evidence of missing results, and the same scrutiny should be applied to the lack of archaeological evidence.<sup>4</sup> “When can you conclude that something is not there?”<sup>5</sup>

The archaeology of absence refers to the locations around objects, places and things without any archaeologically significant material and whether this ‘nothingness’ “can provide a meaningful frame for understanding the places and objects that an archaeologist has recorded”.<sup>6</sup> For heritage management purposes related to Aboriginal sites in Australia the limit of archaeological material often designates the limit of a site, and the protection that comes with it, however when Aboriginal communities are consulted these empty spaces are often identified as sacred spaces for ceremonies.<sup>7</sup> For ancient Egypt the long history of occupation and reuse of sites makes the archaeological record unclear when considering the empty space between sites or recovered artefacts and if they are significant to the surrounding landscape.<sup>8</sup> This same archaeology of absence, or absence of evidence, has been

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Absence of evidence’ describes the understanding that there is no evidence therefore something does not exist (e.g. There is no evidence that ghosts exist, therefore ghosts do not exist), whereas the ‘evidence of absence’ implies the evidence proves there is nothing (eg. A scan showed no evidence of cancer therefore there is no cancer, even though nothing was actually found). The latter implies thorough investigation and examination that overwhelmingly proves the absence.

<sup>4</sup> D.G. Altman and J.M. Bland, ‘Absence of Evidence is not Evidence of Absence’, *British Medical Journal* 311 (1995), 485; T.A. de Graaf and A.T. Sack, ‘Null results in TMS: From absence of evidence to evidence of absence’, *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 35 (2011), 872; cf. Bogstie for a comprehensive study on the absence of evidence regarding anadromous fish in the diet of prehistoric people in southern Idaho (J.P. Bogstie, *A Question of Evidence: Assessing Absence of Evidence as Evidence of Absence within the Archaeological Record* (Unpublished thesis, University of Wyoming, Wyoming, 2012), 25–27).

<sup>5</sup> de Graaf and Sack, *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 35, 872.

<sup>6</sup> T. Owen, ‘An Archaeology of Absence (or the archaeology of nothing)’, *Historic Environment* 27.2 (2015), 75.

<sup>7</sup> Owen, *Historic Environment* 27, 75.

<sup>8</sup> Contra the Australian landscape with a brief history of reuse of Aboriginal sites (Owen, *Historic Environment* 27, 75).



used to examine and support theories for what was occurring during the Second Dynasty, however as Carl Sagan (1997) stated “*the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence*”.<sup>9</sup> For ancient Egypt, and specifically the Second Dynasty, inductive reasoning plays a part inferring what was happening based on what occurred before and after.<sup>10</sup> Dodson and Wilkinson argue that because evidence of the clear successions of kings, structure of the administration, and the amount of artefacts is reduced for the Second Dynasty when compared to the First Dynasty then the country must have been in a state of political turmoil and internal conflict. Textual evidence indicates conflict during the Second Dynasty was focused outside of Egypt, specifically in the northern border regions, we must consider that there is an absence of evidence yet to be discovered rather than overwhelming evidence of the absence of this archaeological material.

## 4.2 Theories of conflict

The article on the Second Dynasty by Percy Newberry (see 2.3), based on the *Myth of Horus* at the Temple of Edfu, cannot be considered as an analysis of the historical data but has played a pivotal role in establishing the modern view of the Second Dynasty as time of war.<sup>11</sup> Placing Horus Khasekhem and Seth Peribsen on opposing sides in a conflict for control of the land Newberry makes reference to the Myth as a pseudo-historical document detailing Horus Khasekhem’s victory over a rebellion.<sup>12</sup> With Horus (Khasekhem) in Nubia the rebellion is located to the north in Egypt, apparently supported by the inscription on a statue and also a

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<sup>9</sup> C. Sagan, *The Demon-Haunted World: Science as a Candle in the Dark* (New York, 1997), 213; cf. Dodson (1996) and Wilkinson (2014) for clear uses of the absence of evidence related to conflict during the Second Dynasty.

