



# ARCHÉO-NIL

Revue de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil

Prédynastique et premières dynasties égyptiennes.  
Nouvelles perspectives de recherches

numéro  
**24**  
Janvier 2014



65 bis, rue Galande 75005 PARIS

**BUREAU**

Président :

Yann Tristant

Présidente d'honneur :

Béatrix Midant-Reynes

Vice-présidente :

Evelyne Faivre-Martin

Secrétaire :

Marie-Noël Bellessort

Secrétaire adjointe :

Cécile Lantrain

Trésorière :

Chantal Alary

**COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION**

Directeur de publication :

Béatrix Midant-Reynes

Rédacteur en chef :

Yann Tristant

**COMITÉ DE LECTURE**

John Baines

Charles Bonnet

Nathalie Buchez

Isabella Caneva

Josep Cervelló Autuori

Eric Crubézy

Marc Étienne

Renée Friedman

Brigitte Gratien

Nicolas Grimal

Ulrich Hartung

Stan Hendrickx

Christiana Köhler

Bernard Mathieu

Dimitri Meeks

Catherine Perlès

Dominique Valbelle

Pierre Vermeersch

Pascal Vernus

Fred Wendorf

Dietrich Wildung

**SIÈGE SOCIAL**

Abs. Cabinet d'égyptologie

Collège de France

Place Marcelin-Berthelot

75005 Paris (France)

**ADRESSE POSTALE**

Archéo-Nil

abs / Marie-Noël Bellessort

7, rue Claude Matrat

92130 Issy-les-Moulineaux

(France)

COURRIEL :

secretariat@archeonil.fr

**COTISATIONS**

Membres titulaires : 35 €

Membres étudiants : 25 €

Membres bienfaiteurs :

40 € et plus

**MAQUETTE**

Anne Touï Aubert

**PHOTO DE COUVERTURE**

Michel Gurfinkel

Tous droits de reproduction réservés.

**LISTE DES AUTEURS****Elizabeth BLOXAM**Institute of Archaeology  
University College London  
31–34 Gordon Square  
London (United Kingdom)  
e.bloxam@ucl.ac.uk**Wouter CLAES**Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire  
Parc du Cinquantenaire, 10  
1000 Bruxelles (Belgique)  
w.claes@kmkg-mrah.be**Tiphaine DACHY**Université de Toulouse II - Le Mirail  
UMR 5608 - TRACES  
Maison de la recherche  
5, allée Antonio Machado  
31058 Toulouse cedex 9 (France)  
tdachy@univ-tlse2.fr**Maude EHRENFELD**EHESS - Université de Toulouse II - Le Mirail  
UMR 5608 - TRACES  
Maison de la recherche  
5, allée Antonio Machado  
31058 Toulouse cedex 9 (France)  
maudeehrenfeld@gmail.com**Ashraf EL-SENUSSI**Supreme Council of Antiquities  
Faiyum (Egypt)**Chloé GIRARDI**Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3  
Montpellier (France)  
girardi.chloe@laposte.net**James HARRELL**The University of Toledo  
Department of Environmental Sciences  
2801 W. Bancroft  
Toledo, OH 43606-3390  
(United States of America)  
james.harrell@utoledo.edu**Thomas C. HEACY**Chicago (United States of America)  
Heacy1@aol.com**Stan HENDRICKX**Sint-Jansstraat 44  
B-3118 Werchter (Belgique)  
s.hendrickx@pandora.be**Christiane HOCHSTRASSER-PETIT**6, rue des martrois  
91580 Etréchy (France)  
kikihpetit@yahoo.fr**Dirk HUYGE**Royal Museums of Art and History  
Jubelpark 10/10 Parc du Cinquantenaire  
1000 Brussels (Belgium)  
d.huyge@kmkg-mrah.be**Clara JEUTHE**Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Ifao)  
37 El Cheikh Aly Yussef Street  
Munira, Qasr el Ain  
BP 11562 Le Caire (Egypte)  
cjeuthe@ifao.egnet.net**Adel KELANY**Ancient Quarries and Mines Dept  
Supreme Council of Antiquities  
Aswan (Egypt)**Christian KNOBLAUCH**University of Vienna  
Franz-Klein-Gasse 1  
Vienna 1190 (Austria)  
christian.knoblauch@univie.ac.at**Béatrix MIDANT-REYNES**Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Ifao)  
37 El Cheikh Aly Yussef Street  
Munira, Qasr el Ain  
BP 11562 Le Caire (Egypte)  
bmidantreynes@ifao.egnet.net**Norah MOLONEY**Institute of Archaeology  
University College London  
31–34 Gordon Square (London)  
United Kingdom**Aurélie ROCHE**UMR 7044 Archimède – Université de  
Strasbourg – Maison Interuniversitaire des  
Sciences de l'Homme – Alsace  
5, allée du Général Rouvillois – CS 50008  
67083 Strasbourg Cedex (France)  
aurelie.roche1@gmail.com**Adel TOHAMEY**Ancient Quarries and Mines Dept  
Supreme Council of Antiquities  
Aswan (Egypt)

**Archéo-Nil** est une revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire à comité de lecture (« peer review ») dans le respect des normes internationales de journaux scientifiques. Tout article soumis pour publication est examiné par au moins deux spécialistes de renommée internationale reconnus dans le domaine de la préhistoire ou de l'archéologie égyptienne. L'analyse est effectuée sur une base anonyme (le nom de l'auteur ne sera pas communiqué aux examinateurs; les noms des examinateurs ne seront pas communiqués à l'auteur).

**Archéo-Nil** uses a double-blind peer-review process. When you submit a paper for peer review, the journal's editors will choose technical reviewers, who will evaluate the extent to which your paper meets the criteria for publication and provide constructive feedback on how you could improve it.

# Sommaire du n°24

---

## 5 Introduction

*par Béatrix Midant-Reynes*

## Dossier: Prédynastique et premières dynasties égyptiennes. Nouvelles perspectives de recherches

- 11 Investigating the Predynastic origins of greywacke working  
in the Wadi Hammamat  
*par Elizabeth Bloxam, James Harrell, Adel Kelany, Norah Moloney,  
Ashraf el-Senussi & Adel Tohamey*
- 31 Réflexions sur le stockage alimentaire en Égypte,  
de la Préhistoire aux premières dynasties  
*par Tiphaine Dachy*
- 47 Le phénomène tasien : un état de la question  
*par Maude Ehrenfeld*
- 59 Who was Menes?  
*par Thomas C. Heagy*
- 93 The Painted Tomb, rock art and the recycling  
of Predynastic Egyptian imagery  
*par Dirk Huyge*
- 103 Initial results: The Sheikh Muftah occupation at Balat  
North/1(Dakhla Oasis)  
*par Clara Jeuthe*
- 115 Royal cult and burial in the Egyptian 1st Dynasty:  
The Early Dynastic pottery from the royal enclosures Aha II  
and III at Abydos  
*par Christian Knoblauch*

- 161 Des scènes de danse dans l'iconographie prédynastique ?  
Essai d'identification et d'interprétation à la lumière  
de la documentation pharaonique  
*par Aurélie Roche*
- 191 Bibliography of the Prehistory and the Early Dynastic Period  
of Egypt and Northern Sudan. 2014 Addition  
*par Stan Hendrickx et Wouter Claes*

## Lectures

- 209 À propos de Diana C. Patch (éd.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art*.  
Yale University Press, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
New Haven – Londres, 2011.  
*par Chloé Girardi*
- 211 À propos de Michèle Juret, *Étienne Drioton. L'Égypte,  
une passion. Dans les pas de Auguste Mariette Pacha  
et Gaston Maspero*, Gérard Louis éditeur. Haroué, 2013.  
*par Christiane Hochstrasser-Petit*
- 213 À propos de Renée F. Friedman et Peter N. Fiske (éd.),  
*Egypt at its Origins 3. The Third International Colloquium  
on Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt, The British Museum,  
London, Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> – Friday 1<sup>st</sup> August 2008*, Peeters  
Publishers, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (OLA) 205.  
Louvain, Paris, Walpole, 2011.  
*par Chloé Girardi*
- 216 Appel à contribution

# Royal cult and burial in the Egyptian 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty: the Early Dynastic pottery from the royal enclosures Aha II and III at Abydos

*Christian Knoblauch, University of Vienna*

*The paper is a presentation and discussion of the pottery found in relation with two early First Dynasty royal funerary enclosures at Abydos. It sets out to do three things. In the first part, the formal aspects of the corpus are discussed. In the second part, the spatial distribution of the pottery is investigated in more detail. In the final part, a number of different axis of interpretation are discussed which are argued to be imperative for understanding how enclosures were actually used. This latter aspect, it is argued, has far too seldom been the departure point for speculation concerning the function of the Abydos enclosures.*

*Cet article présente la céramique mise au jour lors de la fouille de deux enceintes funéraires de la 1<sup>re</sup> dynastie à Abydos. Il poursuit trois objectifs distincts. Dans la première partie, l'auteur discute les aspects formels du matériel. Dans la deuxième partie, la répartition spatiale de la céramique est examinée en*

détails. Dans la dernière partie, un certain nombre d'interprétations sont abordées. Elles sont fondamentales pour comprendre de quelle manière les enceintes ont été effectivement utilisées. L'auteur montre à quel point ce dernier aspect a été négligé dans les études concernant les enceintes d'Abydos.

## Introduction

The royal enclosures (german *Talbezirke*) built on the low desert at Abydos are essential aspects for defining Egyptian Kingship during the formation process of the Egyptian territorial state. Spanning the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasties, they are artefactual records of an ideology that stressed the centrality of the royal person and the ritually charged desert landscape at Abydos for the identity of the emergent state. But while it is generally accepted that the enclosures complement the actual royal tombs 2.5 km fur-

ther into the desert at Umm el-Qaab in some way, it is acknowledged that grasping their precise function within the wider context of the royal burial remains problematic. Plausible, and certainly not mutually exclusive, explanations of their role include: their identification as “funerary palaces”, analogous to the *mastaba* superstructures of private elite tombs, where the souls of the deceased Kings dwelled (Kemp 1966: 16); as buildings where the physical body of the dead king was temporarily housed and prepared for burial, and where elements of the royal funeral ritual were performed (Kaiser 1969: 18–19); or as proto-types for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty Djoser Pyramid Complex at Saqqara (i.e. Spencer 1984: 22–23), where amongst other activities, a royal cult was performed for the dead king who was present in the form of an image erected in the small “cult buildings” built within the enclosures (O’Connor 2003: 84–85). Alternatively, it has been suggested that the enclosures were repeatedly used during the life time of the monarch for the performance of royal festivals (e.g. Jiménez Serrano 2002: 100). The considerable interpretive scope communicated by this sample of proposed models is on the one hand reflective of the ambiguity and undeniably enigmatic nature of the evidence. On the other, it is indicative of a dearth of hard archaeological data against which such theories can be accepted, refined, or rejected: until relatively recently, the chief primary sources of information for the enclosures have remained the publications of Peet (1914) and Petrie (1925), both of which are now close to a century old and of varying degrees of usefulness for modern scientific purposes.

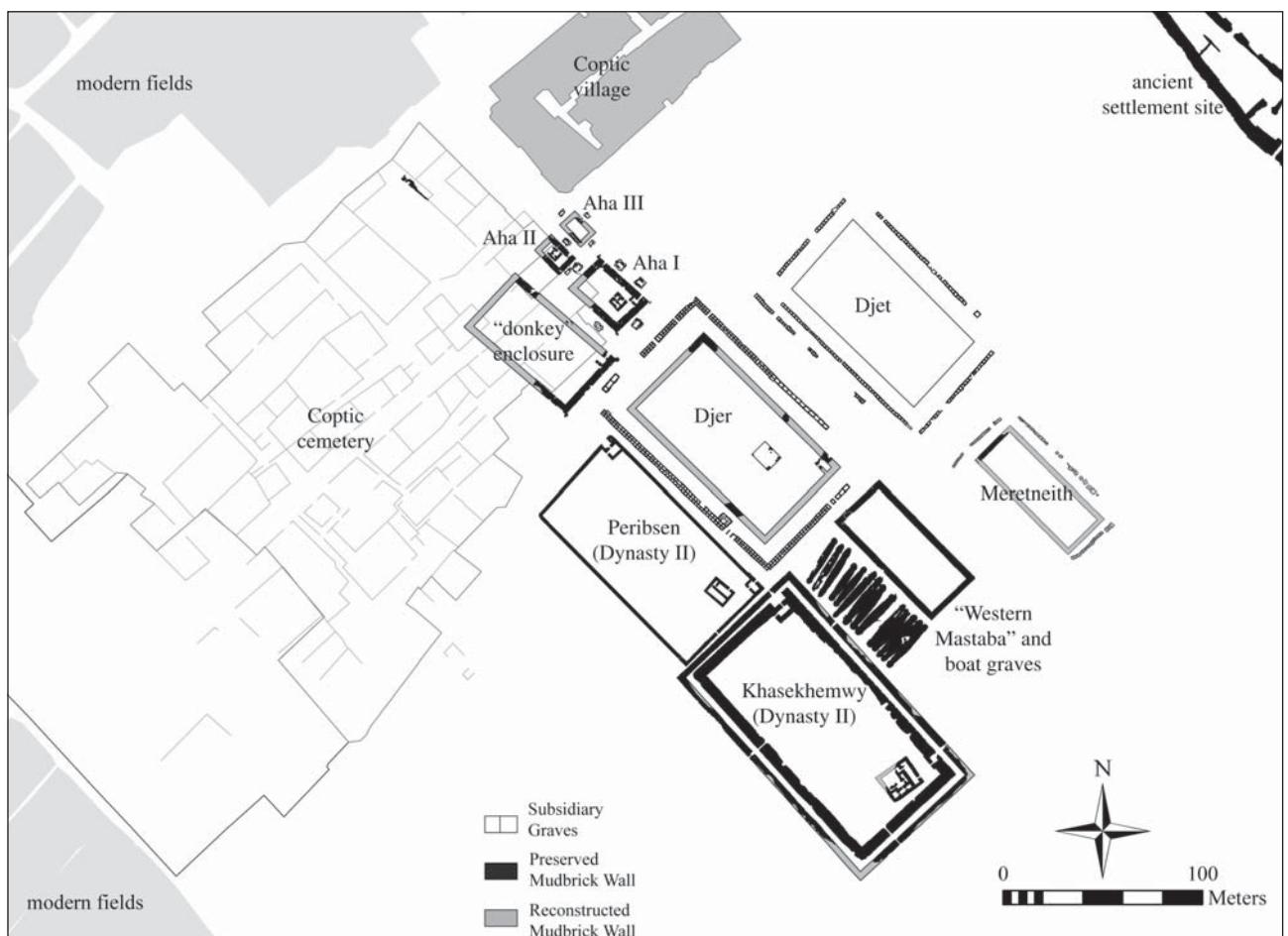
The results of excavations in the Abydos North Cemetery conducted by the Pennsylvania Museum-Yale University-Institute of Fine Arts, New York University Expedition to Abydos since 1973 will add materially to the available dataset for the evaluation of enclosures as it has involved the re-excavation of known enclosures and the discovery of previously unknown examples providing a wealth of

new data and insights (cf. Adams & O’Connor 2010; Bestock 2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; 2009; 2011; O’Connor 1989; 2003; 2009; O’Connor & Adams 2003; O’Connor et al. 2010). One of the most significant results of the work has been the discovery of three new enclosures that can be dated to the reign of King Aha, the second king of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty (Naqada IIIC1). Previously it was thought that the first funerary enclosure at Abydos had been constructed in connection with the burial of King Aha’s successor, Djer, and it was assumed that only one enclosure was built during the reign of each king. The new enclosures thus have redefined our understanding of this building type at the currently accepted beginning of its history.

The present article publishes the final results of the analysis of pottery from two of the “Aha” enclosures excavated by Laurel Bestock—so called Aha II and III—the architectural remains and archaeology of which have been published in a monograph (Bestock 2009) and preliminary articles (Bestock 2007; 2008b; 2008c; Knoblauch & Bestock 2011).<sup>1</sup> The pottery uncovered in relationship to these buildings has an important role to play in the final evaluation of their nature. It not only provides evidence of how the enclosures in question should be dated, but as the numerically dominant artefact, pottery is uniquely placed to provide basic information as to how the superstructural components of the enclosures were actually used, especially with respect to the types of activities that were carried out, and the intensity, longevity and spatial structuring of those activities. The pottery also represents crucial evidence for evaluating the phenomena of the subsidiary burials, which during the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty accompanied not only the royal tomb at *Umm el-Qaab*, but the funerary enclosures as well. The paper is divided into three parts. In Part 1, the Early Dynastic pottery is introduced according to fabric, manufacture, ware and type, and basic chronological issues arising from this work are developed. In Part 2, the pottery is presented contextually and the focus remains firmly on description and

---

1. The material was studied over three campaigns (2004–2005, 2008 and 2009). In addition to the author, Susanne Arenhövel, L. Bestock, and S. Sullivan made drawings. The material was processed by the author and all the inked pottery drawings are by the author.



**Fig. 1**  
Abydos North Cemetery with enclosures.

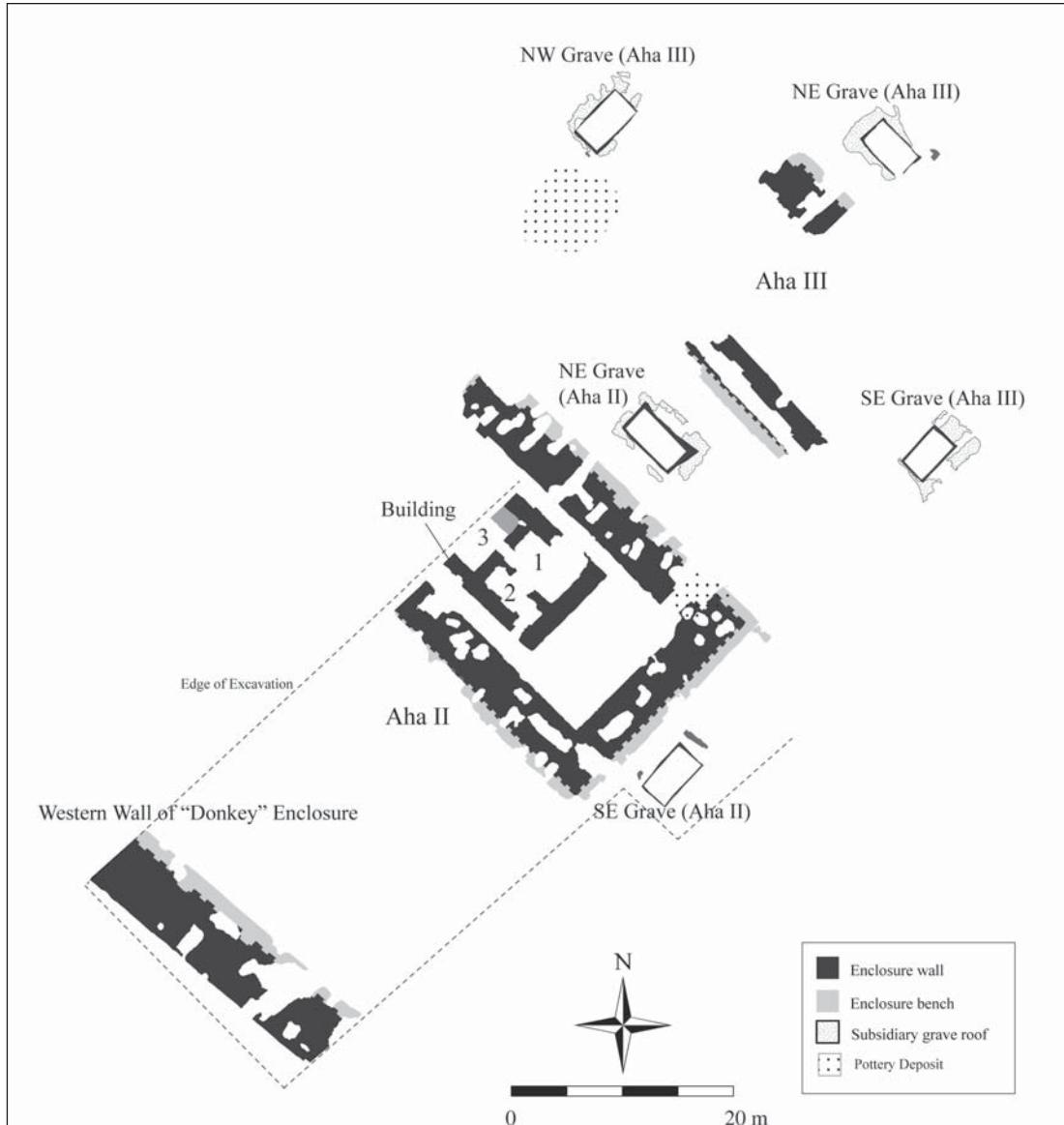
analysis. Interpretation is reserved for the discussion in Part 3 where the results of the data analysis in the two preceding parts are evaluated in light of various functional models for the enclosures introduced above.

## Part 1: The Pottery

### Summary of work and context of the pottery

Excavations conducted between October 2004 and April 2005 on the low desert plateau to the west of *Kom el-Sultan* in the Abydos North Cemetery uncovered the remains of two superstructures and associated graves that belong to the type of royal complexes commonly referred to as "Funerary Enclosures". This brought to ten the total number of enclosures excavated at Abydos (Fig. 1). The two small enclosures were at the time of their excavation the northernmost known examples of this type of build-

ing in the North-Cemetery. They were placed one behind the other adjacent to the northern wall of the enclosure discovered by Matthew Adams in 2001-2003 which has been attributed to the reign of King Aha, the second king of 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, and to the local east of the enclosure colloquially referred to as the "Donkey Enclosure" (O'Connor & Adams 2003). Like the graves from the much larger Aha enclosure, the two new enclosures incorporated human graves that contained objects bearing the name of king Aha and they are thus also dated to the reign of this king, the first instance of there being multiple enclosures built by, or for, a single monarch. For the purposes of this report, the Aha enclosure excavated by Adams in 2001-2003 is designated "Aha I", the westernmost and next largest enclosure "Aha II" and the eastern most and smallest of the three "Aha III" (Fig. 1 & 2). Although both the Aha II and III enclosures were badly damaged through extensive use of the area during the First Intermediate Period,



**Fig. 2**

Excavation area containing the Aha II and III enclosures and the western wall of the so-called Donkey enclosure.

Late Period, Ptolemaic and Late-Roman periods (Knoblauch & Bestock 2011), enough remains of both structures to determine their general appearance (Fig. 2). Aha II consists of a mud brick rectangular superstructure wall that formed an enclosure at least 17.3 m in length and 12 m in width. The walls, circa 2.5 m in thickness, were niched and fronted by a low mud bench. A doorway through the southern end of the eastern wall provided access to the interior courtyard. The middle third of the interior courtyard was occupied by a free standing mud brick building with three small rooms (see detailed description below). All the walls belonging to the superstructure had been razed almost to ground level and the northern most part of the enclosure lies beneath a modern Coptic cemetery and was not excavated. Two mud brick lined pit graves were found on the

exterior of the enclosure, one adjacent to the eastern, and one adjacent to the southern wall. The eastern enclosure -Aha III- was comparatively poorly preserved, with only fragmentary remains of the eastern and western walls still in-situ. Like the Aha II enclosure, these were made of mudbrick, were niched and fronted by a low bench. The remainder of the superstructure had been entirely destroyed by later activity. The estimated dimensions of the enclosure based on the position of the associated subsidiary graves are shown in Fig. 1. Three mud lined graves were found in association with this structure: one was adjacent to the eastern enclosure wall, and one each was adjacent to the projected course of the southern and northern walls. The pottery presented here from the Aha II and Aha III enclosures incorporates material originating from two architecturally distinct areas.

