

WHO ARE THE EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE?

EVALUATING EGYPTIAN ELITE CEMETERIES DATED
TO THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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VOLUME I

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2019

DECLARATION

I, Olivier Pierre Rochecouste, hereby declare that the material in this thesis entitled WHO ARE THE EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE? EVALUATING EGYPTIAN ELITE CEMETERIES FROM THE FIRST TO THE THIRD DYNASTIES has not been previously submitted as part of the requirements for a higher degree at this or any other institution.

I declare that this is an original piece of research wholly written by me. Any assistance I have received in my research and in the preparation of this thesis have been duly acknowledged. All literature and information sources used within the thesis are cited in the text.

Dated this day of

Olivier Pierre Rochecouste

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to review the archaeological evidence we have for elites during the Early Dynastic period of ancient Egypt, especially mortuary contexts. The archaeological evidence itself mostly comes from mortuary contexts which is the main point of reference for discussions surrounding social developments for ancient Egyptian studies. Numerous analogies have been used from Sociology, Anthropology and Archaeology to emphasise markers of social differentiation from mortuary contexts to distinguish the presence of social groups, including elites.

The term “elites” became a fixture of Early Dynastic literature when a category was needed to label the tombs and associated archaeological material from North Saqqara, against the evidence for the royal tombs located in the Early Dynastic necropolis at Abydos. However, the theme of elite tombs has been rarely questioned for the Early Dynastic period, especially since there are other contemporary tombs across Egypt which are comparable to the tombs at North Saqqara. Considering the literature which points out these elite tombs, this thesis questions the theme of identifying elites from the mortuary record and attempts to ask who this elite group was.

This will be done by reviewing the archaeological data from a variety of Early Dynastic cemetery sites located from the Nile Delta to Upper Egypt. This data will then be evaluated using an inductive approach to test the authenticity of the mortuary evidence used to accentuate the presence and influence of elites upon Early Dynastic society. The expected outcome is to provide an evaluation on whether the analogy of elites is suitable for Early Dynastic studies, especially since the presence of elites are a crucial component for the origins of the first Egyptian state.

IN MEMORIAM

LUC CLAUDE FABIEN

‘GRANDPA’

(1935–2015)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, thank you to my supervisor, Yann Tristant (Mudir), whom I have known since my undergraduate days. First as a teacher, then a mentor and an absolute friend. Your honesty, generosity and enthusiasm have proven to be the best mentoring I could ask for, not just for this PhD, but also life in general. I thank you for the privilege to join you at Dendera in 2016 for fieldwork as well as participating in the many projects of yours that have provided me the professional experience for my PhD development. I would also like to thank your family in Sandra, Antoine and Thomas, whom I have had the pleasure to know further and I have greatly appreciated their support as well.

To my associate supervisor, Alexandra Woods. Thank you for sharing this journey with me in providing another generous outlet to talk all things about theory in Egyptology and Archaeology. Not to mention, Tennis, Star Wars and green chai latte.

I must also acknowledge and thank my co-supervisor, Adela Sobotkova, who provided an alternative perspective for academic resources and feedback that I greatly appreciated.

I thank Macquarie University for offering me the opportunity to undertake a PhD, along with the Australian Postgraduate Award Scholarship, that has been fundamental for me to dedicate my time to promoting and creating this dissertation. Furthermore, the Faculty of Arts and the Ancient History Department of Macquarie University for also providing much needed funds to present a research poster at the Origins 6 conference in Vienna, Austria, followed by a research sabbatical in Cairo, Egypt.

I appreciate the hospitality of Laurent Bavay and the whole staff at the Institut Français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), Cairo, Egypt for welcoming me to use the library and other facilities during my stay there from September to October 2017.

I would like to thank the following people who have provided invaluable academic material, assistance and guidance along the way either in person or timely email correspondence; especially, Scott Allan, Brian Ballsun-Stanton, Charles Barnett, Lydia Bashford, Susanne Binder, Jacinta Carruthers, Nadine Cherpion, Rodney Cross, Brenan Dew, Linda Evans, Adam Fazzolari, Matthew W.B. George, Alexander J. Gillett, Wolfram Grajetzki, Julia Hamilton, Mary Hartley, Amber Hood-Highcock, Karin Harzbecher, Yasser M. Hussein, Peter János, Wayne Johnson, Jana Jones, Friederike Junge, Naguib Kanawati, Tobias Kienlin, E. Christiana

Köhler, Nora Kuch, Nikki A. Leary, Angela La Loggia, Alice McClymont, Liam McNamara, Juan Carlos Moreno García, Hana Navratilova, Boyo Ockinga, Melanie Pitkin, Ronika K. Power, Yannick Prouin, Michael Rampe, Illona Regulski, Danielle Sass, Karin Sowada, Zachary Thomas, Dorian Vanhulle, Mathieu Vanpeene and Stan Hendrickx.

A special mention must be made for Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, who generously gave permission for me to acquire unpublished material from his archive collection of Walter B. Emery's notebooks and manuscripts about his excavations at North Saqqara. This material was distributed as digital copies thanks to a grant funded by the Isaac Newton Trust, Cambridge University via Kate Spence and Barbora Janulíková.

I would also like to thank the following people who have provided invaluable advice, quality resources and timely feedback for this thesis and associated endeavours; Johannes Aüenmuller, Mahmmoud Emam, Wojciech Esjmond, Christopher J. Haddad, Caleb R. Hamilton, Susan A. Kelly, Ellen M. Ryan, Aaron de Souza and Pierre-Yves Rochecouste. Your endearment, generosity and goodwill have played a great part in helping me complete this dissertation.

Rods, Christos, Marty, Miller, Manda, Jamie, Duck, Jas, Malik, Rus, Dell, Becky and Nick thank you for your constant encouragement and positivity during the good and bad times.

To other people I have met during this PhD journey, whom my memory may not have recalled, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for providing great conversations and a listening ear. Each one of you has helped to teach me new things that have not just assisted with finishing this thesis, but also to learn more about what is required to grow further as a person. You know who you are.

To my family – Adele, Stephan, Catherine (Mum) and Pierre-Yves (Dad), Maryse (Grandmere), Pierrot (Grandpere), Robert (Parrain), Cathy, Juliette, Liam, Eric, Anita, Daniel, Jacob, Zachary, Beatrice (Marraine), Krzysztof, Matthew, Chloe, Sophia, Graziella and Jason. Each one of you I am so blessed to know as my family and I deeply appreciate the support you have given me throughout this PhD journey. It was a sombre start with the passing of 'Grandpa', Luc Claude Fabien, in 2015, who followed on with 'Grandma', Marie Florise Fabien, from 2014. This thesis in turn is dedicated to my Grandpa's memory and I know that he, along with Grandma, have been watching over me ever since and will continue to do so.

Last, but not least, I thank God for providing me this challenging and wonderful opportunity to grow further in applying my faith; then, now and in the future.

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PART I – THE PREDICAMENT OF EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE TOMBS

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

‘Society is a very complex structure, and therefore the study of it cannot be simple.’

W.M.F. Petrie¹

In 2002, Stan Hendrickx and Edwin van den Brink published an inventory that lists the published evidence for both the known cemetery and settlement sites from the ancient Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods.² The mortuary sites are arranged geographically across Egypt, from the most northern point in the Nile Delta down to the southern-most site near the First Cataract.³ Around 85 mortuary sites dated between the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods are accounted for, with each having a stated number of tombs, the site’s dating range, who has surveyed or excavated the site and the original excavation report references about it. One category that has been explained to a certain degree is the ‘remarks’ column, which convey the author’s opinions about each mortuary site’s preservation level⁴ and size classification⁵. One aspect that is not explained within the ‘remarks’ column is why a total of 14 sites encompassing at least 20 cemetery areas are given the ‘elite’ label.⁶ Distinguishing elite cemeteries are defined as such due to the distinctive tombs which are located there. The location of elite tombs within cemeteries has been brought forward as a criterion by Egyptologists and Archaeologists alike to determine the social status of the deceased, not just within the Early Dynastic period⁷, but also the preceding Predynastic⁸ and subsequent Old Kingdom⁹. However, it is important to question the archaeological data regarding elite groups and individuals which mostly come from mortuary contexts where elite tombs have been labelled. This is because social referents like ‘elite’ are used to create categories which

¹ Petrie (1923a: 1).

² Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002).

³ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 349).

⁴ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 347). ‘Heavily disturbed’ or ‘well-preserved’, refers to the modern preserved state of the cemetery.

⁵ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 347). The co-authors state to treat the labels ‘Small’, ‘Medium’, ‘Large’ and ‘Very Large’ with caution, for the size of some of these mortuary sites change over time across different periods.

⁶ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 348-365). These include Tell Ibrahim Awad, Tell el-Mashala, Old Cairo (Kafir Ghattati), Abu Rawash (Cemetery M), Tura el-Asmant, Giza South/Nazlet Batran, Abu Ghurab/Abusir, North Saqqara, Helwan, Naga el-Deir (Cemeteries 1500 & 3000), Abydos (Cemetery M, Cemetery U & Cemetery B), Naqada (Cemetery T and el-Khattara), Armant (Cemetery 1200) and Hierakonpolis (Cemeteries HK6, HK30G & HK33).

⁷ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994); Wilkinson (1996b: 346).

⁸ Hassan *et al* (2006: 693); Fahmy *et al* (2008: 170-171); Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 35).

⁹ Roth (1995: 50); Malek (2000: 85); van Walsem (2005: 19); Alexanian (2006: 1); Verma (2014: 16).

distinguish certain types of archaeological data and to make sense of it. Since the 1990s, the emphasis on identifying the elite from Egyptian archaeological evidence has become more common; however, not many studies explain the usage of the elite term from an Egyptological perspective and/or how it is applicable to the discipline's research in the first place.¹⁰ Therefore, this study aims to provide an empirical elaboration of the archaeological evidence at hand concerning elites during the Early Dynastic period rather than just relying on the scarce biographical details of their lives.¹¹

1.1 THE 'ELITE' TERM'S USAGE FOR EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY DYNASTIC MORTUARY STUDIES

The ancient Egyptian elite are defined by Moreno García as a highly hierarchical social group whose internal stratification can be perceived when analysing the quality of their monuments.¹² A richly decorated tomb or high quality funerary equipment are usually what are considered as monuments of the elite and are used to determine the social status of the tomb owner.¹³ It is important to consider the various forms of mortuary evidence which has been labelled to represent elite culture during the Early Dynastic period for it is during this time that the elite pertaining to the state began to emerge, based on the tombs and cemeteries which have been labelled as such.¹⁴ This is apparent when observing the architectural development of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic tombs within the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery at Abydos.

Bard emphasises that cemeteries U, B and the 'royal cemetery' evolved from undifferentiated burials in early Naqada times, to an elite cemetery in late Naqada II, and finally to the burial place of the Protodynastic rulers and the sovereigns of the First Dynasty.¹⁵ For example, tomb U-j, dated to the Naqada IIIA2 period, had an overall area of 66.4 m², making it the largest tomb of its date anywhere in Egypt (Fig. 164).¹⁶ The tomb consisted of twelve internal rooms to house the deceased's cache of mortuary provisions, including at least 2000 clay vessels.¹⁷ Moreover, from this ceramic assemblage, 693 imported wine jars were found to

¹⁰ Kroeper (1992); Elias (1993); Adams (1996); Bianchi (1997); van Walsem (1998).

¹¹ Marcus (1983: 9).

¹² Moreno García (2008: 180).

¹³ Moreno García (2008: 180).

¹⁴ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002).

¹⁵ Bard (2000: 60).

¹⁶ Dreyer (1998: 4); Wilkinson (1999: 41); Bard (2000: 60). For all figures mentioned within this thesis, please refer to Volume II.

¹⁷ Dreyer (1998: 5, 16-17, Abb. 2); Bard (2000: 60).

be sourced from Canaan (Fig. 164).¹⁸ Further to this, 125 clay vessels and fragments of vessels with ink inscriptions, not to mention 160 small tags of bone or ivory with incised characters were found.¹⁹ Interpretations of this tomb's architectural framework has even suggested that it may have represented a 'microcosm' of a palace.²⁰ Based on the architectural complexity of tomb U-j, the wealth of its associated mortuary provisions, and the presence of some iconographic elements which may be linked to later kingship, scholars have dubbed this tomb's deceased owner to be a forerunning ruler to the Early Dynastic kings (i.e. Scorpion I) (Fig. 164).²¹ However, not all of these elements of evidence are conclusive, including the presence of an ivory sceptre found in the main burial chamber, which has been interpreted by Dreyer to be a symbol of rulership (Fig. 164).²² Although, Wengrow suggests it could just a ceremonial adze since it was found in conjunction with the remains of a wooden shrine.²³

These interpretations regarding social differentiation are not restricted to the royal cemeteries and have been applied towards non-royal cemeteries where distinctive tombs are interpreted. The increasing large size of these distinctive tombs have led archaeologists to interpret the deceased to be people of high standing, who attained a great deal of merit through their occupation to be able to acquire the resources to build tombs of such magnitude. For example, at Minshat Abu Omar, the deceased from at least 8 Early Dynastic tombs are proposed to represent the 'ruling elite' from the area, based on the high quantity of mortuary provisions found from them in comparison to the 422 other graves at the site (Fig. 50).²⁴ Moreover, the mortuary site of Tarkhan is home to the isolated tomb, T1060, which is located half a kilometre west of the designated 'Naqada III' hill cemeteries of P, R and S and was found to be decorated with the exclusive 'palace-façade' architectural feature (Fig. 128).²⁵ This tomb also contained ceramic sherds made from a foreign fabric possibly sourced from Syria and inscribed mortuary provisions bearing the name of Djed of the First Dynasty, prompting suggestions that this tomb

¹⁸ Dreyer (1998: 16).

¹⁹ Dreyer (2011: 134).

²⁰ Wilkinson (1999: 40). '*Die Lage und die unterschiedliche Ausführung dieser Durchlässe sind kaum zufällig, sondern ebenso wie die Raumaufteilung nur damit zu erklären, daß es sich bei der Kammergruppe der 1. Baustufe um das Modell eines recht aufwendigen Hauses oder eines kleinen Palastes handelt.*' – Dreyer (1998: 6). « The location and the different execution of these passages are hardly accidental, but just as the room layout can only be explained by the fact that the chamber group of the First building stage is the model of a rather elaborate house or a small palace. ».

²¹ Dreyer (1998: 17); Wilkinson (1999: 41); Hassan *et al* (2006: 691); Morris (2007a: 175); Bestock (2013a: 99).

²² Dreyer (1998: 16-17; 2011: Fig. 14.9).

²³ Dreyer (1998: 16); Wengrow (2006: 202).

²⁴ Kroeper (1992: 140); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 501).

²⁵ Petrie *et al* (1913: pl. LXIX); Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 352); Grajetzki (2008: 108).

belonged to a regional governor (Fig. 132).²⁶ While at Minshat Ezzat, the discovery of palettes, incised beads and a flint knife bearing the name of Den of the First Dynasty suggests an elite presence in the area based on these mortuary provisions (Figs. 27, 30 & 31).²⁷

Studying the role and movements of the elite is important towards current historiographical discussions regarding state formation.²⁸ This is because the elite had a principal role in establishing and maintaining the legitimacy and superiority of the ruler in charge.²⁹ However, they did not hold exclusive power with the ruler.³⁰ This can be observed via the inscriptional evidence in particular, such as seals, clay sealings, papyri, graffiti or formal hieroglyphic inscriptions which are argued to indicate State involvement with the tombs or other archaeological features.³¹ However, not all Early Dynastic tombs are found with inscriptional material, thus, funerary criteria are relied upon when distinguishing social groups, including the elite.³² It is debates like these which show how archaeologists point to tombs, palaces and texts as direct representations of ‘power’, but they should not be treated as direct objective accounts.³³

It is from the mortuary evidence that archaeologists seek to find the identities of both the deceased as well as the living who buried and mourned them. This is because burial rituals incorporate elements of religion, social organisation, economics, ideology, material culture, symbolism and other forms of belief and proscribed action that combine to form a social identity.³⁴ Therefore, Egyptian archaeologists and historians have monitored the development of mortuary evidence and have attributed its changing developments to numerous catalysts, including the perceived progression of social differentiation, thus the term ‘elite’ is used to distinguish the best decorated tombs. However, when labelling a particular piece of archaeological evidence to be a certain type, including an ‘elite’ typology, it must be remembered that they cannot be thought of representing the entire spectrum of the category which these are used to represent.³⁵ While the elite are described as the essence of ancient Egyptian pharaonic culture, realistically, they are only a part of the contextual social system

²⁶ Petrie *et al* (1913: 13-20); Reisner (1936: 31-33); Grajetzki (2005: 19-20; 2008: 110).

²⁷ El-Baghdadi (1999; 2003: 145; 2007: 491-492, fig. 3f); Stevenson (2011: 71).

²⁸ Moreno García (2009: 14).

²⁹ Bárta (2017: 289).

³⁰ Moreno García (2009: 15).

³¹ Wengrow (2008: 1029); Regulski (2010: 36); Köhler *et al* (2017: 5).

³² Köhler (2004a: 10); Auenmüller (2013: 43).

³³ Marcus (2003: 116).

³⁴ Beck (1995: 171); Smith (2018: 132).

³⁵ Hoffman (1974: 40).

that is far more complex than what can be determined from ancient Egyptian monuments that are described to be elite.³⁶ This is because a monument can either be a single object or a suite of objects, with different layers of evidence to interpret.³⁷ So, to state that internal stratification can be easily perceived from such artefacts, is quite contradictory and depends on the context upon where the object is found, what it is dated to and how much information can be determined from it. Also, it depends on the interpretation and background of those who found it and their use or purpose of an artefact. Therefore, an understanding of the theoretical philosophy behind the term ‘elite’ and why it has been formulated to answer questions regarding the origins of social inequality in archaeology needs to be considered. This is because to understand the role of the elite in a state or monarchical system depends on the philosophical underpinnings of the respective scholar.³⁸

1.2 DEFINITIONS OF THE WORD ‘ELITE’ AND ITS CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

The word ‘elite’ is a political term used to categorise many types of higher social groups, including the social contexts where the concept of class would be inappropriate.³⁹ The disciplines of sociology, anthropology and archaeology have proposed several definitions of the elite concept, which was introduced to represent the human catalyst which contributed to the cultural changes occurring across human history.⁴⁰ Sociologists dictate that an elite is a selected and small group of citizens and/or organisations which controls a large amount of power.⁴¹ Based on the social distinction compared to other groups of lower social strata, most of these selected groups are constantly searching for differentiation as well as separation from the rest of society.⁴² Generally, elite individuals and/or groups are identified to be those who have the most of what there is to have within a given society or period.⁴³ Anthropological perspectives understand the elite to be a category of people who hold influential positions within a specific interest group rather than defining one ruling group that governs all things.⁴⁴ Moreover, defining an elite group means to also understand the culture that complements them,

³⁶ Auenmüller (2013: 14).

³⁷ Osborne (2014: 4).

³⁸ Pongratz-Leisten (2013: 286).

³⁹ Daloz (2008: 25, fn. 1).

⁴⁰ Marcus (1983: 10); Brumfiel (1992: 559); Shore (2002: 9-10); Vergara (2013: 34-35); Legarra Herrero (2016: 27).

⁴¹ Vergara (2013: 32).

⁴² Daloz (2010); Vergara (2013: 32).

⁴³ Mills (1956: 9)

⁴⁴ Marcus (1983: 10); Shore (2002: 11-12); Haller (2012: 87).

which recognises their personal characteristics, possessions and identity.⁴⁵ This is because elite groups are not static or bounded and their perceived culture is always changing due to developing economic and social developments which occur within their unique historical contexts.⁴⁶ Consequently, the elite term is used by archaeologists to distinguish the minority group who manipulates exchange networks for personal benefit by organising the redistribution of agricultural surplus.⁴⁷

However, there is more to this word which many scholars fail to realise. Defining the word is one thing but understanding its conceptual background is another, which has continually developed since its inception by the elite theorists Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto and Roberto Michels.⁴⁸ They initially created the concept to argue against Marx's conclusions of a 'classless society' and that history was controlled by the powers of ruling groups considered to be elite.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the theories that they proposed were mostly focused on the changes occurring in nineteenth century and twentieth century Western society, with few scholars, such as Weber, who looked to create theories of historical social dynamics and how they have been continuous since 'pre-modern' or extra-European communities.⁵⁰ In accordance with these approaches, other scholars have looked for different forms of evidence as proof of elite distinction to theorise the evolution of the elite and their performance within a number of historical contexts using qualitative and/or quantitative means.⁵¹ This includes the emulation of fashion by Georg Simmel⁵², conspicuous consumption by Thorstein Veblen⁵³, refined manners/gestures by Norbert Elias,⁵⁴ the display of entourage and physical appearance in the

⁴⁵ Shore (2002: 3).

⁴⁶ Shore (2002: 12); Haller (2012: 87).

⁴⁷ Gamble (2008: 182); Köhler (2010: 40); Kienlin (2012: 16).

⁴⁸ Mosca (1939 [1896]); Pareto (1991 [1901]); Michels (2001 [1915]).

