

relevant material, the dynastic sequence of the kings is also not quite clear. To complicate matters, in period documents, the kings were predominantly mentioned with their Horus-names, scarcely ever with their throne names, and never with their birth names. Later generations, however, remembered them in king lists, quoting their throne names or birth names. Added to these variations, there were not only different names but also different numbers of kings mentioned in the later records: there were five in the Royal Canon of Turin; four, in the Saqqara list of the chief lector Tjuloy; five, in the Abydos lists of Sety I and Ramesses II; and eight and nine names in different versions of Manetho's lists from the third century BCE. (The latter, however, seems to be an artificial expansion under the influence of the ideal number "9" as an "Ahnendynastie.") Therefore, an absolute identification of the various kings is not possible (for the discussion of the dynastic succession, see Nabil Swelim, *Some Problems on the History of the Third Dynasty* [Alexandria, 1983], pp. 5-11; Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* [Munich, 1984], pp. 40-42, 50-52, and 176-177).

Kings. Some of the later lists (e.g., the Abydos lists, the Royal Canon of Turin) mention a king named Nebka as the founder of the third dynasty; however, he does not seem to be documented by contemporary inscriptions, and there are only posthumous mentions of his name. The most important king of the third dynasty was Horus Netjerikhet (Gold name: Nebu; Nebti name: Netjerikhet Nebti). He can be equated to King Djoser of the later king lists, who reigned, according to the Royal Canon of Turin, for nineteen years (c.2687-2668 BCE). He was more than likely the first king of the third dynasty, as attested in contemporary inscriptions. His wife, his mother, or his mother-in-law was Nimaathep, who had some connection with Khasekhem(wy), the last king of the second dynasty. Today Djoser's restored and reconstructed funerary complex in North Saqqara is very well known because of the famous Step Pyramid; with other ritual buildings (e.g., the *heb-sed* courtyard, the southern tomb, a funerary temple), it was enclosed by a niche-panelled wall of 277 meters \times 544 meters (about 900 feet \times 1,800 feet). Architectural structures that would have been made of organic materials, such as wood or bundles of reed, in earlier buildings were completely translated into stone in his funerary complex. Remains of Djoser's burial were found in a room situated under the Step Pyramid, including his skull (now lost) and other parts of his skeleton. In underground galleries, also beneath the Step Pyramid, about 40,000 ceramic and stone vessels were discovered, dating from the reigns of his predecessors. In carved reliefs with Djoser were the princesses Hetephernebtj and Intkaes, and their names were inscribed on the numerous boundary stelae of the Step Pyramid enclosure.

Third Dynasty

Encompassing a period of approximately fifty-five years (2687-2632 BCE), the third dynasty's exact chronology is not yet available. Owing to the paucity of chronologically

Horus Sekhemkhet, the successor of Djoser, had also planned to build his tomb as a step pyramid. Situated to the southwest of Djoser's Step Pyramid, the funerary complex of Sekhemkhet was intended to be of greater dimensions than that of his predecessor, but it was never finished. In a rough-cut subterranean chamber, a sarcophagus was found made from calcite (Egyptian alabaster); although closed and decorated with flowers, it was empty and proved never to have been used. The southern tomb of his funerary complex contained the burial of a young male child; that tomb had been violated shortly after the burial.

Presumably, Horus Sanacht was Sekhemkhet's successor. Sanacht was mentioned in inscriptions at Elephantine, Beit Khallaf, Saqqara, and Wadi Mughara in Sinai. His tomb has not as yet been located.

Horus Khaba (Gold name: Netjer-Nebu) is not well known. The Layer Pyramid at Zawiyet el-Aryan has been attributed to him, but no remains of a burial were found in it. The adjacent, so-called, *mastaba* 500 is supposed to be its funerary temple. The otherwise unknown Horus Qahedjet was attested by a limestone stela that depicted him embracing the god Horus. He can be regarded as identical to Huny, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (ruled c.2673–2649 BCE), who was attested only by a single contemporary inscription, from Elephantine.

Development. During the third dynasty, some of the typical features of the Egyptian state were created and established. The funerary complex of Djoser, for example, documented rapid progress in building techniques. That was the first time a building was completely constructed of dressed limestone; before, dressed stone was used only sporadically. Djoser's pyramid also denoted the outset of the pyramid age. The sculpture and bas reliefs of the third dynasty have marked an important turning point in the evolution of Egyptian art. Only the royal sculptures of Djoser have been preserved (for example, the *serdab* statue of his funerary complex), but about fifteen seated or standing stone statues of princesses, higher officials, and their wives have become known. In Djoser's reign the writing system was reformed, and for the first time a continuous text was written, in hieroglyphs. A specialization of the administration also occurred during the third dynasty (see Jochem Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie* [Wiesbaden, 1994], pp. 162–163 [indicia for a writing reform] and pp. 833–835 [specialized titles of scribes]). The possibly oldest dam in the world, the Sadd el-Kafara near Helwan, was planned and begun at the end of the third dynasty (see G. Garbrecht and H.-U. Bertram, *Der Sadd-el-Kafara. Die älteste Talsperre der Welt, 2600 v. Chr.* [Braunschweig, 1983]).