The larger group of material consisted of 402 sherds found in or near the debris of the superstructures of Aha II and III. The horizontal distribution of this material leaves little room for doubt that it relates to the performance of rituals in and around these buildings (for a detailed description of the contexts, see below). The second and comparatively smaller group of ceramics presented here consists of 7 complete vessels and a small number of sherds found in the five graves that surrounded the Aha II and III enclosures (for the individual contexts see below). The paper also considers all the Early Dynastic pottery found in no clear contextual relationship to the enclosures but deriving from mixed deposits within the excavation boundaries.

Although the amount of Early Dynastic (hereafter ED) pottery recovered from the excavation of the Aha II and III enclosures is small, the quantity of ceramic material generally from this area is immense: The site of the Aha III enclosure, and to a lesser extent that of the Aha II enclosure, was used extensively during the Ptolemaic and Late Roman periods and sizable quantities of pottery were generated during excavation. All ceramic baskets containing over 500,000 sherds were sorted and the material processed according to time period. The ED pottery was only a very small proportion (less than 1%) of these sherds (Knoblauch & Bestock 2011). Once removed, all the ED material was washed and classified according to its “ware code”. This is a five digit code that expresses the character (fine, medium, coarse), the type of clay, the surface treatment, the presence/absence of a slip and the predominant temper of a sherd (see Köhler 1998: Tab. 1). The number of sherds of a particular ware (diagnostic and non-diagnostic) was then counted. Most diagnostics were drawn, but small or ubiquitous diagnostics were simply typed according to the typology developed for the site. Fabric analysis for complete vessels was made from the surface, in the case of sherds a fresh break was made and the break observed with an x10 hand lens. Testing of the hardness of the material was conducted by tapping the sherds with a metal object. The same system of recording is being used by Köhler and the present author, to classify the material from the Cemetery B at the Umm el-Qaab for the German Archaeological

Institute (DAI). This should enable direct comparisons to be made between the material from the royal tomb of Aha and the material from two of his enclosures.

### Fabrics

Although the use of letters in alphabetic order for labelling different fabrics may outwardly resemble the classificatory ordering of the “Vienna System” (i.e.), the “Vienna System” has not been used to classify the ED fabrics from the areas of the Aha II and III enclosures (cf. Köhler 1998: 13-14). Rather, the system is purely local and was specifically designed to describe the ED fabrics from the excavation area by the author during the course of the work. Comparisons with fabrics from other sites, and where permissible, the “Vienna System” are given in the references.

Only two major fabric groups were identified among the ED pottery: “Silts” made from alluvial clays deriving from Nile flood activity during the Pleistocene and Holocene (Nordström & Bourriau 1993, 160); and fabrics made using Marl clays formed in calciferous layers of mudstone and siltstone between the Upper Cretaceous and Miocene (Nordström and Bourriau 1993: 160).

#### • Silt fabrics

##### *Silt Fabric A*

Silt A has a dense fine-grained groundmass in which very fine to fine limestone and very fine chaff are observable at x10 magnification. Both limestone and chaff occur in relatively small quantities, neither being dominant. Most examples also contain very minor quantities of quartz particles of different sizes. The exceptionally fine size of the limestone speaks against an intentional limestone temper and lends the fabric a “marly” feel. Other very fine mineral inclusions are also visible. Sherds made of this fabric are hard and the break is always even with a gray core, either side of which is a single band of red/brown. The surface of Silt Fabric A vessels is red-brown to brown-gray.

##### *Silt fabric B*

This is the most common of the Early Dynastic silt fabrics found in the North Cemetery

West and is our “standard fabric”. Its definition has been kept broad in order to allow for variations in the preparation of the paste that are of a minor character and were in all likelihood unintentional. Fabric B has a medium fine ground mass, although slightly coarser variants exist. As a rule it contains organic particles (chaff) and sand, while some examples have small amounts of limestone. The majority of the chaff is medium fine (1-3 mm) and evenly spread throughout the paste. Medium fine sand occurs in roughly the same quantities. Coarser particles of both materials are often present although these are usually in smaller quantities relative to the medium fine particles. Other mineral inclusions, including mica, are common. Where limestone occurs, it is unclear whether its addition is a deliberate attempt by the potter to alter the quality of the paste or whether it occurs naturally as part of the clay resource. The fabric is fairly porous and the sherds are fired medium hard. The break is in nearly all cases uneven in texture when freshly broken (as opposed to smooth or jagged) and zoned with 1 or 2 layers of red, brown or purple either side of a dark gray/brown/black core. The surface is routinely brown to red-brown to yellow-brown. Less carefully fired vessels can have a gray-brown surface.

The fabric may be broadly equated with the coarser variants of Nile B and the finer examples of Nile C in the Vienna System (Bourriau et al. 2000: 130-131), the standard silt fabric from Buto (Köhler 1998: 5-6), Fabric SN-II-2 at Tell el-Farkha (Abłamowicz et al. 2004: 407), Silt Fabrics Type B and Type C from Helwan (Smythe 2004: 319), “Nile clay with coarse vegetal temper” from Adaima (Buchez 2004: 667-671) and with the “Nile silt tempered with chaff” at El-Kab although the latter has generally no limestone inclusions (Hendrickx 1994: 20). At all sites, the clay was probably a freely available clay resource that has been quickly and efficiently prepared for potting by the intentional inclusion of plastic and non-plastic temper.

#### **Silt fabric C**

The rarest of the silt fabrics is easily recognizable by the abundant semi-translucent gray-white particles visible in the break. These are of

sufficient size (1-3 mm) to be visible with the naked eye. At x10 magnification they are identifiable as angular inclusions of calcareous origin that have been added to the paste as temper. They occur in such quantities that they can be said to be almost touching one another. In addition to these there are sometimes rounded gray stones that may also be of calcareous origin. The remainder of the paste resembles a sandy Silt Fabric B including abundant medium fine quartz, well distributed medium fine chaff and occasional coarser chaff particles. The fabric is quite porous and the sherds made of this material fire medium hard to medium soft, although softer fired sherds are more typical. The break is usually uniform (not zoned), brown and uneven in texture.

Fabrics that correspond to the description of Silt C are well known from other Naqada Period sites including Buto (Köhler 1998: 9-10), Minshat Abu Omar (Riederer 1992: 33-37 (Variant B?); Kroeper 1992: 23-31), Tell el-Farkha (Abłamowicz et al. 2004; Mącyńska 2004: 432), Helwan (Köhler 2005: 49, 58:21224, pl. 24:2, 29:12, 33:3), and Adaima (Buchez 2004: 67-68). Importantly, sherds made of this fabric have also been found in the convolutes deriving from the subsidiary graves of the royal tomb B10-19 (Aha) at Umm el-Qaab (Köhler 1996: 102 fn. 35). Fabric C appears to have been a technological innovation visible in the pottery production of the later Naqada phases, whereby potters attempted to arrest thermal shock in vessel forms that were routinely exposed to heat by the deliberate addition of calcite temper (Macyńska 2004).

#### **• Marl fabrics**

All the Early Dynastic marl pottery encountered in the North Cemetery West belongs to the same basic fabric. Two variants are discernible, a fine variant and a medium fine variant:

#### ***Marl fabric A***

The finer variant, for simplicities sake labelled here as Marl A is distinguishable by its relative dense and homogenous nature and the fineness of its mineral inclusions: The size of the limestone is routinely fine as is the sand (less than .5 mm). Both inclusions are well distributed throughout the paste, the limestone often

in slightly greater quantities relative to the sand. Coarser particles of both materials can occur but only very occasionally. Large, thick walled vessels made of this fabric contained small amounts of fine organic particles (chaff). Marl A sherds generally fire hard to very hard although a small number of medium hard fired sherds have been observed. The break is always even. The range of colours for the break are distinctly “soft” and “dull”, typically light brown, beige, light pink and light gray. Where zoning occurs, the transition to the core is gradual and almost imperceptible to the eye, as opposed to sharp and clearly defined. The surface colour varies from white to yellow to gray.

#### ***Marl fabric B***

The coarser variant can be differentiated from the last on the basis of its slightly less dense (i.e. more porous) groundmass and the supplementation of the fine mineral inclusions typical of Marl A with coarser particles. These limestone and sand particles are commonly medium fine and well distributed throughout the paste. Small amounts of fine to medium fine chaff have been observed in two examples. Sherds of this fabric fire medium hard. The break is even and brown/orange with occasionally a slightly darker core. There is a tendency not to differentiate too closely between marls found at Naqada III sites. Thus marls at Tell el-Farkha are defined as a single group: “Fine Marl clay, mostly untempered or containing a small amount of sand” (Abłamowicz et al. 2004: 407; Mącyńska 2004: 425). When differentiation of marls does occur the basis for this varies from site to site. At Helwan and el-Kab the marls are sorted into one of two fabric groups that are defined by the absence/presence of chaff (Smythe 2004: 319; Hendrickx 1994: 18–20), while at el Adaima, “Fine Marl Ware” is separated from “Semi-fine Marl Ware” by the presence of sand in the latter (Buchez 2004: 671–672, 674). A further subdivision of the “Fine Marl Ware” is possible due to the state of composition/decomposition of the limestone temper (Buchez 2004: 671–672). This heterogeneous approach to fabric classification is understandable but makes comparisons between the marls from the North Cemetery with those from other sites far too speculative to be useful. A comparison with the

Marls from the Abydos B Cemetery is however possible because the author has personal experience with that material: Marl A is equivalent to the marl used to produce the cylindrical vessels from B10-19 (Knoblauch & Köhler 2006), and Marl B is identical to that used to produce ovoid vessels from the same area.

#### **Manufacture**

The Early Dynastic pottery from the enclosures Aha II and III exhibit the typical traces of ceramics manufacture for Dynasty 0 and the early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty (Naqada IIIB/C1). The assemblage with only one or two exceptions was handmade by coiling or building up the vessel with larger slabs. Many of the vessels show indications of the coils that are observable as areas of uneven thickness in the sections of the vessel walls. The trace of the actual coils are sometimes visible on the interior of cylindrical vessels which have only been roughly smoothed. The interior of ovoid vessels in comparison were trimmed and smoothed and few traces of the manufacturing process are visible. This trimming/smoothing was achieved by using a long straight edged implement to scrape excess clay away. The traces of this action are a characteristic patchwork of linear imprints over the whole of the vessel interior where the edge of an implement was addressed to the vessel wall and then dragged across the surface (**Fig. 10c, d, e**).

Despite the bodies being hand-made, the rims and necks of all closed vessels and some of the rims belonging to open types were perhaps formed, but certainly “finished” by “turning”. This can be observed in the extremely regular, tightly spaced horizontal lines that are restricted to the interior and exterior rim of open vessels and the interior and exterior of the rim and neck of closed vessels (**Fig. 10 a-e**). Whether these lines are the result of turning on a wheel or a simple “turning device” is unclear. In any case they attest to the desire for considerable regularity in the formation of the vessel aperture. Closed vessels with “turned” apertures also usually exhibit an irregular or messy surface on the interior of the vessel at the point where the turned neck/rim converged with the handmade body. The surface is characterised by roundish impressions, that appear to have been created by pressure with the finger tips of

the potter when joining the neck to the body of the vessel (i.e. **Fig. 9 & 10a, c, d, e**).

Very rarely an entire vessel was apparently formed on a wheel or turning device, as is the case with the small open vessel illustrated in **Fig. 7a**. While there are no noticeable wheel or throwing marks, the underside of the base has a “decentralised spiral”, evidently created by the potter when he used a wire or string to cut the vessel off the hump (cf. Arnold 1993: fig. 60A). This is apparently a fairly common technique used for the production of small open vessels during the ED period (i.e. Köhler 1996: 102, 103, Abb. 5:9; Mącyńska 2004: 425; Smythe 2004: 328-9, fig. 7; Hendrickx 1994: pl. LXXI:1-2; Pumpenmeier in Dreyer et al. 1993: Taf. 8i).

### Surface Treatment

The treatment of the surface of the Early Dynastic pottery vessels from the area of Aha II and III was limited to the following techniques:

1. Some vessels were left extremely rough with finger impressions, coils and scuff marks still plainly visible. This is what we term “rough smoothing”.
2. In other cases, the potter had smoothed the vessels with his hands while the clay was still quite wet creating a smoothed surface and a vessel wall of relatively even thickness. We call this “wet smoothing”. Some finger impressions and rougher areas of surface are still visible. Sometimes the smoothing was done using a flat headed tool resulting in vertical strokes over the surface of the vessel.

3. “Dry smoothing” is a technique whereby the potter compacted the vessel surface while the pottery was semi-dry. He did this by scraping a narrow, flat headed tool over the vessel surface, usually employing vertical or diagonal hand movements. The result was an ultra-smooth and compacted pottery surface, whereby the individual strokes of smoothing are often still discernible. This treatment was reserved for the body of the vessel. The neck and rim of such vessels were usually wet smoothed. On larger vessels, such as “wine jars”, the quality of the “dry smoothing” is sometimes quite coarse, whereas on smaller vessels, such as “cylindrical jars”, the smoothing can be very fine, resulting in a weak sheen.

4. “Pattern burnishing” / “streaky burnishing” / “pebble burnishing” is a surface treatment whereby clearly defined individual horizontal and vertical bands of burnish are applied to the surface. Presumably this took place when the vessel had already dried quite hard and was achieved by rubbing a pebble or something similar around the vessel wall. This type of surface treatment was only recognised on open vessels at the Aha II and III enclosures. The burnishing took the form of both vertical and horizontal lines distributed in recognizable patterns on the interior and the exterior of the vessel, whereby the focus of attention was invariably the interior. It was usually combined with a red slip, which was particularly enhanced by the burnishing strokes.

**Table 1**

Combination of  
Fabric + Surface  
Treatment + Type  
(XXX=Always,  
XX= Often,  
X= Rarely).

Type	Fabrics					Surface Treatment				Slip
	NA	NB	NC	MA	MB	Rough	Wet	Dry	Streaky	
1					xxx				xxx	xxx
2		xxx				x	xx			
3			xxx					XXX (nice sheen)		xxx
4		xxx				xxx				
5	xxx							xxx		
6					xxx		xxx			
7				xxx				xxx		
8				xxx				xxx		
9				xxx				xxx		

## Slips

Slips are extremely uncommon among the Aha II and III material. The only type present is a red ochre wash/slip. It was combined with both dry-smoothing vessels and streaky burnishing.

## Fabric + Ware + Type

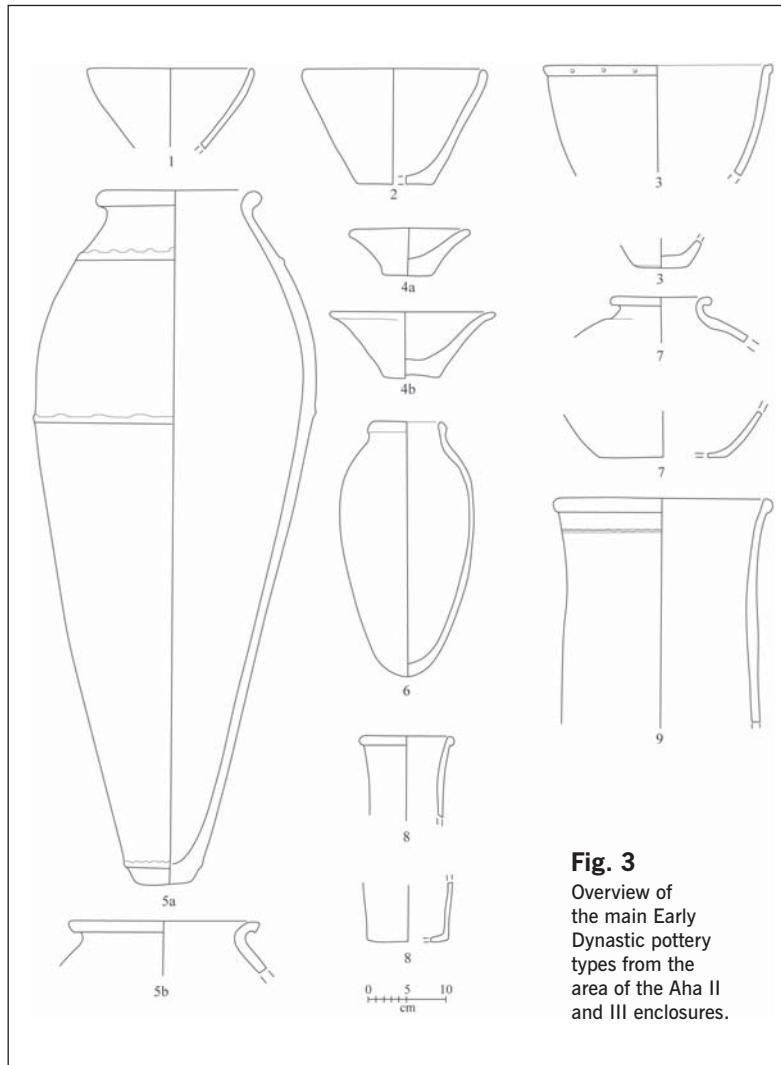
The assemblage of Early Dynastic pottery from the Aha II and III complexes is numerically small and limited to just 9 main types (see overview in Fig. 3), although individual sherds found in mostly unsecured contexts expand this repertoire slightly (see Fig. 4ff.). As such the material is also extremely consistent in the combination of fabric, ware and vessel type. Generally a certain vessel type was always made using a particular fabric and always finished using the same technique. An overview of the possible combinations is given in Table 1 and summarised briefly below.

Silt Fabric A was only used for the production of the large ovoid storage jars found here (Type 5). The Vessels were never slipped and always dry soothed.

Silt Fabric B is the most common fabric among the Early Dynastic pottery and was typically combined with rough smoothed or wet smoothed surface finishing. The dominance of this fabric in the North Cemetery (West) is due to its use for the production of bowls or lids (Types 2 and 4) that occur in significant quantities here. A slightly coarser variant of the silt was used to produce distinct, coarsely made ovoid jars that occur in disturbed contexts related to the Aha II and III enclosures (Fig. 14).

Silt Fabric C occurs exclusively in combination with thick red slips (Munsell 10R 6/6) that are sometimes lightly polished. The only vessel type diagnostics belong to deep, steep sided bowls (Type 3).

The two different Marl variants were used for the production of different vessel types. Marl A was used for cylindrical vessels (Types 8 & 9) and globular jars (Type 7), which were always very well dry smoothed. Marl B was used for the production of deep bowls with slightly inward turning rims (Type 1) with red slipped and streaky burnished surfaces, as well as for wet smoothed ovoid jars (Type 6).



**Fig. 3**

Overview of the main Early Dynastic pottery types from the area of the Aha II and III enclosures.

## Definition and details of individual types

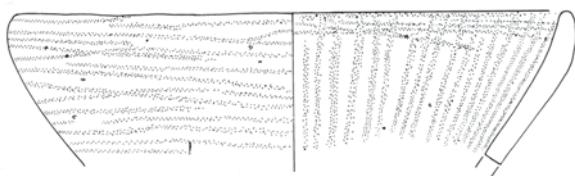
As the shape repertoire of vessels and diagnostic sherds from the areas of the Aha II and III enclosures is limited, the material is organised chiefly by “vessel” types, as defined by the author specifically to describe this corpus of material. The diagnostic sherd material can usually be assigned to a vessel shape without any real difficulty. Cases where this is not possible, usually due to a very small sample, are simply described but not typed (see Fig. 13 & 14). The latter are not shown in the schematic illustration showing the main vessel types (Fig. 3). Full details of the individual vessels referred to in the text and shown in the figures are given at the end of the paper.

**Fig. 4**

Type 1; Marl B, Red Slip and Streaky Burnish.

None from Secured Contexts

a)



a) P09-39 ANC 21816

RD: 20cm 12% WC 22421

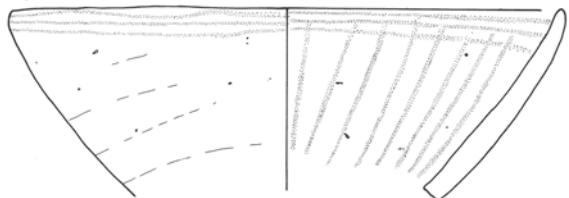
Fabric: Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed to abundant very fine to medium fine limestone. Very fine to medium fine well distributed sand.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Pink-orange with occasional gray core.

Surface: Interior and exterior red slipped. Vertical streaky burnish on interior. Multiple bands of horizontal streaky burnish near top of interior. Roughly horizontal streaky burnish over entire exterior. Interior and exterior 10 R 5/8-6/8.

b)



b) P08-71 ANC 21953

RD: 20cm 15% WC 22421

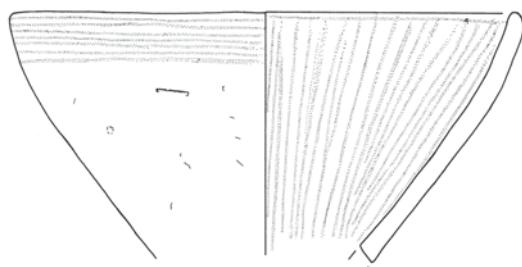
Fabric: Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed to abundant fine to medium fine sand. Well distributed very fine to fine limestone (mostly decomposed).

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: Brown with very faint red-brown core.

Surface: Interior and exterior red slipped. Vertical streaky burnish on interior. Multiple bands of horizontal streaky burnish near top of interior and multiple horizontal bands near top of exterior. Interior and exterior 10R 5/6.

c)



c) P09-18 ANC 21816

RD: 19cm 30% WC 22421

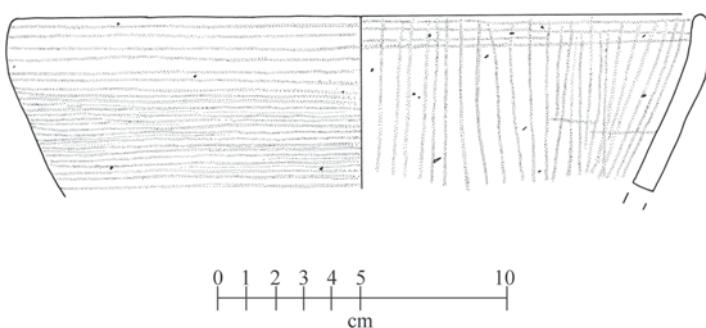
Fabric: Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed to abundant medium fine sand, occasional to well distributed medium fine limestone, well distributed very fine limestone.

Hardness: Medium hard.

Break: Brown.

Surface: Interior and exterior red slipped. Vertical streaky burnish on interior. Single band of horizontal streaky burnish near top of interior and multiple horizontal bands near top of exterior. Interior and exterior 10 R 5/6-6/6.

d)



d) P09-206 ANC 21127

RD: 25cm 5% WC 22421

Fabric: Fine marl. Abundant fine to medium fine sand and well distributed medium fine to medium coarse sand. Well distributed medium fine limestone and very occasional fine to medium fine chaff.

Hardness: Medium soft.

Break: Orange

Surface: Interior and exterior red slipped. Vertical streaky burnish on interior. 4 bands of horizontal streaky burnish near top of interior. Horizontal streaky burnish over entire exterior. Interior and exterior 10R 6/6-6/8.