⁴⁹ Bottomore (1964: 9); Marcus (1983: 13-17); Stanworth (2006: 174); Evans (2006: 39); Vergara (2013: 35).

⁵⁰ Weber (1951 [1915]); Daloz (2010: 49); Rowlands (2012: 55).

⁵¹ Daloz (2010: 49; 2013); Vergara (2013: 32).

⁵² Simmel (1957 [1904]); Daloz (2008: 38; 2010: 48). Simmel focuses on fashion as a form of social distinction in Berlin during the early twentieth century where it is emulated as a sign of status. This is known as the 'trickle-down' perspective where new styles in consumption goods are introduced by the socio-economic elite and then passes through the rest of the status hierarchy. Simmel attempts to universalise his theory by applying it to other case studies, but he neglects possible intra-distinctions with certain social groups including the elite.

⁵³ Veblen (1912 [1899]: 69-70); Daloz (2008: 35). Veblen determines that prestigious goods are status symbols, based on his idea that they reflect the wealth or power of an individual or group based on their conspicuous consumption. However, this may be too narrow of a focus and may unfortunately underestimate the function behind the artefacts, thus neglecting their practical value.

⁵⁴ Elias (1978 [1939]; 1982 [1939]; 1983 [1933]: 87-88); Daloz (2010: 49, fn. 14). Elias focused on the processes of cultures and the intricacies of the feudal court system during the Middle Ages, studying aspects of etiquette being portrayed to reveal patterns of gradual diffusion, but his contextual framework does not consider antiquity nor non-Western societies.

pursuit of status by Pierre Bourdieu,⁵⁵ not to mention prestigious goods (clothes, vehicles, residences and luxurious eating) in the studies of Jean Baudrillard.⁵⁶ The works of these scholars should not be understated towards clarifying the variety of social distinctions which can be observed within a modern social context of the western world.⁵⁷ However, they reflect the approaches of scholars who were more interested in finding confirmation about the existence of elite groups to fit within preconceived theoretical moulds, such as state formation.⁵⁸ Therefore, they should not be taken as complete models of interpretation that can be applied across all historical contexts, but rather as analytical frameworks which contain some element of truth for some contexts, including contexts based on archaeological evidence.⁵⁹

Because archaeological evidence is characteristically not homogenous with regards to their attributes of preservation, chronological dating and function, it is not properly explained as to whether social referents like ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’ are applicable within Predynastic and Early Dynastic contexts.⁶⁰ Midant-Reynes warns that it is necessary to identify the limits at each stage of analysing mortuary data, no matter the approach.⁶¹ This includes the chronological parameters being used for this dissertation.

1.3 CHRONOLOGICAL PARAMETERS

The main group of tombs being analysed for this dissertation date to the First, Second and Third Dynasties; their inclusion will consider both relative and historical chronological parameters.⁶² Because the written evidence from the historical sources is problematic, the archaeological evidence is given greater analysis and provides continuity for the so-called Naqada culture from the Predynastic period (i.e. Naqada I-II), equating the Early Dynastic period within the final Naqada III stage.⁶³ However, the context of the Early Dynastic period has been debated due to its problematic nature when correlating absolute and relative

⁵⁵ Bourdieu (1984: 330); Hartmann (2007: 56). Bourdieu is famous for his studies about the aesthetic tastes within society which constitute social status and the pursuit of the best aesthetic tastes is reminiscent of the ruling class due to their habitus.

⁵⁶ Baudrillard (1996 [1968]: 199-200); Daloz (2010: 57). Jean Baudrillard treats prestigious goods as signs of consumption and were mediators of a real relationship or a directly experienced situation.

⁵⁷ Daloz (2010: 57).

⁵⁸ Daloz (2007: 2; 2010: 56-57); Vergara (2013: 32).

⁵⁹ Daloz (2008: 43).

⁶⁰ Kroeper (1992: 140); Castillos (2006: 15-16).

⁶¹ Midant-Reynes (2003: 151).

⁶² See Appendix 1: Chronology Chart.

⁶³ Köhler (2013: 229).

chronological dates.⁶⁴ This is because comparing the relative ‘Naqada’ chronology with the absolute ‘Dynastic’ dating of the Pharaonic period is still being argued and its terminology needs revision due to the amount of new ceramic material that has been unearthed in the last 20 years.⁶⁵ Despite this, the relative dating for the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods follows Hendrickx’s system (1996, 2006) that is the latest and updated form of the ones developed by Kaiser (1957, 1990) and originally Petrie (1901, 1920, 1953b) for analysing ceramics and is still widely used today.⁶⁶ Based on this relative system, the Early Dynastic period is considered to begin during the Naqada IIIC1 period and ending with the Naqada IIID period, which roughly correlates with the Second Dynasty and possibly the Third Dynasty.⁶⁷ Where absolute dates are not present, the present investigator will rely on Hendrickx’s relative dating system. Recently, Köhler has proposed a new dating system to correlate between the reigns of the kings for the site of Helwan where the ceramic evidence ranges from the First to Fourth Dynasties.⁶⁸ However, this dating applies exclusively for the site of Helwan only and there are very minimal parallel examples from other Second Dynasty cemeteries to confirm its suitability for other sites.

Furthermore, the ‘Dynasty 0’ concept will not be used, which was introduced to consider the names of rulers from cemetery B who preceded Narmer and other unidentified distinguished deceased members from Naqada IIIA-B dated mortuary contexts at Tell el-Farkha, Helwan, Tura, Tarkhan or Hierakonpolis.⁶⁹ However, there is no concrete evidence that determines when Egypt was politically unified as a state, which is still being debated.⁷⁰ Therefore, the Naqada IIIA-B periods will be designated as part of the Protodynastic period.⁷¹ The ‘Protodynastic’ term was brought in as a failsafe concept to allocate the names of individuals who are considered as rulers to some degree, but are not considered to be sovereigns since they do not feature on any of the noted king lists.⁷² This term assists with categorising

⁶⁴ von Beckerath (1997: 165); Krauss & Warburton (2006: 486); Köhler (2013: 224).

⁶⁵ Hendrickx (2011: 914); Köhler (2013: 229).

⁶⁶ Petrie & Mace (1901); Petrie (1920; 1953b); Kaiser (1957; 1990); Hendrickx (1996; 2006: 92).

⁶⁷ Hendrickx (2006: 90, 92, Table II. 1.7); Köhler (2011: 10; 2013: 232); Köhler & Thalmann (2014: 183).

⁶⁸ Köhler (2004b: 299-306); Smythe (2008: 162-163); Köhler *et al* (2011: 105-106). Köhler introduces a Naqada IIIC3 phase to round off the First Dynasty and shifts the Naqada IIID phase to synchronise with the Second Dynasty. See Appendix 1: Chronology Chart.

⁶⁹ Cervelló Autuori (1996: 13-14); Raffaele (2003: 105); Hendrickx (2006: 88); Köhler (2013: 225-226).

⁷⁰ Josephson & Dreyer (2015); Stevenson (2016); Bard (2017).

⁷¹ Köhler (2013: 225); Adams & Ciałowicz (1997: 5); Hassan *et al* (2006: 689).

⁷² Köhler & Thalmann (2014: 182). For more discussions regarding the sequence of rulers for the ‘Protodynastic’ period, see Jiménez Serrano (2003) and Hassan *et al* (2006: 690).

some tombs which are designated to be elite types because they have been found with artefacts inscribed with the names of the ‘Protodynastic’ rulers (i.e. Iry-Hor).

Despite the minimal written evidence being consulted, the absolute dating ranges of the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods will follow Köhler (2013), whereas Hornung *et al* (2006) will be consulted for subsequent historical Dynastic dates when necessary.⁷³ While Hornung *et al* (2006)’s historical dates are being used, their absolute dates for the Early Dynastic period are considered too low (i.e. 2900–2544 BC) and should be raised upwards by at least 150-200 years.⁷⁴ Dee *et al* (2013; 2014) and Stevenson (2016) are also considered to have the most up to date absolute dates for the Predynastic period and the First Dynasty.⁷⁵ However, this dissertation leans more with Köhler’s C¹⁴ dates (i.e. 3100–2620 BC), since they extend to the Third Dynasty.

There are other chronological conjectures that needs to be discussed with regards to this dissertation. Some scholars prefer to allocate the First and Second Dynasties as part of the Early Dynastic period because the political development is not clear based on the amount of written evidence emitting from the First Dynasty and the absence of evidence stemming from the Second Dynasty before suddenly more written information regarding administrative roles appears from the Third Dynasty.⁷⁶ However, it can be observed that there is no break in the material culture being observed between the First and Third Dynasties.⁷⁷ For example, the step pyramid of the premier Third Dynasty king, Netjerikhet, has more architectural similarities to mortuary structures of the First and Second Dynasties than the subsequent pyramid structures from the Fourth Dynasty onwards due to its initial ‘mastaba’ foundations.⁷⁸ Therefore, the present investigator considers the Third Dynasty to be included as part of the Early Dynastic period for the purposes of this dissertation.

⁷³ Hornung *et al* (2006: 490); Köhler (2013: 225, Table 18.1). Köhler’s table has also been replicated in Köhler & Thalmann (2014).

⁷⁴ Köhler (2013: 232).

⁷⁵ Dee *et al* (2013; 2014); Stevenson (2016: 425)

⁷⁶ von Beckerath (1997: 165); Josephson & Dreyer (2015: 165-166); Bard (2017: 24).

⁷⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 247); Köhler & Thalmann (2014: 184).

⁷⁸ Wilkinson (2010: 49); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014); Tristant (2017b: 54-55). Despite the usage of both names for the premier sovereign of the Third Dynasty, Netjerikhet’s name will be used instead of Djoser, following Baud (2002: 78) and Ćwiek (2008: 87, fn. 2), because the latter name of this sovereign was not used by Egyptian sources until the Twelfth Dynasty. I thank Caleb R. Hamilton for suggesting these references.

1.4 DISSERTATION METHODOLOGY AND LAYOUT

Determining the elite during the Early Dynastic period requires a method that analyses commonly attributed archaeological material and features which have enduring dispositions within mortuary contexts.⁷⁹ By focusing on the repeated and exclusive instances of such archaeological evidence over time and documented at multiples scales can an evaluation of Early Dynastic elite evidence be achieved.⁸⁰ This will utilise a methodology that utilises two parts, with ‘Part II’ of this dissertation relying on an archaeological approach to provide thick descriptions of archaeological data regarding distinctive Early Dynastic tombs noted to reflect the existence of elite members of Early Dynastic society or other prominent non-royal members. ‘Part III’ of this dissertation will consider a sociologically based approach for the analysis of the archaeological data described.

1.4.1 ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

The archaeological evidence in mind includes first and foremost the tombs which have been designated to be elite in nature and have been credited as such from cemetery inventories, such as Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002). However, some sites are not given such a label due to their larger range of socially grouped tombs and not just being an exclusive elite cemetery and will be considered within this dissertation.

Some questions have been developed as part of a qualitative methodology to evaluate the evidence supporting the identities of deceased elite groups and individuals at a cemetery site and to understand the site’s archaeological character and regional context during the Early Dynastic period. These questions are inspired by Tristant & Smythe’s preliminary examinations of the Early Dynastic cemetery at Abu Rawash, where the first Early Dynastic mastaba tombs within a Lower Egyptian elite cemetery were discovered by Montet between 1913-1914.⁸¹ These questions will be asked of the selected sites under review in this dissertation from the First-Third Dynasties and they are as follows:

- Who were the people buried in this cemetery?
- Where did they live? Where was their settlement?
- If this is an elite cemetery, why was it created?
- How should we consider this site within the regional context?

⁷⁹ Joyce & Lopiparo (2005: 366).

⁸⁰ Joyce & Lopiparo (2005: 366).

⁸¹ Montet (1938; 1946); Tristant & Smythe (2011: 322).

- What was the position of this cemetery in its regional area during the Early Dynastic period?

These questions will assist querying the archaeological evidence from numerous scales from the bottom-up instead of a top-down approach. To consider ‘Who were the people buried in this cemetery?’, evidence from the tomb needs to be analysed. This includes an attempt to analyse the features of elite graves and the spatial patterning of artefacts that are accounted for within the grave and around the body.⁸² This is the complicated scale, for there are plenty of features which constitute the internal and external design of the elite tomb. However, one does not have the complete offering assemblage of items found within the tombs for they have been subjected to looting activities throughout antiquity.⁸³ So, other questions are needed to evaluate what aspects of the data distinguish the deceased in being part of an ‘elite group’. They include:

- Is the available Early Dynastic funerary evidence representative of elite social groups? How are they reflected in the material evidence?
- What is missing from these Early Dynastic sites and the tomb data they encompass that would help to construct the identities of elite individuals?

The other questions by Tristant & Smythe (2011) help to consider the cemetery site’s regional context. These possible answers need to consider probable reasons why certain cemetery and tomb locations are chosen, not just for political or religious reasons, but also reasons of practicality. This includes asking whether the cemetery topography had the available space and suitable geological qualities to support the size and weight of the tombs being built at the site.⁸⁴ Finally, when considering the questions from a regional scale, the spatial regional patterning of elite cemeteries and areas with isolated elite tombs is intriguing to map, for it can identify the possible political, administrative or social boundaries with other regional cemeteries and possible settlements.⁸⁵ By mapping the distribution of these elite cemeteries and the tombs they contain, a social geography of Early Dynastic Egypt can be accounted for.⁸⁶

The distribution of these Early Dynastic elite cemeteries being discussed within this dissertation have been organised within geographic regional areas; the Nile Delta, Memphite, Middle Egypt, Thinite and Nubt & Nekhen regions. These regional groupings have been

⁸² Hodder (1982: 196).

⁸³ Midant-Reynes (2003: 164).

⁸⁴ Hodder (1982: 196); Bárta (2005: 178).

⁸⁵ Hodder (1982: 195).

⁸⁶ Seidlmayer (2006a: 315).

inspired by the cemetery/settlement inventory lists made by Klasens, Butzer, Kessler, Hendrickx, van den Brink and Wilkinson.⁸⁷ Not to mention, the traditional regional parameters set by numerous scholars, such as Kemp, Friedman and Köhler, when discussing theories of state formation and includes the concentrated areas surrounding where Buto, Memphis, Abydos, Naqada and Hierakonpolis are known and proposed to be.⁸⁸ From performing this approach, the variability within the archaeological record should not be disregarded. Therefore, it is important to consider an unsystematic approach that embraces analysing the varied forms of empirical evidence when identifying elites.

1.4.2 THEORETICAL APPROACH

Jean Pascal Daloz's framework regarding the Sociology of Elite Distinction was considered to complement the descriptions of Early Dynastic elite tombs and associated mortuary evidence used to emphasise the varied forms of elite human behaviour within this dissertation. Daloz evaluated the concept of elite which he used as a convenient way to designate categories standing at the apex of societies.⁸⁹ The 'elite' term helps to subsume all sorts of upper groups, including those within contexts where the application of 'class' would be deemed inappropriate.⁹⁰ While the elite term can bring together numerous higher social groups, there is an inconvenience with using it for it can group a number of upper groups with a relative imprecision.⁹¹ In other words, one needs to be precise why certain groups within the elite group are included, whether it be based on external, embodied or vicarious characteristics which are deemed to be superior. Daloz evaluated some research approaches, labelled as 'grand theories', which try to universalise methods of social differentiation (e.g. Marx, Veblen, Weber, Bourdieu), when distinguishing upper groups in a variety of historical contexts, including elites.⁹² He is critical of their application because most of these models of interpretation are based on their views of nineteenth and twentieth century 'Western' societies.⁹³ However, while the theories of these scholars and others cannot be used independently, they still have their value.

⁸⁷ Klasens (1957: 59-64); Butzer (1976: 59-69); Kessler (1982: 395-414); Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 348-369); Wilkinson (1999: 344-365).

⁸⁸ Friedman (1994: 863); Kemp (2006: 76-77); Köhler (2010: 44-45).

⁸⁹ Daloz (2010: 2).

⁹⁰ Daloz (2010: 2).

⁹¹ Daloz (2010: 2).

⁹² Vergara (2013: 39).

⁹³ Daloz (2012: 220).

Based on his critique, Daloz emphasises an inductive approach where he uses different elements of these theories to identify three key signs of evidence of superiority which makes elites socially distinctive from a macro level of analysis.⁹⁴ Determining the ‘superiority’ of these three modalities means to assess the utilitarian and symbolic qualities associated with commodities which are beneficial for social standing purposes.⁹⁵ This involves searching for and evaluating whether any modalities of social distinction for elites can be accounted for from Early Dynastic tombs, whether they be external signs, embodied signs and/or vicarious signs of superiority. Searching for **External signs of superiority** means to emphasise the valued goods which not only make the everyday life of elites more comfortable and pleasurable but also serve as symbolic expressions designed to authenticate their social standing.⁹⁶ **Embodied signs of superiority** convey the impression that elites are intrinsically superior to ordinary people by revealing itself principally in posture and gesture, behavioural standards, good grooming and cultural background.⁹⁷ Finally, **Vicarious signs of superiority** show how elites have recourse to their entourage to increase their own social distinction.⁹⁸ Daloz lists some explanatory schemes across these three categories to apply a micro analysis of a variety of elite distinctive evidence.

- **External signs of superiority** – Prestige Goods, Adornment, Residence, Culinary Aspects and Vehicles.
- **Embodied signs of superiority** – Self Confidence/Assertiveness, Distinguished Manners, Physical Appearance, Cultivation and linguistic competence.
- **Vicarious signs of superiority** – Relatives, Flaunting elitist connections, Glamorous female company, Servants, Art Patronage.

This is not an exhaustive list of schemes though and they should be viewed ‘at best as middle-range theories’, even though they have been proposed as universalistic markers for distinguishing elites.⁹⁹ From a sociological point of view, theories of middle-range delineate theories that fall in the range between empirical generalisations and grand theories.¹⁰⁰ Inspired by the sociological application of this concept, archaeologists reclassified middle-range

⁹⁴ Daloz (2013: 110).

⁹⁵ Daloz (2013: 124).

⁹⁶ Daloz (2013: 54).

⁹⁷ Daloz (2010: 81).

⁹⁸ Daloz (2010: 60).

⁹⁹ Daloz (2012: 214, fn. 10).

¹⁰⁰ Johnson (2010: 66-67).

theories as a tool to link present static forms of evidence and past cultural dynamics.¹⁰¹ These theories can be used, but archaeologists cannot physically observe whether their application works through ethnographic observation like anthropologists. Daloz concluded that the mechanisms of social distinction existed everywhere and at any time.¹⁰² However, he stresses that these mechanisms functioned according to forms specific to each society and even to each social group.¹⁰³

Criticisms of this methodology would include that it is too functional for interpreting tombs that were created to memorialise the deceased of the Early Dynastic period. When considering Daloz's approach to grouping the various forms of social distinction for modern elites, it has helped to inspire an approach to group the diverse range of archaeological evidence which has been used to emphasise the presence of elites during the Early Dynastic period. Moreover, to showcase what is missing from the archaeological record which is needed to construct elite identities. By utilising this theoretical framework, it helps to emphasise, not just the variation of mortuary evidence at hand, but also the associated patterns of meanings which have been interpreted from them to distinguish elite identities. Furthermore, this approach does not rely on an overdose of empirical evidence.¹⁰⁴ While the works of Bourdieu (*Taste*), Veblen (*Conspicuous Consumption*) are noteworthy contributions, they are not universal in their application to provide universal qualitative analyses of society. By including modern designations like 'elite' into the social differentiation conversation, archaeologists have only done so to use the word as a classificatory scheme to affirm a linear continuity between ancient and modern societies.¹⁰⁵

The word 'elite' itself is very diverse in nature due to its historical application by sociological and anthropological disciplines towards studying human behaviour, which is inherently diverse in nature as well. This is evident when interpreting human behaviour from mortuary evidence, which consists of a great deal of varied meanings amongst human cultures in reaction to the impending event of death. Part of this interpretation includes studying and interpreting the mortuary behaviour of the ancient Egyptians, which also considers both the socio-economic and philosophical-religious aspects of Egyptian culture.¹⁰⁶ This is because the

¹⁰¹ Binford & Bertram (1977: 77); Chapman & Randsbourg (1981: 11).

¹⁰² Daloz (2013: 179).

¹⁰³ Daloz (2010: 150; 2013: 178).

¹⁰⁴ Daloz (2012: 214).

¹⁰⁵ Kienlin (2012: 18).

¹⁰⁶ Power (2011: 248).