Archaeological Sites. There is a lack of archaeological sources from the third dynasty. With the exception of the

main necropolis, located in North Saqqara (the Step Pyramid enclosure of Djoser and Sekhemkhet; private tombs) and modern-day, southern Abusir, only a few major sites with third dynasty remains are known: (1) Beit Khallaf, with tombs of higher officials (see J. Garstang, *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf* [London, 1902]; Garstang wrongly assumed some of these tombs to be royal); (2) Elephantine, with the temple of Satet (see Günter Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII: Der Tempel der Satet. Die Funde der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* [Mainz, 1986]), an administrative building complex, and a small step pyramid; (3) Wadi Mughara (Sinai), with rock inscriptions carved during expeditions undertaken to exploit copper, turquoise, and malachite; and (4) Heliopolis, with the remains of a shrine or a temple probably devoted to the Ennead (for the problematics of temples, see David O'Connor, "The Status of Early Egyptian Temples: An Alternative Theory," in *The Followers of Horus: Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman*, edited by R. Friedman and B. Adams, pp. 83–98 [Oxford, 1992]).

Across Egypt, seven small step pyramids are known; six of them (near or at Elephantine, Edfu, Hierakonpolis, Naqada, Abydos, and Zawjet el-Mejtin) were erected in the reign of Huny and one (Seila) in the reign of Sneferu (fourth dynasty). Since all of them lack burial apartments, they cannot have been tombs. Probably they "marked the locations of an official cult centered around the person of the king" (see Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer, "Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom: A View from Elephantine," in *Aspects of Early Egypt*, edited by J. Spencer, p. 122 [London, 1996]).

Remembrance of Persons in Later Times. From the third dynasty, four kings were remembered by later generations: Djoser (Netjerikhet), Nebka, Sekhemkhet (Djoser-Tety), and Huny. The following examples are especially worth mentioning: In the Prisse Papyrus, the *Instructions of Kagemni* was framed by a story mentioning King Huny's death; the Westcar Papyrus (written in classical Middle Egyptian and dated to the Second Intermediate Period) contains tales that, among others, relate events from the time of Nebka and Djoser. Graffiti left by pilgrims in the funerary complex of Djoser date from the eighteenth dynasty to the twenty-sixth and prove the remembrance of that king in later times. The Famine Stela on Sehel Island, a decree issued by Ptolemy V, referred to Djoser and Imhotep; the latter was the most famous person from third dynasty times for later generations. As inscriptions make plausible, Imhotep was the supervisor of the pyramid-building projects during the reigns of Djoser and Sekhemkhet. The only known monuments that mentioned Imhotep's name during his lifetime are the pedestal (Cairo JE 49889) of one of Djoser's statues (stating both Imhotep's name and titles) and a graffito on the wall sur-

rounding Sekhemkhet's step-pyramid enclosure. Imhotep's tomb—probably in North Saqqara—has not yet been found.

During the New Kingdom, Imhotep became a demigod and was venerated as both patron of the scribes and as a wise man. Since the twenty-sixth dynasty, and especially in the Ptolemaic period, he became deified and was considered to be a god of writing, architecture, wisdom, and medicine (see W. G. Waddell, *Manetho* [London, 1948], pp. 40–45); the main centers of his overregional cult were Memphis, Saqqara, and Thebes.

Important Nonroyal Persons. Besides Imhotep, a further important high-ranking official was Hesyra, "overseer of the royal scribes, greatest of physicians and dentists." His tomb at Saqqara is number 2405, and it contained wall paintings and wooden reliefs of the highest quality (see J. E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy* [Cairo, 1913] and Wendy Wood, "A Reconstruction of the Reliefs of Hesy-re," in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 15 [1978], pp. 9–24). There was also Ankh, who seems to have been concerned with the administration of Upper Egypt, and two statues of him (Leiden D 93 and Louvre A 39) and a seal impression that mentions him are known. Aa-Achti was "God's-servant of the temple of King Nebka," and reused blocks from his and his wife's tomb were found at Abusir; originally his tomb had been built at Saqqara. Kha-Bau-Seker was "controller of the craftsmen of the workshop" and was buried at Saqqara in tomb number 3073, with his wife Nefer-Hetep-Hathor (see Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, reprint [London, 1989], pp. 2–4, pl. 1–2).

[See also Imhotep; Pyramid; and Saqqara.]

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