Abbreviations:

P04, P08, P09 = Drawing Numbers

ANC = Context Number

RD= Rim Diameter

BD = Base Diameter

MD=Max Diameter

WC= Ware Code (see Köhler 1998, Tab. 1)

### Type 1 (Fig. 4)

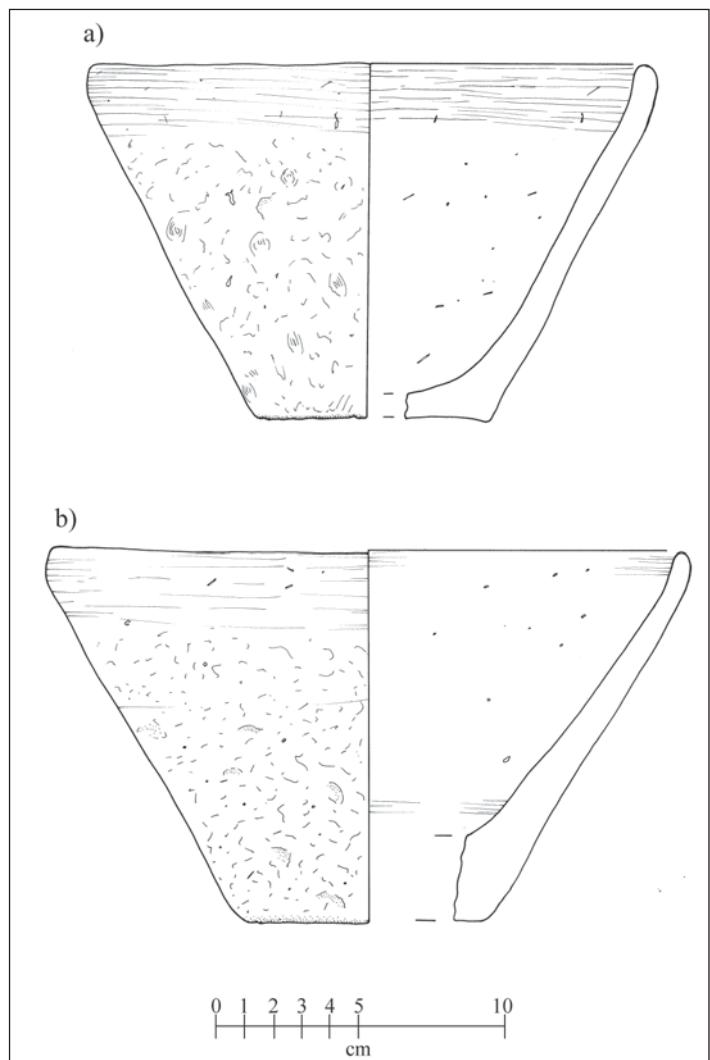
Type 1 is a medium sized, deep bowl with straight sides and direct, slightly inward curving rim. No complete examples have been recovered making a complete reconstruction, including base morphology impossible. Parallels from other sites suggest the base may have been flat (i.e. Müller in Dreyer et al. 2003: 96, Abb. 10a). The rim diameter varies between 19 and 25 cm. The vessel type has thin walls (when compared with types 2 and 3), but despite being generally well finished, it occasionally shows signs of uneven wall thickness, especially in the areas not covered with patterned burnishing. All examples from the North Cemetery are made of medium fine to fine marl (Variant Marl B).

Vessels of this type were red slipped in their entirety and then partially streaky burnished (see above for process). The pattern of burnishing varied from vessel to vessel but a number of general rules are identifiable. Firstly, the interior of the vessel was always vertically burnished to within a short distance of the rim. This latter area was then filled with horizontal bands of burnishing. The horizontal burnishing was carried over to the vessel exterior where it was normally limited to the upper part of the vessel wall (3-4 cm from rim), although an exception to this is shown in Fig. 4d.

Four rim sherds belonging to this vessel type have been recovered, none from reliable contexts. Parallels of Naqada IIIB-C1 are from the B Cemetery at Abydos (personal observation); a deposit of ceramics near the Tomb of Den dating to the reign of Djer (Müller in Dreyer et al. 2003: 96, Abb. 10a – “Mergel A1”); Tell el-Farkha (Abłamowicz et al. 2004: 412, fig. 4 13-14 – fine silt); and Adaima (Buchez 2004: 673, fig. 18).

### Type 2 (Fig. 5)

Type 2 is a medium sized to large, deep bowl type with straight sides and lightly inward turning direct rim and a flat base. The walls are generally thick in comparison with Type 1, as particularly observable in the rim section. The vessel height for preserved examples is around 15 cm. The majority of rim diameters fall within the range of 21-23 cms. One example of a wider rim (38 cm) is an exception. The base diameter



**Fig. 5**

Type 2; Nile B, Wet/Rough Smoothed.  
Fill overlying Cult building of Aha II

**a) P04-70 ANC 19384**

RD: 23cm 11% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine to medium coarse chaff and medium coarse to coarse sand. Occasional to well distributed fine to medium to medium fine sand.

Hardness: Soft

Break: Sandwich break with layers of brown and gray around a brown core. Uneven break.

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed, but surface below rim on exterior left rough. Interior and exterior 7.5YR 6/4.

**b) P09-19 ANC 21881**

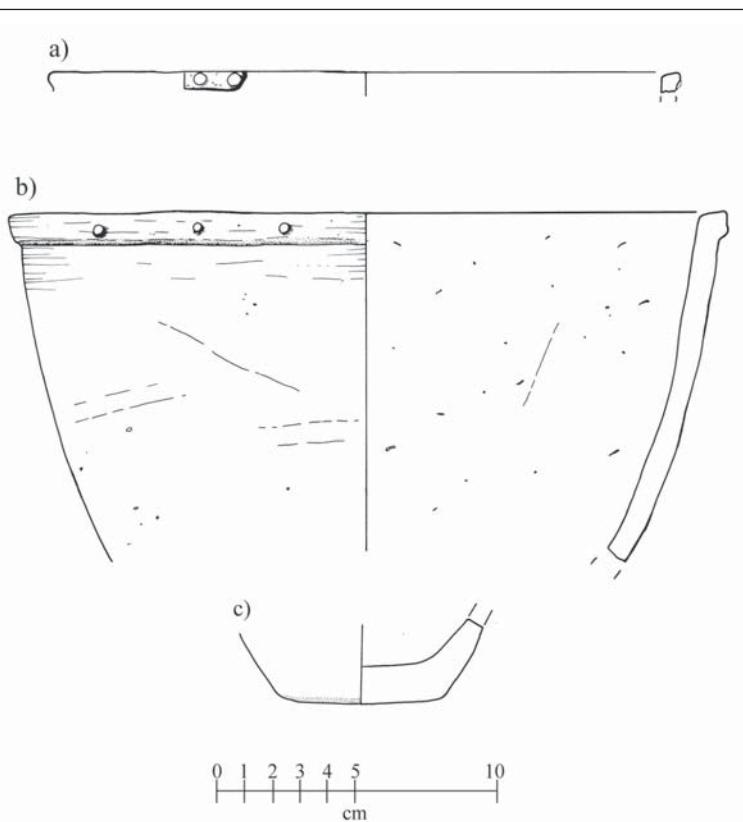
RD: 21cm 17.5% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine to medium coarse chaff and medium fine to medium coarse sand.

Hardness: Medium hard.

Break: Sandwich break. Layers of brown, red and purple around a dusky gray core. Uneven break.

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed but exterior left rough below rim. Interior and exterior 7.5YR 7/4-6/4.

**Fig. 6**

Type 3; Nile C, Red Slip, Dry/Well Smoothed.  
Unsecured Contexts

**a) P09-193 ANC 18118**

RD: 23cm 3% WC 21324

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt C). Well distributed to abundant medium fine to medium coarse translucent (crushed sand/calcite?) inclusions. Well distributed medium fine chaff.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: Brown. Uneven

Surface: Interior and exterior red slipped and dry smoothed (possible traces of polishing). Interior and exterior 10R 6/6.

**b) P09-169 ANC 24834**

RD: 26cm 12% WC 21324

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt C). Well distributed to abundant medium fine to medium coarse translucent (crushed sand/calcite?) inclusions. Well distributed medium fine chaff.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: Brown. Uneven

Surface: Interior and exterior red slipped and well smoothed (possible traces of polishing). Interior and exterior 10R 6/6.

**c) P04-38 ANC 19347**

BD: 5cm 25% WC 213?2?4

Fabric: Medium coarse silt (Silt C). Well distributed to abundant crushed translucent inclusions (calcite and sand). Well distributed medium coarse to coarse sand, rounded to sub rounded and medium fine chaff.

Hardness: Medium soft

Break: Light brown with gray core. Uneven

Surface: Interior and exterior eroded.

is generally between 8 and 9 cm. The bases can be flat, but there also examples of vessels with bases that are lightly concave/raised.

The surface treatment is the same for all examples. The interior of the vessel has been carefully wet smoothed, sometimes showing signs of more regular horizontal smoothing near the rim. On the exterior, only the upper wall and rim show similar signs of careful wet-smoothing. Below this area the surface has been left rough. As a result it is lumpy with numerous depressions and finger impressions. The base is often quite coarse and appears to have been formed by pressing and moulding. No examples were slipped.

Sherds belonging to Type 2 vessels are well distributed over the area encompassing both enclosures. Similar vessels were particularly common in the early layers of the town/temple site at Kom el-Sultan at Abydos as well as in some of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty "M" tombs bordering the Early Dynastic settlement (Petrie 1902: pl. XXVIII 34-43, M13 pl. XXXVII). Parallels also occur in the B-Cemetery tombs of the Umm el-Qaab (Naqada IIIB-C1 –personal observation) as well as in Saqqara tomb S.3357 from the reign of Aha (Naqada IIIC1 -Saad in Emery 1939: pl. 16 Lower Row first two from right, pl. 19, ns. 9 and 10 (with concave base)) and elsewhere in graves of Naqada IIICI (i.e. Dunham 1978: pl. IXa.) and earlier (Hendrickx 1994: 212 Type C UFC). The type does not appear to survive into the later Naqada IIIC1 period at Abydos, as vessels of this type do not seem to be part of the convolute from the tomb of Djer (Rita Hartmann personal communication). The vessel is well suited as a deep bowl either for the presentation of food solids or liquids.

**Type 3 (Fig. 6)**

Type 3 is a deep, straight-lightly round sided bowl with thickened, squarish rim. Small circular clay protrusions (knobs) are placed at intervals along the exterior of the rim. This vessel type is very rare in the area of Aha II and III and only two rim fragments were recorded: the rim diameters are 23 and 25 cm. No complete sections were observed but a base that undoubtedly belongs to a similar type of bowl is shown in Fig. 6c. It is slightly convex and has

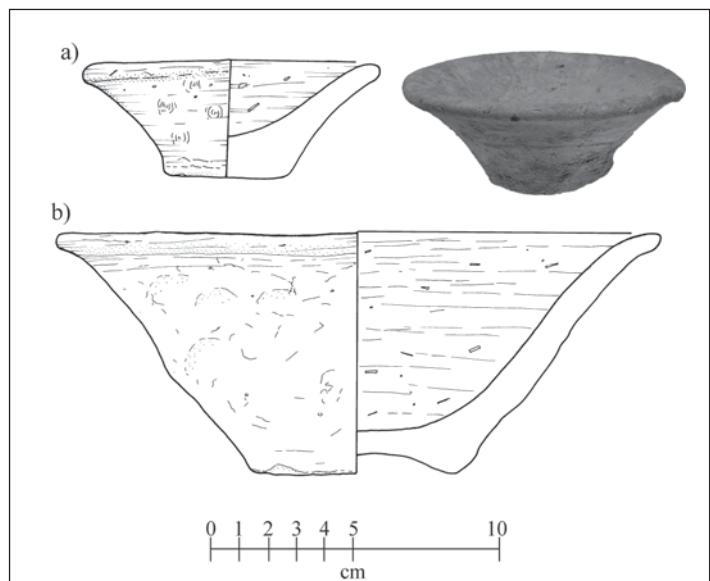
a diameter of 5 cm. All three diagnostics are produced of Silt C, a fabric dominated by abundant crushed translucent particles of calcareous origin. Sherds of this fabric are invariably red slipped, sometimes with faint traces of polishing. Non diagnostic body sherds exhibiting the same ware may belong to vessels of this or another related type.

No sherds were found in undisturbed contexts but fragments have been found in the disturbed fill of some subsidiary graves. Almost identical fragments have been found in Cemetery B at the *Umm el Qaab* (Knoblauch & Köhler 2006), at Buto (Köhler 1998: pl. 56 nr. 10) and Tell el Farkha (Macyńska 2004: 433, fig. 8). The discussion there suggested that the clay knobs were intended to imitate the rivets on metal vessels and that the function of the clay vessels could be sought in the use for copper vessels found in Tomb 3504 at Saqqara, namely for the presentation of meat (Macyńska 2004: 433, fig. 8).

#### Type 4 (Fig. 7 & 8)

Type 4 denotes a broad range of small to large bowls with flattish base, concave sides and an everted, direct rim. The smallest example, Type 4a (Fig. 7a) has a rim diameter of 7 cm. The majority of vessels (Type 4b) range in rim diameter from 20-27 cm with a concentration around 22 cm. The diameter of type 4b bases is normally between 7 and 9 cm. Complete sections show that the type incorporated shallower as well as deeper sub-types, but as these vessels were coarsely hand-made and mostly represented by rims and bases only, devising a too detailed typological scheme for this vessel type was avoided. The full morphological spectrum is presented in Fig. 7 and 8 and can be subdivided as seen useful.

Type 4 vessels show consistency in their mode of production and surface treatment. The only fabric attested for vessels of this type is a medium fine to coarse silt (Silt B). The vessels were coil made, traces of which are observable in some wall sections, and possibly finished on a turning device. The invariably coarse base can be flat or concave. The latter effect was evidently deliberate and either achieved through pinching or pressing or a combination of both. The exterior surface, with exception of the surface



**Fig. 7**

a: Type 4a; b: Type 4b; Nile B, Wet/Rough Smoothed. Both vessels were found in room 3 of the building in Aha II.

**a) P04-256 ANC 25908**

RD: 100% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine sand, occasional to well distributed medium coarse chaff and medium fine chaff.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: No break

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 7.5YR 6/4-5/6.

Published: Knoblauch and Bestock 2011, Bestock 2009 Fig. 29

**b) P04-257 ANC 25911**

RD: 100% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine to medium coarse chaff and medium fine sand, occasional to well distributed medium fine limestone.

Hardness: Medium hard

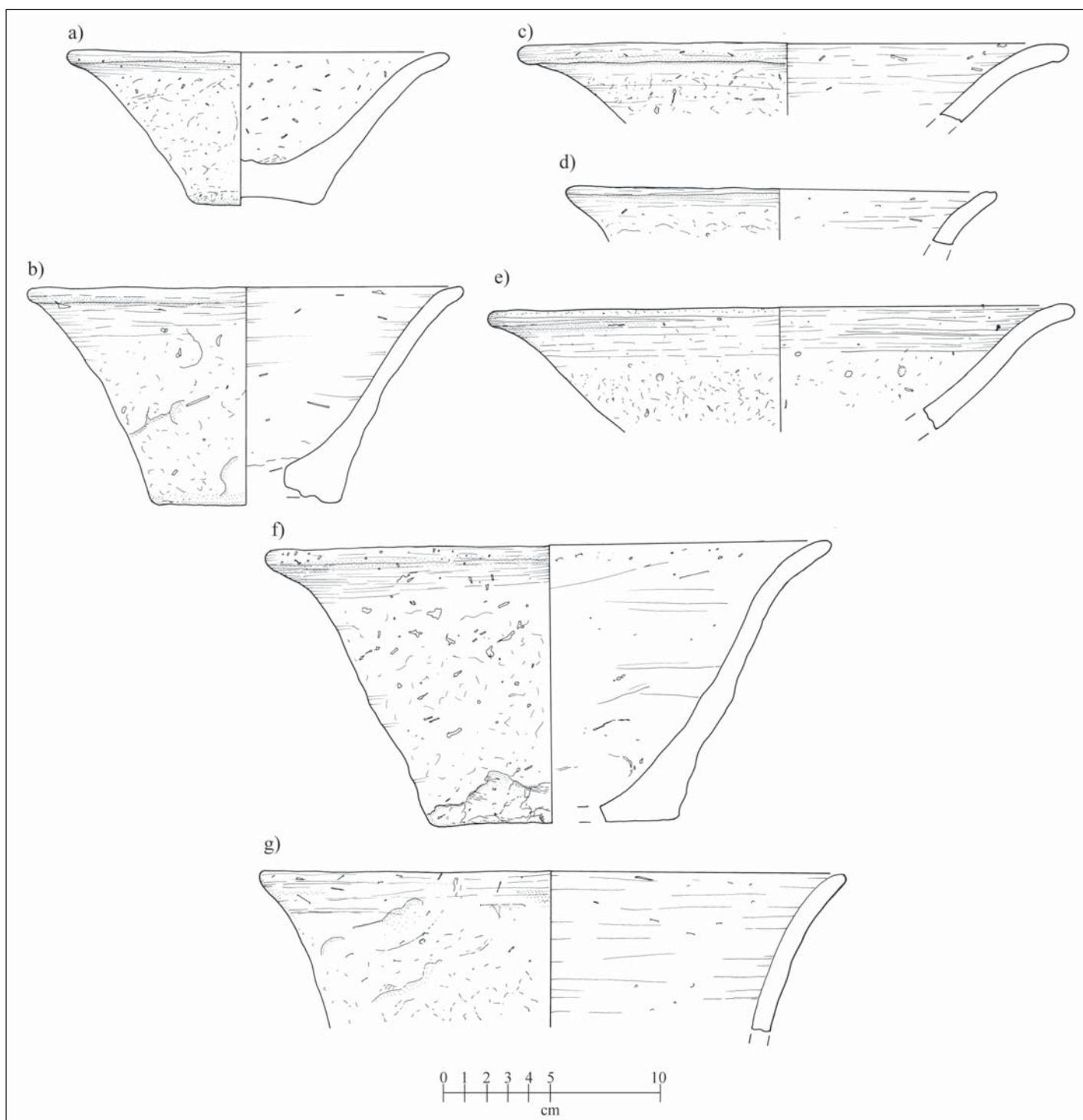
Break: Layers of brown and red around a purple core. Uneven.

Surface: Interior wet smoothed, exterior rim wet smoothed, rest left rough.

Interior and exterior 7.5YR 5/3, 5/4 and 6/4.

Published: Knoblauch and Bestock 2011

of the rim and the surface immediately below it, was left coarse and lumpy with many finger impressions, organic temper and large pores readily visible on the surface. In contrast, the area of the rim and the area immediately below were wet smoothed, possibly with the aid of a turning device as discernible by the fine, parallel lines of superficial appearance. The whole of the surface of the interior has been treated in a similarly careful way. As discussed above, the small vessel shown in Fig. 7a was probably made entirely on the wheel.



The vessel type has been found in contexts attributable to both enclosures (see below) as well as in mixed contexts. It is the most common Early Dynastic pottery type from the North Cemetery west but interestingly was not found in any of the three subsidiary graves with comparably well preserved assemblages,

although some sherds have been found in the mixed fill of two subsidiary graves. Rather, the concentration of sherd material appears to suggest a relationship with the superstructural components of both enclosures (see below). The technological characteristics make the vessel Type 4 suitable for use as either a bowl or a

**Fig. 8**

Type 4b, Nile B, Wet/Rough Smoothed.

- From Fill of Aha III NW Subsidiary Grave/Ceramic Deposit

**a) P04-66 ANC 23220**

RD: 18-19cm 27% WC 21221

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine to medium coarse chaff and medium fine sand, sub angular to sub rounded. Occasional medium coarse limestone and medium coarse sand particles.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: Sandwich break: Layers of red and purple either side of a dark gray core. Uneven

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Thin red slip on exterior and interior. Interior and exterior 2.5YR 6/6.

Published: Knoblauch and Bestock 2011

**b) P09-76 ANC 23213**

RD: 21cm 12% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium coarse silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium to medium coarse chaff and medium coarse sand, occasional to well distributed fine to medium fine sand, occasional fine limestone and mica.

Hardness: Medium soft

Break: Sandwich break. Layers of brown either side of dark brown core. Uneven.

Surface: Interior wet smoothed, exterior rim wet smoothed and rougher below this. Interior and exterior 7.5YR 6/4.

**c) P04-153 ANC 23219**

RD: 27cm 13% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine chaff and fine to medium fine sand, occasional to well distributed medium coarse to coarse chaff and medium coarse sand.

Hardness: Medium soft

Break: Sandwich break. Light brown with gray black core.

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed with exterior below rim left rough. Interior and exterior 7.5YR 7/4.

**d) P04-150 ANC 23219**

RD: 19cm 6% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine chaff and medium fine sand, sub rounded. Occasional to well distributed medium coarse chaff, and medium fine sand. Occasional medium coarse limestone particles and some mica.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: From Interior: Brown – red – dark brown. Uneven

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior

10R 6/1-6/4, exterior 10R 5/2-5/3.

**e) P09-34 ANC 23212**

RD: 22cm 5% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium fine sand, medium fine chaff, fine to medium fine limestone, occasional to well distributed medium coarse sand, occasional mica.

Hardness: Medium soft

Break: Sandwich break. Layers of light brown around a brown core. Uneven.

Surface: Interior wet smoothed, exterior rim wet smoothed, left rough below rim. Interior and exterior 5YR 7/4-8/4.

- From Roof/Fill of Aha III SE Subsidiary Grave

**f) P09-90 ANC 21593**

RD: 28cm 37% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt (Silt B).

Break: No Information

Hardness: Medium hard

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. No Munsell information

- From Roof/Fill of Aha III NE Subsidiary Grave

**g) P09-164 ANC 21320**

RD: 28cm 7% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium coarse silt (Silt B). Well distributed medium coarse to coarse chaff, occasional to well distributed medium coarse sand, fine to medium fine chaff and mica, occasional medium fine sand and medium fine to medium coarse limestone.

Hardness: Soft

Break: Sandwich break. Layers of brown around a dark gray core. Uneven.

Surface: Interior wet smoothed, exterior wet smoothed and left coarse below this. Interior and exterior 2.5YR 6/4.

lid (Hendrickx 1994: 90-91 13.4.2). The everted rim combined with the attention devoted to its regularity meant that the vessel Type 4b sat snugly on the rim of a large closed vessel with a rim diameter around 20-27 cm, for instance Type 5 (“Wine Jars”). Precisely this arrangement is demonstrated by intact examples from

Saqqara and Naqada that also show how the inverted vessels were additionally sealed to the vessel rim by a clay stopper (Saad in Emery 1939: 69 Types 6 and 7; Morgan 1897: 166, fig. 527). Presumably a similar arrangement is to be expected for the vessel with a high conical mud seal shown in Fig. 9. In addition, such vessels

could also function as lids for vessels with comparatively smaller rim diameters (i.e. Ciałowicz 2009: fig. 5-6).