Egyptian burial ritual was mobilised as an opportunity for the transmission and transference of cultural knowledge, memory and collective identity between family/community social networks.¹⁰⁷ The burial ritual is only one facet of the suite of cultural responses to death for when it is experienced in a community. The nature and substance of the burial ritual provides decisive elements towards the restoration of normative individual and collective socio-cultural dynamics after such a traumatic and dramatic event.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, these mortuary practices are not passive, mindless, mechanical reflections of social organisation. They are the manifestation of active, cognitive social, philosophical and personal choices and strategies, which comprise the dynamics of social relations and organisation and are made relative to beliefs.¹⁰⁹

It is why archaeologists have consulted sociological and anthropological literature to bridge the gaps in their evidence and to emphasise the variations of meaning one encounters from analysing mortuary evidence. While these works are useful, they should not be considered universal in their application, especially towards archaeological data. Instead, it is wise to consider an approach that groups these different theoretical reading grids together and combine them to assist with explaining the variation of meanings being made from the empirical evidence being studied. Even if certain objects are identified to represent elites in a variety of cultural contexts, these objects will not have the same meaning within all cultural contexts being considered. Therefore, there is a risk of over-generalisation and extrapolation when it comes to interpreting societies of the past or from more ‘exotic’ places, such as ancient Egypt.¹¹⁰ To counter this, a reformulation of existing theses from the past literature is needed when implying an examination of the very different forms of elite distinction within a certain society and time. Whereby the necessary nuances relating to elite distinction are gathered and interpreted through a decentred approach which is flexible.¹¹¹ Therefore, it is important to review the archaeological literature regarding Early Dynastic elite tombs as part of this dissertation’s layout

¹⁰⁷ Power (2011: 250).

¹⁰⁸ Power (2011: 250-251).

¹⁰⁹ Power (2011: 248).

¹¹⁰ Daloz (2012: 220).

¹¹¹ Daloz (2010: 53; 2012: 220).

1.4.3 DISSERTATION LAYOUT

The layout of this dissertation study will be set out in three parts. ‘Part I’ further discusses the predicament of studying the elite of the Early Dynastic period through Chapter 2 which reviews the past scholarship pertaining to identifying the Early Dynastic elite tombs.

‘Part II’ presents the archaeological descriptions of the royal and elite tombs that the study will be analysing. Chapter 3 will evaluate the features of the Early Dynastic royal tombs themselves, so that an idea of the contrasting differences between royal and elite tombs can be set. The following chapters will then provide archaeological descriptions of the Early Dynastic cemeteries where distinctive tombs have been located across geographic regions from the north to the south. This consists of Chapter 4 for the Nile Delta region, Chapter 5 for the Memphis region, Chapter 6 for the region of Middle Egypt, Chapter 7 for the sites near Abydos, designated as the Abydos region, Chapter 8 for the Nubt and Nekhen areas in Upper Egypt, especially the sites surrounding Naqada and Hierakonpolis.

‘Part III’ will present some chapters outlining some thematic discussions as part of its data analysis. Chapters 9 and 10 will discuss some of the external forms of archaeological used to emphasise the existence of the Early Dynastic elite, with Chapter 9 considering the mortuary provisions which are used to identify elites encountered from the archaeological descriptions of the tombs within ‘Part II’ and how they are distinguished. Chapter 10 will look at the architectural features used to externally distinguish elite tombs. Chapter 11 will then consider the archaeological evidence which distinguishes the embodied characteristics of the Early Dynastic elite, including the importance of linguistic competence via the preservation of names found on artefacts and titles. Not to mention, the importance of posture and grooming via artefacts and visually depicted reliefs. Chapter 12 discusses that the presence of subsidiary burials during the Early Dynastic period underscores the value of an entourage to emphasise the social standing of the Early Dynastic elite. Furthermore, discussing that acquiring an entourage of followers may be done through means of consensus, such as patronage relations, rather than coercive methods, such as ‘human sacrifice’. Finally, Chapter 13 will outline the conclusions from this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

Searching for the elite from the Early Dynastic archaeological evidence has resulted in numerous ongoing debates about distinguishing tomb differences.¹¹² These debates include whether high officials were buried in Saqqara and the royal sovereigns were buried in Abydos¹¹³ or vice versa.¹¹⁴ Also debated is whether the presence of certain cemeteries, some of which contain ‘elite’ tombs, correlate with the location of prominent Early Dynastic settlement sites, such as Buto,¹¹⁵ Memphis,¹¹⁶ or Thinis?¹¹⁷ These are some of the problems that are being tackled in current archaeological discussions when enquiring ‘how and why leadership was consolidated and the extent to which it assumed causal effects on society’.¹¹⁸ However, those who are performing the study, including the present investigator, are viewing a culture that is difficult to comprehend without completely preserved archaeological documentation compared to modern cultural analyses. As a result, the common approach has been to discuss the presence of elite individuals and their organisation in contrast to another social group, such as the kings as represented by their tombs at Abydos, or within a broader systemic framework, such as the notion of state formation.¹¹⁹ Instead, efforts can attempt to address the internal culture and practices of the elite themselves by evaluating different contexts of evidence from various geographic regions.¹²⁰

2.1 THE PREDICAMENT OF IDENTIFYING EARLY DYNASTIC TOMBS

Before any archaeological evidence was considered to justify a possible reconstruction of the Early Dynastic period, the only limited evidence available were the earliest names found

¹¹² Dreyer (1992: 56-57); Engel (2003a: 41-42); Hendrickx (2008: 62-72); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 212-213).

¹¹³ Emery (1954: 1-4); Kees (1957: 14-15); Kemp (1967: 23); Engel (2003a: 41-42); Stadelmann (2005: 370).

¹¹⁴ Emery (1954: 1-4); Lauer (1955: 158-159); Edwards (1971: 19); Hoffman (1979: 286-287); Stadelmann (1985: 299; 1987: 251); Cervelló Autuori (2002: 27-29).

¹¹⁵ Hartung *et al* (2009: 87); Hartung (2013: 1226); Bietak (2017: 27).

¹¹⁶ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 143-144); Wilkinson (1999: 58); Köhler (2010: 45).

¹¹⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 354-355); Köhler (2008a: 397); Adams (2013: 6715); Moreno García (2013a: 190); Moeller (2016: 19).

¹¹⁸ Kintigh *et al* (2014: 8).

¹¹⁹ Baines (1995: 133); Baines & Yoffee (1998: 235); van Buren & Richards (2000: 3-4); Wenke (2009: 7); Köhler (2010: 40)

¹²⁰ Köhler (2017b: 348).

on the Abydos, Karnak and Saqqara king lists; the Turin Papyrus and the Palermo Stone.¹²¹ Some of the lists detail the names of the earliest Egyptian kings as the successors to the Egyptian gods, who created and first ruled the living world.¹²² Despite these lists being incomplete records, they provide evidence in how the ancient Egyptians viewed their own past, which are based on mythical facts of cosmogonical and cosmological belief in the creation of their world, though probably from the perspective of the early royal court, including the early Egyptian elite.¹²³ However, it is difficult to infer historical facts from Egyptian iconography and texts, thus the names on these lists were initially dismissed and deemed to be imaginary or forged.¹²⁴ Therefore, contemporary monuments were sought in the hope that they could provide alternative inscriptional sources to authenticate the names found on these royal lists.¹²⁵

When the monumental subterranean tombs within the Umm el-Qaab were found by Amélineau and Petrie, their structural size, sophisticated architectural features and inscribed stelae with some of the names from the king lists dictated that they belonged to the earliest ancient Egyptian kings.¹²⁶ The effort made to build large pits of various sizes into the solid sand, reinforced by mudbrick walls and wooden scaffolding attested to this.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the usage of stone within these tombs was also considered to be an exclusive initiative, especially the pink granite paving found within the tomb of King Den which was the first instance of stone used within a tomb in ancient Egypt's history.¹²⁸ Moreover, the presence of 'subsidiary burials' surrounding most of these tombs were also an intriguing find, which were much bigger than most of the Predynastic tombs found in neighbouring sites like Naqada.¹²⁹ As to the notion of who the interred were within these burials has been debated in relation to their social status to emphasise their sub-ordinance to the main deceased tomb occupant.¹³⁰ Based on these mortuary features exhibited by the royal tombs at Abydos, these tombs not only confirmed Egypt's beginnings but also gave further evidence of the 'increasing drama of elite

¹²¹ Jéquier (1897: 229); Emery (1961: 21-22); Wilkinson (2000b; 2010: 50).

¹²² Emery (1961: 21); Trigger (1983: 44).

¹²³ Ciałowicz (2000: 61); Wilkinson (2000b: 80-81); Cervelló Autuori (2008: 894).

¹²⁴ Maspero (1895: 127); Cervelló Autuori (2008: 895).

¹²⁵ Jéquier (1897: 230); Cénival (1981: 4); Thompson (2016: 80).

¹²⁶ Amélineau (1899a: 244-245); Jéquier (1897: 231-2); Petrie (1900: 4); Kemp (1967: 22); Engel (2008: 31). The names of Djed, Semerkhet and Qa'a were found inscribed upon the stelae discovered by Amélineau and these were correlated with the king lists found in Seti I's temple at Abydos and the one compiled from the reign of Thutmose III at Karnak, not to mention the Turin Canon.

¹²⁷ La Loggia (2015: 9); Stevenson (2016: 450).

¹²⁸ Amélineau (1896: 16-17); Dreyer (1992: 59-60); La Loggia (2008: 74).

¹²⁹ Vaudou (2008); Hikade & Roy (2015: 29).

¹³⁰ Jéquier (1897: 238-239); Trigger (1983: 52).

life' within the context of the Early Dynastic period.¹³¹ Observing the architectural development of these tombs 'serves as an index of political change'.¹³²

However, while Amélineau was excavating at Abydos, confusion occurred when the niched mastaba tomb at Naqada was discovered concurrently by Jacques de Morgan in 1896.¹³³ The area that this Naqada tomb encompassed was at least 1400 m² which is much larger than some of the contemporary royal tombs found in the cemetery of Abydos.¹³⁴ The Naqada tomb was unique for it was found to have been built above ground, whereas other contemporary tombs had a pit dug partially into the ground to create the substructure.¹³⁵ The tomb's discovery signified for the first time a non-royal mortuary structure dated to the First Dynasty was found, especially with niched-façade features.¹³⁶ Morgan believed these niched-façades to be evidence of royal connotations, for they have great similarities to the known royal stela designs from the Old Kingdom.¹³⁷ Thus, these niches became known as the earliest instance of the 'palace-façade' style.¹³⁸ Furthermore, there are a great number of mortuary provisions which have parallel instances found within the royal tombs of Abydos, providing comparative material, especially stone vessels made from diorite and quartz.¹³⁹ The finds associated with the tomb from Morgan and Garstang's campaigns were widely distributed to a number of museums and they have been re-examined by a German led project under Kahl.¹⁴⁰

The project concluded that the diversity of the stones found within the Naqada mastaba tomb (i.e., peridotite, porphyry, greywacke, serpentinite, carnelian, limestone, dolomite, granite, gabbro, diorite, basalt, dolerite, calcite alabaster, rock crystal and obsidian) testify that its tomb owner would have been a relative of the royal family.¹⁴¹ Morgan did not conclude anything regarding the ownership of the tomb, despite finding numerous epigraphic references referring to King Hor-Aha on seal impressions.¹⁴² The attribution of this tomb to King Menes

¹³¹ Earle (1997: 25); Stevenson (2016: 450).

¹³² Wilkinson (1999: 231).

¹³³ Morgan (1897); Jéquier (1897: 231).

¹³⁴ Morgan (1897: 154); Reisner (1936: 9, 27); Trigger (1983: 52).

¹³⁵ Morgan (1897: 154); Engel (2003b: 111).

¹³⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 5); van Wetering (2012: 91).

¹³⁷ Morgan (1897: 148).

¹³⁸ Reisner (1936: 352); Spencer (1979: 15); Arnold (2009: 148).

¹³⁹ Morgan (1897: 170, 178, fig. 604-605); Petrie (1901: pl. 49A.140, pl. 51C.234, pl. 51F.302, pl. 53B.405); Quibell (1905: 182 [CG 11921], 192, pl. 39 [CG 11962]) *cf.* Aston (1994: 116-117).

¹⁴⁰ Kahl (2001: 3); Kahl *et al* (2001).

¹⁴¹ Garstang (1905b: 711); Kahl *et al* (2001: 183-185).

¹⁴² Morgan (1897: 168, figs. 556-558).

was prompted by Maspero,¹⁴³ and was then taken-up by subsequent scholars.¹⁴⁴ However, the presence of several inscribed items amongst the Naqada tomb's mortuary provisions has persuaded current opinions that this tomb was the resting place of a Queen named Neithhotep, believed to be the mother of King Hor-Aha.¹⁴⁵

The discovery of the Early Dynastic mastaba tombs at North Saqqara by Emery between 1930-1950 would question the methods utilised for socially differentiating tombs.¹⁴⁶ Similarly to the Naqada mastaba tomb, these North Saqqara tombs would exceed the area dimensions of the Abydos tombs, with some of the mastabas dating to the first half of the First Dynasty, measuring between 40–60 m in length, before decreasing to between 20–30 m long towards the second half of the First Dynasty.¹⁴⁷ Thus, their size 'seduced' scholars to question the royal status of the Abydos tombs.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the extensive funerary features which these tombs exhibited, including the niched palace façade decoration, has been argued to emphasise a connection to the king which are found with at least 19 of the Early Dynastic tombs at North Saqqara.¹⁴⁹ Secondly, subsidiary burials were found to accompany seven of these tombs.¹⁵⁰ Thirdly, the presence of clay bull heads, which has been considered a symbol of the Egyptian kingship, were found around the base of tomb 3504's niched superstructure.¹⁵¹ Finally, some of the tombs were found with boat burials, including the oldest tomb at the site, 3357.¹⁵² Because the sites of Abydos, Naqada and North Saqqara contained tombs that were comparable in scale, material investment and complexity, not to mention containing many objects marked

¹⁴³ 'Ce nom ne comporte qu'un seul hiéroglyphe, le damier qu'on lit Manou, et il a échappé aux découvreurs du tombeau. C'est pourtant l'orthographe égyptienne du nom que les Grecs ont transcrit Ménès, et il ne tient qu'à nous de reconnaître dans le personnage enterré à Négadèh le plus ancien des humains qui régnèrent sur l'Égypte après les dieux, le premier roi de la première dynastie' – Maspero (1897: 1). « This name has only one hieroglyph, the checkerboard that could be read as Menes, and it has escaped the discoverers of the tomb. It is, however, the Egyptian spelling of the name that the Greeks transcribed Menes, and it is up to us to recognise in the character buried in Naqada the oldest of the humans who reigned over Egypt after the gods, the first king of the first dynasty ». I thank Yann Tristant for providing this reference from an unpublished manuscript.

¹⁴⁴ Borchardt (1897: 1056-1057); Emery (1961: 37) *cf.* Heagy (2014: 76).

¹⁴⁵ Petrie (1901: 4); Garstang (1905b: 712); Reisner (1936: 10); Kaplony (1963a: 590); Spencer (1980: 63); Wilkinson (1999: 70); Kahl *et al* (2001: 185); Heagy (2014: 76).

¹⁴⁶ Emery (1938; 1939; 1949; 1954; 1958).

¹⁴⁷ Clark (2016: 405-413); Tristant (2017b: 50).

¹⁴⁸ Stadelmann (2005: 363-364); Hendrickx (2008: 63).

¹⁴⁹ Hendrickx (2001: 104); Jiménez Serrano (2007: 34). Examples include 3357, 2185, 3471, 3503, 3507, 3504, 3035, 3036, 3041, 3506, 3038, 3111, 3505, SCA 1995, 2464, 2405, 3070, 3073 & 3536 *cf.* Hendrickx (2001: 87-88).

¹⁵⁰ Emery (1938; 1939; 1949; 1954; 1958). Examples include 3504 (62 subsidiary burials), 3503 (22 subsidiary burials), 3035 (30 subsidiary burials), 3507 (1 subsidiary burial), 3111 (1 subsidiary burial), 3505 (1 subsidiary burial) & 3500 (4 subsidiary burials) *cf.* Vaudou (2008: 151).

¹⁵¹ Emery (1954: 7-9); Hendrickx (2008: 67).

¹⁵² Emery (1939: 10).

with the name of the king and possible officials, the notion of an exclusive site for royal burials would create a conundrum for archaeological interpretations for other Early Dynastic tombs.¹⁵³

Further complications would be encountered when throughout the subsequent 20th century other isolated Early Dynastic elite tombs would also be discovered at sites throughout Egypt emphasising the increased economic and political security brought about by the emerging state administration under the Egyptian kingship.¹⁵⁴ This includes a number of mastaba tombs dated between the First–Third Dynasties discovered to the south of the Giza Pyramids, thanks to the efforts of Daressy, Covington and Petrie.¹⁵⁵ For example, the First Dynasty tomb ‘Mastaba V’ had a superstructure measuring 48.18 m long x 21.1 m wide covering an internal substructural pit with internal subdivisions measuring 10.8 m long x 5.6 m wide.¹⁵⁶ The superstructure was found to exhibit palace façade features and it was surrounded by at least 52 subsidiary burials where the remains of flint and faience beads shaped as hawks were found.¹⁵⁷ Sealings bearing the name of Djet were found in the tomb, which have given suggestions that this tomb was built for either a Queen of Djet or the Queen mother of Djet.¹⁵⁸ These monumental graves provide an idea that the surrounding area was significant during the preceding Early Dynastic period before being chosen as the site for the famous Old Kingdom pyramid structures.¹⁵⁹

At the site of Abu Rawash, mastaba tombs from the mid-First Dynasty were discovered by Montet in the Cemetery M area on the eve of World War One and were found to be smaller than their North Saqqara, Naqada and South Giza counterparts, (e.g. one of the largest tombs, M07, has an area of 338 m²) but also exhibited palace façade and subsidiary burial features.¹⁶⁰ Recently, re-excavations of the site by Tristant have revealed that these tombs had associated funerary boats, the earliest known examples for the Early Dynastic period, buried in proximity to M01, M02, M03, M04 and M06, indicating that having a funerary boat was not a royal privilege.¹⁶¹ Other Early Dynastic tombs and funerary monuments have also incorporated these boat burials and pits, such as the site of Helwan on the eastern side of the Nile, where a reported

¹⁵³ Wengrow (2006: 228).

¹⁵⁴ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 143); Wilkinson (1999: 231); Köhler (2008: 381-382).

¹⁵⁵ Daressy (1905: 101); Covington (198-201); Petrie (1907: 3); Kromer *et al* (1991: 16-18)

¹⁵⁶ Daressy (1905: 99-101); Petrie *et al* (1907: 3); Reisner (1936: 30-31); Clark (2016: 394).

¹⁵⁷ Petrie *et al* (1907: 4-5); Vaudou (2008).

¹⁵⁸ Petrie *et al* (1907: 5, pl. IIIA); Wilkinson (1999: 73-74).

¹⁵⁹ Lehner (1985: 111, 113); Martin (1997: 279).

¹⁶⁰ Montet (1938 ; 1946); Tristant (2008: 332; 2016: 167, Fig. 12; 2017a: 474, Figs. 10-11); Tristant & Smythe (2011).

¹⁶¹ Klasens (1961: 110-111); Tristant *et al* (2014); Tristant (2017a: 473-477, 479-480, 483-484, 487).

19 boat pits were found in association with Early Dynastic tombs deemed to be part of the ‘Middle Class’ sector within the Memphite region.¹⁶² However, only five of these boat pits have been described briefly and were found to not contain substantial boat remains; small traces of wood were found to suggest that they were originally buried with boats.¹⁶³ At the Early Dynastic cemetery in Abu Ghurab near Abusir, Mastaba XXVI was also found to have a boat pit.¹⁶⁴ This same cemetery had large mastaba tombs featuring subsidiary burials, such as Mastabas IV and XVII.¹⁶⁵ Notably, Mastaba XVII exhibited a clay bull head with real protruding horns outside its superstructure.¹⁶⁶ The features of these tombs within the Memphite region have been suggested to have imitated the North Saqqara mastaba tombs as a sign of power and status.

Near Abydos, the sites of Beit Khallaf and Naga ed-Der contain Third Dynasty tombs which are described to be ‘elite’ but they differ in size when compared to each other.¹⁶⁷ While Naga ed-Der elite tombs are labelled as “smaller” in size, averaging 165.8 m², the mastabas of Beit Khallaf are large, including tomb ‘K2’ which measures nearly 2800 m².¹⁶⁸ Apart from size differences though, the Third Dynasty tomb occupants at Naga ed-Der may be described as local ‘elite’, for their tombs do not exhibit the same features compared to those at Beit Khallaf, which have “decorated chapels” and clay sealings bearing the names of the Third Dynasty kings such as Netjerikhet.¹⁶⁹ This leads to speculation that the tombs of Beit Khallaf were made for private individuals who may have worked closely as administrators for the Third Dynasty kings in the Abydos region.¹⁷⁰ Another obscure example includes the Third Dynasty rock cut mastaba at the site of Elkab situated on the cliff face overseeing where a Second Dynasty cemetery is also located towards the bottom.¹⁷¹ Despite these tombs exhibiting numerous correlating features which would instigate a royal identity, it is highly unlikely that all the owners of such burials would have been members of the royal family.¹⁷² While it is easier to socially distinguish the royal tombs based on a vertical scale, socially determining the

¹⁶² Saad (1969: 70); Köhler (2008a: 392).

¹⁶³ For example, Tomb 1502.H.2 (Saad 1947: 110-111); Tomb 649 H.5 (Saad 1951: 41-42, pl. LVIII, LIXa); 680 H.5 (Saad 1951: 42, pl. LIXb); 762 H.5 (Saad 1951: 42, pl. LX); 423 H.9 (Saad 1969: 22-23, 87 pl. 108).

¹⁶⁴ Radwan (2007: 1561; 2008); Lindemann (2008: 574-575).