<sup>10</sup> cf. Hales (2005) for a discussion on inductive reasoning in relation to logic principles (S. Hales, 'Thinking Tools: You can prove negative', *Think* 4.4 (2005), 109–12).

<sup>11</sup> cf. 2.2 n.5 for a sample of literature referring to the conflict of the Second Dynasty (Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 44, 75; Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* I, 40–6).

<sup>12</sup> Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* I, 42.

stele recording a conquest over the 'Bow-land'.<sup>13</sup> While stories and myths often have their origins based on real events, Gwyn Griffiths has shown that with no supporting evidence in the intervening 3000 years Newberry's inferences on the Second Dynasty cannot be maintained.<sup>14</sup> This is where the theory should have ended however it appears again in the article by Aidan Dodson (see 2.4.1).<sup>15</sup>

Dodson briefly reviews the earlier theory and raises the possibility of doubt, however not convincingly, preferring to support the theory through new evidence that has come to light over the near-century.<sup>16</sup> The use of Seth by Peribsen is highlighted and supported by the change in location of the royal tomb to Abydos, the historic home of the god Seth; paralleling Horus in the 'fort' at Hierakonpolis and Horus name of Khasekhem "Appearance of Power".<sup>17</sup> This appears to put the two contemporary kings on opposite sides of a religious conflict supported by the inscriptions on the statue and stele of Khasekhemwy; a king restricted to the south battling a northern enemy to regain control of the country, as inscribed in the Myth of Horus. After Horus Khasekhem is victorious he apparently changes his name to try to unite the country to Horus Seth Khasekhemwy Nebwyhotepemef "Appearance of the Two Powers, The Two Lords are at Peace in Him" inferred as the two gods being reconciled and order restored to chaos.<sup>18</sup>

Dodson's case at first appears strong and well supported through the evidence however a closer examination shows the theory relies on many suppositions and circumstantial evidence.

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<sup>13</sup> Cairo JE32161. "47209 northern enemies" (Dodson, *KMT* 7, 26; Newberry, *Ancient Egypt* I, 42; Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis Part II*, pl.LVIII).

<sup>14</sup> Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 44, 75.

<sup>15</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 25–6.

<sup>16</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 26.

<sup>17</sup> See 3.2.2.2 for discussion on the Hierakonpolis 'fort' once thought to be a funerary enclosure therefore requiring a nearby tomb (Dodson, *KMT* 7, 26).

<sup>18</sup> Dodson suggests the lacuna recorded this enemy but states that it was unlikely to have been Peribsen (Dodson, *KMT* 7, 28).

The general lack of evidence for the Second Dynasty raises questions for archaeologists when compared with the abundance of information for the First Dynasty. The unclear order of succession and names of kings as well as their missing tombs begin the problems of understanding this period and questioning whether there is an absence of evidence or evidence of absence. The change of the royal burial by Peribsen and the prominence of Seth help join the dots to the inscriptions of conflict during Khasekhemwy's reign thereby 'proving' to theorists that evidence is absent due to the unrest and instability across the state.<sup>19</sup> Dodson states that "it is with the Seth Peribsen's reign and later that we see possible signs of a breakdown in national cohesion" with the signs described as 1) the change of location of the royal burial to Abydos by Peribsen and 2) the location of the 'fort' at Hierakonpolis constructed by Khasekhemwy and assumed to be a funerary monument.<sup>20</sup> These two signs are not sufficient evidence to support widespread conflict during the Second Dynasty and the inscriptions of conflict must be viewed in context rather than subsumed into an all-encompassing theory.

### 4.3 Conflict during the early dynasties

Conflict during the Second Dynasty must be placed into context with the entire Early Dynastic period where archaeological evidence and inscriptions of conflict are recorded from the late Predynastic throughout Egyptian history. The smiting the enemy scene dates back to Naqada I and became the iconic image of the victorious king over his enemies throughout the dynastic period.<sup>21</sup> The Battlefield Palette, dated to Naqada III before the Narmer Palette, shows

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<sup>19</sup> Dodson details the Roman scholar Plutarch's version of the Myth of Horus to support the Second Dynasty conflict by identifying Peribsen with Seth in the Myth (Dodson, *KMT* 7, 25).