Type 4 is very common in various contexts whereby the type appears to be particularly typical for Dynasty 0 to early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty/Naqada IIIB-C1: Variations of this same basic form were recovered in the early layers of the Abydos settlement at Kom el-Sultan (Petrie 1902: pl. XXVIII 15-26 “Rough Brown Ware” or “Red Polished” in the adjoining M series of tombs, especially Tomb M13 (*ibid.* M13 pl XXXVIII 12, 76); in the Umm el-Qaab B Cemetery (Dynasty 0 and very early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, personal observation); and in a seemingly very early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty deposit from the U-Cemetery (Dreyer 1998: 15-16, Abb. 8-9, Taf. 2b-d; Pumpenmeier in Dreyer et al. 1993: 42-43, Abb. 7). The vessels occur only sporadically in the tomb of Djer at the end of the Naqada IIIC1 phase and do not appear to be normal for the tomb of Den (Rita Hartmann and Vera Müller personal communication). Other finds of these vessels elsewhere also tend to date to the early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty or Dynasty 0 such as at Zawiyet el-Aryan, (i.e. Dunham 1978: 5 Z 43 x.8, x.9), and Saqqara Tomb S. 3357, the latter dating to the reign of Aha (Saad in Emery 1939: pl. 18 bottom row, first three from left, pl. 19 nrs. 6 -7 with concave base, nr. 8 with flat base). At Hierakonpolis, similar vessels appear to have been particularly common in the “second half of Dynasty 0” (Naqada IIIB) (Raue 2007: 329-330, fig. 11 F39-30, F34) and the vessel type occurs in contexts of Naqada IIIA1-B at El-Kab (Hendrickx 1994: 211-212 Types C UFB 2-7 and UFC 1, compare plates XVIII and XIX). In the Eastern Kom settlement at Tell el-Farkha, the vessel type was common for phases 4 and 5 (Proto-dynastic Period-beginning of the Early Dynastic Period) but became less common in phase 6a (first half of 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty) and disappeared in phase 6b (second half of 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty) (i.e. Jucha 2005: pls. 48-49.1; 2011: 957).

#### Type 5 (Fig. 9)

Although labelled here as a single type, the sherd material clearly represents two different types of contemporary large ovoid jars, both made of the Silt A fabric: The first (here Type 5a = Fig. 9a-b, d-e; Fig. 15a-b) is a relatively elongated vessel with a flared rim and a slightly flared base, while the second (here Type 5b = Fig. 9c; Fig. 15c) is a more rounded vessel with a flared rim and a flat base.

#### Fig. 9

Type 5, Nile A, Dry Smoothed and Wet Smoothed.

Complete Vessels by Context

- Aha III SE

**a) P04-155 ANC 22088**

RD: 19.6cm 100% WC 21305

Fabric: (from surface). Fine silt (Silt A). Occasional fine to medium fine chaff, medium fine to medium coarse sand and medium coarse chaff.

Hardness: Hard

Break: No break

Surface: Exterior rim horizontally wet smoothed. Below this dry smoothed with small areas left wet smoothed either side of clay bands and between lowest band and base. Pot mark incised after dry smoothing and before firing. Interior wet smoothed. Exterior 2.5YR 5/3, interior 2.5YR 5/4.

Published: Knoblauch and Bestock 2011 (drawing), Bestock 2009 Fig. 57 (photo).

- Aha III NE

**b) P04-156 ANC 21337**

MD: 37.6cm, H: 113cm (including seal) 100%, W: 34kg WC 21305

Fabric: (from surface) Fine silt (Silt A). Occasional fine chaff and medium fine limestone.

Hardness: hard

Break: No break

Surface: Exterior rim horizontally wet smoothed. Below this dry smoothed with small areas left wet smoothed either side of clay bands and between lowest band and base. Exterior 5YR 5/3-6/3. Remains of rope and mud fasteners on exterior surface. Clay seal intact.

Published: Bestock 2009 Fig. 67-72, Bestock 2008 c49 Fig. 8a,b (photo)

- Rims and Bases from Unsecure Contexts

**c) P09-111 ANC 21267**

RD: 25cm 14% WC 21/2XX5

Fabric: Fine marly silt. Well distributed very fine to fine limestone, and occasional to well distributed fine to medium fine sand, medium fine chaff and occasional medium coarse sand.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Layers of red and brown around a dark gray core. Smooth and even break.

Surface: Interior and exterior eroded. Exterior 2.5Y 5/4, interior 5YR 6/6.

**d) P04-287 ANC 18104**

RD: 22cm 12% WC 21305

Fabric: Fine marly silt (Silt A). Occasional to well distributed fine chaff, fine limestone and medium fine to medium coarse sand.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Light brown with dark gray core. Smooth and even break.

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Dry smoothing not preserved on exterior but undoubtedly present. Interior and exterior 5YR 6/3.

**e) P09-287 ANC 19181**

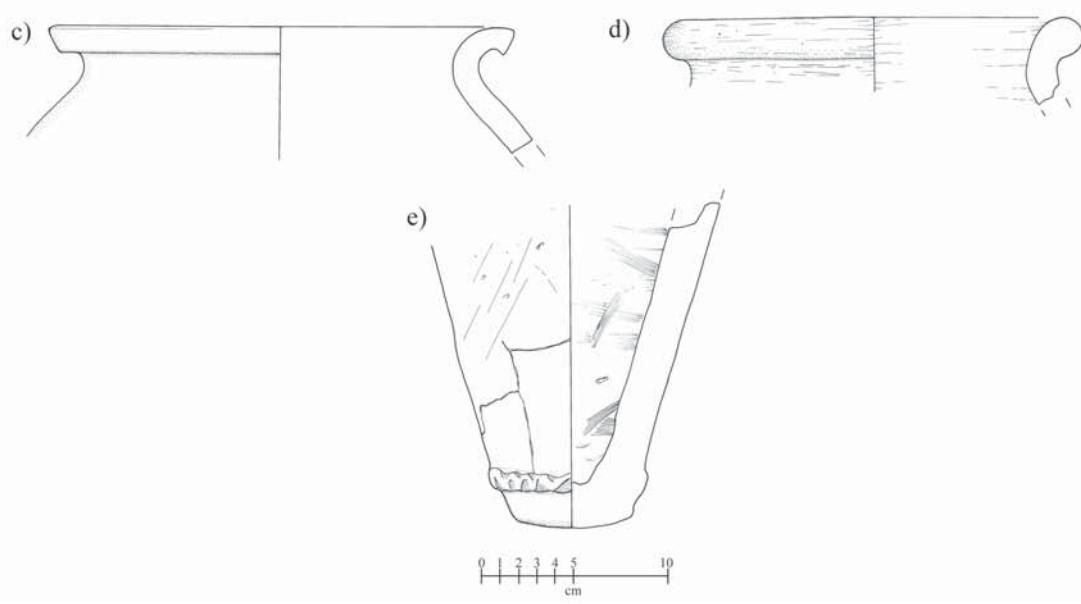
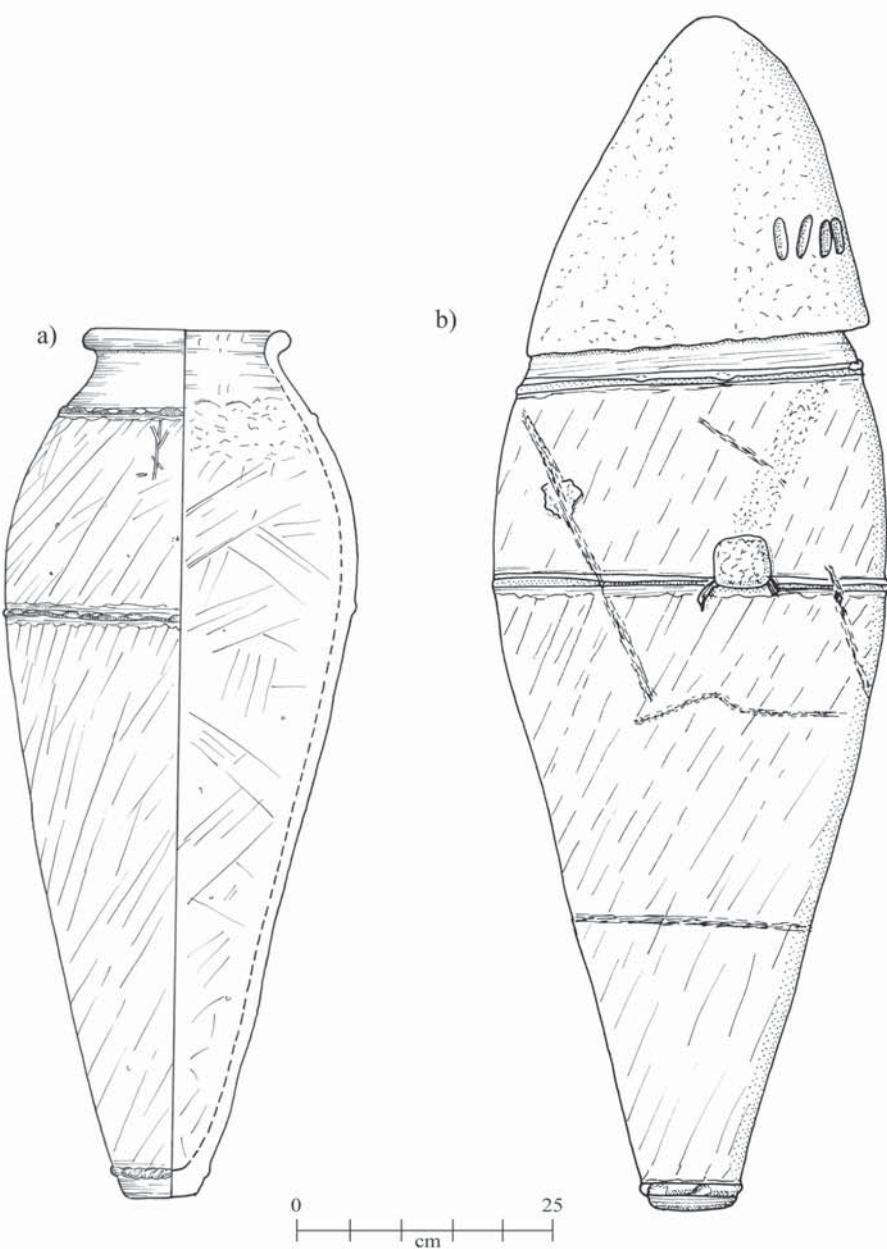
BD: 6.6cm 100% WC 21305

Fabric: Fine silt (Silt A). Occasional to well distributed fine chaff and fine limestone and occasional fine sand.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: No new break

Surface: Interior wet smoothed, exterior dry smoothed. Interior and exterior 5YR 5/4.



gated type (maximum diameter 34 -35 cm and a height in excess of 80 cm) with narrow aperture (20-22 cm) and a rolled rounded rim. The base is always small (less than 10 cm) and slightly lentoid in appearance. There are three distinctive bands of applied clay at intervals on the exterior body: One is in the vicinity of the shoulder, one in the vicinity of the maximum diameter and the other near the foot of the vessel. Of these the band near the foot is the most carefully modelled to resemble a twisted cord. The upper bands have been pressed at irregular intervals with downward pressure to achieve a similar, but coarser effect. After the cords had been attached, the body of the vessel was dry smoothed, with the exception of the rim and neck which were probably wet smoothed and finished on the wheel. The vessel may be compared with Petrie Type 76a (Petrie 1953: pl. XVIII-XXIII). It is a common type in the royal tombs of Dynasty 0 and the tomb of Aha at Umm el-Qaab (Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 54, Abb. 16) as well as in the elite tomb S.3357 from Saqqara that also dates to the reign of Aha (Saad in Emery 1939: pl. 19 nr.4).

The second type of large storage jar (Type 5b = **Fig. 9c**) is represented by two rim sherds. In contrast to type 5a, the rim aperture is wider (25 cm), the rim profile is more angular and is set off from the vessel neck more distinctly. Parallels from the royal tombs of Dynasty 0 and the tomb of Aha at Umm el-Qaab indicate that this rim type belonged to a large ovoid jar type that was wider in relation to its height than Type 5a and also lacked the banded decoration of that type (i.e. Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 51-54, Abb. 14). Instead, this type had series of finger-impressed crescents near the shoulder (Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: Abb. 14). It can be compared with Petrie Types 75Q-R (Petrie 1953: pl.XXI) and dates to Naqada IIIB-C1/Dynasty 0 and early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

Of the two types, only type 5a can be attributed with certainty by context to Aha II and III as two complete examples were found in-situ in subsidiary graves belonging to the enclosures (see below). The base shown in **Fig. 9e** is of the same type but it had been repaired and found reused as a receptacle or basin in the context of a Ptolemaic tomb in the area of Aha III. The fragments of Type 5b were found in very dis-

turbed contexts and could easily come from one of the neighbouring enclosures, for example the Aha I enclosure, where Type 5b vessels have been found placed in the subsidiary graves (personal observation/Matthew Adams).

Type 5a/b jars are commonly called Wine jars (i.e. Emery 1961: 207-209) although the archaeological evidence for such a definition is weak (Murray 2000: 577, 579). As pointed out by Murray (Murray 2000: 579-80), in the absence of explicit labelling and/or scientific tests for the presence of tartaric acid the blanket attribution of wine as contents is highly speculative. Some grape seeds were found in the base of a vessel of this type recovered from the chamber B0 in the Royal B-Cemetery at Abydos but as another vessel of this type from the same context contained fig seeds a function as a general storage jar may be more appropriate (Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 52).

Irrespective of the correct identification of the contents, the volume of the jars was considerable. The vessel shown in **Fig. 9a** would have held 29 litres of liquid if filled while the vessel in **Fig. 9b** could have held a slightly greater quantity. The weight of the vessel in **Fig. 9b** with mud seal attached is 34 kg. With liquid contents it would have been closer to 70 kg.

The uncomfortable task of carrying such vessels was eased by the use of vessel slings/nets made of rope that could be hung from wooden poles (Morgan 1897: 245, fig. 823; Hartung 2011; Petrie 1901: pl. XXXVIII). Remains of just such a sling were found on the vessel shown in **Fig. 9b, 15b & 17e**. The organic components (not yet scientifically tested) belonging to the rope or straps were very poorly preserved with only a thin trace of the original material still clinging to the vessel surface. Nonetheless it is possible to trace the position of a number of individual sections of rope revealing a pattern of horizontal and vertical segments. The ropes were fastened in place and prevented from slipping with the aid of lumps of light coloured clay pressed onto the vessel. Overall the appearance may have been similar to the carrying nets of “wine jars” as depicted on stone vessel “wine jars” (Morgan 1897: 245, fig. 823), and model/minature “wine jars” (Petrie 1901: pl. XXXVIII; also Hartung 2011).

#### Type 6 (Fig. 10)

Type 6 vessels are medium sized ovoid jars. Complete examples range in height between 36 and 40 cm. The maximum diameter of the vessels is in the upper third of the vessels lending them a slender and shouldered appearance. The rim diameter is standardized and is between 11 and 12 cm. The rim can be either folded or thickened and more rounded. The vessels were vertically wet smoothed, although in some cases it appears that the clay was already a little dry when this action was performed. This smoothing inadvertently dislodged small hard particles in the clay (quartz, limestone) that were caught in the hands of the potter and dragged up or down the pot surface leaving elongated vertical scrapings on the vessel surface. The necks and rims, on the other hand, were finished on a wheel and exhibit the typical horizontal smoothing lines left by this procedure. All of the complete vessels were marked in some way, either by a pot mark incised prefiring, or an ink inscription inscribed post firing (see “Pot marks, ink inscriptions and sealings” below). Five complete examples of Type 6 vessels were found in subsidiary graves from Aha II and III. The remainder of the diagnostic sherd material (Fig. 10f, g, h) was found in the disturbed debris of other subsidiary graves or in mixed contexts. Vessel type 6 traditionally wears the moniker “Beer Jar”, although it is accepted that this designation does not adequately convey the limitless range of products that could have been stored and/or transported in these handy jars. They are one of the most common types found in grave assemblages during early-mid 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, (i.e. Petrie 1902: pl. XXXVII nrs. 70 etc.; Köhler & Smythe 2004: pl. 4 1-2; Smythe 2008: 184, fig. 39-40, 42-51; Emery 1939: pl. 19 Type 2).

#### Type 7 (Fig. 11)

No complete sections belonging to vessel Type 7 were reconstructed but a number of diagnostic and non-diagnostic sherds belonging to this vessel type were found and allow for some general comments concerning its appearance. The vessel type is immediately recognizable amongst the sherd material because of its extremely fine fabric (Marl A) and carefully dry smoothed exterior surfaces.

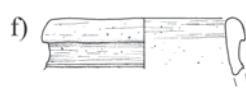
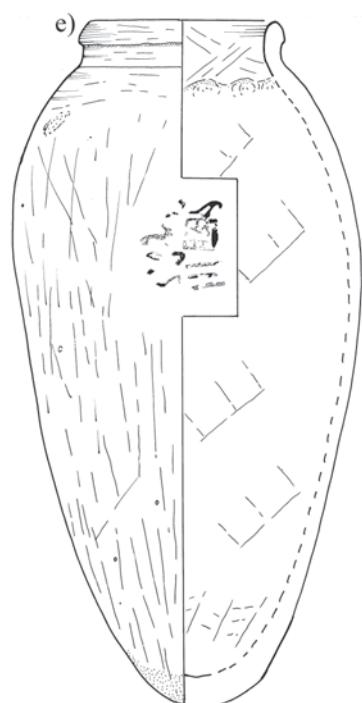
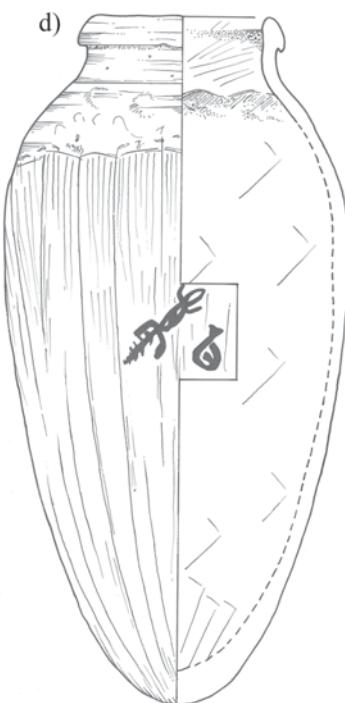
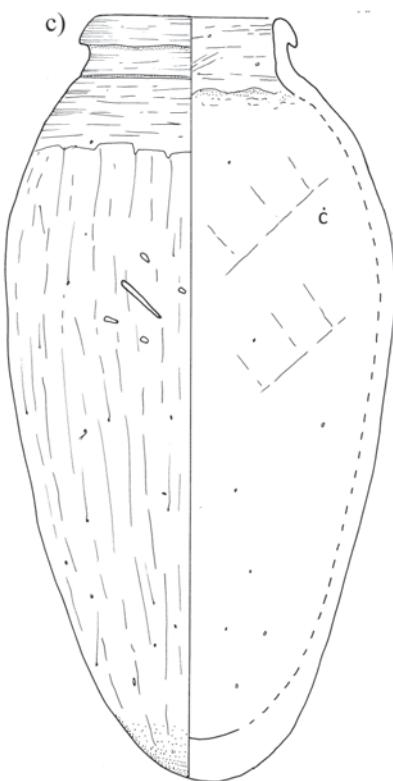
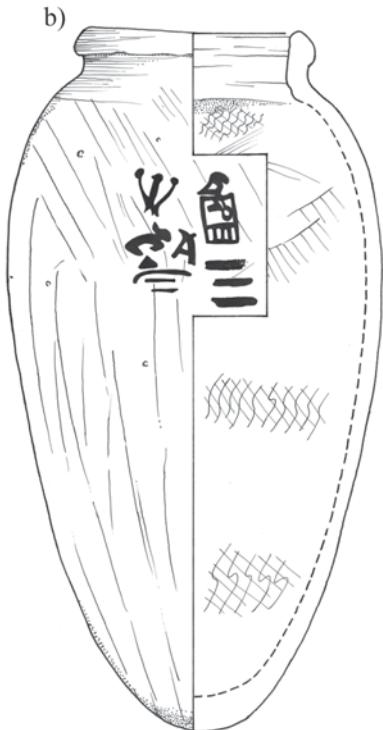
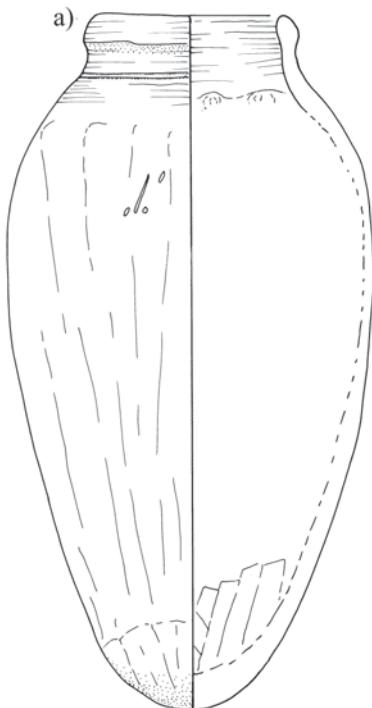
Type 7 sherds are always distinguishable from cylindrical vessel (Type 8) fragments that are made of an almost identical ware (perhaps coming from the same workshop?) because they obviously belonged to much wider closed vessels than the narrow cylindrical type. The bases are always thin, relatively broad (ca. 15 cm) and slightly lentoid (convex) in shape, having been carefully cut into shape by the potter. The rims (ca. 12 cm) are rounded and offset from the neck. Taking into account the slight carination below the neck, the width of the shoulder and base, Type 7 must essentially have been a globular shaped vessel similar to vessels recorded in the roughly contemporary Tomb M13 nearby on the Kom el-Sultan (Petrie 1902: pl. XXXVIII nrs. 7 & 24, unknown fabric). Numerous fragments of vessels of this type were recovered from the B series of Tombs on the Umm el-Qaab (personal observation).

#### Type 8 (Fig. 12)

Unfortunately the preservation of the sherds belonging to Type 8 (cylindrical shaped vessels) was particularly poor and no complete sections could be reconstructed. A description of the overall vessel morphology is therefore ruled out. The vessels have a rolled rim with diameter between 10 and 11.5 cm, with a concentration around 10 cm. The base is slightly lentoid (convex) and between 8 and 9.5 cm. Some of the vessel fragments impart the impression that they belonged to ever so faintly “S” curved vessel shapes with a wider lower half of the vessel and narrower upper half. The vessels were thin walled and show signs of coiling, although this was only visible on the interior surface. The exterior surface of the rim and the neck was wet smoothed horizontally, probably on a turning device to judge by the regular appearance of the smoothing marks. Below this zone of wet smoothing the vessels were carefully dry smoothed with either diagonal or vertical strokes. There are no traces of decoration on the cylinders of these dimensions. The sherds are hard fired and made of fine Marl A. The type corresponds to Petrie type 50 d-g (Petrie 1953: pl. IX) and is widespread throughout Egypt. Large numbers

**Fig. 10**

Type 6, Marl B,  
Wet Smoothed.  
Complete Vessels  
by Context



- Aha II NE Subsidiary Grave
- a) P04-159 ANC 19971**  
RD 11.5-12cm H: 37.7cm 100%  
WC 22201

Fabric: (from surface) Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed very fine to medium fine limestone and fine sand, occasional to well distributed medium fine to medium coarse limestone.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: No break

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Part of interior eroded, other parts covered with sinter. Interior and exterior 10R 6/3.

Pot mark incised pre-firing.

Published: Bestock 2009  
Figs. 35 right, 37, 38 (photo)

- b) P04-160 ANC 19970**

RD 12.6-12.8cm H: 36.51cm  
100% WC 22201

Fabric: (from surface) Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed fine sand, occasional to well distributed fine limestone and occasional medium coarse to coarse limestone.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: No break

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Sintering on exterior and organic remains on interior. Interior and exterior 10R 5/3-6/3. Black ink inscription (post-firing).

Published: Bestock 2009 Fig. 35 left, pl. 11, Bestock 2008c55 Fig. 12a, Bestock 2008 b1095 Fig. 3

- Aha III NE Subsidiary grave

**c) P04-158 ANC 22021**  
RD 11.6cm H: 40.6cm 100%  
WC 22201

Fabric: (from surface) Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed fine to medium fine limestone, fine to medium fine sand.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: No break

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 10R 5/6 - 5/4 - 6/4. Pot mark incised pre-firing.