¹⁶⁵ Radwan (1995: 313; 2003: 513).

¹⁶⁶ Radwan (2000: 512, pl. 83).

¹⁶⁷ Garstang (1903; 1904); Reisner (1936: 172); O’Connor (2000: 23).

¹⁶⁸ Reisner (1936: 174); O’Connor (2000: 23).

¹⁶⁹ Garstang (1903: pl. VIII-X, XXVI); Baines & Malek (1980: 118); O’Connor (2000: 24); Incordino (2008: 101-117).

¹⁷⁰ Baines & Malek (1980: 118); Arnold (2009: 29-30).

¹⁷¹ Limme, Hendrickx & Huyge (1997: 5-6); Limme (2008: 23-25); Huyge & Limme (2012: 53-54).

¹⁷² Wilkinson (2016: 546).

horizontal differences between Early Dynastic graves of officials and retainers is much more difficult.¹⁷³ This is evident from the works of Reisner and Emery, who have analysed the superstructure designs of Early Dynastic tombs to create burial typologies to determine social differences within Early Dynastic society, but they are not full proof.¹⁷⁴

2.2 INITIAL EARLY DYNASTIC BURIAL TYPOLOGIES

By attempting to create a relative typology based on tomb architectural features, Reisner discusses the social stratification of the deceased buried in tombs from the Predynastic to the Old Kingdom periods by distinguishing three lines of tomb development, across a different range of social groups.¹⁷⁵ Firstly, there is the royal line that consists of the royal tombs from Abydos and Saqqara of the First–Third Dynasties, which belong to the kings and other members of the royal family, including the king’s mothers, queens, princes and princesses.¹⁷⁶ Secondly, there is the main line that Reisner categorises to incorporate the ‘large tombs’, which belong to favoured officials and servants of the king, who may have had the privilege to acquire tombs that were professionally built to imitate royal standards.¹⁷⁷ The resulting design and characteristics of these official’s tombs would have exhibited ‘a direct relationship to the tomb of the king’ and are considered its appendages even though they are of a different form.¹⁷⁸ Finally, a sub-group follows, consisting of tombs, believed to belong to great tribal or provincial chiefs, which are the ‘cheaper’ tombs of ‘headmen’ and influential people from the provinces, who were inclined by the fashion and design of the royal tombs.¹⁷⁹ In turn, their tomb designs would influence another sub-group involving the ‘lesser chiefs and heads of communities’.¹⁸⁰ By observing the structural and decorative traits of tombs dating from the Predynastic to the Old Kingdom that were discovered since the 1880s, Reisner’s contribution is impressive for its time. However, to distinguish his ‘main line’ of large tombs, he only includes tombs which have a floor area of more than 3 m², which he even admits is an arbitrary marker.¹⁸¹ However, more recently, the mortuary evidence has expanded in content forcing updated changes towards Reisner’s substructure typology.¹⁸² The reliance on mortuary

¹⁷³ Trigger (1983: 56); Marcus (2006: 212).

¹⁷⁴ Reisner (1936); Emery (1961).

¹⁷⁵ Reisner (1936: vii).

¹⁷⁶ Reisner (1936: 6, 341).

¹⁷⁷ Reisner (1936: 6).

¹⁷⁸ Reisner (1936: 6).

¹⁷⁹ Reisner (1936: 6).

¹⁸⁰ Reisner (1936: 6).

¹⁸¹ Reisner (1936: 42).

¹⁸² Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 6); Clark (2016).

evidence does not provide him the substantial case to make claims about the political status of the deceased and he lacks an explanation as to why he uses social terms like ‘chief’ and ‘headmen’.¹⁸³ Despite this initial attempt, subsequent analyses have taken up Reisner’s method of analysing the architectural features of a tomb to determine exclusive tomb ownership within the Early Dynastic period, especially when comparing to the sites of Abydos and Saqqara. For example, Emery and Kaiser note the similarities between Saqqara Tombs SX and 3338 and Qa’a’s tomb at Abydos.¹⁸⁴ Also, Wood compares the private tombs at Helwan with the royal tombs at Umm el-Qaab.¹⁸⁵

Inspired by Reisner’s approach in grouping the typological features of tombs, Emery follows suit with his own vertical typological grouping when distinguishing the development of the elite tombs from the Early Dynastic period.¹⁸⁶ Between the burial evidence he had access to, Emery distinguishes three social classes which existed within the first two dynasties – the nobility, officials and artisans; but, he also includes a peasantry group without much description.¹⁸⁷ He notes six structural changes of elite tombs dating to the First and Second Dynasties, with each epoch having an “early”, “middle” and “late” progressive stage.¹⁸⁸ In each progressive stage he compares tombs between the Memphite and Abydos regions and divides the burial installations into four categories:¹⁸⁹

1. The tombs of the kings and higher nobility,
2. The tombs of the lesser nobility and aristocracy,
3. The tombs of the minor officials and artisans,
4. The tombs of the peasantry.

He then documents the features of these tombs across six stages of development across the First and Second Dynasties. Because of the ‘who’s royal or not’ debate between the sites of Abydos and Saqqara, Emery combines both tomb types within the royal family and high nobility category with the palace-façade as a superstructure feature for Lower Egyptian tombs within this category (i.e., Saqqara) and the tumulus superstructure for Upper Egyptian tombs

¹⁸³ Reisner (1908: 125) has used ‘headmen’ to label the potential tombs found at Naga ed Der that were found with inscribed mortuary provisions as ‘marks of ownership’. The discussion of ‘Chiefs’ and ‘Headmen’ (or Big-Men) has a vast anthropological literature which is evident from the 1950s onwards, for more information see Yoffee (1993) and Earle (1997).

¹⁸⁴ Emery (1949: 12), Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 251).

¹⁸⁵ Wood (1987: 59).

¹⁸⁶ Emery (1961: 130).

¹⁸⁷ Emery (1961: 110).

¹⁸⁸ Emery (1961: 130).

¹⁸⁹ Emery (1961: 130).

(i.e., Abydos).¹⁹⁰ While a great deal of evidence is based on tombs from Saqqara, Emery does include examples from Helwan and Naga ed-Der; however, he is not consistent in referencing their tomb numbers and intra-cemetery provenance throughout his discussion.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, there are overlaps with the lower social groups, who emulated the mortuary features of the higher social classes, making a horizontal differentiation rather difficult to perform.¹⁹² Nonetheless, Emery's typology has been labelled to be the best of its kind when summarising the development of the Early Dynastic elite tomb.¹⁹³

2.3 KEMP AND KAISER UPDATING THE RECORD

A number of articles published by Kemp during the 1960s looked to review the documentation regarding the Early Dynastic cemetery of Abydos and subsequently established that each of the royal tombs at Umm el-Qaab was assigned a funerary enclosure ('*Talberzirke*') that were located more than a kilometre away to the east of the tombs at North Abydos as a pair.¹⁹⁴ These enclosures were surrounded by subsidiary burials which caught the attention of Petrie and his associates over a number of campaigns during the early 20th century.¹⁹⁵ First, by Ayrton, who excavated the funerary enclosures of the Second Dynasty kings, the 'Middle Fort' of Peribsen and 'Shunet ez-Zebib' of Khasekhemwy.¹⁹⁶ Then by Petrie and Peet who would excavate the subsidiary burials surrounding large rectangular spaces, where the names of Djer, Djet and Meretneith were found inscribed on a variety of graves goods and have been used to attribute their ownership of the enclosure areas.¹⁹⁷

Since then more evidence has been unearthed through the efforts of O'Connor and the North Abydos project from the 1980s, who re-cleared the structures, found the funerary boat pits associated with the so-called 'Western Mastaba' (initially found by Petrie, but has not been assigned to any king)¹⁹⁸ and discovered another funerary enclosure area assigned to the First Dynasty king, Hor-Aha, which had accompanying subsidiary burials containing mortuary provisions inscribed with his name.¹⁹⁹ Because 'sheer size' has been the major factor for

¹⁹⁰ Emery (1961: 144).

¹⁹¹ Emery (1961: 138, 140, 150, 152, 154-155, 157, 159, 160, 161, 163); Martin (2007: 122).

¹⁹² Emery (1961: 130).

¹⁹³ Köhler (2004a: 10, 53, fn. 7).

¹⁹⁴ Kemp (1966: 22; 1967: 25); Bestock (2008b: 44). O'Connor (2009: 161) notes that the term '*Talberzirke*' or 'valley temples' was coined by German scholars, assuming these enclosures were precursors to valley temples.

¹⁹⁵ Petrie (1925: 1, pl. xxi, xxviii); Kemp (1966: 13; 1967).

¹⁹⁶ Ayrton, Currelly & Weigall (1904: 2-4); Bestock (2008b: 56-57).

¹⁹⁷ Peet (1914); Petrie (1925: 1, pl. XX-XXI); Bestock (2008b: 51-54).

¹⁹⁸ Petrie (1925: 3).

¹⁹⁹ O'Connor (1989; 1991); Bestock (2008b: 48-51; 2009: 3).

distinguishing social differentiation from between the tombs of Abydos and Saqqara, Kemp notes the suggestions regarding the tumulus superstructure being characteristic for the Abydos tombs, while the mud brick mastaba superstructure were characteristic for the tombs at North Saqqara.²⁰⁰ He then states ‘If, then, these brick-encased mounds acting as superstructures over the royal tombs at Abydos offer themselves as likely counterparts to the buried tumuli at Saqqara it seems no less plausible to suggest that the ‘funerary palaces’ at Abydos also represent, on a similarly larger scale, the ‘palace-façade’ type of superstructure at Saqqara and elsewhere which, as has been mentioned previously, represents basically the same style of architectural design, though given more elaborate treatment, particularly in the multiplication of door recesses’.²⁰¹ Therefore, when considering the size of these walled enclosures, which were decorated with niched facades, they were surrounded by more subsidiary burials and contained evidence of boat burials. Numerous scholars have referred to Kemp's article to dictate their opinion that the tombs at Abydos belonged to the first sovereigns of Egypt.²⁰²

After Kemp's declaration that the tombs at Abydos belonged to the kings because of their relationship with the funerary enclosures in the North cemetery, Kaiser provides opinions about the possible relationship that the Abydene mortuary constructions had with the large niched tombs from Abu Rawash, Saqqara, Helwan, South Giza and Naqada.²⁰³ For the most part, the subterranean element found within the Abydos tombs is given more attention.²⁰⁴ A good example is the tomb of Djet, where tonged walls are built into the burial chamber.²⁰⁵ Concurrently, the above ground features associated with the superstructures of the various Early Dynastic niched tombs are also given as much attention.²⁰⁶ However, throughout the Early Dynastic period, the substructures of these niched tombs can be seen to increase in terms of their size and depth.²⁰⁷ For example, Tomb 3357's (reign of Hor Aha - Early First Dynasty) substructural depth was recorded to be 1.35 m.²⁰⁸ Tomb 3503's (reign of Djer) depth was

²⁰⁰ Kemp (1966: 18-19).

²⁰¹ Kemp (1966: 19).

²⁰² For a discussion of the pro and contra arguments regarding Abydos as the true royal burial ground compared to North Saqqara, see Cervelló Autuori (2002), Engel (2003a) and Stadelmann (2005).

²⁰³ Kemp (1967); Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 255-260).

²⁰⁴ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 256).

²⁰⁵ Petrie (1900: 10).

²⁰⁶ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 256). For example, the ‘royal’ tomb at Naqada was mostly built aboveground and is mentioned by Morgan (1897: 154, 158) to have had 16 storage rooms that surrounding the 5 central rooms; however, no mortuary provisions were found in these 16 rooms and they were mostly filled with gravel and sand. Kahl *et al* (2001: 174) believes these 16 rooms were not built for storage but were built for architectural support for the whole tomb. La Loggia (2012: 213, fn. 808) states that there is no evidence for a substructure, based on her observations of the plans of Borchardt (1898).

²⁰⁷ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 257).

²⁰⁸ Emery (1939: 17).

recorded at 2.90 m.²⁰⁹ Contemporary tombs during the reign of Den of the mid-First dynasty show an increased average depth of the substructure across different sites e.g., 3507 at North Saqqara, 4.75 m²¹⁰; M02 from Abu Rawash, 5 m²¹¹ and T2050 of Tarkhan, 6.1 m.²¹² Kaiser notes that this may have been due to the contextual soil conditions where the tombs were built in the cemetery.²¹³ While these types of tombs do not seem to have older predecessors from the Predynastic period in terms of their superstructural design, Kaiser warns that these large tombs, possibly belonging to the highest residents of the Memphite region, should not be seen as an independent creation of the Early Dynastic period and may have influences from Mesopotamia via the Delta region.²¹⁴ Kaiser criticises past research which only looks to the visual differences of both grave forms found at Abydos and Saqqara to determine the tomb ownership debate.²¹⁵ However, he does point out that there seems to be a clearer developmental connection between the Umm el-Qaab tombs with their funerary enclosures and the Third Dynasty mortuary complex of Netjerikhet, compared to the First and Second Dynasty niched mastaba tomb structures at Saqqara.²¹⁶ This is because the niched decoration is completely absent within Netjerikhet's complex, but is found to be widespread amongst contemporary non-royal tombs of the Third Dynasty, such as those at South Giza,²¹⁷ Naga ed-Der,²¹⁸ and Abusir.²¹⁹ This must signify at least a small difference between royal and elite funerary customs.²²⁰ János, argues that a single architectural attribute cannot make a tomb significantly royal, let alone elite in the present investigator's opinion.²²¹ This is apparent with the funerary temple example found on the north side of 3505's superstructure which has been considered a forerunner to the north-temple found within Netjerikhet's Third Dynasty complex.²²² Kaiser further published details on the origin of the Old Kingdom mastaba form, by analysing the preceding Early Dynastic mortuary architecture beyond Abydos and North Saqqara.²²³

²⁰⁹ Emery (1954: 129).

²¹⁰ Emery (1958: 77).

²¹¹ Tristant (2017a: 481).

²¹² Petrie (1914: 3); Clark (2016: 89, 330, 472).

²¹³ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 257, fn. 165).

²¹⁴ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 258).

²¹⁵ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 259).

²¹⁶ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 259).

²¹⁷ Covington (1905: 193); Petrie *et al* (1907). Tomb no. 1 or Mastaba T.

²¹⁸ Reisner (1932a: 220-1, 229; 1936: 182). Tombs N599, N689, N573 & N587.

²¹⁹ Bárta (2011: 45). Mastaba AS 54.

²²⁰ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 259).

²²¹ János (1995: 154) *cf.* Engel (2003a: 46).

²²² Lauer (1936: pl. XV; 1957: 151-152; 1980: 45); Emery (1958: 6, 13); Kemp (1967: 22); Stadelmann (1997: 26).

²²³ Kaiser (1998: 73).

Overall, Kaiser notes that the question of who these grave's owners are is a difficult one to answer, even though he speculates that the tombs located in Giza, North Saqqara and Tarkhan would have belonged to governing representatives within the Memphite region, who possibly exercised power on behalf of the king's name; however, this is hard to prove due to the limited written evidence.²²⁴ Kaiser's contribution is not just significant in detailing several updates about the development of Early Dynastic mortuary forms towards the Old Kingdom; also importantly, he provides some of the first scaled tomb plans to visually compare the tombs of Abydos, Saqqara and other Early Dynastic tombs from other cemeteries based on their size and architectural features.²²⁵

2.4 RECENT DISCUSSIONS ABOUT EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE TOMBS AND CEMETERIES

Since the 1990s the discussion of how the Egyptian State was formed during the transition between the Protodynastic period and the Early Dynastic period has been debated through numerous publications and articles, with elite tombs acting as a reflection of the socio-political changes which occurred, much like the royal tombs at Abydos.

For example, when discussing the issues and problems associated with equating the Naqada relative chronological framework and the historical 'dynastic' chronology, Hendrickx created an updated list of tombs for chronological information, which contains evidence of inscriptions and seal impressions that bear the royal names of the earliest kings, who are dated to the First Dynasty.²²⁶ The pottery along with the inscriptional evidence from these tombs are used to verify that the relative date of Naqada III matches with the chronology of the First Dynasty, especially the sub-epochs of Naqada IIIC1-IIID (3100–2686 BC).²²⁷ Hendrickx's conclusions provide some clarity to the transition at the end of the Predynastic period, when the Egyptian State emerged with the king as the head of the governmental system.²²⁸ Of the 57 tombs that Hendrickx has listed, it includes roughly 13 royal mortuary areas from the site of Abydos, the other 44 listed though are non-royal and are located from various cemeteries across Lower and Upper Egypt, such as Saqqara, Abu Rawash, Tarkhan, Turah, Zawiyet el-Aryan, Naqada, Minshat Abu Omar and Helwan.²²⁹ However, Hendrickx does not speculate who these

²²⁴ Kaiser (1998: 86, fn. 62).

²²⁵ Kemp (1967: 24, Fig. 1); Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: Abb. 13); Kaiser (1998).

²²⁶ Hendrickx (1996: 59-61).

²²⁷ Hendrickx (1996: 59, 64; 2006: 92).

²²⁸ Hendrickx (1996: 63-64).

²²⁹ Hendrickx (1996: 59-61).

particular tombs belonged to, since it was not the aim of his article. Moreover, some tombs were not included because their archaeological material was ‘insufficiently known’, such as ‘Mastaba V’ or ‘Tomb 2’ dated to Djet’s reign from the site of Nazlet Batran; a tomb dated to the reign of Den from the M cemetery of Abu Rawash and some tombs from the necropolis of Helwan.²³⁰

Dębowska-Ludwin’s (2013) publication on the development of the burial customs of northern Egyptian necropolises dated to the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods includes an appendix that lists 49 published sites, mostly from the Memphite and Delta regions.²³¹ Their burial contexts are described and seven of these sites are labelled as elite cemeteries, including Abu Rawash, Abusir North/Abu Ghurab, Giza, Saqqara North, Saqqara South, Tarkhan and Tell el-Farkha.

Similarly to Kaiser’s articles, Lacher-Raschdorff (2014) compares the architectural elements of both royal and non-royal Early Dynastic tomb examples and provides an updated method to date these tombs based on their architectural complexity.²³² This discussion is also a similar approach to what Emery (1961) attempted before by labelling similar architectural features between Royal, Private and smaller tombs within the first three dynasties and dated to the reigns of certain ruling kings. This is apparent when noting the development of tombs from the First Dynasty, which are mostly lined grave-pits dug into the ground and covered by a superstructure followed by the tunnel method of construction that becomes common for Second Dynasty tombs. Lacher-Raschdorff uses the term ‘elite’ to refer to the upper layer of Early Dynastic society. However, she acknowledges that the term’s application may be problematic since it is a modern term, which may be why it is mostly absent from her tomb plans amongst the Large and Medium sized graves.²³³ Finally, Clark (2016) examined 366 tombs dating from the Predynastic period up to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, in order to analyse security features.²³⁴ Of this total, 25 are designated to be royal tombs, while the remaining 341 were labelled to be ‘private’, however it is not an exhaustive account since only tombs with sufficient evidence of tomb security mechanisms were studied.

²³⁰ Hendrickx (1996: 67, fn. 34). Despite the limited archaeological material from these tombs, Hendrickx matches it to his relative date of ‘Naqada IIIC2’, thus providing a correlation between this relative date and the reigns of Djet and Den.

²³¹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 80-84).

²³² Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 199-227, Plans 10-14).

²³³ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 49, fn. 86).

²³⁴ Clark (2016: 3).

With mortuary evidence from these tombs in mind, scholars like Wilkinson have contemplated whether these groups of Early Dynastic tombs belonged to people who formed the king's inner circle and wielded power on behalf of the monarch as part of the elite group.²³⁵ He focuses on the archaeological evidence from 'elite cemeteries and high-status graves of the ruling class', for their presence indicates the centres of political power, especially those tombs that indicate the mastaba feature.²³⁶ For example, Wilkinson studied the elite tombs at Helwan which are located across the various archaeological areas that Saad had excavated in Areas 1, 2 and 3.²³⁷ Some of these tombs have been noted to have a sufficient amount of inscribed mortuary provisions with royal names, pottery and stone vessels.²³⁸ Wilkinson concludes that Helwan is not a completely poor cemetery, rather, one that was home to a deceased group that had a variety of social statuses to account for, but difficult to distinguish.²³⁹ When compared to the North Saqqara and Abu Rawash tombs, the deceased of Helwan are considered to have a lesser social status, due to the huge amount of graves allocated there, thus clarifying it as not being an exclusive burial site.²⁴⁰

Based on her recent excavations, Köhler suggests that the diversity of tombs encountered at Helwan represents a possible "Middle Class" cemetery, who are separate from the elite group because of titles indicating craft specialist roles and lintel stones being found with certain tombs in Helwan.²⁴¹ However, there are some Helwan tombs which indicate that the deceased had a role within the 'inner circle' of the king.²⁴² Two Second Dynasty examples from the site of Helwan are analysed, Tombs Op. 4/114 and Op. 4/123. The former being an open rectangular pit type without a superstructure while the latter has an added staircase leading to the burial chamber with niched sides on the east and west sides in a subterranean tunnelled tomb construction with a mud bricked mastaba superstructure with a cult niche on its eastern

²³⁵ Wilkinson (1999: 28; 2016: 544).