<sup>20</sup> Dodson, *KMT* 7, 26.

<sup>21</sup> Cairo, JE 32169. White crossed line vessels and Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis attest figures in poses of victory or with bound captives and raised mace (S. Hendrickx, 'Iconography of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods', in E. Teeter (Ed.), *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilisation* (Chicago, 2011a), 76).

captives as well as figures being killed by a lion often inferred as a king.<sup>22</sup> Rulers recorded their expeditions and campaigns against foreign lands by inscribing their serekhs on the land and commemorated on artefacts like the Egyptian alabaster palette of Djer or the ivory label of Den smiting the easterners.<sup>23</sup> Expeditions of Den, and other First Dynasty kings, to south Sinai are attested on rock inscriptions showing the scope of their influence and control.<sup>24</sup> While mainly for resource collection, these expeditions would have monitored the defence of the country and assessed any threats, continuing into the Second Dynasty (see Ch. 3.1.2.2).<sup>25</sup> A gaming rod dated to Qa'a shows a bound captive identified as an Asiatic, probably from south Palestine, while weapons, both ceremonial and real, have been discovered from the royal tombs at Abydos.<sup>26</sup>

During the Second Dynasty conflict is attested often in the reign of Khasekhemwy most notably on his two statues inscribed with prostrate figures on the base.<sup>27</sup> These and the other inscriptions of conflict attributed to Khasekhemwy name a northern enemy, possibly from the Delta fringe or southern Palestine.<sup>28</sup> The Palermo Stone also attests possibly conflict during the dynasty dated to Ninetjer but the action against the two towns could be their foundation (see Ch. 3.1.2.1). Seals from the tomb of Peribsen suggest conflict against towns recording *inw* *Sjt* 'tribute (or conqueror) of Setjet' but it is disputed that the location may lie within Egypt

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<sup>22</sup> Ashmolean AN 1892.1171 (E.V. MacArthur and E. Teeter, 'The Battlefield Palette', in E. Teeter (Ed.), *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization* (Chicago, 2011), 222–3).

<sup>23</sup> BM EA 55586 (C.R. Hamilton, 'Conflict in the Iconography of the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic Periods', in R. Landgrafova and J. Mynarova (Eds), *Rich and Great: Studies in Honour of Anthony J. Spalinger on the Occasion of his 70th Feast of Thoth* (Prague, 2016a), 107).

<sup>24</sup> Tallet and Laisney, *BIFAO* 112, 381–98; P. Tallet, 'Le roi Den et les lountiou. Les Égyptiens au Sud-Sinaï sous la 1<sup>re</sup> dynastie', *Archéo-Nil* 20 (2010), 97–105.

<sup>25</sup> Hamilton, *Archéo-Nil* 26, 1–21.

<sup>26</sup> E. Teeter, 'Catalog of Objects', in E. Teeter (Ed.), *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization* (Chicago, 2011), 239–40, 242; Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part I*, pl.XII.12–13.

<sup>27</sup> Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E.517, Cairo JE32161 (L. McNamara, 'Statue of King Khasekhem', in E. Teeter (Ed.), *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization* (Chicago, 2011), 224–5).

<sup>28</sup> Stela and stone vessels (see 3.1.2.1) (McNamara in Teeter (Ed.), *Before the Pyramids*, 224).

rather than without.<sup>29</sup> At Buto during Nadaqa IIID evidence of burnt buildings have been suggested as evidence of conflict but one layer of charcoal does not make a war.<sup>30</sup> Could a cooking hearth have gotten out of control? Was the building intentionally burnt when the occupants left for a new location? Too little evidence remains to be able to determine the cause of the fire other than a fire did occur around the Second Dynasty at Buto. Another burnt building is attested at Tell el-Farkha but dated earlier to Naqada IIIA1.<sup>31</sup>

Campagno (2004) details evidence of conflict during the Naqada period which is inferred to relate to the emergence of the Egyptian state however little more can be derived of the evidence other than conflict did exist.<sup>32</sup> During the state formation process in the early Naqada periods the reason and direction of this conflict differs from other periods, specifically Naqada IIID.<sup>33</sup> From Naqada I through Naqada III and into the dynastic era there is a gradual development of the iconography of warfare and military conflict, first solidifying the state and then directed externally.<sup>34</sup> Enemies of the state such as Nubia, the Sinai and southern Levant as well as the desert bordering the delta fringe were the focus of these conflicts, recorded

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<sup>29</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 89; Petrie, *Royal Tombs Part II*, pl.XXII.181.