Published: -

- d) P04-161ANC 22022**

RD 11cm H: 36.74cm 100%  
WC 22201

Fabric: (from surface) Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed medium fine chaff, fine to medium fine sand and occasional medium coarse limestone (finer limestone not easily visible on surface).

Hardness: Hard

Break: No break

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior partially covered with sinter. Exterior 2.5YR 6/6.  
Published: Bestock 2009 pl.16a, b, Bestock 2008 c53 Fig. 11 a, b (photo)

- e) P04-162 ANC 22023**  
RD 11cm H: 36.4cm 100%  
WC 22201
- Fabric: (from surface) Medium fine marl (Marl B). Fine to medium coarse sand visible on surface.
- Hardness: Medium hard
- Break: No break
- Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 2.5YR 6/6. Ink inscription in black ink.
- Published: Bestock 2009 Fig. 74 a, b, Bestock 2008 c55 Fig. 12a, b (photo)

Rims from Unsecured Contexts by find spots

- Aha II

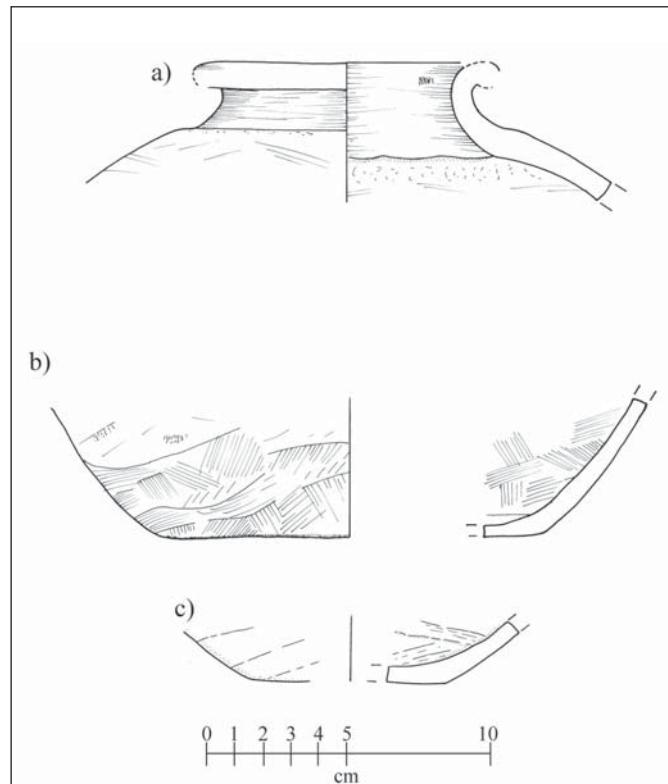
- f) P09-008 ANC 18318**  
RD 11cm 25% WC 22201
- Fabric: Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed fine limestone, occasional to well distributed medium fine limestone and fine sand.
- Hardness: Medium hard
- Break: Orange-brown with dusky red core. Relatively even
- Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 2.5YR 6/6

- Aha III

- g) P09-224 ANC 24822**  
RD 13cm 13% WC 2201
- Fabric: Medium fine marl (Marl B). Well distributed fine to medium fine limestone, fine to medium fine sand and very fine sand.
- Hardness: Hard
- Break: Orange-brown. Even
- Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 5YR 7/6.

- Unknown

- h) P09-95 ANC 21948**  
RD 12cm 12% WC 22201
- Fabric: Medium fine marl (Marl B). Occasional to well distributed fine limestone (mostly decomposed) and fine to medium fine sand. Occasional medium fine limestone and medium fine chaff.
- Hardness: Hard
- Break: Brown, relatively even.
- Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed and 7.5YR 6/3



**Fig. 11**

Type 7, Marl A, Dry Smoothed. Unsecure Contexts

- a) P04-13a ANC 21432/21417**

RD: ca. 12cm 2% WC 323/405

Fabric: fine Marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed very fine sand and fine limestone. Occasional medium fine limestone.

Hardness: Medium hard to hard

Break: Beige with occasional light pink core in thicker sections. Even break.

Surface: Exterior exceptionally well dry smoothed (almost polished). Interior rim and neck dry smoothed, below this wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 10YR 8/2-8/3.

- b) P04-13b ANC 21432/21417**

BD: 14.5cm 15% WC 323/405

Fabric: fine Marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed very fine sand and fine limestone. Occasional medium fine limestone.

Hardness: Medium hard to hard

Break: Beige with occasional light pink core in thicker sections. Even break.

Surface: Exterior exceptionally well dry smoothed (almost polished). Interior wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 10YR 8/2-8/3

- Type 7b

- c) P08-120 ANC 19921**

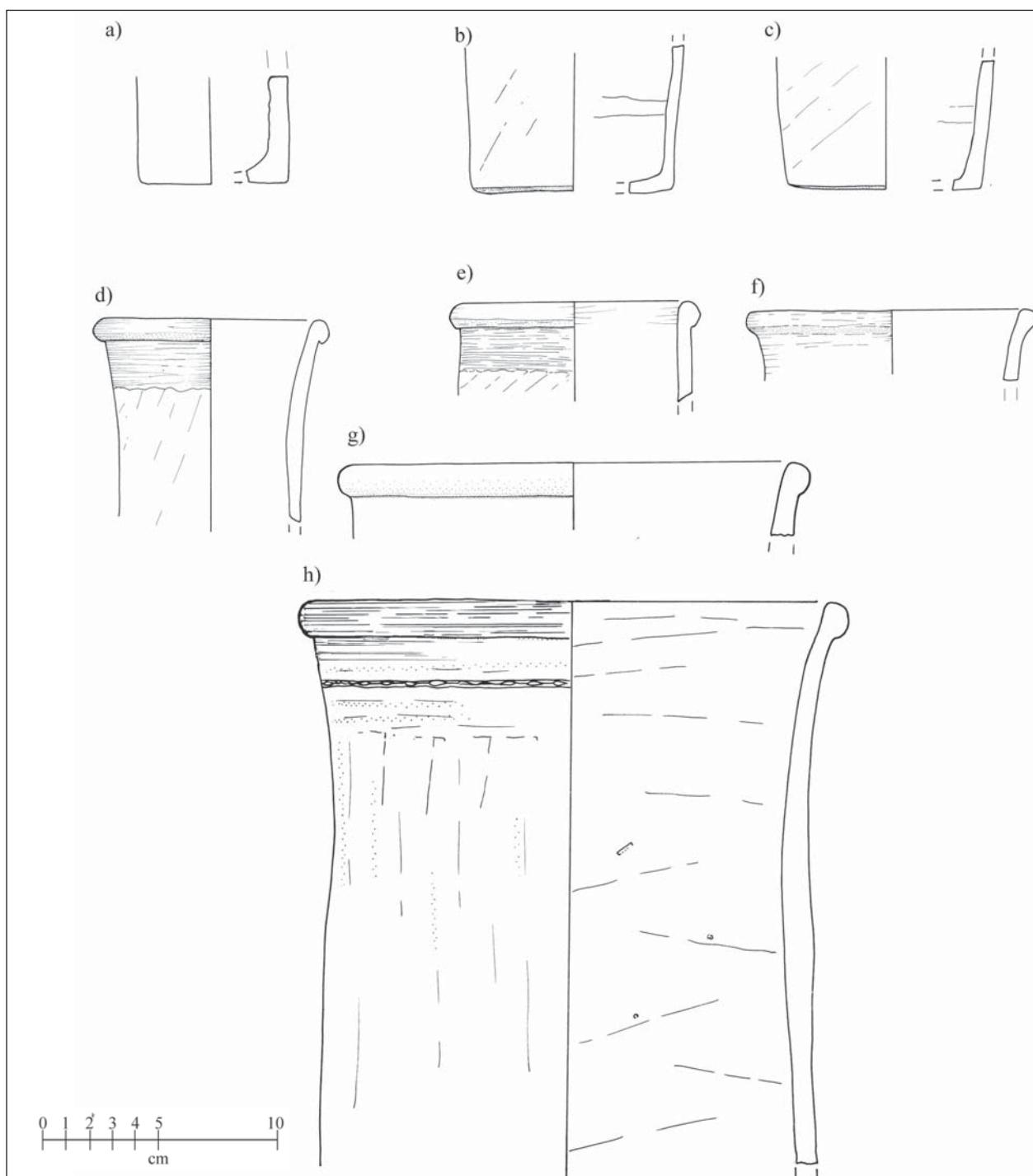
BD: 7cm 25% WC 32305

Fabric: Fine Marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed fine sand. Occasional to well distributed very fine limestone and medium fine sand and occasional medium coarse limestone.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Sandwich: Layers of light pink-brown either side of a dusky brown core. Even break.

Surface: Exterior well dry smoothed, interior wet smoothed. Interior 7.5YR 7/2-7/3, exterior 5YR 7/4.



of this vessel type occur in the convolute of Tomb B10-19 (Aha) from the Umm el-Qaab (Type 590, Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 55 Abb. 17:6) as well as in the subsidiary graves from the Aha I enclosure<sup>2</sup>.

#### Type 9

The only cylindrical shaped vessel which has traces of decoration is the rim and upper body of a cylindrical vessel (Type 9) shown in Fig. 12h. It derives from the fill of the south-

2. Unpublished. The present author processed and drew the cylindrical vessels from Aha I for Matthew Adams (PIFYA), and they are mentioned here with his kind permission.

**Fig. 12**

a: Type 8a, b-f Type 8b, Type g-h:  
Type 9, Marl A, Dry Smoothed.

• Type 8

a) P09-70 ANC 21617

BD: 7cm 27%

Fabric: Fine marl (Marl A). Well distributed very fine to fine limestone and occasional to well distributed very fine to fine sand.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: Orange with orange-brown core. Even

Surface treatment: Interior eroded, exterior dry smoothed. Exterior 7.5YR 8/2, interior 2.5YR 5/3.

b) P09-217 ANC 25284

BD: 9-9.5cm 30% WC 32305

Fabric: Very fine marl (Marl A). Well distributed to abundant very fine to fine limestone (mostly decomposed), well distributed fine sand (black).

Hardness: Hard (over-fired)

Break: Gray brown with occasional very thin red gray core. Relatively even.

Surface Treatment: Interior and exterior eroded. Interior and exterior 2.5Y 7/3.

c) P04-278 ANC 18101

BD: 8.5cm 16% WC 32305

Fabric: Fine marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed to abundant medium fine limestone, occasional to well distributed fine black particles (grit).

Hardness: Hard

Break: Light red brown. Even break

Surface treatment: Interior wet smoothed, exterior dry smoothed. Interior and exterior 2.5YR 6/3.

d) P09-219 ANC 25259

RD: 10.5cm 30% WC 32305

Fabric: Very fine marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed to abundant very fine limestone, occasional to well distributed medium fine black sand, occasional medium fine limestone.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Brown with gray-brown core. Even

Surface treatment: Interior covered with hardened sand. Exterior rim wet smoothed, below this dry smoothed. Interior and exterior 2.5Y 8/3-7/3.

e) P04-102 ANC 19390 19392

RD: 11cm 9% WC 32305

Fabric: Fine marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed fine to medium fine limestone and fine to medium fine sand.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Light brown with light gray-brown core. Even Surface treatment: Interior wet smoothed, exterior rim and to 2cm below rim wet smoothed, the diagonally dry smoothed. Interior and exterior 10YR 8/2-8/3.

f) P09-220 ANC 24852

RD 12.5-13cm 22% WC 32305

Fabric: Very fine marl (Marl A). Well distributed to abundant very fine limestone and occasional to well distributed medium fine limestone.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Reddy brown. Even

Surface treatment: Interior and exterior eroded. Interior and exterior 2.5Y 7/3

• Type 9

g) P09-222 ANC 25432

RD: ca. 21cm 7% WC 32305

Fabric: Fine marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed to abundant very fine limestone (mostly decomposed), well distributed very fine to fine sand, occasional medium fine sand, medium fine limestone and occasional odd pieces of chaff.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: Pinkish brown. Relatively even.

Surface treatment: Interior and exterior eroded. Interior and exterior 10YR 8/3.

h) P09-228 ANC 25417, 25437

RD 24cm 40% WC 32305

Fabric: Fine marl clay (Marl A). Well distributed fine limestone (decomposed). Occasional to well distributed fine chaff, fine sand and very occasional medium coarse limestone.

Hardness: Hard

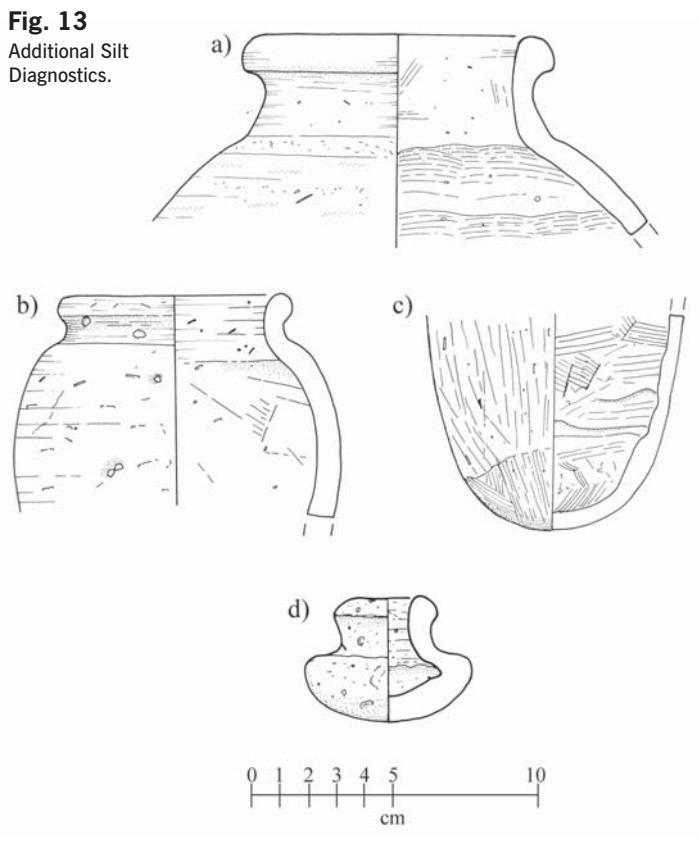
Break: Light brown. Even

Surface treatment: Interior wet smoothed. Exterior rim and body to a point 1cm below rim wet smoothed. The next 3cm below this point are horizontally dry smoothed and below this the vessel surface has been vertically dry smoothed.

Incised/impressed line with pattern of sickle shaped impressions/incisions made while clay was quite dry. Interior 5YR 6/4, exterior 2.5Y 8/2 with patches of 2.5YR 7/6

eastern subsidiary grave of Aha II and is preserved in 8 joining pieces including sherds constituting 40% of the rim. The rim diameter is 24 cm, approximately two and a half times the size of "standard" type cylinders described above, and the wall thickness is one and a half times that of the cylinders classified as Type 8. Unfortunately no base or sherds belonging to

the lower half of the vessel were recovered so the vessel height is unknown. The incised "rope decoration" below the rim consists of short crescent shaped lines notched into a preexisting incised or impressed line, possibly using a thumbnail or similar object. The surface treatment differs from the smaller Type 8 cylindrical vessels in that a band of horizontal smoothing

**Fig. 13**Additional Silt  
Diagnostics.**a) P04-101 ANC 19778**

RD: 11-11.5cm 25% WC 21321

Fabric: Fine to medium fine silt. Well distributed medium fine sand, occasional to well distributed fine to medium fine chaff, medium fine to medium coarse limestone and medium coarse sand.

Hardness: Hard

Break: Light brown with gray core.

Surface: Interior wet smoothed. Exterior rim and neck wet smoothed with horizontal dry smoothing on shoulder. Exterior coated in red slip. Interior 7.5YR 6/4, exterior 2.5YR 7/6.

**b) P04-10 ANC 18202**

RD: 9cm 25% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine to medium coarse silt. Well distributed to abundant medium fine to medium coarse chaff, occasional to well distributed medium fine sand, coarse to medium coarse limestone and mica.

Hardness: Medium hard

Break: Sandwich. Layers of light brown and red around a dark gray core. Uneven.

Surface: Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Interior and exterior 2.5YR 6/4-6/6 to 10R 6/4.

**c) P04-123**

WC 21201

**d) P09-107 ANC 19889**

RD: 3.8cm 45% WC 21201

Fabric: Medium fine silt. Well distributed medium fine chaff and fine to medium fine sand.

Hardness: Medium soft

Break: Zoned break with layers of brown and red around a gray core. Uneven texture

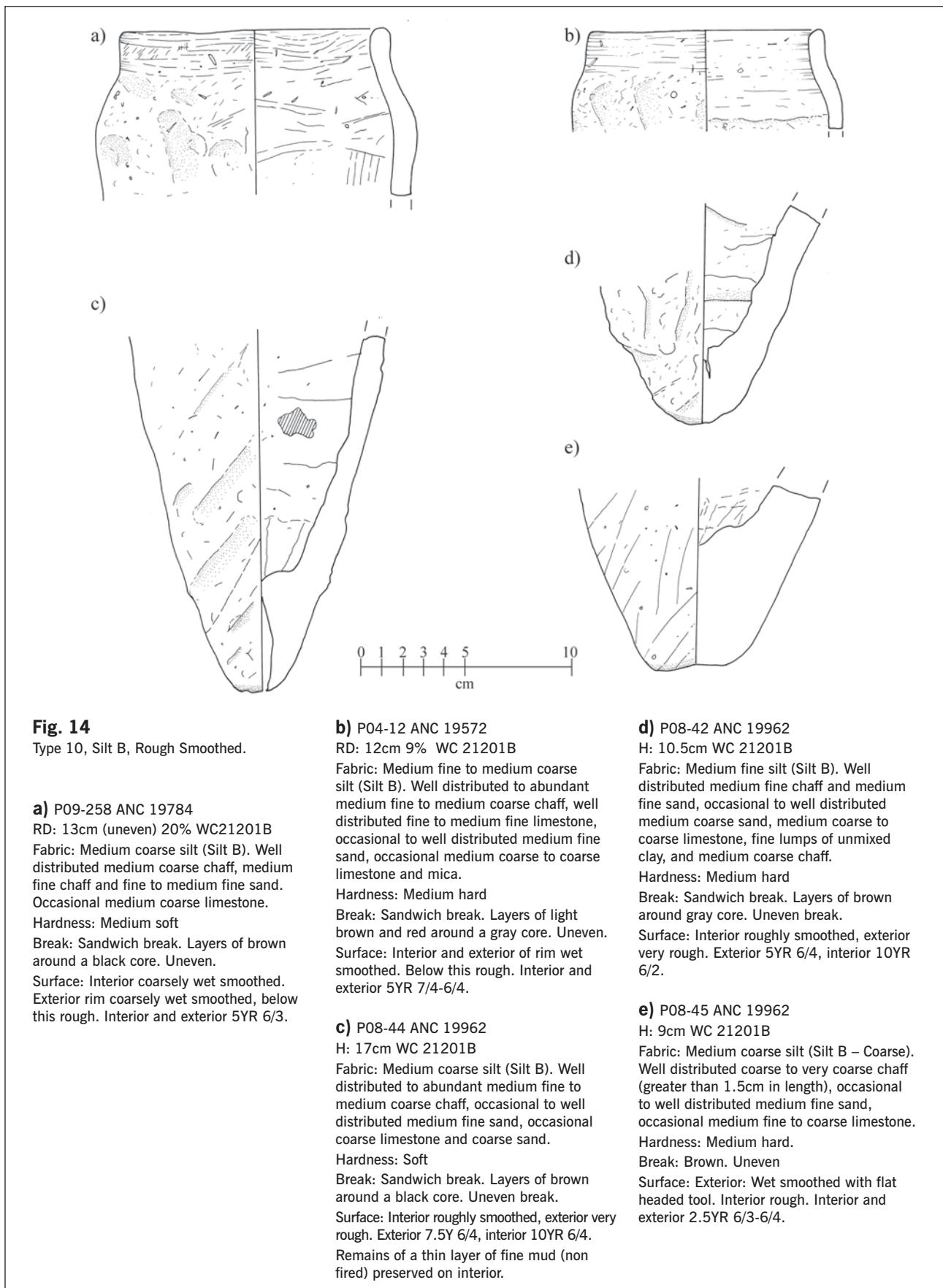
Exterior: Interior and exterior wet smoothed, 10YR 7/3-7/4.

sits between the wet smoothing of the rim and the vertical/diagonal dry smoothing of the body. In addition, the dry smoothing is of a very high standard and gives the surface an “almost polished” texture. The rim of a second large cylinder (rim diameter 21 cm), also from the area of the western enclosure was recorded (**Fig. 12g**) but not enough of the body is preserved to determine whether it was decorated or plain. The fabric of the larger vessel is light brown and the majority of the surface a creamy white, but surface patches of a light pinky red are also present. Although the fabric of both vessels is clearly based on Marl A, a small amount of fine organic material (chaff) is visible in the break. Giant cylinders are assigned type 50l in the Petrie corpus (Petrie et al. 1913: pl. XLIX 50l, SD 80 pl. LIX,) but are rare. The only published examples of which I am aware are a single decorated vessel from Turah (Junker 1912: Abb.57:7, 50; 67, 51, 51:2a) and two undecorated vessels from Abydos Tomb M13 (Petrie 1902: pl. XXXVII:13-14).

In addition to the Types 8 (“normal” sized cylinders) and 9 (“giant” cylinders) there are a few fragments belonging to cylindrical vessels whose size suggests the existence of further types or subtypes to Type 8. These include the rim of an apparently “intermediate” sized cylinder illustrated in **Fig. 12f** and a fragment of a base, seemingly belonging to a “miniature” cylinder in **Fig. 12a**. As so little of either example is preserved, they are not included as separate types here.

**Further silt types**

These are extremely limited and full details are available in the descriptions to **Fig. 13** and **14**. They include rims belonging to a medium sized (**Fig. 13a**) and small-medium sized jar (**Fig. 13b**) and the rounded base of a medium to small bottle or jar (**Fig. 13c**). None of these sherds are typologically significant, and none were found in secure or semi-secure contexts. More significant, but unfortunately also without context, is a small globular vessel (**Fig. 13d**) with rounded base and everted rim which appears to be similar to ED vessels from Buto (Köhler 1998: 20 fn.97-98, Taf. 18) and Tell el-Farkha (Jucha 2005: pl. 79:2). However in comparison with those vessels, our vessel lacks the



rough base typical for the two Delta sites and is harder fired. Bearing this in mind, it seems prudent that a positive identification of this as an ED type be withheld for the time being.

Illustrated in **Fig. 14** are 5 diagnostic sherds that exhibit consistency in their ware and manufacture, and for this reason it is probably justified to discuss them as a single type. The sherds are made of coarse silt (here Silt B) that contained a large number of coarse inclusions. The vessels have been built up using coils and exhibit a rough and undulating surface with long slanting furrows at points where the potter has drawn his fingers up or down the pot. The surface has generally been left rough. Rims that are made in the same ware (**Fig. 14a, b**) are rounded and direct, and bear rough horizontal wet smoothing marks near the top of the vessels. The bases in the same ware are typically coarse, and distinctly pointed.