²³⁶ Wilkinson (2000a: 378).

²³⁷ Wilkinson (1996b: 347). Location names of the various areas of the site are based on the recent excavations made by Köhler's excavations from 1997-2017, see Köhler (2014: 2, Fig. 1).

²³⁸ Wilkinson (1996b: 338-340).

²³⁹ Wilkinson (1996b: 353).

²⁴⁰ Wilkinson (1996b: 348).

²⁴¹ Köhler (2008a: 391-392); Köhler & Jones (2009: 100). E.g. *hrp hnms.w* – 'Overseer of Foremen' found on an inscribed stele from Tomb 217.H.8 (EM99-7, early Second Dynasty - Köhler & Jones 2009: 136); *mdh* – 'Carpenter' found on an inscribed stele from Tomb 1036.H.11 (EM99-13, Third Dynasty - Köhler & Jones 2009: 148) and *gnw.ty* – 'Sculptor' found on an inscribed stele from Tomb 416.H.6 (EM99-17, mid Second Dynasty - Köhler & Jones 2009: 156).

²⁴² Köhler (2008a: 391-392); Köhler & Jones (2009: 100). E.g. *s3 nsw* – 'Son of the King' found on inscribed stele from tomb 964.H.8 (EM99-23, mid Second Dynasty - Köhler & Jones 2009: 168); *s3.t nsw* – Daughter of the King found on an inscribed stele from Tomb 1241.H.9 (EM99-10, Early-Mid Second Dynasty - Köhler & Jones 2009: 142); *w'b nsw stš* – 'Royal Wab-Priest of Seth' found on inscribed stele from Tomb 247.H.6 (EM99-19, Dynasty 3 - Köhler & Jones 2009: 160).

side.²⁴³ This niche area contained fragments of an inscribed limestone false door lintel which depicts an offering list and scenes.²⁴⁴ It is speculated that the advanced architectural design of Op. 4/123 may have been reserved for the wealthier members of the Memphite middle class, especially whether the presence of a lintel slab is indicative of high status.²⁴⁵ Nonetheless, this leads Köhler to surmise that the “Middle Class” stratum was a highly diverse group due to the diversity that can be seen amongst the architecture and construction of the tombs, the burial orientation of the deceased and the tomb contents.²⁴⁶

While Köhler states that a variety of social strata of an early Egyptian complex society is represented from the Memphite cemeteries, it is still a very incomplete picture since the identity of the deceased from most of these tombs is still very much unknown. Regardless, elite tombs have been used to accentuate the idea that different strata levels of elite personnel did exist, but that depended on their role and location in relation to the ‘capital’ or ‘primary centre’ within a territorial organisation.²⁴⁷ However, these strata levels within the different tombs of the Memphite cemeteries have been ranked according to size.²⁴⁸ Not to mention the type of settlements that these cemeteries were possibly connected to on the basis of hierarchical subordination.²⁴⁹ For example, the large tombs found in the cemeteries of Helwan, Abu Rawash, Giza, Abusir and Tarkhan are speculated to belong to either the higher or lower officials and priests and that these cemeteries were attached to secondary or tertiary centres which were connected with the primary centre at Memphis.²⁵⁰ Because of Helwan’s location and the conclusion that it was reserved for inferior members of society compared to the deceased elite who are buried at North Saqqara, other comparisons have been made in other regions of Egypt.²⁵¹ For example, Baines describes the cemetery of Naga ed-Der as an ‘East Bank burial place’ for the Thinite region, which does not solely represent the ‘ordinary peasant strata’, but possibly other social groups within the hierarchy of the local Thinite society.²⁵² He likens the mixed stratification found at Naga ed-Der to be similar to the Early Dynastic Helwan necropolis’ eastern location, to argue that social differentiation may dictate what necropolis an

²⁴³ Köhler (2008a: 394, Fig. 8).

²⁴⁴ Köhler (2008a: 395).

²⁴⁵ Köhler (2008a: 395).

²⁴⁶ Köhler (2008a: 395).

²⁴⁷ Moreno García (2013a: 190).

²⁴⁸ Köhler (2008a: 384).

²⁴⁹ Köhler (2008a: 384, Fig. 2). Köhler alludes to a ‘Hierarchical Subordination’ model by Nissen (1988: 8-11), which measures the sizes of settlements and their position in relation to each other.

²⁵⁰ Köhler (2008a: 384).

²⁵¹ Wilkinson (1996b: 348); Köhler (2008a: 389).

²⁵² Baines (2009: 120-121).

individual or group can be buried at; therefore, eastern bank cemeteries were reserved for lesser elite individuals compared to the more prominent western bank cemeteries of the Memphite region.²⁵³

2.5 THE DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE TOMBS AND MONUMENTS

When comparing the number of elite tombs which are associated with certain kings and also exhibit certain architectural features, such as the niched façade, they may have had the function to showcase elite status during the Early Dynastic period and that the imitation of such funerary features was common practice.²⁵⁴ Whether these differing mastaba tombs in different cemetery areas represent an internal hierarchy within this elite group is not clear, but Köhler discusses the notion of the subsidiary burials found alongside tombs to belong to the personnel and servants of the aristocratic elite who were buried at Giza, Tarkhan and Abu Rawash.²⁵⁵ Therefore, further distinguishing certain aristocratic elite members from others whose tombs did not have associated subsidiary burials.²⁵⁶

Wilkinson notes that most of these elite tombs emerged during Den's reign – why that is the case is uncertain. He states that their existence 'cannot be simply explained by positing administrative reforms', even though such reforms may have occurred during Den's reign.²⁵⁷ With regards to other Early Dynastic mastaba tomb examples found outside of the Memphite area, but do not contain much inscribed evidence, current explanations suggest that the owners of such tombs would have likely been provincial or town governors descended from powerful local families within the region that their tomb is located within and have been given the authority to rule via the king.²⁵⁸ These tombs may have acted as territorial markers for the new kingship, especially if they were built in the traditional burial grounds of places like Tarkhan, Gebelein and Armant where the cemetery linked the current inhabitants with their ancestors; thus, substantiating the local community's territorial claim and their exclusive identity in the landscape that they occupied.²⁵⁹ This interpretation of Wilkinson echoes one of Arthur Saxe's

²⁵³ Wilkinson (1996b: 353); Köhler (2008a: 389); Baines (2009: 120-121).

²⁵⁴ Hendrickx (2001: 87-89); Jiménez Serrano (2007: 35); Tristant (2008a: 345); Wilkinson (2010: 55-56; 2016: 546).

²⁵⁵ Köhler (2008a: 389, fn. 28) does not conform with the conclusions that those buried within the subsidiary burials were 'slave sacrifices', since there is no evidence of sacrificial practice during the Early Dynastic period.

²⁵⁶ Köhler (2008a: 390).

²⁵⁷ Wilkinson (2000b: 103-104).

²⁵⁸ Grajetzki (2008: 111); Wilkinson (2016: 546).

²⁵⁹ Wilkinson (2010: 56).

principles which summarises that the living will utilise mortuary practices to emphasise their lineal descent from the dead to attain the rights and/or control of certain resources.²⁶⁰ According to Parker Pearson, it is the most used and discussed of all of Saxe's hypotheses and holds true to some extent; however, it fails to understand when and why cemeteries, rather than other forms of legitimation, are used to assert claims to resources, territory etc.²⁶¹ It must be remembered that relationships with the deceased are not made for just a functional purpose to substantiate claims to resources, territory etc. – they are also made to substantiate the emotions and the psychology of the living when mourning the loss of the deceased.²⁶²

While there has been a great focus on the tombs at Abydos and North Saqqara, Wengrow acknowledges that more research should be made to look into the other Early Dynastic burial grounds located between the northern and southern parts of Egypt where similar looking impressive tombs have been found with inscribed mortuary provisions to understand their geographic distribution.²⁶³ In light of this idea, Wengrow refers to a partial theory by Lauer, about the need for elite funerary practices of the Early Dynastic period to incorporate a reference to the king for him/her to be present in both upper and lower regions of Egypt, especially since both areas have been united by the monarchy and the architectural features of elite tombs may have aimed to reflect that in their respective cemetery and region.²⁶⁴ This is a theory that gains more favourable weight when referring to the pyramid building project of King Huni of the Third Dynasty, which has been discussed to mark the king's territory and express his agency throughout certain areas of the known ancient Egyptian landscape.²⁶⁵

It is in this way that by analysing the distribution of elite tombs, can the social geography of Egypt during the Early Dynastic period be traced to accentuate the idea that different levels of elite personnel did exist, depending on their role and location in relation to the 'capital', especially within a territorial organisation.²⁶⁶ A suggestion is put forward that the 'prestigious symbols' that are found at palatial sites like Abydos and North Saqqara, such as 'status-objects', inscriptions, and excessive mortuary decoration, were not used by provincial

²⁶⁰ Saxe (1970: 119). *'To the degree that corporate group rights to use and/or control crucial but restricted resources are attained and/or legitimised by means of lineal descent from the dead (i.e. lineal ties to ancestors). Such groups will maintain formal disposal areas for the exclusive disposal of their dead, and conversely.'*

²⁶¹ Parker Pearson (1999: 30)

²⁶² Parker Pearson (1999: 30).

²⁶³ Wengrow (2006: 228).

²⁶⁴ Lauer (1955: 158-159); Wengrow (2006: 228).

²⁶⁵ Seidlmayer (1996: 122, 124); Baud (2002: 183-185); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 225).

²⁶⁶ Seidlmayer (2006a: 315); Moreno García (2013a: 190).

elite individuals/groups; hence their absence from the archaeological record.²⁶⁷ Instead, they possibly abided with the different social and cultural practices in the rural regions which may have had different principles with regards to furnishing the tomb of the deceased.²⁶⁸ Moreno García insists that such differences can be identified during periods of ‘state crisis or social transformations’ when the fringes of the socially elevated population appropriated or emulated the objects and expressions used to previously mark the status of the elite individuals/groups who were powerful due to their connection with the king.²⁶⁹ This echoes previous archaeological statements that in periods of discontent, there is a trend of excessive ostentation being expressed from the mortuary evidence and this idea links back originally to Childe.²⁷⁰ Therefore, by taking into account the main objects and funerary features that are used by the ‘wealthiest members’, who are associated with the representatives or institutions of the crown, it is possible to account for the stratification of rural society.²⁷¹ However, it is futile to believe that homogenous interests, ideological objectives and manifestations were shared by all within an elite group, especially if a provincial elite did exist.²⁷² As a result, a variety of approaches from other disciplines is needed to research the possible social frameworks which allowed ancient Egyptian elites to showcase their political influence in relation to other social groups through certain cultural activities.

Because of the impressiveness and quality that is conveyed by Early Dynastic mortuary structures, suggestions are made that the Egyptians utilised different forms of complex brick construction and architectural features as a means of social differentiation.²⁷³ As a result, narratives about elites are created, which detail how they achieve a surplus by controlling the resource networks of craft production and the exchange of prestigious funerary items; therefore, conveying their sources of power to be able to afford and build such monuments.²⁷⁴ However, assumptions regarding these elite individuals have been critiqued within archaeological forums because there is no apparent explanation as to why and how they emerged and maintained their position within ancient societies.²⁷⁵ A more pressing issue is that the nature of the word ‘elite’ is not fixed as most researchers accept it to be. Like any social

²⁶⁷ Moreno García (2005: 216).

²⁶⁸ Moreno García (2005: 216).

²⁶⁹ Moreno García (2005: 217).

²⁷⁰ Childe (1945: 18); Trigger (1990: 127); Parker Pearson (1999: 87); Smith (2009: 13).

²⁷¹ Moreno García (2005: 218).

²⁷² Moreno García (2005: 216).

²⁷³ Reisner (1936: vii); Wilkinson (1996a: 85); Jánosi (2006: 8).

²⁷⁴ Kienlin (2012: 22).

²⁷⁵ Porčić & Stefanović (2009: 259); Kienlin (2012: 16); Legarra Herrero (2016: 30).

typology, it tends to unhelpfully homogenise societies and social forms.²⁷⁶ Meaning to say, all cemeteries and the graves within them that are assigned to be ‘elite’ are presumed to be homogenous in all aspects. However, there are a couple of problems with this approach. Firstly, the word ‘elite’ emphasises an element of diversity which can refer to various groups of people who are distinguished from the rest of society due to a form of power, which could be sourced from aspects of social, political, economic, military, cultural ideological and territorial powers.²⁷⁷ Secondly, no cemetery or grave is ever similar as exemplified by the numerous architectural features found amongst Early Dynastic tombs.²⁷⁸ In reaction to these issues, this dissertation will review the elite tombs that have been identified so far from most Early Dynastic cemetery locations around Egypt between the First to the Third Dynasties. While the literature from sociological and anthropological acts as a foundation for an approach here, the methodology is dictated by the contextual nature regarding the archaeological evidence being dated to the Early Dynastic period. It is important that the context is used to help frame the interpretations by specialists and experts studying the mortuary evidence of the Early Dynastic period, who wish to organise the complex mortuary data according to a variety of approaches and to use it as evidence for social organisation in ancient Egypt.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Falconer (2015: 61).

²⁷⁷ Moreno García (2009: 7).

²⁷⁸ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: Abb. 13); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: Plan 10).

²⁷⁹ Köhler (2004a: 10).

PART II – ARCHAEOLOGICAL
DESCRIPTIONS OF ROYAL
AND ELITE EARLY DYNASTIC
TOMBS

CHAPTER 3 - THE ROYAL TOMBS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

The royal tomb became the principal public statement on the nature of kingship. Changes in royal tomb architecture are thus our most important single guide to the evolution of ancient perceptions of monarchy.

B.J. Kemp²⁸⁰

Before reviewing the documentation regarding Early Dynastic elite tombs, it is essential to examine the documentation regarding the royal tombs of the Early Dynastic period located at the sites of Abydos and Saqqara. This is because both sets of tombs have been mistaken for each other based on similar funerary features and yet a difference of size is emphasised to distinguish a degree of difference between both tomb types. The known royal tombs provide a monumental design and have been constantly analysed to understand the development of mortuary architecture at the dawn of the Egyptian state and as a template for funerary wealth within ancient Egyptian society.²⁸¹ The royal tombs within Cemetery B date between the Protodynastic period to about the end of the Second Dynasty, while those located at Saqqara date exclusively to the Second and Third Dynasties. It is not just the size of these tombs which distinguishes them, but also a variety of architectural features which have been advocated to signify their royal status. This includes the large quantity of storage chambers surrounding the burial chamber, the attention towards building the burial chamber and its internal structure.²⁸² Furthermore, the identities of the people who owned these tombs was assigned to the first sovereigns of Egypt, based on the associated stelae accompanying these graves.²⁸³ Finally, the accompanying funerary enclosures assigned to some of the First and Second Dynasty sovereigns, located between the North Cemetery of Abydos and Hierakonpolis.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Kemp (2018: 97).

²⁸¹ Gould (2003: 32).

²⁸² Engel (2003a; 2008); Lacher (2008; 2011).

²⁸³ Vanhulle (2013: 214-216).

²⁸⁴ Kemp (1967); Friedman & Raue (2007); Bestock (2008b).

3.1 SAQQARA

The Second Dynasty would herald a change of burial preference based on the discovery of two royal tombs constructed in central Saqqara belonging to two sovereigns, Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer. These two mortuary structures are the most recent royal tombs to have been excavated and analysed thanks to the German excavations.²⁸⁵

3.1.1 HETEPSEKHEMWY

The Second Dynasty tomb of Hetepsekhemwy is the earliest known royal tomb located at Saqqara and is located under the eastern side of the Old Kingdom pyramid belonging to the Old Kingdom Pharaoh, Unas (Fig. 1).²⁸⁶ The presence of this underground corridor tomb was first indicated by seal impressions, bearing the name of Hetepsekhemwy, as well as Raneb, upon the mud stoppers for Early Dynastic pottery jars that were retrieved by Barsanti during his excavations of the pyramid of Unas in the early 1900s.²⁸⁷ The tomb has been labelled to be the first underground tomb dug completely into the limestone rock so far.²⁸⁸ Moreover, it is undoubtedly one of the largest mortuary constructions built at Saqqara, measuring 122 m long x 48 m wide, covering an area of 5850 m² that consisted of 120 rock-cut chambers, which were at least 2 m high (Fig. 2).²⁸⁹ At least 3620 m³ was hollowed out to accommodate the large size of this subterranean corridor tomb.²⁹⁰ Despite these monumental statistics, the tomb has not been completely excavated towards its southern end, therefore, more rooms or structural features could be added depending on future excavations.²⁹¹ The first floor plan of the tomb was drawn by Lauer, which conveys the main design of the tomb, despite being an abstract version of it.²⁹² It is assumed that a mastaba superstructure was built on top of the tomb to indicate its presence within the cemetery, however, no indications of an associated superstructure have been reported.²⁹³ Nonetheless, the substructure has a north-south orientation, and had an entrance from the northern end that is now obstructed by the constructions of the Unas pyramid and the mortuary complex of the Third Dynasty sovereign, Netjerikhet.²⁹⁴ The main feature of the tomb is its forty metre long passageway from the

²⁸⁵ Lacher (2008; 2011); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014).

²⁸⁶ Lauer (1979: 363-364); Fischer (1961: 47, Fig. 9); Lacher (2008: 427).

²⁸⁷ Barsanti (1902: 183); Fischer (1961: 46); Lacher (2008: 427-428).

²⁸⁸ Lacher (2008: 433).

²⁸⁹ Lacher (2008: 431); La Loggia (2015: 45, fn. 2); Clark (2016: 41).

²⁹⁰ La Loggia (2015: 45).

²⁹¹ Lacher (2008: 431); Clark (2016: 41, fn. 320).

²⁹² Lauer (1936: 4, Fig. 2); Lacher (2008: 430).

²⁹³ Lacher (2008: 431).

²⁹⁴ Lacher (2008: 432)

entrance that includes a trench-cut stairway (H-A, H-B and H-C).²⁹⁵ Branching off the stairway entrance are two passage ways, orientated east-west, H-B100 on the western side (accessed from interval H-B of the stairway) and H-B200 on the east (accessible between intervals H-B and H-C of the stairway). Both passage-ways symmetrically have fourteen rooms branching off with a north-south orientation. The end of the stairway is obstructed by a portcullis that restricts access to three other equal intervals along the main passageway (H-D, H-E and H-F) that are also blocked by two other portcullises.²⁹⁶ More passageways also branch off these intervals, which were carved out of the rock via the initial tunnel excavation of the tomb during its construction.²⁹⁷ Finally, beyond the fourth portcullis, lies more intervals (H-G, H-H, H-I and H-J) with more branching passageways on either side, especially leading to a north-south orientated passageway on the eastern side (combining H-G203, H-G207, G-H204 and G-H207) with at least sixteen branching storage rooms cut into the rock.²⁹⁸ The function of some of these rooms have been suggested as washrooms and latrines, in accordance with some of the contemporary designs exhibited by Second Dynasty tombs built at North Saqqara.²⁹⁹ Interval H-J is where a number of rooms have been identified, including the burial chamber (H-J100). Most of the tomb has been severely plundered, leaving not much to be desired which could indicate the remains of the deceased owner of the tomb, Hetepsekhemwy, who is designated as the first king of the Second Dynasty, based on the findings of seal impressions with his name found in the tomb complex of Qa'a.³⁰⁰ Therefore, demonstrating that no break in reigns occurred between the First and Second Dynasties.³⁰¹ Hetepsekhemwy's tomb, along with that of Ninetjer, show a changing burial trend from the previous First Dynasty royal tombs that were built in the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery at Abydos.³⁰² Why they relocated their tombs to a different cemetery up north is still relatively unknown.

While the ownership of this tomb has been attributed to Hetepsekhemwy, the presence of Raneb's name amongst the seal impressions has ignited proposals that the tomb was usurped by Raneb and making him the final tomb owner.³⁰³ However, the presence of these names could also suggest that Raneb oversaw the burial of Hetepsekhemwy as his successor.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁵ Lacher (2008: 432); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 142, Abb. 32).

²⁹⁶ Lacher (2008: 432); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 142, Abb. 32); Clark (2016: 41).

²⁹⁷ Lacher (2008: 432).

²⁹⁸ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 142, Abb. 32).

²⁹⁹ Lacher (2008: 438-439).

³⁰⁰ Dreyer *et al* (1996: 71-72, Abb. 25); Wilkinson (1999: 83).

³⁰¹ Dreyer *et al* (1996: 71).

³⁰² Wilkinson (1999: 83); van Wetering (2004: 1075).

³⁰³ Fischer (1961: 47).

³⁰⁴ Wilkinson (1999: 84); Lacher (2008: 430, fn. 5); Regulski (2011a: 296); Hamilton (2016a: 187).