<sup>30</sup> A large building complex at Tell el-Fara'in/Buto shows evidence of a heavy fire dated to the middle of the Second Dynasty (U. Hartung, *Early Dynastic building structures at Tell el-Fara'in/Buto*, Presentation delivered at Egypt at its Origins 5: Fifth International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Cairo, 13th – 18th April 2014 (Cairo, 2014)).

<sup>31</sup> K.M. Cialowicz, *Beginnings of the Egyptian State. View from the Eastern Nile Delta*, Presentation delivered at Egypt at its Origins 5: Fifth International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Cairo, 13th – 18th April 2014 (Cairo, 2014).

<sup>32</sup> Walls for defensive purposes and evidence of weapons including maces, arrows and spears (M. Campagno, 'In the Beginning was the War. Conflict and the Emergence of the Egyptian State', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Cialowicz and M. Chlodnicki (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002* (Leuven, 2004), 689–90).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the Circumscription theory for possible demographic pressures during the acculturation of the Upper Egyptian polities (Campagno in Hendrickx, et al. (Eds), *Origins*, 693–4; A. Perez Largacha, 'The Rise of Egyptian State and Carnerio Circumscription Theory', *CRIPEL* 18 (1996), 107–18).

<sup>34</sup> An Early Dynastic rock-cut inscription near the Old Kingdom settlement of Buhen shows the early Egyptian presence at the Second Cataract, on the borders of Egypt (Hamilton in Landgrafova and Mynarova (Eds), *Rich and Great*, 110; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 180–1).

during the reign of only a few kings of the Early Dynastic period; Narmer, Den and Khasekhemwy.<sup>35</sup> It is also possible that some of these examples of conflict may not represent historic events, rather being iconography of kingship.<sup>36</sup> Regardless of the purpose, with so few clear examples of conflict, the likelihood of widespread conflict, war and political upheaval during the Second Dynasty must be reconsidered.

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<sup>35</sup> Hamilton in Landgrafova and Mynarova (Eds), *Rich and Great*, 110.

<sup>36</sup> Hamilton in Landgrafova and Mynarova (Eds), *Rich and Great*, 110.







## 5 Conclusion

The archaeological evidence shows the Second Dynasty is culturally similar to the First and Third Dynasties. Variations in the material do appear, as they do throughout the Naqada period, but while the lack of evidence hinders investigation into what was occurring, there is no clear evidence for widespread internal conflict. The textual, funerary, settlement and ceramic evidence show a gradual evolution in design or a continual use of items and areas over dynastic boundaries. The current absence of evidence does not confirm the Second Dynasty as a time of political upheaval and war between two competing rulers. This is not to say that this isn't the case, however there is currently no overwhelming evidence to support these long held theories.

The order of succession during the Second Dynasty remains unclear, with numerous names and titles attested across the country and no correlation possible with the extant king-lists. The inclusion of Seth into the royal titulary indicates a change in religious ideology but care must be exercised when inferring the god's later chaotic tendencies back onto his earliest representations. The continuation of Seth Peribsen's mortuary cult into the Fourth Dynasty shows he can no longer be regarded as a disturber of the peace. Statues of Khasekhemwy record conflict but its iconography suggests it was directed against external rather than internal enemies. The order of succession during the Third Dynasty is also unclear, however conflict and war have not dominated the scholarship on this era, possibly due to the monumental architecture preserved.