These diagnostic pieces obviously resemble the coarse ovoid vessels (or “beer jars”) that appeared during the Naqada IIID period -the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty- (Köhler & Smythe 2004: 133–134, fig. 2) and that continued to be produced into the Old Kingdom (i.e. Wodzińska 2009: 210, fig. 1:AB4). However, as no complete sections were reconstructable the overall vessel morphology is not determinable and caution is recommended before categorically assigning all diagnostic and non-diagnostic sherds of the same ware to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty or later: Coarse closed silt vessels with a seemingly comparable ware were produced already during Naqada IIIC2 (Hendrickx 1998: 114) if not IIIC1 (Morgan 1897: fig. 564, 568) and it is conceivable that our diagnostic sherds belonged to related types. Importantly, none of the sherds belonging to vessels of this vessel type were found in reliable Naqada IIIC1 contexts during the excavation of either the Aha II or III enclosure.

### Pot marks, ink inscriptions and sealings

Three of the complete vessels found in subsidiary graves were inscribed with “pot marks”, signs inscribed into the vessel surface with a thin, pointed object before firing. The function of these marks is poorly understood but is thought to relate to an aspect of the production of the pottery jars. Two of the marks occur

on Type 6 vessels (beer jars **Fig. 10a & c**) and the other on a Type 5 vessel (**Fig. 9a/Fig. 17f detail**). In the case of Type 6 vessels, the pot marks were incised just below the shoulder. Those pot marks combine a single long straight line and shorter lines grouped around the single line. Simple marks such as these are common on a range of Naqada forms including ovoid jars (beer jars) and other containers (van den Brink 1992: 226) and such combinations were spread throughout Egypt (i.e. Adaima (Bréand 2009: 64, table 1, group 3a; 2011: table 2, fig. 2: 1, 2, 5), Helwan (Smythe 2008: fig. 34, 39, 44, 45, 48 etc.) Tarkhan (Mawdsley 2011: 1050) and Tell Farkha (Jucha 2008: 145, table 4B (line with dots)). The pot mark on the Type 5 vessel (**Fig. 9a & Fig. 17f, detail**) was incised just below the upper band of applied decoration on the shoulder of the vessel. It consists of a single vertical stroke with three shorter strokes that cross with and diverge from the main stroke. A small roughly horizontal stroke was made near the bottom left of the main sign group. A similar sign to the larger mark was found on a Type 5b wine vessel from the Umm el Qaab (Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 52, Abb. 14:1).

Post firing ink inscriptions in blackish ink were found on four Type 6 vessels (Beer Jars) (**Fig. 17**). One of these (**Fig. 10a, 16a & 17a**) was also incised with a pot mark (see above). The ink inscriptions were made on or below the shoulder of the vessels and are thought to relate to the contents of the jars. Two of these examples derive from the north-eastern subsidiary grave of Aha II (**Fig. 10a & b, 17a & b**) while the other two come from the north-eastern subsidiary grave of Aha III (**Fig. 10d & e, Fig. 17d & c**). Details of these have already been published by Bestock (2009) and her discussions are summarized in the caption of **Fig. 17**. For full details and references see the original publications by Bestock. In addition to these, an unpublished body sherd from the same type of vessel with a serekh of Aha was found in the south-eastern grave of II (reference from table below).

One Type 5a vessel (**Fig. 9b/Fig. 15b**) was found sealed with a high conical mud seal made of pale clay (Type G2, Engel & Müller 2000: 35, Abb.1). The seal was impressed with three different cylindrical seals: One a repeated serekh of Aha, one a file of various animals and a seal

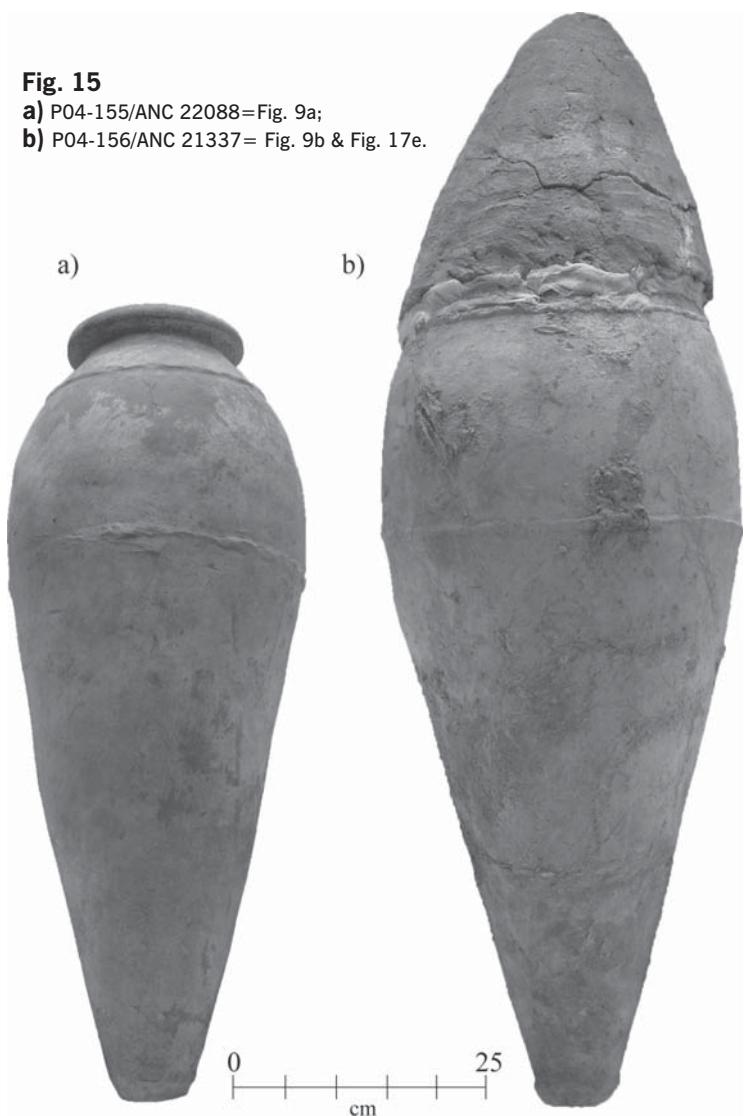
with repeated signs interspersed with basket and mouth shaped signs (Bestock 2009: 84-85, fig. 68, 69). In addition the seal was incised with 4 vertical parallel lines and three finger impressed lines (Bestock 2009: 85, fig. 67, 70).

### Chronological discussion

The inscriptions from Aha II and III shown in Fig. 17 fairly unambiguously that pottery vessels found in subsidiary graves related to both enclosures were in use during the reign of Aha, the second king of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Furthermore, the inscribed types have excellent parallels in well-dated Naqada IIIC1 contexts, specifically those that date to the reign of Aha, such as the so-called "Menes" grave from Naqada which dates to the reign of Aha (Kahl et al. 2001: 184-185), the Mastaba S. 3357 from Saqqara which likely belonged to a high official of Aha or a family member, and the royal tomb of Aha in the B-cemetery at Abydos (Tabl. 2). The fragments of cylindrical vessels, although not in context, are similarly highly diagnostic and can be dated to firmly to Naqada IIIC1/ the early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty before the burial of King Djer. Although the Naqada IIIC1 phase covers perhaps 50 years (Hendrickx 2006: 92, table II. 1.7.) and incorporates the reigns of Narmer, Aha and Djer (Summary by Hendrickx 2006: 88-90)- the diagnostic sheds from the area of Aha II and III differ clearly from cylindrical vessels from the tomb of Djer in terms of fabric, ware and size (see for example Müller in Dreyer et al. 2003: Abb. 10e; Müller in Dreyer et al. 2006: 78, Abb. 4d). This is an indication that by the time Djer was buried, the manufacture of cylindrical vessels had changed considerably. Only a few Early Dynastic vessels may cloud this relatively straightforward picture slightly and require more detailed attention. The first of these is Type 9, the large cylinder (Fig. 12h)

**Fig. 15**

- a) P04-155/ANC 22088=Fig. 9a;  
b) P04-156/ANC 21337= Fig. 9b & Fig. 17e.



with incised decoration which at first glance appears to be earlier than the pottery just discussed, the second being some coarsely made jars of silt that look much later (Fig. 14).

The giant cylinder with incised decoration (Type 9) is from the area of the Aha II enclosure. Studies on the incised decoration of cylinder jars from Cemetery B have shown that changes in the execution and appearance of the decora-

**Table 2**  
Diagnostic pottery types from Aha II and III and their well-dated parallels.

Type	Naqada Menes Grave	Tomb of Aha (Cemetery B)	S.3357
5	De Morgan 1897: 172 Fig. 562-3; Quibell 1905: 11.665, 11.760	Petrie 1902: pl. VI:4	Emery 1939: pl. 19 Type 4
6		Dreyer 1990: 66 Abb. 4a (B16)	Emery 1939: pl. 19 Type 2
7	De Morgan 1897: 173 Fig. 569-71	Personal Observation	
8	De Morgan 1897: 173 Fig. 572	Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 55, Abb. 17 690	Emery 1939: pl. 19 Type 1 pl. 16a; Zaky and Iskander 1942: Fig. 52, 53

tion of pottery cylindrical vessels occurred over time (Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 55). The style of the incised rope/string on the vessel from **Fig. 12h** is closest to Decoration Type 644 from the B Cemetery which has been described as a “kleine, auf einer horizontalen Linie aufliegende, mit dem Fingernagel o.ä.

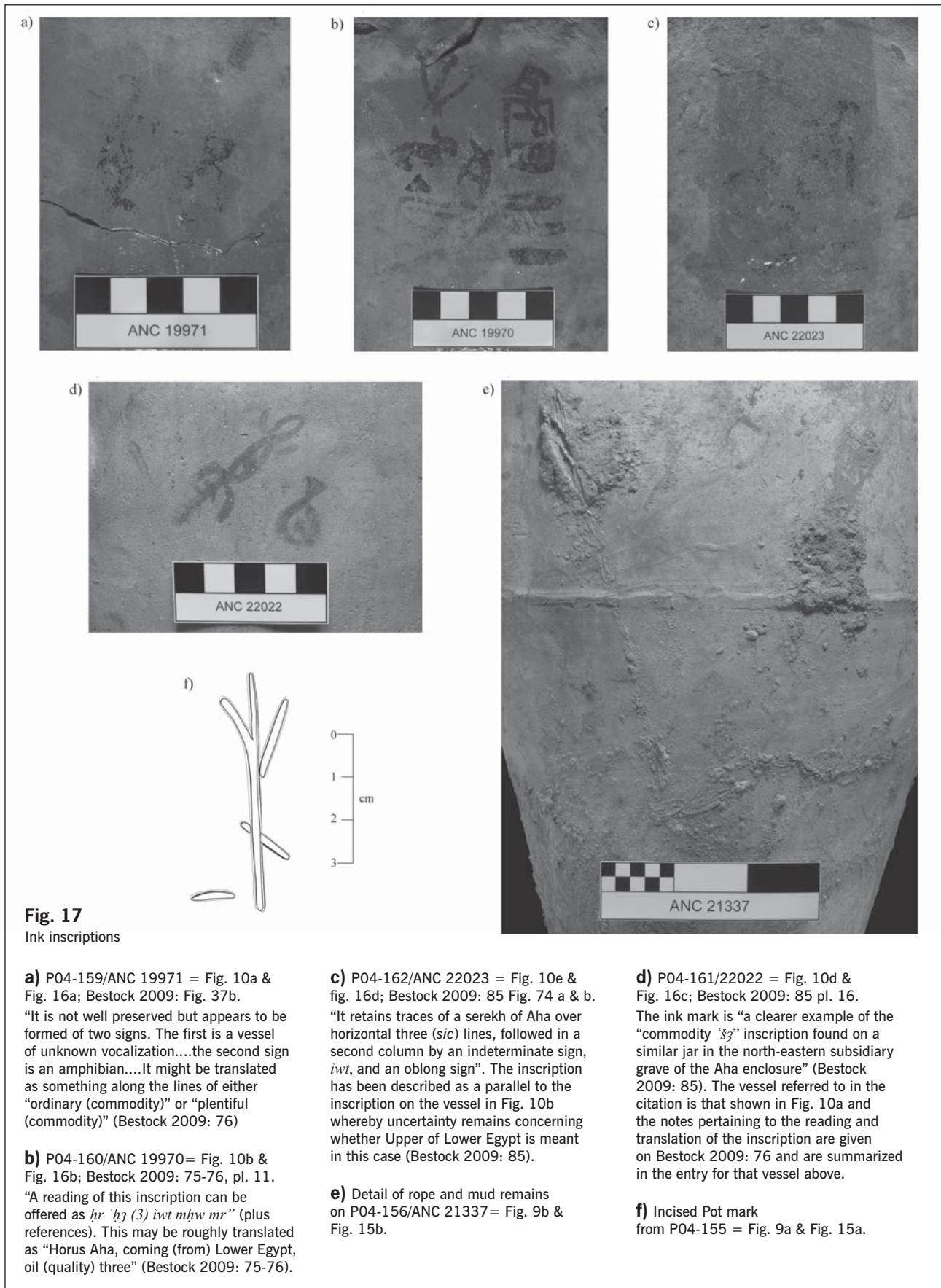
**Fig. 16**

- a) P04-159/ANC 19971 = Fig. 10a & Fig. 17a;
- b) P04-160/ANC 19970 = Fig. 10b & Fig. 17b;
- c) P04-161/22022 = Fig. 10d & Fig. 17d;
- d) P04-162 ANC 22023 = Fig. 10e & fig. 17c.



eingedrückte Bögen” (Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 55, Abb.17:644). As the latest studies of the spatial distribution of decoration types from this cemetery demonstrate, Decoration Type 644 was particularly common in connection with Tomb B 0-2 (Iry-Hor) and only a sporadic feature of the convolute assigned to B 7-9 (Ka/Sekhen). It did not occur in connection with the Tomb of Aha (Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: Abb. 17) for which undecorated cylinders are typical. This latter point is consistent with Hendrick's definition of the transition from Naqada IIIB (the reigns of Iry-Hor and Ka/Dynasty 0) to Naqada III C1 (the reigns of Narmer, Aha and Djer/1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty) by the disappearance of decorated cylindrical jars and the introduction of undecorated cylinders (Hendrickx 1996: 62 Tab. 7; 2011: 70, fig. 3; Köhler in Dreyer et al. 1996: 55, Abb. 17). Taking this into account, Type 9 gives the impression of being at least two to three generations out of place.

The first question that might be raised in this regard is whether the context of the piece is secure. It is not: fragments of this vessel were found in the grave fill of the southeastern subsidiary grave of Aha II but the grave had been thoroughly disturbed. At the same time we are unaware of any Naqada IIIB structures in the near vicinity from where the vessel could potentially derive. Nor are any other Naqada IIIB pottery types present. For these reasons it may be cautiously suggested that it is unlikely to have been an earlier piece lying around on the desert surface that has found its way by accident into the tomb in question. Another possibility is that the vessel was an heirloom from an earlier period deliberately placed in the grave. This is an attractive alternative, but as far as I can determine no parallels to this giant incised cylinder have been found in secure Naqada IIIB (or earlier) contexts elsewhere in Egypt so it is entirely unclear whether vessels of this type were produced at that time or not. The only other giant decorated cylinder of which I am aware, that found by Junker at Turah in Cemetery N, Grave 10.O.14 (Junker 1912: 46, 47, Abb. 57:7, 67, 51, 51:2a) came from a part of the cemetery in which only undecorated regular-sized (Naqada IIIC)



cylinders were documented (Junker 1912: 38-39; Hendrickx 1996: 55, fig. 2). Therefore, like the cylinder from Abydos, it appears to be out of place. Given that the only two currently known examples of this type are found in contexts which otherwise show excellent evidence for occupation during the Naqada IIIC1 period, the simplest answer might be that the decorated giant cylinders should be dated accordingly to Naqada IIIC1 by context and not earlier by the decoration. This implies that the same “rules” did not apply to unusually large-sized cylinders as did to regular-sized cylinders in regards to their decoration. In fact, the size, shape and color of the large pottery cylinder reminds one strongly of the large decorated cylinders of stone, in particular calcite, that continued to be produced long after the disappearance of decorated regular-sized pottery cylinders (i.e. Emery 1954: 165, fig. 224 C.5.).

The other problem category of Early Dynastic pottery that obviously does not fit with the otherwise relatively homogeneous nature of the assemblage from the Aha II and III enclosures are the ovoid jars of a coarse silt B shown in Fig. 14. Above, I have identified them as “beer jars” that date to the Naqada IID period/2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty at the earliest, and which in absolute terms, are roughly 150 years younger than the remainder of the assemblage. How the vessels came to be in this part of the cemetery can only be speculated upon. They may have been deliberately deposited here during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, or more likely, simply discarded in the vicinity during the phases of intensive construction during the reigns of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty kings Peribsen and Khasechemui. This activity was on such a scale that it must have transformed the entire low desert opposite the *Kom el-Sultan* into a busy building site, and conceivably resulted in the cannibalization of earlier enclosures for building materials.

In summary, the Early Dynastic pottery from the Aha II and III enclosures is for the most part chronologically homogeneous and confirms the impression that this section of the North Cemetery was used exclusively during the Naqada IIIC1

period. There is no evidence that the building activity started here during or at the end of the reign of Aha supplanted or complimented earlier cultic activity directly in the vicinity. Nor is there any evidence that once established, the area continued to be used later in the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Admittedly, some of the types, for example the coarse open forms (Types 2 and 4) are not quite as diagnostic as one would prefer, but they certainly do not contradict the dating to the middle of Naqada IIIC1 based on more diagnostic types.

## Part 2: Contextual Analysis

Now that the typological and chronological parameters of the ED pottery have been established, the following section concerns itself with contextualizing the pottery within the architecture and archaeology of the excavation area covering the Aha II and III enclosures. To recap the comments made at the beginning of Part 1, pottery was found in two key areas of these enclosures. Firstly, 7 intact vessels and a small number of diagnostic sherds were found in association with the subterranean subsidiary graves that surrounded both of the enclosures (for these terms see above). Secondly, over 400 diagnostic and non-diagnostic sherds were found in association with the superstructures of both enclosures. These separate contexts are now discussed individually in more detail, beginning with a presentation of the pottery according to tomb context, followed by the pottery from the superstructures. An analytic summary concludes both sections.

### Pottery deriving from the subsidiary graves of Aha II and III by context

Five graves (“subsidiary graves”) were found in association with the two smaller Aha enclosures. Two of these are attributed to the Aha II enclosure, the other three to the Aha III enclosure (see Fig. 2). It is posited there was at least one more subsidiary tomb lying in an unexcavated area to the north of the Aha II enclosure, and hence that there were origi-

nally three subsidiary graves per enclosure. Accepting this, a single grave appears to have been associated with the local northern, eastern and southern walls of both enclosures. The graves were placed outside of the enclosures proper in approximately 1-2 m distance from the enclosure walls. They were aligned length ways with the course of the local enclosure wall, and were placed roughly opposite its midpoint. All the tombs are architecturally similar to each other and consist of a rectangular pit lined with mudbrick walls and a sand floor. They were roofed with wooden beams covered with matting and mud brick (cf. Bestock 2009: 73-77, 79-86). The tombs were relatively uniform in dimensions, measuring between 2.5 m and 3 m in length, circa 1.5 m in width and .8-1 m in depth. Of the five tombs, only one (the north-eastern grave belonging to the Aha III enclosure) was found intact, the rest having been badly disturbed. An in-situ burial (an adult female) was found in the intact tomb, but the remains of wooden coffins were found placed on the floor of all the tomb chambers, indicating that each tomb had originally contained a burial. Apart from the pottery discussed below, there were no objects (either in-situ or in disturbed contexts) that could be clearly identified as burial goods and attributed to the subsidiary graves. In the following paragraphs, the pottery contents of each tomb are systematically described. For full architectural and archaeological descriptions of the contexts, the reader is referred to the accounts in Bestock 2009: 66-87.

#### • Aha II

##### *Aha II: North-eastern subsidiary grave*

The northeastern subsidiary grave of Aha II was found disturbed but it proved possible nonetheless to completely reconstruct two vessels from sherds recovered from the fill of the pit. As they could be completely reconstructed, it is highly likely they belong to the original tomb assemblage. In addition to these vessels some body sherds belonging to Type 5 and 8 vessels were noted in the fill, but these were not available for study by the author. (**Tabl. 3**)

**Table 3**

Aha II: North-eastern subsidiary grave.

Fig. Nr.	Type	Context	WC
10a	6	ANC 19971 – found broken, presumably in-situ (Bestock 2009: 75)	22201
10b	6	ANC 19970 – found broken, presumably in-situ (Bestock 2009: 75)	22201
Sherds	8	Bestock 2009: 75 – in fill	?
Sherds	5	Bestock 2009: 75 –in fill	?

##### *Aha II: South Eastern subsidiary grave*

The southeastern subsidiary grave of Aha II had been severely looted and no ED ceramic was found in situ. Comparatively well preserved Early Dynastic sherds however were found in the fill of the pit, mixed in with the debris layers of the roofing as well as in the layers overlying the pit south of the local southern wall of Aha II. The sherds consist of diagnostic sherds belonging to cylindrical vessels and beer jars (see **Tabl. 4**) and a couple of non diagnostic sherds belong to bowls (types 1 and 2) and wine jars (type 5). Although the character and location of this material hints strongly at a disturbed grave assemblage, it is by no means sure that the assemblage comes from this grave. It could just as easily be material thrown out during the plundering of the northern subsidiary grave of Aha I which is less than 1.5 m to the east of Aha II SE. Only the diagnostic material is shown in the table below.

**Table 4**

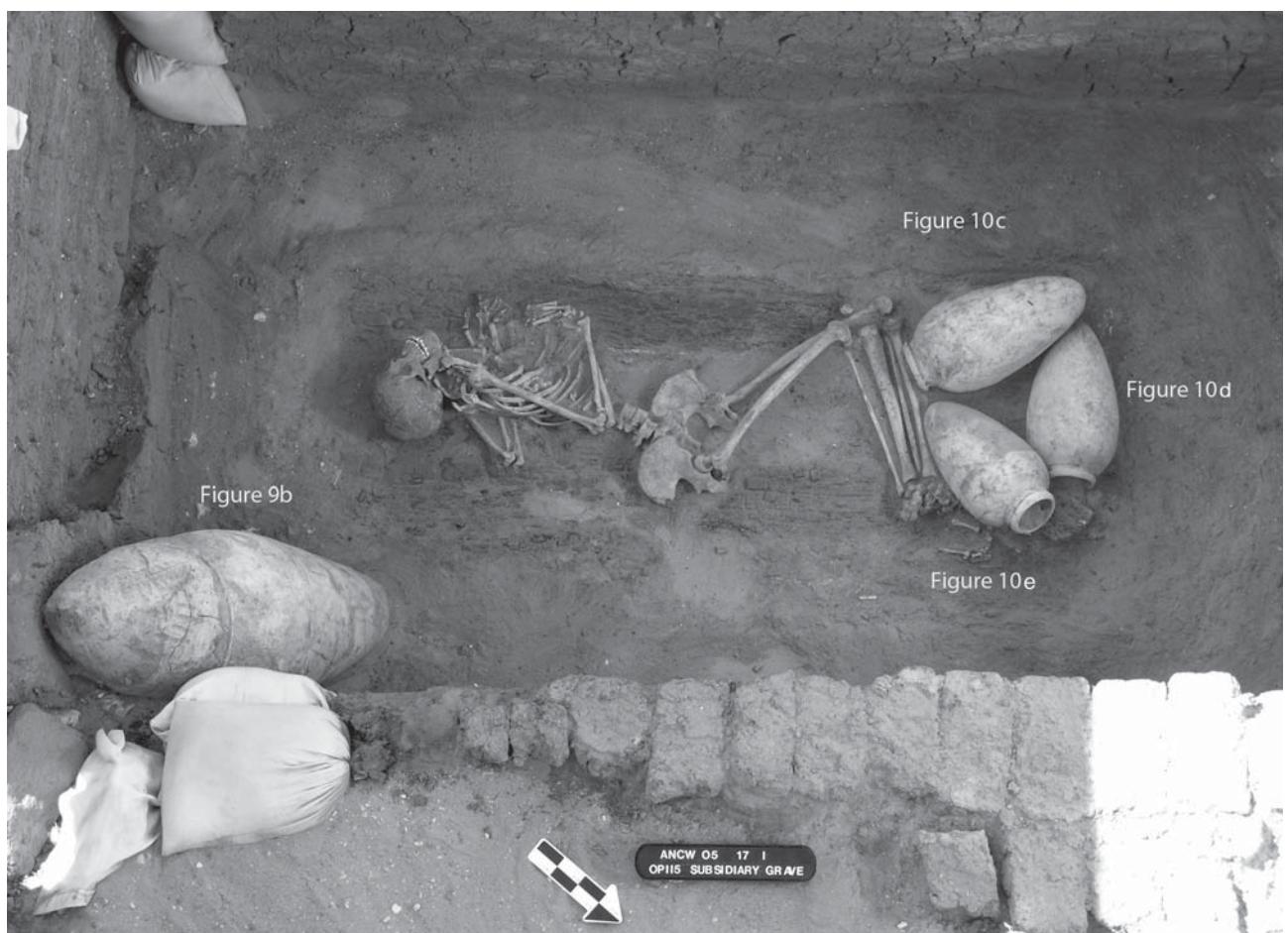
Aha II: South-eastern subsidiary grave.