Nonetheless, no skeletal or burial evidence pertaining to the Early Dynastic period was retrieved from the tomb, leaving no further evidence to support whether it was used by Raneb as his resting place. Further complicating this idea is also the discovery of a stela bearing Raneb's serekh, with a provenance connecting to Mit Rahina, the ancient site of Memphis.³⁰⁵ This has led to further suggestions that the actual tomb of Raneb may have been built near the tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer.³⁰⁶ Lacher-Raschdorff thinks it is unlikely that a possible tomb for Raneb would be on the western side of Hetepsekhemwy's tomb, for the burial chamber of Unas' pyramid is dug at the same depth as any of the subterranean systems known in this part of the cemetery, and would have clashed with any other possible underground tomb.³⁰⁷ Moreover, the tomb of Ninetjer is 130 m away from Hetepsekhemwy's to the west, so a possible superstructure for Raneb would be too close in comparison, leaving only enough room for a possible tomb to have a built ramp or stairway corridor across a 65-70 m distance.³⁰⁸ Therefore, the tomb of Raneb would either be found more to the east, in between the tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer, or on the plateau south of Hetepsekhemwy.³⁰⁹ However, only further excavations will help to clarify these theories.

It is speculated that Hetepsekhemwy may have had a funerary enclosure built towards the west of Netjerikhet's step pyramid and north of Sekhemkhet's ruined pyramid, where the 'L-shaped Enclosure' is known to be, with only bricked walls, made from a mixture of desert sand, gravel and traces of brick and limestone, resembling an 'L' creating a south-west quadrant.³¹⁰ The western wall measures 140 m, while the southern wall measures 200 m, indicating that a large structure of some kind may have existed here; however, its full extent is not known.³¹¹ Its location in relation to Hetepsekhemwy's tomb is reminiscent of the remote funerary enclosures distance to the royal tombs of the Umm el-Qa'ab, however, this has not been confirmed and remains a theory.³¹²

3.1.2 NINETJER

The tomb of Ninetjer is located 130 m east of the tomb of Hetepsekhemwy to the south of Netjerikhet's pyramid complex and underneath the causeway of the Old Kingdom Pharaoh,

³⁰⁵ Fischer (1961: 48); Dodson (1996: 21); Vanhulle (2013: 215).

³⁰⁶ Regulski (2009: 223); Hamilton (2016a: 187)

³⁰⁷ Lacher (2008: 431, Abb. 4); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 53).

³⁰⁸ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 53).

³⁰⁹ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 53).

³¹⁰ Mathieson & Tavares (1993: 27-28); Spencer (1974: 3).

³¹¹ Mathieson & Tavares (1993: 27-28); Dodson (2016: 8).

³¹² Wilkinson (1999: 244).

Unas (Fig. 1).³¹³ The ownership of this tomb was confirmed by the number of wine jars, whose mud seals were impressed with the name of Ninetjer that were retrieved from the tomb by Selim Bey Hassan.³¹⁴ While no remains of its superstructure are visible today, the substructure of Ninetjer's tomb measured 77 m long x 50 m wide, covering an area of 3900 m² that consisted of 192 rooms cut out of the bedrock, requiring at least 1800 m³ of the underground terrain (Fig. 3).³¹⁵ The rooms are estimated to be 2 m high on average.³¹⁶ The limestone geological features of the central Saqqara plateau where the tomb was hollowed out, has been measured to have a Mohs hardness range from 2.0-3.5, ensuring that the weight of the tomb's underground structure is supported within the local bedrock.³¹⁷ The tomb's substructure features a main corridor measuring 33 m long x 2.5 m high and leads from the original entrance all the way to the main burial chamber.³¹⁸ The corridor consists of two sections. Firstly, a ramp like entrance from the north (Ramp A), with a north-south orientation. At the end of Ramp A, two limestone portcullises are installed (1.60-1.75 m wide x 0.5 m thick x 3.40 m high), which secure the access to the narrower part of the corridor (Hauptkorridor C-F) leading to the rest of the tomb.³¹⁹ Overall, at least fifteen side passages branch off the main corridor which then lead to more storage rooms as part of the tomb's labyrinth-like structure.³²⁰ The original entrance to the tomb is entered from Ramp A to the north of the main corridor; however, this has been built over due to the Old Kingdom mastaba tomb belonging to Achet-hotep and his son, Neb-Kau-Hor.³²¹ Instead, accessing the tomb was made possible due to the numerous shafts associated with the mastaba tombs of the Unas cemetery to the north of the area; including one that is closest to the two portcullises installed in the middle of the tomb's main corridor.³²²

Despite the tomb being severely plundered, there were some subterranean rooms that were found to contain a variety of mortuary provisions. This includes wine jars found in rooms A500 and A300, branching from Ramp A, still sealed and covered with a thick net.³²³ However, there were sherds of broken ceramic bottles found that did not convey the same decorative patterns as the intact wine jars, leading to speculation that the ceremonial breaking of the red

³¹³ Lacher (2008: 427); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 53).

³¹⁴ Hassan (1938: 521); Lacher (2011: 213).

³¹⁵ Lacher-Raschdorff (2011: 537; 2014: 55); La Loggia (2015: 45).

³¹⁶ Lacher (2011: 217).

³¹⁷ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 69); La Loggia (2015: 2); Clark (2016 : 44).

³¹⁸ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 57); Clark (2016: 41).

³¹⁹ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 58).

³²⁰ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 537).

³²¹ Hassan (1938: 512); Porter & Moss (1981: 627); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 96-97, Abb. 18).


³²² Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 96, Abb. 18).

³²³ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 87, Taf. 30d).

pots has been a long standing funerary tradition, as highlighted in the Fifth Dynasty pyramid texts of Unas.³²⁴ A similar observation has been made regarding the Third Dynasty mastaba at Giza found by Covington.³²⁵

Mud stoppers have also been accounted for, which were used to seal the tomb's wine jars and stone vessels and have been found impressed with a variety of seal impressions bearing the Ninetjer's name and a variety of names of officials who may have been in charge of acquiring and monitoring the funerary goods for Ninetjer's tomb.³²⁶ Intact and broken stone vessels were found, some bearing inking patterns and incised hieroglyphs. Also, thirteen unprocessed rocks which may have been buried for the deceased's usage in the afterlife or they were simply left there, such as those found in rooms A400 and A600.³²⁷ Calcite and diorite are some of the included mediums used to craft the retrieved stone vessels.³²⁸ Finally, a large group of lithics was found scattered in many places within this tomb.³²⁹

Based on the recent excavations of the tomb, Lacher-Raschdorff estimated the form of the Ninetjer's superstructure, leading to five possible reconstructions when compared to other Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom tombs.³³⁰ The first option follows the tumulus shape, as exemplified by the royal tombs built within the Umm el-Qa'ab at Abydos.³³¹ The mud bricked 'Mastaba' shape, similar to the private tombs of the North Saqqara cemetery, was suggested as a second option.³³² Inspired by subsequent Third Dynasty developments within Saqqara, a mud-brick structure encompassing a model palace, similar to the South Tomb of Netjerikhet's complex is also suggested.³³³ Moreover, a stone superstructure with an eastern chapel, as seen with Fourth Dynasty mastabas at Giza, is proposed.³³⁴ Finally, another Fourth Dynasty inspired example deduces a stone superstructure with a chapel and an enclosure wall similar to the tomb of King Shepseskaf of the Fourth Dynasty.³³⁵ While these may be plausible theories, there is nothing that remains to indicate whether Ninetjer's tomb had a monumental superstructure of

³²⁴ van Dijk (1986: 1391); Allen (2005: 29); Ritner (2008: 144). Specifically PT 244, line 249b.194, where  *sd dšr(.t)i* is written, see Sethe (1908: 137) *cf.* Hays (2012: 488)

³²⁵ Covington (1905: 216).

³²⁶ Hassan (1938: 521); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 89-91).

³²⁷ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: Abb. 11, Taf. 28d)

³²⁸ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 91-92).

³²⁹ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 92).

³³⁰ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 167-197); Yasuoka (2016: 95).

³³¹ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 174).

³³² Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 180).

³³³ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 187).

³³⁴ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 191).

³³⁵ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 195).

any kind, which is the same conundrum associated with questioning the superstructural designs associated with the royal tombs built at Abydos.³³⁶

Like the theory between the ‘L-shaped Enclosure’ and Hetepsekhemwy’s tombs, the Gisir el-Mudir enclosure is believed to have been a funerary enclosure for Ninetjer due to its proximal distance (Fig. 1).³³⁷ Despite the presence of some preserved 15 m thick walls made from a mixture of limestone, the structure is estimated to have measured 650 m long x 400 m wide, making it larger than Netjerikhet’s mortuary complex and the ‘L-shaped enclosure’.³³⁸ No structure of any kind has been found within the centre of this structure, despite a pavement was found 25 m away from the wall inside the enclosure.³³⁹ Assigning this structure to have been made for Ninetjer remains speculative and further excavations of this enigmatic structure needs to be taken to confirm its actual date and whether this was a funerary enclosure.³⁴⁰ However, some pottery sherds from beer jars were retrieved from the south-west corner of this structure’s area, providing a provisional date between the Second and Third Dynasty.³⁴¹ It is also deemed illogical that enclosures of such magnitude would pre-date the mud-brick tombs of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy at Abydos.³⁴²

3.1.3 NETJERIKHET

The stepped pyramid of the Third Dynasty sovereign, Netjerikhet, is regarded as one of ancient Egypt’s monumental mortuary structures, which heralded the classic lineage of pyramid building between the Third and Sixth Dynasties.³⁴³ It is considered the first ancient Egyptian mortuary monument to have its core masonry and casing built entirely of stone.³⁴⁴ The depths of this stepped structure’s shaft was explored by John Shae Perring in 1839, who recorded some of the first plans that details the pyramid’s external dimensions, orientation, the height and slope of each of the six protruding steps.³⁴⁵ However, the rest of the passageways

³³⁶ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 53).

³³⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 244); Dodson (2016: 8).

³³⁸ Swelim (1983: 33); Mathieson & Tavares (1993: 27-28); Dodson (2016: 8)

³³⁹ Mathieson *et al* (1999: 38); Dodson (2016: 8).

³⁴⁰ Mathieson *et al* (1997: 53, fn. 40) has also suggested Khasekhemwy to have built this enclosure.

³⁴¹ Mathieson *et al* (1997: 36); Wilkinson (1999: 244).

³⁴² Wilkinson (1999: 244).

³⁴³ Porter & Moss (1981: 399-415); Lehner (1997: 84); Clark (2016: 49)

³⁴⁴ Arnold (2009: 72); Lauer (2015: 109).

³⁴⁵ Firth & Quibell (1935: I, 4); Baud (2002: 15). Thompson (2015: 216, fn. 12) notes that countless explorers before Perring would have explored the Step Pyramid, including Baron Heinrich von Minutoli in 1821.

within and underneath the pyramid were not completely explored until Firth's campaigns a century later during the 1920s.³⁴⁶

Some distinguishing features of Netjerikhet's mortuary complex includes the niched limestone enclosure wall that was 544 m long x 277 m wide x 10.5 m high, enfolding a space of at least 150 000 m², which is likened to the size of a small town (Fig. 4).³⁴⁷ The narrow entrance to access the complex is located near the south-eastern corner of the niched walled enclosure, leading to a hall with limestone pillars or 'engaged columns' imitating bundles of reeds or rods; this area is dubbed the 'Entrance Colonnade'.³⁴⁸ Even though this area was initially found in ruins, the 'engaged columns' are estimated to have been around 6 m high, based on their diameter and would have supported a stone roof that covered the small niches between the columned pillars.³⁴⁹ This stone roof was made to imitate wooden beams placed on edges and were rounded underneath to simulate thick palm logs.³⁵⁰ According to Tawfik, this is similar to the roofing pattern of Khasekhemwy's tomb at Abydos.³⁵¹ A chapel is built around the centre of the colonnade, by turning left to the south, where a possible limestone statue of Netjerikhet may have stood, based on the broken remains found thrown near the south side of this room.³⁵²

Walking out of the 'Entrance colonnade' would then be followed by the massive court towards the south of the Step Pyramid structure. Moreover, there is the Great tomb built against the south side of the mortuary complex, which has been deemed as either a ceremonial or provisional burial place of Netjerikhet. Other structures include the Heb-Sed court, located to the east of the mortuary complex. This court was bounded by the remains of at least 25 chapels which have been reconstructed today through anastylosis methods.³⁵³ It is speculated that this is the area where Netjerikhet would have celebrated the Sed festival, based on the presence of the chapels and a stone platform towards the southern end of the court, where the double throne dais may have been located for the King to oversee the ceremonial activities for the Sed-Festival.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁶ Firth (1925; 1928); Baud (2002: 15-16).

³⁴⁷ Firth & Quibell (1935: 1); Lehner (1997: 84); Arnold (2009: 72).

³⁴⁸ Firth & Quibell (1935: 13-14, pl. 54).

³⁴⁹ Firth & Quibell (1935: 14, pl. 52); Lauer (2015: 74).

³⁵⁰ Lauer (1976: 92); Tawfik (2016: 451).

³⁵¹ Dreyer *et al* (2003: 112-114); Tawfik (2016: 451).

³⁵² Gunn (1926b: 180); Firth & Quibell (1935: 14).

³⁵³ Lauer (2015: 76-77).

³⁵⁴ Kemp (2006: 105-107).

The stepped pyramid structure itself, measured 121 m long x 109 m wide x 60 m high, covering a substructure consisting of a central shaft that is 7 m long x 7 m wide x 28 m deep (Fig. 4A).³⁵⁵ The burial vault was created with an entrance from the ceiling and closed with a roof made from two layers of 1.1-1.2 m thick granite blocks.³⁵⁶ Due to the alterations of this tomb from a mastaba to a stepped pyramid, the security measures were also changed by creating a circular opening in the granite roof of the northern end of the chamber, to allow the insertion of the deceased's mummified body into the burial vault.³⁵⁷ This circular opening was then plugged with a 2 m long x 1 m in diameter granite plug, weighing 3.5 tonnes.³⁵⁸ This plug exhibited grooves which indicates it was lowered into place using ropes.³⁵⁹ Despite these measures, a section of the plug and its hole was broken away by tomb robbers.³⁶⁰ Towards the eastern side of the step pyramid, eleven vertical shafts, measuring 32 m, each leading to a horizontal gallery 30 m east to west.³⁶¹ It is interpreted that some of these shaft galleries were allocated as graves for royal family members, such as Intkaes and Hetephernebti, who are believed to be either princesses or Queens who were related to Netjerikhet, based on the presence of their names alongside Netjerikhet's on retrieved boundary stelae.³⁶² However, it is not confirmed.

Netjerikhet's mortuary complex incorporates a variety of elements from preceding royal tombs and enclosures of both the First and Second Dynasties.³⁶³ The south-eastern entrance into the 'Entrance Colonnade' is reminiscent of the design of Khasekhemwy's 'Shunet ez-Zebib' funerary enclosure (Fig. 16).³⁶⁴ The excavations of the same sovereign's tomb in the Umm el-Qa'ab, was also found to have similar construction methods to the 'Entrance Collonade' as described before (Fig. 15).³⁶⁵ Netjerikhet's Step Pyramid was originally constructed with a mastaba foundation, additional construction phases incorporated more stepped features to create its stepped nature. A central shaft leads to the substructure of the Step Pyramid, measuring 25 m deep and about 8 m wide.³⁶⁶ The burial of an ox-head was discovered in one of the pit chambers underneath the remains of an altar in the southern court of the

³⁵⁵ Firth & Quibell (1935: 2); Clark (2016: 372).

³⁵⁶ Clark (2016: 52).

³⁵⁷ Lauer (1962: 75-76; 2015: 69); Clark (2016: 52).

³⁵⁸ Clark (2016: 230)

³⁵⁹ Lauer (1962: 75-76); Clark (2016: 230).

³⁶⁰ Firth (1925: 153); Clark (2016: 230).

³⁶¹ Lauer (2015: 70).

³⁶² Tyldesly (2006: 38-39); Lauer (2015: 68).

³⁶³ Tawfik (2016).

³⁶⁴ Kemp (2006: 103).

³⁶⁵ Tawfik (2016: 451-452).

³⁶⁶ Firth (1925: 153).

pyramid, which is another similarity to preceding Early Dynastic structures who exhibit moulded ox-heads.³⁶⁷ What also signifies Netjerikhet's connection to the preceding First and Second Dynasties is the 40 000 inscribed vessels bearing the names of his sovereign predecessors found within subterranean galleries VI and VII towards the eastern side of the Step Pyramid's basement areas.³⁶⁸

What captivated some of the early explorers who investigated the tomb during the early eighteenth century was the limestone door frame decorated with inscriptions and bordered by walls covered with a blue faience plateaux, imitating reeds, that was located within a passage, south-east of the main burial pit, that led to an L-shaped corridor consisting of the two rooms.³⁶⁹ Perring was able to send facsimiles of these inscriptions to Samuel Birch who was able to decipher a name, Netjerikhet.³⁷⁰ Initially, the name 'Netjerikhet' was not believed to belong to a king and rather to the builder of the Step Pyramid, since this name did not conform with the other Memphite sovereign names from much later known king lists.³⁷¹ This name would later be known as the 'Horus name' for Djoser, when the connection between Netjerikhet and Djoser was confirmed from a number of sources, especially the Sehel Famine Stela, an artefact dated to the 18th year of Netjerikhet's reign.³⁷²

The presence of Netjerikhet's mortuary complex and pyramid in Saqqara also signalled an absolute breakaway from the traditional burial ground of his predecessors at Abydos, which was a hallowed burial turf for the sovereigns of the first two dynasties, especially within the Umm-el-Qa'ab cemetery.

3.2 ABYDOS

The Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery at Abydos is in the middle of the desert close to the bordering Western cliffs in the area and is about 1.5 km west of Seti I's temple (Fig. 5).³⁷³ This area stretches for about two kilometres from the wadi openings associated with the Kom es-

³⁶⁷ Firth & Quibell (1935: 70, 116, pl. 73).

³⁶⁸ Gunn (1928: 155-156); Regulski (2010: 20).

³⁶⁹ Firth & Quibell (1935: 4); Baud (2002: 16). This limestone door frame was removed by the Lepsius led Prussian expedition and is now held in the Berlin Museum.

³⁷⁰ Baud (2002: 16).

³⁷¹ Baud (2002: 16).

³⁷² Barguet (1953: 14, 33); Wilkinson (1999: 95); Seidlmayer (2006b: 118, fn. 12).

³⁷³ Morgan (1897: 231); Engel (2008: 31).

Sultan settlement and has been the focus of investigations regarding the tombs buried within its two mortuary areas dating from the late twentieth century to the present day.³⁷⁴

Firstly, Cemetery B, which lies on a small elevated spur above the surrounding plain with a deep drainage ravine on its west side and is home to the royal tombs of the First and Second Dynasties (Fig. 5).³⁷⁵ Secondly, Cemetery U, which is north of the Cemetery B beyond the tomb of Iry-Hor and up to the ‘Heqreshu Hill’ on the eastern end of a flat plateau which slopes only slightly to the south towards Cemetery B and occupies an area measuring 200 m (W-E) x 150 m (N-S) (Fig. 5).³⁷⁶ It is observed by the excavators that this cemetery was reserved for an elite group since the Naqada IID period despite a break in the chronological development of tombs at the site.³⁷⁷ But, then from Naqada IIIA, nine tombs with several chambers are dated to the Protodynastic period, which are interpreted to belong to selected members of the ‘upper classes’.³⁷⁸ Even though the tombs of Cemetery U have not been designated as ‘royal tombs’, the excavation data from the German excavations have revealed a cemetery for the deceased remains of an exclusive social group, given the presence of Tomb U-j. Not to mention, the proximity of tombs from Cemetery B, are built in a way which makes them associated with the location of the Cemetery U, starting with the tomb of Hor-Aha and concluding with the placement of Khasekhemwy’s tomb. Finally, in the Northern Abydos cemetery, the remains of ten funerary enclosures are known, eight of which are attributed to specific sovereigns of the First and Second Dynasties (Fig. 16).³⁷⁹

3.2.1 CEMETERY B

The initial foray to excavate the Cemetery B was demonstrated by Amélineau and Petrie, whose efforts sought to salvage the rich finds from this cemetery’s tombs between 1895–1901.³⁸⁰ In 1910, Naville subsequently surveyed and cleared parts of Cemetery B to confirm Petrie’s map plans.³⁸¹ As a result, tombs with different large sized areas were revealed that were all dug into the solid sand, were reinforced by built mud brick walls with their surfaces plastered with Nile silt and provided evidence that they were covered with grave

³⁷⁴ Dreyer (1998: 3); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 200-201).

³⁷⁵ Petrie (1900: 3).

³⁷⁶ Peet (1914: 14); Dreyer (1998: 3); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 168, Abb. 54).

³⁷⁷ Dreyer (1998: 3).

³⁷⁸ Dreyer (1998: 3).

³⁷⁹ Bestock (2008b: 44).

³⁸⁰ Amélineau (1897; 1898; 1899a); Petrie (1900; 1901).