The change of the royal cemetery twice during the Second Dynasty can be considered a problematic occurrences, but it does not necessarily support a period of conflict or dramatic cultural change. The move to Saqqara by Hetepskhemwy appears to have been based on the importance of Memphis as the economic hub of the country, and meant relocating the royal

necropolis to an area already significant with members of the upper elite. The reason for the location of Peribsen's tomb in Abydos is the most unclear, despite it being the ancient necropolis of the Thinite region. However, the association of the Naqada region with the god Seth, and his rise to prominence during the late Second Dynasty, may explain why Peribsen chose to return to the Umm el-Qa'ab. How these royal tombs evolved during the First Dynasty to the Third is evident in the elite burials at Saqqara and Helwan. With more chambers added on an elongated axis, the geology appears to have played a part allowing varying excavation techniques in the more stable rock of the north. Netjerikhet returned the royal necropolis to Saqqara where it remained, along the west bank, throughout the Old Kingdom, combining the various royal tomb elements into one funerary complex. With many Second Dynasty royal tombs still unidentified, questions surrounding the location of royal burials will remain unanswered for some time.

In the Delta, settlements show a gradual decline in size from Naqada IIIC (First Dynasty) through into the Old Kingdom, as seen at Tell el-Farkha. With the populous relocating to large nearby towns, smaller settlements were eventually abandoned; however the process had already begun before the Second Dynasty, indicating it was not a result of conflict at this time. A similar abandonment of settlements is attested in Upper Egypt at Adaima, suggesting the unification of the state consolidated economic centres focused around trade routes. With settlement archaeology hindered by high water tables, deep sediments and the location of modern towns, analysis of Naqada IIID sites is reliant on only a few archaeological excavations. The ceramics of the Naqada period is one of the most studied and provides the clearest evidence for the development of the Early Dynastic culture. Study of the typologies show no clear change in style and forms at the dynastic boundaries, with new shapes or decorations starting before others end. The evolution of the cylindrical stone beaker shows the gradual change and development throughout the Naqada period into the Old Kingdom. The extent of

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trade during the Second Dynasty remains unclear, with only a few imported vessels excavated after Naqada IIIC. These few vessels indicate some levels of society retained access to these important trade routes. The archaeological evidence from the late Predynastic to the end of the Early Dynastic period are generally similar, with the Dynastic culture evolving out of the earlier Naqadian culture.<sup>1</sup> While changes occur throughout the Naqada period, this similarity and evolution of material indicates that the First and Second Dynasties are culturally part of the Naqada culture.<sup>2</sup> This evolution in material continues into the Old Kingdom, with ceramic styles starting before the end of the Naqada IIID material, suggesting a change in terminology is required to reflect the Naqada culture as a precursor to the dynastic age.<sup>3</sup>

With a clear cultural similarity of the Second Dynasty with its neighbours, and no clear evidence to support the idea of this period as a time of war, the theory of conflict (based on reduced archaeological evidence) can no longer be maintained. There is currently no overwhelming evidence to support widespread political upheaval during this dynasty at the apex of the Pyramid Age. Conflict is attested throughout the Early Dynastic period, focused on external regions at the fringe or beyond Egypt's borders. During the subsequent Third Dynasty, evidence remains reduced and the order of succession unclear. However, the monumental architecture has not resulted in unfounded theories of internal war. Therefore, the Second Dynasty should no longer be viewed as a time of political instability based on two twentieth century articles. Rather, it was a time of continual cultural development following on from the First Dynasty, laying the foundations of the Third Dynasty and Old Kingdom. With 'dynasty' having been codified into Egyptology the term should now refer to a time period of Egyptian

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<sup>1</sup> B. Andelkovic, 'The Upper Egyptian Commonwealth: A Crucial Phase of the State Formation Process', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman and K.M. Cialowicz (Eds), *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002 (Leuven, 2004), 541.

<sup>2</sup> Hendrickx and Bavay in van den Brink and Levy (Eds), *Egypt and the Levant*, 58.

<sup>3</sup> Köhler *et al.*, *Archéo-Nil* 21, 109.

history rather than implying a cultural and archaeological boundary of political upheaval.

Enlightenment of this 'dark dynasty' has only just begun.





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