Fig. nr	Type	Context	WC
Sherd	6	Bestock 2009: 77 (with serekh of Aha unpublished)	22201
12f	8	ANC 24852 -in fill	32305
12d	8	ANC 25259 – in fill	32305
12b	8	ANC 25284 – in fill	32305
12h	9	ANC 25417-25437 – in fill	32305
12g	9	ANC 25432 – in fill	32305



**Fig. 18**

South-eastern subsidiary grave of the Aha III  
enclosure with Fig. 9a/Fig. 15a in situ.



**Fig. 19**

North-eastern subsidiary grave of the Aha III enclosure with Fig. 9b/Fig. 15b and Fig. 10c-e in-situ.

#### • Aha III

##### *Aha III: North-western Subsidiary Grave*

This grave had been reused during the Late Period for a ritual deposit and is accordingly badly disturbed. Three vessel imprints in the plastering of the tomb indicate that it originally contained at least three vessels (Bestock 2009: fig. 46, section B-B). A large quantity of sherd material was found in the fill and is discussed in connection with the superstructure of Aha III below.

##### *Aha III South-eastern Subsidiary Grave*

##### (Fig. 18)

The tomb had been severely disturbed and only one ceramic vessel was found, namely a large ovoid jar. It was found propped up seemingly in-situ in the southwestern corner of the grave with no sealing or lid (Bestock 2009: 82, fig. 56, 57). **Tabl. 5**

**Table 5**

Aha III South-eastern subsidiary grave.

Fig. Nr.	Type	Context	WC
9a	5	ANC 22088 -in situ	21305

##### *Aha III North-eastern Subsidiary Grave*

##### (Fig. 19)

This was an intact tomb and contained the contracted burial of a “robust and healthy adult female” in a wooden coffin in the center of the grave (Bestock 2009: 85). In addition there were four complete in-situ pottery vessels. Three beer jars (Type 6) were found near the feet of the deceased (Bestock 2009: 85, fig. 73). They were found within the wooden coffin, but had probably been originally placed on the wooden coffin that had subsequently decomposed. None were found with seals or lids and all were evidently placed in the grave empty.

A single wine jar (Type 5) was found standing in the eastern corner of the grave (Bestock 2009: 85, fig. 73). In addition to these some fragments of open vessels (Types 4) were found in the debris of the roofing of the tomb but it is unclear whether they belong to the tomb assemblage or not. The tomb was apparently intact, and there were no other finds (Bestock 2009: 85). **Tabl. 6**

**Table 6**

Aha III North-eastern subsidiary grave.

Fig. Nr.	Type	Context	WC
9b	5	ANC 21337 In situ	21305
10c	6	ANC 22021 In situ	22201
10d	6	ANC 22022 In situ	22201
10e	6	ANC 22023 In situ	22201
5d	4	ANC 21320, in the fill of the tomb	21201
8g	2	ANC 21320 in the fill of the tomb	21201

#### • Summary of pottery found in association with the subsidiary graves

All graves with one exception were robbed and theoretically could have contained both a greater quantity and a wider typological variety of pottery than has been presented in the discussion above. But pottery is unlikely to have been the target of looting and one may reasonably expect the majority of pottery to have remained in the near vicinity of its original context. In this respect, it is meaningful that thorough analysis of all ceramic baskets from the excavation revealed a very limited quantity of Early Dynastic pottery that only very modestly extends the ceramic corpus from the grave assemblages. From this one can conclude that although clearly incomplete, the grave assemblages cannot have been markedly larger than their present state. Nor could their typological variation in terms of pottery contents have been much wider. Accordingly, the choice of grave pottery was typologically limited to a few main pottery types: principally Type 5 -wine jars, Type-6 beer jars and Type 8-9 cylindrical vessels. The evidence for open vessels is ambiguous but it is likely some graves contained vessel types 1 and 4, either as lids for the closed

vessels or as open vessels, and vessels types 2 and 4 as serving plates/bowls. In summary, a typical grave assemblage consisted of a wine jar (Type 5), one or more beer jars (Type 6), possibly a cylinder or two (Types 8 & 9) and a small selection of open forms (Types 1-4).

#### Pottery Associated with the Superstructures of the Aha II and III Enclosures

##### • Aha II

One of the key features of Aha III enclosure is a small (maximum length ca. 5.58 m) rectangular mud brick building in the northern part of that enclosure's interior (**Fig. 2**, Bestock 2009: 70-73, fig. 23 & 26). The building consisted of a rectangular antechamber with entrance from the east (Room 1), a small rectangular room to the west of and parallel to the antechamber (Room 2) and a room (Room 3) at the northern end of the building adjacent to both Room 1 and Room 2 entered from the Room 1 (Bestock 2009: 70). A low mudbrick bench stretched along the western end of Room 3. Although the plan of the building is relatively clear, the walls were only preserved to a height of 24 cm and the entire surface had been damaged through secondary pitting (Bestock 2009: 70-71).

The building produced very little Early Dynastic ceramic. The antechamber was completely devoid of Early Dynastic material, and room 2 was similarly empty. The only 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty material came from Room 3. In total, evidence for four Early Dynastic vessels came from the interior of this room. These were all found in the western two-thirds of the southern half of Room 3 in strata directly above the floor of the room. Little, if no Early Dynastic ceramic was found on the mud and plaster floor of the chamber itself (Bestock 2009: 71). The overlying layers were a mixture of sand and organic remains that constituted a 4 cm stratum on and next to the mud brick bench adjacent to the eastern wall of room 3, the organic component of which has been identified as the remains of offerings that had been expended or lain on the bench (Bestock 2009: 72). While the formation process of these layers is poorly understood, it seems fairly certain that the Early Dynastic ceramic material found in them belongs to the original phase of use within Room 3 as

they were found beneath layers of mud brick and organic debris that likely represent the collapsed walls and roofing of the room (Bestock 2009: 72). The small ceramic assemblage from this room is uniform and consists entirely of open forms made of coarse silt including two partially complete vessels (a base belonging to either a Type 2 or 4 vessel and a bowl of Type 4 with complete section and 40% of its rim preserved) and two complete vessels of Type 4 and Type 4a (**Fig. 7 a & b**).

A second concentration of ceramic material is not associated directly with the mudbrick building itself but rather the southern end of the eastern enclosure wall of Aha II near the entrance to the enclosure (**Fig. 2 “Pottery Deposit”**). This area had been badly disturbed by modern construction and the layers sitting on the *gebel* are poorly differentiated from one another. They contained a very mixed assemblage of windblown sand, bone, organic remains, debris from a disturbed late burial and a dense cluster of Early Dynastic ceramics. The cluster of sherds consisted of 68 sherds belonging to Vessel Types 2 and 4 comprising 48 base sherds belonging to either vessel Type 2 or 4, five rim sherds of Type 2, four rim sherds of type 4 vessels and twelve body sherds. All were made of coarse silt and were wet smoothed. From the same context came three bases belonging to coarsely made-closed vessels of Type Nr. 10. As no rims or shoulders were preserved, it is unclear whether they belong to coarse early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Types and are contemporary with the remainder of the ED material or intrusive 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty Beer jars associated with later building and offering activity in the vicinity of the Peribsen and Khasechemui enclosures.

#### • Aha III

Unfortunately, the corresponding sections of the Aha III enclosure were not preserved so it is not possible to confirm whether the same patterning of pottery had existed for Aha III. Here, none, or perhaps only very little of the area inside the enclosure had been preserved as the entire interior had been excavated away to make a Ptolemaic construction pit and access ramps. The ancient surface outside the enclosure on its eastern and southern sides suffered the same fate. The single area of original cem-

tery surface that was spared was the excavation area just north of Aha III. The only Early Dynastic architecture preserved here was the heavily plundered northwestern subsidiary burial (see above), but the northwestern corner of the enclosure is projected to have been in the southeastern corner of the excavation square (Bestock 2009: fig. 42). Accepting this, the excavation area here consisted of the original cemetery surface between the northwestern subsidiary grave and the enclosure wall, the subsidiary grave itself and the cemetery surface around the northeastern corner of the enclosure. The fact that no traces of the enclosure wall were preserved hints at the intensity of post-depositional disturbance in this area. Nonetheless, as this was the only area where the ancient cemetery surface was preserved, particular attention was paid to the horizontal distribution of the ceramic in order to determine whether any traces of Early Dynastic usage could be detected in connection with this feature.

The analysis of ceramics from this excavation area found ca. 250 Early Dynastic sherds. All were coarse silt open vessels of either Type 2 or 4 (sample shown in **Fig. 5c & 8 a-e**). The densest concentration of this material (over 150 sherds) was found in the subsidiary grave and in the overlying layers. The remainder of the material (ca. 100 sherds) was found in layers on or close to the ancient desert surface on the southern and western sides of the subsidiary grave or in the area between the subsidiary grave and the projected course of the northern enclosure wall (**Fig. 2 “Pottery Deposit”**). The density of the scatter becomes less dense as one moves towards the south and west. While the highest density of sherd material comes from the tomb fill and it is tempting to view it as disturbed tomb contents, it must be pointed out that none of the material was found in-situ; rather it was found in a disturbed pottery-rich layer that included a late Ibis burial. Given the large quantity of Early Dynastic material, its homogenous nature and the absence of similar quantities of the same pottery types in any of the other subsidiary graves, it cannot be ruled out that the material represents a deposit or mound of pottery that was originally placed on the desert surface in the vicinity of the sub-

sidiary grave and the northern wall of Aha II that had subsequently collapsed into the tomb at some later time. It is a shame that the corresponding portion of the Aha II enclosure is not preserved in order to check whether the horizontal patterning of the open vessels are the same there, but perhaps the publication of Aha I enclosure will shed light on this issue.

#### • Summary of Pottery Found in Association with the Enclosure Superstructure

The discussion above may be summarised as follows.

- a. Pottery was found in three contexts related to the superstructures of the Aha II and III enclosures: In Room 3 of the mudbrick building found within the enclosure walls of Aha II; near the entrance of the enclosure of Aha II; and near the projected northern enclosure wall of Aha III.
- b. Of the deposits, that from Room 3 of the building in Aha II is the smallest, containing only four vessels. The deposit near the entrance to the same enclosure had a slightly larger number of vessels, perhaps as many as 10. The deposit near the northern end of Aha III is the largest containing over 250 sherds of Early Dynastic date, whereby the precise number of vessels remains unfortunately unknown.
- c. All deposits consisted of open vessel types 2 and 4 that were made of medium coarse silt. Closed vessels of the same date were nonexistent or in so small quantities that they were not recognized as such.
- d. Signs of vessels usage are scant and if present at all, superficial in nature.
- e. All the pottery appears to be of a Naqada IIIC1 date/early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty.

These are the facts. To this we may add the observation that with the exception of the vessels that were found in-situ (but disturbed) in the small building within the Aha II enclosure, neither of the remaining two proposed deposits associated with the superstructures of Aha II and III were recognized during excavation. It was only during the systematic processing of ceramic that a distinct clustering of Early Dynastic ceramic material from these contexts became obvious. This highlights both the

extent to which these deposits had been disturbed and the hazardous nature of assigning any importance to them. Furthermore one may note that the differential preservation of Aha II and III does not allow generally trends in the spatial patterning of material in relation to the superstructures to be identified.

### Part 3: Discussion

In the two preceding sections, the typological composition of the assemblage has been introduced, its temporal aspects explored (Part 1), and its spatial patterning and frequency distribution analyzed (Part 2). The final part of this paper, is a brief exploration of the interpretive potential of these three aspects of the data, and the types of questions the data may be drawn upon to answer. It is an attempt by the author to stimulate reflection on the meanings of the data, and by no means a definitive or exhaustive exploration of the different ways of doing this. The perspective is deliberately that of the ceramicist who has been entrusted with the publication of only one small component of the bigger picture, and should be revisited once other data, for example the human and organic remains from the excavations, is published, and a more complete view of the archaeology of the Aha II and III enclosures is made available. Above all, the analysis and publication of the Aha I enclosure is of paramount importance for understanding the results presented here as it could be argued that all three structures were part of a single context, and that the discussion here is based on only a part -perhaps even the least important part- of the evidence. In the author's opinion, the reason why there were three enclosures built during the reign of Aha will, and can, never be definitively answered. All we can do is try and understand the enclosures in relation to each other, and this can only be done once the third enclosure is published. Until that occurs, it is difficult to understand the relevance of the smaller two Aha enclosures for the study of Kingship and ideology.

In the first paragraph of the paper, a small sample of theoretical models that have been suggested for the function of ED enclosures

within the context of the royal burial was listed. Although their “theoretical” nature implies they can be tested through reference to data, it should be obvious to the reader, that the various models are a) ideational and b) necessarily vague to the point that it is difficult to predict what patterning in the archaeological record they might be expected to leave behind. They typically rely heavily on later textual, iconographic and architectural data to place the enclosures within in a narrative framework charting the development of kingship and ideology. The actual contemporary data from the enclosures (a part of which has been presented in this paper) is of a much more prosaic nature and is, in the absence of detailed textual evidence, essentially unable to either confirm, reject or refine any of the theoretical models that have been proposed. The kinds of questions that our data can help answer are of a different nature and relate more directly to the patterns of use observable by an analysis of the pottery. As such, they do not describe overarching explanations for the presence for an enclosure, for example, that it was a “funerary palace” or a “pre-cursor of an Old Kingdom Temple”. The discussion that follows is based around some basic questions which could be asked of the data in order to describe and define the activity that occurred in and around the enclosures more concisely. The list is not exhaustive but is only a brief exploration of some of the more obvious aspects.

### **What does the small quantity of grave goods found in the subsidiary graves imply about the tomb and/or enclosure owners?**

From a purely quantitative perspective as well as in terms of variety of different pottery types, the grave assemblages were relatively poor. This general poverty is reinforced by the complete absence of stone vessels or adornment found in the single intact burial of the Aha II and III enclosures or in the debris layers overlying the enclosures. On the other hand, the quality of the grave goods represented by the pottery was excellent. Exactly the same types of goods were found in the royal burial at Umm el-Qaab as well as in the tombs of the highest elites/members of Egyptian society such as the

owners of the large mastaba at Naqada, and the owner of Mastaba S. 3357 at Saqqara, although these tombs contained a far greater variety of goods as represented by pottery vessels. Most importantly, the inscriptions found in association with the pottery vessels suggests a source directly within the royal household for the produce the pottery once contained.

These two seemingly contradictory observations in fact serve to underline the special status of these subsidiary tombs and the complexity of the information they provide. On the one hand they appear to be poor in terms of quantity of grave goods, but the quality is excellent, in fact of “royal quality”. It might be posited that these are best explained by imagining that these burials were organized for low ranking individuals (perhaps servants) within the royal household. Any burial goods that might be attributed to the individual *person* appear to be entirely missing. When we compare this find with the larger Aha I enclosure, Bestock has already noticed that the latter also had the wealthiest subsidiary burials in terms of pottery, stone vessels and body adornment (Bestock 2009: 100), suggesting this phenomenon could be related directly to the social status of the “enclosure owner”. According to her, the largest enclosure (Aha I) belonged to the king himself, and had the wealthiest subsidiary burials, while the smaller enclosures (Aha II and III) belonged to members of the royal family only, and hence were smaller, and less richly endowed with subsidiary burials, reflecting the hierarchy of the royal family. This is certainly a possibility, but an open mind should be kept, particularly considering the plundered state of all the Aha II and III graves with one exception.

### **What does the leaving of pottery in the vicinity of the enclosures superstructures tell us?**

If we assume that the pottery remains are the results of rituals, the most basic conclusion to be drawn is that both enclosures were the focus of such rituals. While this fact could be independently established for the Aha III enclosure where an intact “cult building” was excavated, it must be remembered that only very fragmentary remains of the superstructure of Aha II were recovered, and nothing at all was found

that proved the existence of a cult building. The pottery uncovered in relation to the desert surface around that enclosure therefore provides further evidence that this enclosure was likely also a “functioning” structure where rituals took place. This perhaps could be drawn on to further support the contention that the existence of three enclosures during the reign of Aha should probably not be understood as three successive building stages that documented the increasing self aggrandizement of the king (Bestock 2009: 98–99) but three separate structures with their own histories and functions.

However, we must acknowledge from the outset that these deposits, while describing the entirety of material found in the archaeological investigation, only represent a sample of the entirety of evidence for ritual at the enclosures that once existed. Modern and ancient site transformation processes have seriously reduced the amount of data for evaluation by the destruction of large portions of the enclosures and their environs. As the level of preservation varies considerably from enclosure to enclosure, it is unclear whether what we have is a statistically meaningful sample of the original deposits or not. One cannot, for instance, compare distribution patterns from one enclosure with data from the other. Furthermore, none of the deposits discussed here are archaeologically intact and all have been disturbed to differing degrees. It follows that some of the material remains of rituals may have been dislocated from their original contexts and then removed from the excavation area altogether through post-depositional movement of sediments.

Another limiting aspect which must be taken into account is that the deposition represents a conscious choice by those performing rituals at the enclosures to leave material from their ritual activity behind. This might be perhaps an acknowledgement of the transformative nature of ritual upon the objects used during a ritual, rendering them unsuitable for subsequent use in a profane context, or it might be ascribed to a more ambivalent attitude towards refuse. Moreover, the deposits do not necessarily reflect a choice to leave all of the material used for the performance of the ritual behind. It is certainly conceivable that certain

utensils used in the rituals were removed, and only certain artefacts were left behind. Vessels made of precious materials, for example, may have been removed, while pottery may have been left behind. What we have is therefore not necessarily the complete material remains of rituals performed at the enclosures, but more likely an insight into the attitudes Egyptians held towards the deposition of waste generated by ritual activities.

### **What does the discussion of vessel types and their functions tell us about the types of activities/rituals performed at the enclosures?**

Vessel function is typically used in archaeology in order to reconstruct the types of activities performed in a given archaeological context and this approach is also pursued here. Above, the different types of vessels found in association with the superstructures of both enclosures have been introduced (Part 3) and their function discussed (Part 2). As discussed, the typological composition of the assemblages is very limited, in fact only two separate types were identified. The vessel types found in association with the superstructures of Aha II and III are limited to two types (2 and 4). As discussed above, both types are roughly made of coarse silt, and were everyday utilitarian wares that would have been common in every Egyptian household where, one supposes, they would have been used chiefly for the presentation and consumption of food and drink, and as lids for vessels containing food and drink. Importantly they were, cheaply made from freely available materials, and possessed no real inherent value of their own: if the vessels used in the performance of the cult at the enclosures had a special importance, it was imparted on them by the ritual context in which they were used and not through the process of their manufacture, or a specialized decoration or form that would have imbued the vessels with an inherent “ritual nature” irrespective of their final use (see below). There is no evidence that pottery was used in this context to bring social distinctions to expression.

In fact, the profile of the pottery found in relation to the enclosure superstructures is not so very different from the admittedly meager

evidence for the performance of rituals at non-royal *mastaba* tombs, as part of either funerary or ongoing mortuary cults of mostly elite private individuals during the Early Dynastic Period and before. Vessels used in such contexts were principally drawn from the sphere of daily life (Emery 1954: 139, pl. XLII; 1958: 78-79, pl. 91a; 1962: 7, 11-12, pl. 6; Petrie 1914: pl. XIV) and included open and closed vessels that appear to have been principally used in these contexts for the presentation of meals offered to and possibly shared with the deceased. Like the stelae sometimes embedded in private tomb structures of the first two Dynasties with their lists of provisions of bread, fruit, meat and fowl, wine and beer for the dead (i.e. Köhler 2003; Köhler & Jones 2011: 36-44), they attest to the inherent humanity of the deceased and their continued reliance on earthly staples such as food and drink after their bodily death. Whether the pottery vessels found in connection with the enclosures can also be understood as the remains of meals is of course speculative, but it is certainly a possibility that should be considered. Analysis of organic remains found in association with the vessels in the cult room of Aha II could be very enlightening in this regard.

When comparing the pottery remains of ritual activity from the two enclosures with pottery from other types of “ritual contexts”, for example the Early Dynastic cult complexes that are usually interpreted as shrines belonging to local gods, it is apparent there is little overlap in terms of vessel form and decoration.<sup>3</sup> Open vessel types similar to types 2 and 4 were found in temple areas (i.e. Bussmann 2011: Abb. 5.614, 5.615, 6.616; Petrie 1903: pl. XLII, 3, XLIII, 45-50; van Haarlem 2009: pl. 31), but given the ubiquity of these types in all Early Dynastic contexts, this is hardly surprising and of doubtful importance. Rather, it is by the exclusive reliance on these types and by the absence of all other pottery types, especially those characteristic of early cult centre assemblages, that the material profile of the cult

activity of the enclosures can be differentiated from that of the cult of the gods. The latter, was especially reliant on vessels with decorated surfaces (fenestrations, incised decoration, painted decoration, black-topped vessels) and vessels with more clearly “ritual-oriented” functions, such as libation (“Hes”) vessels and stands (i.e. Adams 1974: 58 & pl. 35; Bussmann 2010: 281-282; Abb. 5.604-5.639, Friedman 2009: 99, fig. 12; Ciałowicz 2009: 85; 2011: fig. 3-5; Harvey 1996; Kaiser 1977: 79, Taf. 20d; Kawai 2011: fig. 8:1-2, 9:5-6; Petrie 1902: pl. XXXV 198; 1903: 28-29, pl. XII, XLII, XLIII; Sobas 2012: 191-196, fig. 4-8; Sowada 1999; van Haarlem 1995: 46, fig. 4; 2009: pl. 28-39). The use of such vessels was certainly not restricted to temple contexts but their relative frequency in places where divine cults was performed is highest and they can thus be considered appropriate objects for sacral places where the worlds of the divine and humanity intersected. Their complete absence from the areas of the Aha II and III enclosures could perhaps be taken as an indication of a clear existential distinction between divine cult as practiced in local temples and the rituals performed for deceased royal persons in the Abydos enclosures.