³⁸¹ Naville (1914: 35-36).

mounds or tumuluses.³⁸² Tombs allocated to the early First Dynasty include the tombs of Narmer, Hor-Aha and Djer, whereby the material culture emanating from their tombs have been allocated to the Naqada IIIC1 period, based on pottery and bread mould comparisons.³⁸³

3.2.1.1 NARMER

The tomb of Narmer is ascribed to the mortuary structures labelled Tomb B17/18 that is located to the north of Tomb B19, allocated to Hor-Aha's tomb complex (Fig. 6).³⁸⁴ The tomb is comprised of two separate chambers built within a single pit, divided by a single brick wall which seems to have been added as part of later repairs when the southern chamber, B18, collapsed.³⁸⁵ Tomb B18 is considered to be the main burial chamber, measuring 5.6 m long x 3.25 m wide x 2.8 m deep.³⁸⁶ While Tomb B17 is suggested to be the subsidiary chamber, measuring 4.25 m long x 3.10 m wide.³⁸⁷ Some post-holes were found in the floor of B17, which at first was thought to be for a roof, but an alternative opinion suggests a possible 'tent' may have been erected in this space.³⁸⁸ No skeletal material was recovered from this tomb, however, retrieved ceramic material from this tomb suggests a Naqada IIIC1 date.³⁸⁹ A number of seals and inscribed evidence support Narmer to be the first king of the First Dynasty, especially since his name appears on a king list portrayed on some seals recovered from the tombs of Den and Qa'a.³⁹⁰ Not to mention, some tombs where his name has been inscribed upon artefacts, such as Ezbet el-Tell,³⁹¹ Zawiyet el-Aryan (Fig. 87),³⁹² and Tarkhan.³⁹³

3.2.1.2 HOR-AHA

Three large pit tombs arranged in a row characterise the burial chambers allocated to Hor-Aha (B19, B15, B10), where each chamber was surrounded by a 1.60-1.90 m thick wall, which are likened to enclosure walls rather than lined trench walls – each averaging an area of 11.5-12 m long x 9-9.5 m wide x 4 m deep (Fig. 6).³⁹⁴ Post holes were found along the long

³⁸² Engel (2008: 32); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 200).

³⁸³ Petrie (1953b: pls. XII-XV); Kaiser (1964: 94-95, Abb. 1); Dreyer (1990: 66, Abb. 4a); Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 296-297, Tab. 5); Hendrickx (2006: 89-90, Tab. II 1.6).

³⁸⁴ Kaiser (1964: 100); Dreyer (1992: 57); Wilkinson (2000c: 31); Engel (2008: 37, Fig. 9).

³⁸⁵ Dreyer *et al* (2003: 85-86); Clark (2016: 29).

³⁸⁶ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 220); La Loggia (2015: 93).

³⁸⁷ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 220); Engel (2008: 37).

³⁸⁸ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 221); Clark (2016: 29).

³⁸⁹ Hendrickx (2006: 90).

³⁹⁰ Dreyer (1987: 36, Abb. 3); Kaiser (1987: 118, Abb. 2); Cervelló Autuori (2008: 890); Heaghy (2014: 80).

³⁹¹ Bakr (1988: 52, pl. 1a).

³⁹² Dunham (1978: 25-26, pl. XVIa-b).

³⁹³ Petrie *et al* (1913: 9, 11, 28, pl. XXXI, nos. 68-69) *cf.* Jiménez Serrano (2003: 117); Heaghy (2014: 73).

³⁹⁴ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 214, Abb 2); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210).

sides of each of the chambers which were used to support the weight of wooden shrines.³⁹⁵ It is speculated that the middle tomb, B15, was the main burial chamber for the deceased body of the king, while B19/10 were accompanying storage chambers.³⁹⁶ However, no skeletal remains were recovered from these three chambers, which could help to consolidate this theory. Beside the three main tombs, there are two other large graves towards the east, allocated as B13/14; further in the same direction, around 36 subsidiary graves are mostly arranged in rows of three.³⁹⁷ These are the first attested subsidiary burials at the site and they contained the deceased remains of young males, not to mention the remnants of lion bones.³⁹⁸ The three main tomb structures have been assigned to Hor-Aha based on the number of inscribed instances of his name discovered not just amongst some of the main chambers, but also in most of the subsidiary burials, which provided a clarification to allocate the nearby tombs B17/18 to the premier First Dynasty sovereign, Narmer, and Tomb B7/9 to Ka of the Protodynastic period (Fig. 6).³⁹⁹ The identities of the people within these subsidiary tombs has also been speculated, including the occupant within B14, for three pieces of ivory were found inscribed with the name of 'Bener-Ib', who is theorised to be the wife of Hor-Aha.⁴⁰⁰

This mortuary arrangement is the first tomb complex of its kind to be built of such a substantial size due to the labour expenditure which has been estimated to have excavated 1961 m³ of sand to create the pit spaces and utilised 508 700 mud bricks for the built-in structures.⁴⁰¹ The architectural features exhibited by this tomb complex have been labelled as innovations in funerary architecture in comparison to the preceding Protodynastic graves within Cemetery U.⁴⁰² Contemporary elite tombs dated to the reign of Hor-Aha, include Tomb 3357 from North Saqqara and the niched mastaba from Naqada, where the bricked substructures of these tombs are emulations of the wooden constructions found within the three main chambers of Hor-Aha, which all give evidence for having wooden roofs covering their substructures.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁵ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 248); Dreyer (2007a: 194, Abb. 273b).

³⁹⁶ Kaiser & Grossman (1979: 160); Dreyer (2007a: 194-195).

³⁹⁷ Dreyer (1990: Abb. 1). There is some conjecture with the number of subsidiary burials associated with Hor-Aha's mortuary complex. Engel (2008: 37) assigns 38 tombs (34 interments & 4 storage chambers) while Kaiser (1964: 96) and Vaudou (2008: 151) allocate 36 tombs.

³⁹⁸ Dreyer (1990: 81-87); Engel (2008: 34); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210).

³⁹⁹ Petrie (1901: 8, pls. IIIA.5, X.2); Kaiser (1964: 97-100); Dreyer (1990: 64-65).

⁴⁰⁰ Petrie (1901: 8, pls. III.1, IIIA.13); Dreyer (1990: 62); Wilkinson (1999: 70).

⁴⁰¹ La Loggia (2015: 93-94).

⁴⁰² Engel (2008: 32); Clark (2016: 29).

⁴⁰³ Kaiser & Grossman (1979: 160-161); Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 248); Wilkinson (1999: 70); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210).

Over at North Abydos, a funerary enclosure complex associated with Hor-Aha was recently excavated in 2001, consisting of the disturbed remains of three small enclosures.⁴⁰⁴ The smallest of these enclosures, ‘Aha III’, was mostly disturbed, but it was estimated to have measured 14.5 long x 10 m wide.⁴⁰⁵ The ‘Aha II’ enclosure was found to the south west of the ‘Aha III’ enclosure, measuring 17 m long x 12 m wide.⁴⁰⁶ The largest of these, labelled as ‘Aha I’ measured 33 m long x 22 m wide, lying to the south east of the smaller two enclosures.⁴⁰⁷ Each of these enclosures was found to contain a ‘cult chapel’ consisting of at least three chambers, which are the first observed compared to the other funerary enclosures uncovered before.⁴⁰⁸ The association with Hor-Aha stems from the presence of inscribed ceramics bearing the sovereign’s name from some of the associated subsidiary burials around each of these enclosures.⁴⁰⁹ These subsidiary burials were subterranean types individually built with mud brick lining and not arranged in rows like those associated with Hor-Aha’s tomb complex. Five were uncovered around the ‘Aha I’ enclosure.⁴¹⁰ Two subsidiary burials accompanied the ‘Aha II’ enclosure, with one them found to be undisturbed, housing the deceased remains of a semi contracted adult female within a wooden coffin, accompanied by three ceramic ovoid jars, one inscribed with Hor-Aha’s serekh.⁴¹¹ Compared to his successors, Hor-Aha is the only sovereign known to have three funerary enclosures attested to him, not to mention having three main chambers built for his tomb complex in the Umm el-Qa’ab cemetery. According to Bestock, the two smaller enclosures, Aha II and Aha III, may not have just been built for Hor-Aha himself, and they may have been reserved for individuals other than the King.⁴¹²

3.2.1.3 DJER

The tomb of Djer (Tomb O) exhibits similar features from Hor-Aha’s tomb complex, but a further increase in size is noticeable with this mortuary complex covering an area of 3024 m², making it the largest First Dynasty funerary complex at the site (Fig. 7).⁴¹³ A single substructural chamber dug into the ground is the focal point of the mortuary complex, measuring 17 m long x 18 m wide x 2.7 m deep and is reinforced by 2.60 m thick walls.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Bestock (2008b: 48; 2009: 65).

⁴⁰⁵ Bestock (2008a: 1096).

⁴⁰⁶ Bestock (2008b: 49).

⁴⁰⁷ Bestock (2008a: 1097).

⁴⁰⁸ Bestock (2008a: 1093).

⁴⁰⁹ Bestock (2008a: 1095).

⁴¹⁰ Bestock (2008b: 49).

⁴¹¹ Bestock (2008a: 1097-98; 2009: 73-77).

⁴¹² Bestock (2009: 102).

⁴¹³ Dreyer *et al* (2011: 55-57).

⁴¹⁴ Dreyer *et al* (2011: 57-58); Dreyer (2008: 18) *cf.* La Loggia (2015: 95).

Evidence of a large wooden shrine, measuring 10.5 m x long x 8.60 m wide, was emphasised in the middle of the chamber, based on the remains found originally by Amélineau and Petrie that was then confirmed by the German re-excavations of the tomb.⁴¹⁵ Around thirteen tongued walls, made from plaster with a combination of brickwork covering its ends, protrude from the northwest, northeast and southeast areas into the chamber and would have been closed off by the wooden shrine's interior.⁴¹⁶ Recent re-excavations of this burial chamber revealed that these protruding walls were individually covered with wooden beams, approximately 15 cm in diameter.⁴¹⁷ On the inside of these tongued walls, mostly on the western side of the tomb and one example on the eastern side, recesses painted in a red colour are distinguished and have been interpreted to be a variation of the false door (Fig. 7).⁴¹⁸ However, this is not an innovation, but just another variation of dividing the space within the burial chamber, as seen within the older Protodynastic graves in Cemetery U, such as tomb U-i.⁴¹⁹

On the east, west and south sides of Tomb O's substructure a 1 m high wall stood, made from bricks, stones and ceramics, which was initially thought to be created by grave robbers to stop falling debris from entering the pit.⁴²⁰ However, the German re-excavations of the tomb revealed on the eastern and south-western corners of the tomb the remains of a regular brick wall built on top of the lined walls of the tomb and aligned with them in a parallel fashion, suggesting that they buffered the tumulus mound which enclosed the tomb.⁴²¹ This is based on a similar observation with retaining walls associated with the south-western corner of Djet's tomb (Fig. 8).⁴²² Surrounding the main substructure are 330 smaller chambers which have all been regarded as subsidiary burials; however, not all of them were since sixteen of them were found to be storage spaces.⁴²³ Around one hundred stelae have been recorded to have been sourced from the tomb's subsidiary graves, however, only three stelae have their provenance confirmed, while the rest are reported to have been found in the area of Djer's tomb.⁴²⁴ The resources invested in building this tomb complex has been estimated to be 781 600 mud bricks and excavating 3182 m³ of earth to facilitate the space for this mortuary structure.⁴²⁵ Parallel

⁴¹⁵ Petrie (1901: 8); Dreyer (2009: 18); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210); La Loggia (2015: 95); Clark (2016: 31, fn. 255).

⁴¹⁶ Petrie (1901: 8); Bestock (2009: 31).

⁴¹⁷ Dreyer *et al* (2011: 59).

⁴¹⁸ Petrie (1901: 8); Adams (1994: 183); Dreyer *et al* (2011: 59, Abb. 5).

⁴¹⁹ Dreyer *et al* (1993: 32-33, Abb. 4); Bestock (2009: 31).

⁴²⁰ Amélineau (1899b: 70, pl. I.3, II.5 & III.9, 12) *cf.* Dreyer (1991: 100).

⁴²¹ Dreyer (1991: 100).

⁴²² Petrie (1900: 9, pl. LXII); Dreyer (1991: 96; 2010: Abb. 27).

⁴²³ Petrie (1900: pl. LX), Engel (2008: 38); La Loggia (2015: 95, fn. 163).

⁴²⁴ Martin (2011: 48 [52 & 53], 50 [56]).

⁴²⁵ La Loggia (2015: 91, Tab. 3.4).

elite tombs include 2185 and 3471 from North Saqqara as well as N1506 from Naga ed Der (Figs. 91 & 150).⁴²⁶

A funerary enclosure has also been attested for Djer in North Abydos, thanks to the discovery of its associated subsidiary burials by Petrie, numbering at least 269 burials (Fig. 18).⁴²⁷ Some of these burials were found to contain artefacts conveying the name of Djer, such as the ivory label found from burial 612 (Fig. 18).⁴²⁸ Petrie did not make an extra attempt to find the remains of the enclosure's actual walls and they were instead uncovered by the North Abydos project in the 1980s.⁴²⁹ The remains of these walls are only found towards the northwest and southwest sides and they convey niched patterns.⁴³⁰ There are also remains inferred from the south-eastern side of the structure, due to what is left of an eastern gateway entering the enclosure's space.⁴³¹ In 2001, more structural remains were found near the centre of the structure, believed to be what was left of a cult building. Despite its poor preservation, this cult building is estimated to have measured 11.5 m long x 9.3 m wide.⁴³² Based on the arrangement of the subsidiary burials and the wall remains, this enclosure is estimated to have measured 92.2m long x 53.8 m wide.⁴³³

Another enclosure which is speculated to have been built for Djer lies to the northwest of Djer's actual enclosure and to the southwest of Hor-Aha's enclosure complex (Fig. 16). This structure is known as the 'Donkey Enclosure' due to the presence of 10 donkey burials built within a mud bricked lined shallow trench that are parallel to the structure's southeast wall.⁴³⁴ These donkey burials are also situated within the gap of subsidiary burials that are associated with Djer's actual funerary enclosure, leading speculation to suggest that this 'Donkey enclosure' was built during Djer's reign.⁴³⁵ However, there are no other subsidiary burials apart from the donkey burials which can provide alternative clues to confirm this theory.

⁴²⁶ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: Abb. 13); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210).

⁴²⁷ Petrie (1925: 1); Bestock (2008b: 52); Vaudou (2008: 151).

⁴²⁸ Petrie (1925: 4, pl. XII.1).

⁴²⁹ O'Connor (1989: 61-81); Bestock (2008b: 51).

⁴³⁰ Bestock (2008b: 51).

⁴³¹ Bestock (2008b: 51).

⁴³² O'Connor (2003: 47); Bestock (2008b: 52).

⁴³³ O'Connor (1989: 58); Bestock (2008b: 51).

⁴³⁴ Bestock (2008b: 55).

⁴³⁵ Bestock (2007: 105-106)

3.2.1.4 DJET

Similar in architectural design, the tomb of Djet (Tomb Z) also consists of a large chamber measuring 9 m long x 12 m wide and is reinforced by thick brick walls, which measured 2.5-2.75 m (Fig. 8).⁴³⁶ Protruding walls also feature within its burial chamber, creating nineteen enclosed areas and some of the inner walls of these areas, mostly to the north eastern side of the tomb, have bulging recesses that were also painted red in similar fashion to what was found with Djer's tomb (Fig. 7).⁴³⁷ When Amélineau originally excavated this tomb, he found that some of these spaces contained stacks of jars, thus, they have been interpreted to be storage areas as well.⁴³⁸ The division of space again speculates that a wooden chamber was reinforced by these protruding walls, especially since timber planks coated with mud plaster were found in the burial and would have formed the floor for a shrine.⁴³⁹ It is estimated that the wall area of this shrine would have taken up 70 m².⁴⁴⁰ Around 223 subsidiary burials were also found to surround the tomb, which is a decrease compared to Djer's tomb complex, but still required an estimated 227 000 mud bricks to build.⁴⁴¹ On average these burials were about 1.5 m deep and were arranged to the north of the tomb in a single line as well as a triple line to the south.⁴⁴² According to Engel, 204 of these burials contained graves, while the remaining nineteen were storage magazines.⁴⁴³ Assigning this overall complex to Djet was straight forward thanks to the discovery of the limestone stele bearing Djet's name that was originally found by Amélineau.⁴⁴⁴ At least 56 stelae have been assigned to have come from Djet's mortuary complex, but the provenance of nine of these stelae are known.⁴⁴⁵ Parallel elite tombs which have been found with architectural similarities to this tomb include tombs 3504 from North Saqqara, T1060 from Tarkhan and Mastaba V from South Giza.⁴⁴⁶ The latter tomb from Giza was found to contain wooden flooring indicating it incorporated a wooden house structure within its burial chamber.⁴⁴⁷

⁴³⁶ Dreyer (1991: 96); Clark (2016: 31).

⁴³⁷ Petrie (1900: 10, pl. LXIII).

⁴³⁸ Amélineau (1899a: 133) *cf.* Clark (2016: 31, fn. 261).

⁴³⁹ Petrie (1900: 9-10); La Loggia (2015: 99); Clark (2016: 31).

⁴⁴⁰ La Loggia (2015: 100).

⁴⁴¹ La Loggia (2015: 98).

⁴⁴² Petrie (1900: pl. LXI); La Loggia (2015: 98).

⁴⁴³ Engel (2008: 38).

⁴⁴⁴ Amélineau (1899a: 244, fig. 63);

⁴⁴⁵ Martin (2011: 22-26 [10-16], 52 [57], 118 [157]).

⁴⁴⁶ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 2010).

⁴⁴⁷ Petrie *et al* (1907: 3); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210)

Over at North Abydos, Petrie found a near rectangular arrangement of subsidiary burials northeast of where Djer's funerary enclosure was (Fig. 19).⁴⁴⁸ At least 154 burials have been accounted for, with some of them found with artefacts conveying Djet's serekh, such as an ivory comb from burial 445 (Fig. 7).⁴⁴⁹ No remains of a mud brick walls been found in association with these burials, with future excavations needed to confirm whether an enclosure existed here; but, it does seem likely.⁴⁵⁰ Nonetheless, if such a structure existed, O'Connor estimates its size to have measured 90 m long x 47.5 m wide.⁴⁵¹

3.2.1.5 MERETNEITH

The labelled 'tomb Y' assigned to Meretneith follows a similar structural design to both Djer and Djet's tombs, encompassing a rectangular substructure that measured 16.5 m long x 14 m wide x 2.7 m deep (Fig. 9).⁴⁵² The inner burial chamber measured 8.99 m long x 6.35 m wide, featuring thick internal walls and brick tongue walls.⁴⁵³ A wooden shrine is suggested to have been constructed in this space based on the evidence of wooden posts, a piece of timber indicating a wooden floor along with faint traces of matting for a roof.⁴⁵⁴ Some differences can be seen with eight long rectangular magazines surrounding the burial chamber in a parallel fashion rather than the perpendicular arrangement observed from Djer and Djet's tomb substructures.⁴⁵⁵ At best 41 smaller graves surround this tomb as a hollow rectangle and was a common architectural trend for royal and private tombs built between the reigns of Djet and Den.⁴⁵⁶

The identity of Meretneith has been debated in relation to the nature of her ruling occupation after she was classified as a woman.⁴⁵⁷ The presence of two stelae bearing her name were found lying in the burial chamber, which were originally assigned to a king, 'Merneit', by Petrie (Fig. 9).⁴⁵⁸ But, once the feminine sign \ominus 't' was noticed in the name on the stelae and other nominal inscriptions, this was changed to a female name, 'Mert-neit/Meretneith'.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁴⁸ Petrie (1925: 1); O'Connor (1989: 58).

⁴⁴⁹ Petrie (1925: 4, pl. XII.5).

⁴⁵⁰ Bestock (2008b: 53).

⁴⁵¹ O'Connor (1989: 58).

⁴⁵² Petrie (1900: 8); La Loggia (2015: 100).

⁴⁵³ Petrie (1900: 10-11, pl. LXI); Clark (2016: 33, 368).

⁴⁵⁴ Petrie (1900: 11); La Loggia (2015: 100).

⁴⁵⁵ Petrie (1900: 10); Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: Abb. 12)

⁴⁵⁶ Reisner (1936: 89); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210-211, Plan 10); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 222); Pätznick (2017: 291).

⁴⁵⁷ Petrie (1900: 5, 26, 37); Edwards (1971: 25-26); Wilkinson (1999: 74-75).

⁴⁵⁸ Petrie (1900: 26, 37, pls. Frontipiece, LXIV.6).

⁴⁵⁹ Petrie (1923b: 18); Peet (1923: 124); Arafa (2006: 244).

Subsequent retrieved inscriptions from the tomb of Den bore her name associated with the title of ‘mother of the king’ which proved Petrie’s initial hunch that Meretneith was the mother of Den.⁴⁶⁰ The fact that her tomb complex incorporates some mortuary features found in the tombs of her predecessors and successors is undeniable and indicates that the ‘mother of the king’ was a highly regarded position.