### **How does the spatial distribution of pottery found in relation to the superstructures help to describe how activities there were spatially structured?**

While it is commonly accepted that the enclosures created an artificial space for the performance of rituals, it remains to be demonstrated how the performance of rituals related spatially to distinct architectural components of the enclosures, or in other words how the rituals at the enclosures were spatially structured (for discussions O’Connor 1989; 2009: 178-179). Were rituals performed in the “cult building” only, or were they also performed in the enclosed spaces of the internal courtyard? Could other architectural elements such

3. Ceramic material deriving from such contexts derives from so-called votive deposits, intentional groupings of materials found in the temple that probably represents the detritus of cultic activity. The methodological problems of dealing with such material are complex and range from empirical inexactitude relating to the chronology of such deposits within site stratigraphies, to interpretive gray areas such as the functional composition of the deposits, the identity of those donating such objects and performing the rituals, and even the recipient of the cult, see Bussmann 2010.

as gateways (i.e.O'Connor 1989: 54; 2009: 178-179, pl. XI (opposite 193)) or the niched exterior walls, ostensibly points of entry and lines of demarcation respectively, also have possessed their own symbolism and likewise have been the foci of ritual activity? If we assume that the differential spatial patterning of ceramic deposits observable in relation to the Aha II and III superstructures relates to differential spatial structuring of ritual activity at the enclosures, it may cautiously be proposed that there is evidence for the utilisation of at least two, but probably three different areas of the enclosures for rituals. The first, and the most obvious, is that rituals were performed in Room 3 of the "cult building" in the Aha II enclosure, possibly in relation to a low plastered bench where there were red-brown stains and a thick layer of organic remains (not yet analysed). The material evidence from the cult room may be compared to the situation in the Aha I enclosure (Bestock 2009: 55), the much later Peribsen enclosure (i.e. Ayrton et al. 1904: pl. XXXII u46:1-2, 6-7 and 12-17) as well the Khasechemui enclosure (O'Connor 2009: 168) and in fact helps us identify the buildings as buildings where rituals were performed and not something else.

The second place where pottery was found associated with the superstructure of Aha II was near the gateway, up against the wall of the enclosure. This could be pottery that was used in the cult building, or perhaps in the southern courtyard of the enclosure and removed and placed here, or it might be the detritus of rituals performed at the gateway itself or along the southern end of the eastern exterior wall, perhaps focussed on the complex niching that characterised this wall. The third placement of ceramics, that near the projected north wall of the Aha III enclosure is the most tenuous in terms of context as the northern part of the enclosure had been completely destroyed and the material was found partially in the upper fill of the northern subsidiary burial. Elsewhere the author has proposed that the concentration of material may be related to a hypothetical northern gateway of the Aha enclosure like the one that pierced the northern end of

the eastern wall of Aha I and the northern wall of the enclosures from the reign of Djer onwards (Knoblauch & Bestock 2011). This remains a possibility, but it is also imaginable that it is related to the northern wall of the enclosure more generally, or that it might have been an offering deposit associated with the northern subsidiary grave of the Aha III enclosure.

The admittedly faint evidence for offering deposits being associated with the exterior walls of the enclosures reminds one of the deposits of offering pottery found in relation to early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty/Naqada IIIC1 elite tombs S.3503 and 3507 at Saqqara, where offering pottery was found either placed in the niches of the eastern face of the mastaba superstructure (S.3503, Emery 1954: 139, pl. XLII), or less specifically in front of the southern end of the eastern face of the mastaba superstructure wall (S.3507, Emery 1958: pl. 91). The possibility of offering deposits being spatially related to entrances on the other hand is something well known from later enclosures at Abydos including the enclosures of Peribsen and Khasechemui (i.e. Ayrton et al. 1904 pl. XXXII u46:1-2, 4-7 and 12-17, Bestock 2009 93, O'Connor 2009 pl. XI (opposite 193) O'Connor 1989 54). The cult buildings on the other hand, with their benched room is something that is only known from the royal sphere, suggesting a more complex nature, but pottery tells us little about that.

### **How can the pottery help define the period of use of the enclosures?**

Of utmost importance for understanding the function of the enclosures is defining the temporal dimension of their use. Were the enclosures used during a short space of time or for a couple of years or even decades? Were they built for the performance of a "one off" ritual event, a series of rituals performed at short intervals, or did they function as places of "long term" ritual activity?

The limited typological spectrum of vessels and the chronologically homogeneous nature of the Early Dynastic assemblage from the area may be used to argue that the period of active ritual was temporally limited and did

not endure beyond the early Naqada IIIC1 phase, the period when the enclosures were built and the subsidiary burials were made. In terms of major events in the dynastic history of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, one might tentatively propose the burial of Djer, Aha's successor, as a terminus ante quem for the last use of the enclosures Aha II and III. Such a supposition is based on the chronological discussion of the individual pottery types 2 and 4 above, as well as the revealing observation that these types were uncommon in the ceramic assemblage that probably derives from the tomb of Djer at Umm el-Qaab at Abydos (personal communication Rita Hartmann and Vera Müller). As discussed above, the only noticeably later type (Type 9) the Beer Jar typical of the later Naqada III C/D phase, is probably to be considered intrusive to the contexts in which it had been found, and cannot be used to argue for an extended period of cultic activity at either of the two enclosures. The image of relatively short-term ritual activity gleaned from an analysis of the pottery complements observations made in the field concerning the short-term fate of the architectural components of the enclosure superstructures generally. Adams and O'Connor (O'Connor 2009: 175-176) have both suggested on the basis of archaeological evidence (principally non-ceramic) from the enclosures that each enclosure, excepting the last Abydos enclosure, that of Khasechemui, had been deliberately deconstructed or destroyed, shortly after the owner's death, or at least before the construction of his successor's monument, bringing the ritual lifespan of the enclosure to an early close (i.e. Bestock 2009: 55; 2011). The purpose of this destruction may have been to give the enclosure a ritual burial that would render it accessible for the King in the after-life (O'Connor 2009: 176). In the case of the Aha II and III enclosures, the evidence for the deliberate destruction and ritualised burial is ambiguous (Bestock 2008a: 72), but the analysis of the pottery vessels found in association with them, at least demonstrate that the ritual activity at both enclosures started and then probably ceased in a relatively short space of time.

### **Can pottery help define the intensity and scale of rituals performed at the enclosures?**

Regarding the intensity and scale of the ritual activity centered on the enclosures Aha II and III, one suspects that neither aspect could have been very appreciable. Rather, the modest quantity of early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty pottery material recovered in direct relationship to the superstructures as well in the disturbed layers overlying and surrounding the buildings suggest that a single, or a limited number of small scale ritual events were performed in relation to the superstructures of both enclosures. This corroborates the limited non-ceramic evidence for the performance of rituals in the cult-room of the Aha II enclosure which consisted of a wooden object covered with a sheet of copper found within Room 3 of the Aha II enclosure and 22 wooden poles placed on the floor of the southern courtyard (Bestock 2009: 71-72).

The small scale of the ritual activity may be crucial piece of evidence for helping to explain why there were three enclosures built and used around the same time. Bestock (2009: 98-102) has proposed that the smaller Aha enclosures were in fact built for someone other than the king such as members of the royal family. The limited evidence for rituals performed in these enclosures could be drawn upon to argue for the inferior status of the owners of the smaller enclosures relative to the king (the owner of the larger enclosure -Aha I-). Alternatively, it might reflect the functional subordination of the two smaller enclosures to the larger enclosure, which was the true focal point of ritual activity; or it might point to the simple fact that the ritual activities in enclosures of the early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty were limited in scale, or at least were of a sort that produced little material detritus. The publication of pottery found in relation to the larger Aha I enclosure excavated by Matthew Adams should be immensely helpful in testing these alternatives or suggesting others.

## Conclusion

The questions just introduced are only a sample of the various way the data relating to the typological, temporal and spatial aspects of the pottery from the enclosures can be mined for information, and the answers provided are only one possible way of interpreting the data. As already mentioned, it is imperative that both questions and answers are reformulated as more data becomes available. This includes some outstanding reports on the bioarchaeological and anthropological material from the Aha II and III enclosures, and the publication of the Aha I enclosure. Obviously, it is imperative to keep in mind that the evidence discussed for cult and burial in the course of this paper, is only relevant for the enclosures that are the subject of the study and not for the enclosures generally as a type of royal monument. We have the so far unique situ-

ation that three enclosures were built and apparently used during the span of a single reign which suggests that the ideology of the royal burial was still in a formative stage, and the interpretation of the data is rendered more complicated. Moreover, the paper has hopefully brought into focus the wide gap that exists between complex theoretical models for the function of the enclosures on the one hand, and the interpretive possibilities of the hard archaeological evidence on the other. The former are firmly grounded within the “historical archaeological” or egyptological study of the pharaonic phases of Egyptian civilization and involve projections based on later textual, iconographic and archaeological materials. The latter reflect the essentially “prehistoric” nature of the archaeology which is encountered in the early 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, and the types of questions prehistoric archaeology may reasonably be expected to answer.

## Bibliography

- ABŁAMOWICZ, R., DĘBOWSKA, J. & JUCHA, M., 2004. The Graves of Tell el-Farkha (Seasons 2001-2002) [in:] HENDRICKX, S., FRIEDMAN, R., CIAŁOWICZ, K. & CHŁODNICKI, M. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams*. OLA 138. Leuven: 399-419.
- ADAMS, B., 1974. *Ancient Hierakopolis*. Warminster.
- ADAMS, M. & O'CONNOR, D., 2010. The Shunet el-Zebib at Abydos: architectural conservation at one of Egypt's oldest preserved royal monuments [in:] D'AURIA, S. (ed.), *Offerings to the discerning eye: an Egyptological medley in honor of Jack A. Josephson*. Leiden/Boston: 1-8.
- ARNOLD, D., 1993. Fascicle 1. Techniques and Traditions of Manufacture in the Pottery of Ancient Egypt [in:] ARNOLD, D. & BOURRIAU, J. (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*. SDAIK 17. Mainz am Rhein: 5-141.
- AYRTON, E., CURRELLY, C. & WEIGALL, A., 1904. *Abydos III*. MEEF 25. London.
- BESTOCK, L., 2007. Finding the First Dynasty Royal Family [in:] HAWASS, Z. & RICHARDS, J. (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*. SASAE 36. Cairo: 99-108.
- BESTOCK, L., 2008a. The Early Dynastic Funerary Enclosures of Abydos. *Archéo-Nil* 18: 42-59.
- BESTOCK, L., 2008b. The evolution of royal ideology: New discoveries from the reign of Aha [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B., TRISTANT, Y., ROWLAND, J. & HENDRICKX, S. (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*. OLA 172. Leuven: 1091-1106.
- BESTOCK, L., 2008c. An undisturbed subsidiary burial from the reign of Aha [in:] ENGEL, E. M., HARTUNG, U. & MÜLLER, V. (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand; Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*. MENES 5. Wiesbaden: 41-57.
- BESTOCK, L., 2009. *The Development of Royal Funerary Cult at Abydos. Two Royal Funerary Enclosures from the Reign of Aha*. MENES 6. Wiesbaden.
- BESTOCK, L., 2011. The First Kings of Egypt: The Abydos Evidence [in:] TEETER, E. (ed.), *Before the Pyramids*. Chicago: 137-144.
- BOURRIAU, J., NICHOLSON, P. & ROSE, P., 2000. Pottery [in:] NICHOLSON, P. & SHAW, I. (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. Cambridge: 121-147.
- BRÉAND, G., 2009. The corpus of pre-firing potmarks from Adaïma (Upper Egypt). *BMSAES* 13: 49-72.
- BRÉAND, G., 2011. The Corpus of Prefiring Potmarks from Adaïma (Upper Egypt) [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & FISKE, P. (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*. OLA 205. Leuven: 1015-1041.
- BUCHEZ, N., 2004. The Study of a Group of Ceramics at the End of the Naqada Period and Socio-Economic Considerations [in:] HENDRICKX, S., FRIEDMAN, R., CIAŁOWICZ, K. & CHŁODNICKI, M. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams*. OLA 138. Leuven: 665-687.
- BUSSMANN, R., 2010. *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis zur 11. Dynastie*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 30. Leiden.
- BUSSMANN, R., 2011. Local Traditions in Early Egyptian Temples [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & FISKE, P. (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*. OLA 205. Leuven: 747-762.
- CIAŁOWICZ, K., 2009. The Early Dynastic Administrative-Cultic Centre at Tell el-Farkha. *BMSAES* 13: 83-123.
- CIAŁOWICZ, K., 2011. The Administrative-Cultic Centre at Tell el-Farkha [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & FISKE, P. (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*. OLA 205. Leuven: 763-800.
- DREYER, G., 1998. *Umm el-Qaab I. Das Prädynastische Königsgrab U-J und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*. AV 86. Mainz.
- DREYER, G., EFFLAND, A., EFFLAND, U., ENGEL, E., HARTMANN, R., HARTUNG, U., LACHER, C., MÜLLER, V. & POKORNÝ, A.,

2006. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 16./17./18. Vorbericht. *MDAIK* 62: 67-129.
- DREYER, G., ENGEL, E. M., HARTUNG, U., HIKADE, T., KÖHLER, E. C., PUMPENMEIER, F., VON DEN DRIESCH, A. & PETERS, J., 1996. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 7/8. Vorbericht. *MDAIK* 52: 11-81.
- DREYER, G., HARTMANN, R., HARTUNG, U., HIKADE, T., KÖPP, H., LACHER, C., MÜLLER, V., NERLICH, A. & ZINK, A., 2003. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 13/14/15. Vorbericht. *MDAIK* 59: 67-138.
- DREYER, G., HARTUNG, U. & PUMPENMEIER, F., 1993. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 5./6. Vorbericht. *MDAIK* 49: 22-62.
- DUNHAM, D., 1978. *Zawiyet el-Aryan. The Cemeteries adjacent to the Layer Pyramid*. Boston.
- EMERY, W. B., 1939. *Excavations at Saqqara (1937-38)*. Hor-Aha. Cairo.
- EMERY, W. B., 1954. *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty II*. EES. London.
- EMERY, W. B., 1958. *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty III*. EES. London.
- EMERY, W. B., 1961. *Archaic Egypt*. Harmondsworth.
- EMERY, W. B., 1962. *A Funerary Repast in an Egyptian tomb of the Archaic Period*. Leiden.
- ENGEL, E. & MÜLLER, V., 2000. Verschlüsse der Frühzeit: Erstellung einer Typologie. *GM* 178: 31-44.
- FRIEDMAN, R., 2009. Hierakonpolis Locality HK29a: The Predynastic Ceremonial Center Revisited. *JARCE* 45: 79-103.
- HARTUNG, U., 2011. Eine Elfenbeinerne Gefäßdarstellung aus dem Prädynastischen Friedhof U in Abydos/Umm el-Qaab [in:] ASTON, D., BADER, B., GALLORINI, C., NICHOLSON, P. & BUCKINGHAM, S. (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*. OLA 204. Leuven: 483-493.
- HARVEY, S., 1996. A decorated Protodynastic cult stand from Abydos [in:] DER MANUELIAN, P. (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson I*. Boston: 361-378.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1994. *Elkab V. The Naqada III Cemetery Publications du Comité des Fouilles Belges en Égypte*. Brussels.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1996. The Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture: Problems and Possibilities [in:] SPENCER, A. J. (ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*. London: 36-69.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1998. Le Cimetière de l'Est à Adaïma. Position chronologique et parallèles. *Archéo-Nil* 8: 105-128.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2006. Predynastic-Early Dynastic Chronology [in:] HORNUNG, E., KRAUSS, R. & WARBURTON, D. (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East 86. 55-93.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2011. Naqada IIIA-B, A Crucial Phase in the Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture. *Archéo-Nil* 21: 65-80.
- JIMÉNEZ SERRANO, A., 2002. *Royal Festivals in the Late Predynastic Period and the First Dynasty*. BAR International Series 1076. Oxford.
- JUCHA, M., 2005. *Tell el-Farkha II. The Pottery of the Predynastic Settlement*. Kraków-Poznan.
- JUCHA, M., 2008. The Corpus of "Pot-marks" from the Graves at Tell el-Farkha [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B., TRISTANT, Y., ROWLAND, J. & HENDRICKX, S. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the international conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"; Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005*. OLA 172. Leuven: 133-149.
- JUCHA, M., 2011. The Development of Pottery Production during the Early Dynastic Period and the Beginning of the Old Kingdom: A View from Tell el-Farkha [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & FISKE, P. (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*. OLA 205. Leuven: 953-974.
- JUNKER, H., 1912. *Bericht über die Grabungen der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf dem Friedhof in Turah. Winter 1909-1910*. Denkschrift der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Vienna.
- KAHL, J., BAGH, T., ENGEL, E. M. & PETSCHEL, S., 2001. Die Funde aus dem 'Menesgrab' in Naqada: ein Zwischenbericht. *MDAIK* 57: 171-185.
- KAISSER, W., 1969. Zu den königlichen Talbezirken der 1. und 2. Dynastie in Abydos und zur Baugeschichte des Djoser-Grabmals. *MDAIK* 25: 1-21.

- KAISER, W., 1977. Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Siebter Grabungsbericht. *MDAIK* 33: 63-100.
- KAWAI, N., 2011. An early cult centre at Abu-sir-Saqqara? Recent discoveries at a rocky outcrop in north-west Saqqara [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & FISKE, P. (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. OLA 205. Leuven: 801-828.
- KEMP, B., 1966. Abydos and the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty. *JEA* 52: 13-22.
- KNOBLAUCH, C. & BESTOCK, L., 2011. 4000 Years at Abydos: A Preliminary Report on New Excavations in the North Cemetery (West). *MDAIK* 65: 211-252.
- KNOBLAUCH, C. & KÖHLER, E. C. 2006. Poster Presentation: Pottery from Cemetery B at Abydos. *Origins of State 2*. Toulouse.
- KÖHLER, E. C., 1996. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen des DAI in Tell el-Fara'in/Buto 1993-1995: Die Keramik. *MDAIK* 52: 100-114.
- KÖHLER, E. C., 1998. *Tell el-Far'ān - Buto III. Die Keramik von der späten Naqada-Kultur bis zum frühen Alten Reich*. AV 94. Mainz am Rhein.
- KÖHLER, E. C., 2003. Ursprung einer langen Tradition: Grab und Totenkult in der Frühzeit [in:] GUKSCH, H., HOFMANN, E. & BOMMAS, M. (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*. Munich: 11-26.
- KÖHLER, E. C., 2005. *Helwan I*. SAGA 24. Heidelberg.
- KÖHLER, E. C. & JONES, J., 2011. *Helwan II. The Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Funerary Relief Slabs*. SAGA 25. Rahden.
- KÖHLER, E. C. & SMYTHE, J., 2004. Early Dynastic Pottery from Helwan - Establishing a Ceramic Corpus of the Naqada III Period. *CCÉ* 7: 123-144.
- KROEPPER, K., 1992. Shape + Matrix = Workshop? Ceramic from Minshat Abu Omar. *CCÉ* 3: 23-31.
- MĄCYŃSKA, A., 2004. Pottery Tradition at Tell el-Farkha [in:] HENDRICKX, S., FRIEDMAN, R., CIAŁOWICZ, K. & CHŁODNICKI, M. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams*. OLA 138. Leuven: 421-442.
- MAWDSLEY, L., 2011. The Corpus of Potmarks from Tarkhan [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & FISKE, P. (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. OLA 205. 1043-1071.
- MORGAN, J. DE, 1897. *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte. Ethnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Négadah*. Paris.
- MURRAY, M. A., 2000. Viticulture and Wine Production [in:] NICHOLSON, P. & SHAW, I. (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technologies*. Cambridge: 577-608.
- NORDSTRÖM, H.-A. & BOURRIAU, J., 1993. Fascicle 2. Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics [in:] ARNOLD, D. & BOURRIAU, J. (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*. SDAIK 17. Mainz am Rhein: 143-190.
- O'CONNOR, D., 1989. New Funerary Enclosures (Talbezirke) of the Early Dynastic Period at Abydos. *JARCE* 26: 51-86.
- O'CONNOR, D., 2003. Origins of the Pyramids [in:] MANLEY, B. (ed.), *The Seventy Great Mysteries of Ancient Egypt*. London: 45-49.
- O'CONNOR, D., 2009. *Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*. London.
- O'CONNOR, D. & ADAMS, M., 2003. The Royal Mortuary Enclosures of Abydos and Hierakonpolis [in:] HAWASS, Z. (ed.), *Treasures of the Pyramids*. Cairo: 78-85.
- O'CONNOR, D., ADAMS, M., REMSEN, W. & CROSBY, T., 2010. The funerary cult enclosure of Khasekhemwy at Abydos: preserving an ancient mud-brick royal monument. [in:] DANFORTH, R. (ed.), *Preserving Egypt's cultural heritage: the conservation work of the American Research Center in Egypt*. San Antonio: 11-18.
- PEET, T., 1914. *The Cemeteries of Abydos II: 1911-1912*. MEEF 34. London.
- PETRIE, W. M. F., 1901. *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*. MEEF 21. London.
- PETRIE, W. M. F., 1902. *Abydos I*. MEEF 22. London.
- PETRIE, W. M. F., 1903. *Abydos II*. MEEF 24. London.
- PETRIE, W. M. F., 1914. *Tarkhan II*. BSAE 13. London.
- PETRIE, W. M. F., 1925. *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkos*. BSAE 37. London.
- PETRIE, W. M. F., 1953. *Ceremonial Slate Palettes. Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery*. BSAE 66(A). London.
- PETRIE, W. M. F., WAINWRIGHT, G. A. & GARDINER, A. H., 1913. *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*. BSAE 23. London.

- RAUE, D., 2007. Appendix: Pottery from the Hierakonpolis Fort [in:] HAWASS, Z. & RICHARDS, J. (eds.), *The archaeology and art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*. SASAE 36:1. 329-333.
- RIEDERER, J., 1992. The Microscopic Analysis of Calcite Tempered Pottery from Minshat Abu Omar. CCÈ 3: 33-37.
- SMYTHE, J., 2004. The Pottery from Operation 3/ Tomb I at Helwan [in:] HENDRICKX, S., FRIEDMAN, R., CIAŁOWICZ, K. & CHŁODNICKI, M. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams*. OLA 138. Leuven: 317-335.
- SMYTHE, J., 2008. New Results from a second storage tomb at Helwan. Implications for the Naqada III period in the Memphite region [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B., TRISTANT, Y., ROWLAND, J. & HENDRICKX, S. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Pre-dynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th-8th September 2005*. OLA 172. Leuven: 151-186.
- SOBAS, M., 2012. Pottery from the Western Kom [in:] CHŁODNICKI, M., CIAŁOWICZ, K. & MĄCZYŃSKA, A. (eds.), *Tell el-Farkha I. Excavations 1998-2011*. Poznań/Krakow: 181-197.
- SOWADA, K., 1999. Black-Topped Ware in Early Dynastic Contexts. JEA 85: 85-102.
- SPENCER, P., 1984. *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study*. London.
- VAN DEN BRINK, E., 1992. Corpus and Numerical Evaluation of the "Thinite" Potmarks [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & ADAMS, B. (eds.), *The Followers of Horus. Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman 1944-1990*. Oxbow Monograph 20. Oxford: 265-296.
- VAN HAARLEM, W., 1995. Temple Deposits at Tell Ibrahim Awad- A Preliminary Report. GM 148: 145-152.
- VAN HAARLEM, W., 2009. *Temple Deposits at Tell Ibrahim Awad*. Amsterdam.
- WODZIŃSKA, A., 2009. Domestic and Funerary/Sacral Pottery from Fourth Dynasty Giza [in:] RZEUSKA, T. & WODZIŃSKA, A. (eds.), *Studies on Old Kingdom Pottery*. Warsaw: 209-224.