From the surrounding smaller graves, around three stelae have been assigned to have been sourced from this tomb complex, with two recorded with their exact provenance, indicating that an entourage accompanied the deceased sovereign and they were given a burial place near Meretneith’s tomb.⁴⁶¹ This entourage featured people who had esteemed occupations, such as the individual, *M3-pr*, who was an *hrp ḥ* (administrator of the palace),⁴⁶² which is a rare title found on the stelae of other deceased persons buried in smaller graves near the royal tombs of Djet, Den and Semerkhet.⁴⁶³ Moreover, while Meretneith’s name may not be as widespread compared to her male counterparts, it has been found inscribed on seals within a number of private Early Dynastic tombs, such as M06 at Abu Rawash,⁴⁶⁴ 3503 in North Saqqara⁴⁶⁵ and T2039 at Tarkhan⁴⁶⁶ indicating that her name was a royal brand. It should be realised that Meretneith had a sovereign duty which was paramount to maintaining the legitimacy of the ancient Egyptian rulers at such an early historical stage.⁴⁶⁷ Therefore, she may have been rewarded with the privileges to build numerous funerary monuments at Abydos and members of her entourage were rewarded with burial plots near her tomb and funerary enclosure, not to mention the construction of 3503 at North Saqqara (Fig. 96).⁴⁶⁸

The general opinion for Meretneith’s role was that of a regent, who ruled in the absence of a true sovereign.⁴⁶⁹ Pätznick believes that the 3503 tomb was a place where Meretneith was buried, based on the various instances of her name being inscribed on the mortuary provisions sourced from this tomb.⁴⁷⁰ However, the present investigator suggests that this tomb belonged to a prominent member of her entourage during her rulership, whose name is unknown. While

⁴⁶⁰ Wilkinson (1999: 74); Arafa (2006: 244); Pätznick (2017: 289, fn. 4, Fig. 162).

⁴⁶¹ Martin (2011: 26 [17], 28 [19]).

⁴⁶² Petrie (1900: pls. XXXI.18, XXXIV.18) cf. Martin (2011: 28 [18], pl. 5).

⁴⁶³ This includes *St-k3*, buried near Djet (Petrie 1900: XXXI.8, XXXIII.8 cf. Martin 2011: 22 [8], pl. 3). [...]*Ip*, buried near Den (Petrie 1900: pls. XXXI.23, XXXIV.23 cf. Martin 2011: 30 [23], pl. 7) and *Nw-k3*, buried near Semerkhet (Petrie 1900: pls. XXXI.29, XXXV.29 cf. Martin 2011: 32 [29], pl. 8).

⁴⁶⁴ Montet (1946: 196-197, pls XI.C, XII.B & XIII.D); Regulski (2010: 60).

⁴⁶⁵ Emery (1954: 141-142, Fig. 205).

⁴⁶⁶ Petrie (1914: 11, pl. 9.1).

⁴⁶⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 74-75); Pätznick (2017: 302-304).

⁴⁶⁸ Pätznick (2017: 303).

⁴⁶⁹ Wilkinson (1999: 74); Kahl (2006: 97).

⁴⁷⁰ Pätznick (2017: 303, fn. 69)

there are suggestions that 3503 belonged to Seshemka, scholars emphasise that the inscribed names on these artefacts cannot be full proof indicators of ‘tomb ownership’, rather they are representatives of the donor of the item.⁴⁷¹ Pätznick determines Meretneith’s reign as a precursor to other female pharaohs, such as Hatshepsut, whose reign has also been analysed to understand the practices she took to legitimise her rulership during the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴⁷² Shirley advocated that Hatshepsut needed followers to substantiate support for her own ruling entourage, including elite officials who worked under her predecessors, Thutmose I and Thutmose II and had connection to the Amun precinct.⁴⁷³ Not to mention installing her own elite followers from established families within the Thinite region and rewarding their loyalty by promoting them within administrative establishments, such as the Amun precinct.⁴⁷⁴ Whether this tactic was something known from the regency of Meretneith after the deaths of Djet and Den during the mid-First Dynasty to then favouring Andjib as her successor is very speculative, but thought provoking nonetheless.⁴⁷⁵

Despite the conjecture surrounding Meretneith’s royal role, a possible funerary enclosure pertaining to her has been located near the other funerary enclosures in North Abydos (Fig. 20).⁴⁷⁶ Peet uncovered mud brick walls located to the southeast of both Djer and Djet’s funerary enclosure locations excavations where he came across a niched wall.⁴⁷⁷ Moreover he also uncovered subsidiary burials parallel to the north eastern wall, which he initially did not believe was part of a funerary enclosure.⁴⁷⁸ On the back of Peet’s work, Petrie subsequently discovered more subsidiary burials which brings the total number to 79.⁴⁷⁹ It was from his excavations where he came across a large subsidiary grave, within the eastern corner of the rectangle made by the graves, that contained a ceramic jar inscribed with the name of Meretneith.⁴⁸⁰ Therefore, ascribing this space to have been built for her in comparison to the other funerary enclosures in the area. Based on these archaeological features, the structure has been estimated to have measured 66.5 m long x 25.5 m wide.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷¹ Emery (1958: 3); Gardiner (1961: 411); Kahl *et al* (2001: 184, fn. 84); Wengrow (2006: 235).

⁴⁷² Shirley (2014: 174-175); Pätznick (2017: 300, 304)

⁴⁷³ Shirley (2014: 182-183).

⁴⁷⁴ Shirley (2014: 175, 237).

⁴⁷⁵ Pätznick (2017: 303).

⁴⁷⁶ Petrie (1925: 1).

⁴⁷⁷ Peet (1914: 30-31, Fig. 8);

⁴⁷⁸ Peet (1914: 31); Bestock (2009: 47).

⁴⁷⁹ Petrie (1925: 1); Bestock (2008b: 54).

⁴⁸⁰ Petrie (1925: 1).

⁴⁸¹ O’Connor (1989: 58-9).

3.2.1.6 DEN

The mortuary complex of Den, (Tomb T) lies to the south-west of Meretneith and Djer's tomb, covering an area measuring 55 m long x 40 m wide (Fig. 10).⁴⁸² It incorporates a number of innovative developments towards mortuary architecture during the second half of the First Dynasty with the introduction of a staircase being implemented in the grave design, and is the first royal interment to do so (Fig. 10).⁴⁸³ This feature would not just be adopted by his royal successors in Andjib, Semerkhet and Qa'a, but would also be a feature adopted by non-royal tombs across Egypt.⁴⁸⁴ By doing so, the installation of a portcullis was required to secure the stairway passage with a wooden version found in this tomb (Fig. 10).⁴⁸⁵ It is suggested that the introduction of the staircase in Egyptian mortuary construction was to allow the simultaneous construction of the superstructure above the tomb's substructure to save time, risk and not compromise the body of the deceased following the funerary ceremony.⁴⁸⁶ However, this is impossible to establish.⁴⁸⁷

The tomb's burial chamber measures 8.8 m x 16 m wide with the largest depth amongst the tombs within the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery of around 7 m³.⁴⁸⁸ Granite slabs were found to line the walls and the floor of the burial chamber, making this tomb to be the first to incorporate stone as part of its design (Fig. 10).⁴⁸⁹ Wooden planks were found horizontally laid against the tomb's northern granite walls, which conveys that a wooden structure was also built within this tomb as found in previous royal tombs and has been interpreted as a shrine (Fig. 10A).⁴⁹⁰ Apart from the direct staircase passage from the north, there is another stairway passage leading from the south west corner of the tomb's substructure (Fig. 10).⁴⁹¹ Petrie initially interpreted this area to be the burial place for another member of the royal family, which has also been agreed upon by other scholars.⁴⁹² However, modern opinions designate this area to be reserved as a primitive form of the serdab.⁴⁹³ At least 153 subsidiary burials surround Den's tomb in a rectangular fashion on all sides, with another couple of subsidiary burials discovered to the

⁴⁸² Dreyer (1990: 72).

⁴⁸³ Petrie (1901: 9, Pl. LVI.6); Dreyer (1990: 72); Dreyer *et al* (1993: 58, Abb. 13).

⁴⁸⁴ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 211).

⁴⁸⁵ Dreyer (1990: Taf. 22.b); Dreyer *et al* (1998: 141).

⁴⁸⁶ Vanhulle (2013: 220).

⁴⁸⁷ La Loggia (2015: 101).

⁴⁸⁸ Dreyer (1990: 72); Engel (2008: 39)

⁴⁸⁹ Petrie (1901: Pl. LVI.A.2); Dreyer *et al* (1998: 142).

⁴⁹⁰ Petrie (1901: 10); Dreyer *et al* (1998: 142, 166).

⁴⁹¹ Petrie (1901: 9, Pl. LVI.A.3 & 4); Dreyer (1990: Taf. 23b; 1992: 59-60; 2007b: 200-201).

⁴⁹² Petrie (1901: 11); Reisner (1936: 91); Kaplony (1963a: 220) *cf.* Dreyer (1990: 75).

⁴⁹³ Dreyer (1990: 75-79, Abb. 8); Vanhulle (2013: 209).

west of the tomb by the German re-excavations, which were not drawn by Petrie.⁴⁹⁴ Around 127 stelae are attributed to have been recovered from Den's tomb complex, however, approximately 22 of the stelae have their provenance confused with the neighbouring tomb complex of Djet.⁴⁹⁵ The tomb of Den not only signifies a physical development in mortuary architecture, but also symbolises the identity of a sovereign whose name label has been found on a wide variety of grave items from various tombs in both lower and upper Egypt.⁴⁹⁶

3.2.1.7 ANDJIB

Tomb X pertaining to King Andjib had a total area of 32 m long x 23 m wide and is adjacent to the tombs of Meretneith and Djet.⁴⁹⁷ The tomb itself measured 15.4 m long x 7.4 m wide with a bent 90° stairway consisting of ten steps, descending nearly 6 m from the east into Chamber 2 of the tomb (Fig. 11).⁴⁹⁸ The doorway entrance to Chamber 2 was blocked by a portcullis installation, consisting of wooden boards and mud bricks for security protection.⁴⁹⁹ The steps closest to this blocked doorway were found to be littered with small pots which were loosely piled together and must have been left behind as offerings after the completion of the burial.⁵⁰⁰ Chamber 2 measured 7 m wide x 4.5 m wide with a depth of around 2.5 m.⁵⁰¹ Beside Chamber 2 was Chamber 1, which measured 2.7 m long x 4.5 m wide and was separated by a cross wall with no accessible doorway.⁵⁰² Chamber 1 was reported to have contained many wine jars with mud sealings, which may have been used for the funeral procession, in comparison to what was found in the offering chambers surrounding the main burial chamber of Meretneith's tomb (e.g. Y2) (Fig. 9).⁵⁰³

Andjib's tomb interior was attributed by Petrie to have been covered by a wooden roof, based on the finding of one wooden post found in the north-eastern corner of the burial chamber, but there is no evidence that a shrine was built within this burial chamber (Fig. 11).⁵⁰⁴ No skeletal evidence was reported from within either chambers 1 or 2. A stela was found in Chamber 2 and it was inscribed with a name pertaining to an individual named *'Ijt/Iwt*, who

⁴⁹⁴ Dreyer *et al* (1993: 57); La Loggia (2015: 12).

⁴⁹⁵ Martin (2011: 124 [169-170], 126 [172], 128 [175-176], 130 [179-180], 132 [183], 134 [187], 136 [191], 138 [194], 138-140 [196-197], 140-144 [199-204], 146-148 [207-209]).

⁴⁹⁶ Regulski (2010: 31).

⁴⁹⁷ Engel (2008: 39).

⁴⁹⁸ Petrie (1900: 12, pl. LXI).

⁴⁹⁹ Petrie (1900: 12).

⁵⁰⁰ Petrie (1900: 12).

⁵⁰¹ Engel (2008: 39); Dreyer *et al* (2017: 84).

⁵⁰² Petrie (1900: pl. LXI); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 213); La Loggia (2015: 104).

⁵⁰³ Petrie (1900: 11-12, pl. XXXVIII.7).

⁵⁰⁴ Petrie (1900: 12, Pl. LXVI.1); Clark (2016: 261).

had the title *hm(t) Sšꜣt (?)*, which is translated as ‘servant of Seshat’ (Fig. 11).⁵⁰⁵ Around 65 subsidiary burials surrounded this tomb in a ‘circuit’ fashion, 64 of them contained deceased remains while one was found to be used for just storage.⁵⁰⁶ Despite the enclosing ‘circuit’ formation around the tomb by the smaller private burials, a gap is perceived in the southwestern corner of Andjib’s mortuary complex.⁵⁰⁷ Some of these burials were numbered by Petrie and were found to contain artefacts made from ivory, including 58, 61, 62 and 63.⁵⁰⁸ The measurements of the tomb’s small size have brought the status of Andjib’s reign into question, when compared to the tombs of his predecessors, especially the tomb of Den.⁵⁰⁹ This has prompted suggestions that it was a ‘Notbestattung’ (emergency burial), possibly in response to an unanticipated death of the king.⁵¹⁰ This theory cannot be proven as such, since no skeletal evidence was retrieved from the main tomb. Re-excavations of the tomb have been commenced by the German operations and they have revealed that a courtyard was built before the starting descent of the tomb’s staircase.⁵¹¹ Some elite tombs, especially tombs 3111, 3038 and 3338 from North Saqqara, have been relatively dated to the reign of Andjib and they emulate the smaller design of Tomb X, while either incorporating a 90° bent stairway from the east (i.e. 3038, 3338) or not (i.e. 3111).⁵¹²

3.2.1.8 SEMERKHET

The tomb of Semerkhet (Tomb U) is located to the south west of Den’s tomb, measuring 26 x m long x 17 m wide in area (Fig. 12).⁵¹³ The tomb’s entry point consisted of a 4 m wide ramp cutting through the tomb’s wall, which begins 10 m east of the tomb and then connects with the floor level of the burial chamber.⁵¹⁴ No evidence of a built stairway was associated with this ramp. The depth of the tomb’s burial chamber has been dug to 3.5 m, creating a space that measures 16.5 m long x 7.5 m wide.⁵¹⁵ A clear height for the tomb was estimated at 3.9 m, based on the impressions of ceiling beams observed from mud brick walls of the burial chamber.⁵¹⁶

⁵⁰⁵ Petrie (1900: pl. XXXI.25); Martin (2011: 30 [25], pl. 7).

⁵⁰⁶ Petrie (1900: 12); Engel (2008: 39).

⁵⁰⁷ Petrie (1900: 12).

⁵⁰⁸ Petrie (1900: 12, pl. XXXVII.47-60).

⁵⁰⁹ Petrie (1900: 12); Gould (2003: 32); Dodson (2016: 5).

⁵¹⁰ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 251); Gould (2003: 30).

⁵¹¹ Dreyer *et al* (2017: 84).

⁵¹² Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 213).

⁵¹³ Petrie (1900: 17); Dreyer *et al* (2000: 119).

⁵¹⁴ Dreyer *et al* (2011: 74).

⁵¹⁵ Petrie (1900: 17); Engel (2008: 39); Dreyer *et al* (2011: 72).

⁵¹⁶ Dreyer *et al* (2011: 72).

The burial chamber's floor consisted of a hardened sand surface, with remains of wooden beams placed over it towards the middle of the chamber's space (Fig. 12).⁵¹⁷ These remains have been used to testify the existence of another wooden shrine being erected within this space. It was estimated to have been 13.25 m long x 6.4 m wide, with a limited gap between it and the mud brick walls of the chamber; 0.5 m for the east-west sides and 1.4-2 m for the north-south sides.⁵¹⁸ Round based wine jars are assumed to have been stored in this chamber based on impressions observed from the floor of the burial chamber, bordering the external limits of the wooden shrine.⁵¹⁹ However, there is no indication of any remains within the internal area of this supposed shrine, not even any skeletal remains. It is estimated that at least 750 m³ would have been excavated to build the pit of the tomb and that the built substructure required 287 100 mud bricks.⁵²⁰

The trend of subsidiary burials continues with around 69 interments accounted for and built in connection with the 1.5 m thick walls of the tomb's burial chamber, which is the first of its kind compared to previous royal tomb designs.⁵²¹ The close connection of these subsidiary burials to the actual walls of the Tomb U's burials chamber is suggested as a security mechanism; however, their minimal 1.2 m depth would allow tunnelling below them.⁵²² The average size of these subsidiary burials varies between 0.8–1.2 m and they may have been capped individually with roofs made of reeds.⁵²³ Building the subsidiary burials required an estimated 72 500 mud bricks, not to mention 260 m³ of excavated top soil to provide the burial spaces around Semerkhet's main tomb.⁵²⁴ At least 14 stelae were recovered depicting titles from this tomb.⁵²⁵ However, over 30 blank stelae were associated with this tomb, which were found via the German re-excavations.⁵²⁶ Another nine were reported to have come from the area in between the tombs of Semerkhet and Qa'a.⁵²⁷ Only one stela found by Petrie, was attributed to an individual named *Nfrt*, which has a confirmed provenance from subsidiary 'Grave M' (Fig. 12).⁵²⁸

⁵¹⁷ Petrie (1900: 13, pl. LXVI.4); Dreyer *et al* (2011: 72).

⁵¹⁸ Dreyer *et al* (2011: 73-74, Abbs. 26-27).

⁵¹⁹ Dreyer *et al* (2011: 73).

⁵²⁰ La Loggia (2015: 106).

⁵²¹ Engel (2008: 39); La Loggia (2015: 105).

⁵²² Clark (2016: 36).

⁵²³ Petrie (1900: 13); Dreyer (2005: 15); Clark (2016: 261).

⁵²⁴ La Loggia (2015: 106).

⁵²⁵ Martin (2011: 32-36 [26-37], 192 [302-303]).

⁵²⁶ Martin (2011: 195-199 [313-348, 350-353]).

⁵²⁷ Martin (2011: 38-42 [38-46]).

⁵²⁸ Petrie (1900: Pls. XXXI.37, XXXV.37, LX); Martin (2011: 36 [37], pl. 11). Grave M is allocated as 'U-N2' according to the updated German plans of the tomb.

The ownership of Tomb U was allocated to Semerkhet based on the recovered stelae found by Amélineau, not to mention the inscriptions exhibited from an ivory tablet and a clay seal impression found by Petrie, when he first cleared the tomb.⁵²⁹ The reign of Semerkhet lasted for about eight years according to the Cairo fragment of the Royal Annals, which is the shortest reign attested.⁵³⁰ It cannot be denied that this Semerkhet was succeeded by Qa'a, since legitimate seal impressions were found from this tomb which are comparable to those associated with the tomb of Qa'a (Fig. 12).⁵³¹ The positioning of Semerkhet's tomb being located to the far south of the Umm el-Qa'ab, in relation to the close proximity between the tombs of Den, Meretneith and Andjib, has been interpreted to be a break in ruling families and that there were problems of succession between the reigns of Andjib and Semerkhet.⁵³² While this seems largely theoretical, proposals about this succession problem also emphasise that the inscribed stone vessels retrieved from Semerkhet's tomb were found to have had erasures, where Andjib's name was then removed in place of Semerkhet's.⁵³³ It should also be noted that Semerkhet is the only First Dynasty king to not have any associated elite tombs at North Saqqara through any external seal impressions or inscribed mortuary provisions bearing his name.⁵³⁴

3.2.1.9 QA'A

Tomb Q belongs to the last sovereign of the First Dynasty, Qa'a, that is part of a mud bricked mortuary complex and covers an area measuring 30 m long x 20 m wide (Fig. 13).⁵³⁵ The identity of this tomb's owner has been attributed to two retrieved stelae bearing the name of Qa'a.⁵³⁶ This includes one found by Amélineau that was originally found broken in pieces and made from basalt.⁵³⁷ The stela's provenance within the tomb is not detailed, but Engel attributes its provenance to the burial chamber (Q-KK).⁵³⁸ The other stela of Qa'a, also made from basalt, was found by Petrie, face down within tomb no. 3 (Q-O13) amongst the outer row of the subsidiary tombs on the eastern side of the tomb.⁵³⁹

⁵²⁹ Amélineau (1899a: 245, fig. 65); Petrie (1900: 14, pl. XII.1, XVII.26, XXVIII.72); Vanhulle (2013: 215).

⁵³⁰ Wilkinson (1999: 79; 2000b: 194-201); Kahl (2006: 100).

⁵³¹ Dreyer *et al* (2006: 95-96).

⁵³² Pätznick (2017: 300).

⁵³³ Petrie (1900: 12, 20, pl. VI.9-11); Kahl (2006: 97-98); Pätznick (2017: 300).

⁵³⁴ Wilkinson (1999: 80).

⁵³⁵ Engel (2017: 7).

⁵³⁶ Dreyer *et al* (1996: 57).

⁵³⁷ Amélineau (1899a: 126, 245, fig. 64); Fischer (1963: 61); Vanhulle (2013: 215); Engel (2017: 2).

⁵³⁸ Engel (2017: 86).

⁵³⁹ Petrie (1900: 26), (1902: 6, pl. V); Fischer (1963: 41); Engel (2017: 56).

The German re-excavations of Tomb Q in the early 1990s revealed that this tomb had been built through eight phases of construction, the largest number amongst the tombs within the cemetery.⁵⁴⁰ The first and second phases focused on excavating the burial chamber and the staircase, along with the flanking chambers on either side of the staircase that are closest to the burial chamber (N1 and N2).⁵⁴¹ Moreover, the first row of subsidiary chambers on the southern, northern and eastern sides of the burial chambers were also dug up, thus creating an initial substructure that measured 16 m long x 18 m wide.⁵⁴² Throughout the subsequent construction phases, more subsidiary chamber spaces are added around most sides of the tomb, through the installation and uninstallation of intermediate walls, bringing about a total of 39 associated burials with 21 of them housing deceased remains and 18 used for storage.⁵⁴³

The tomb's distinctive features included a staircase that descends from the east for about 7.5 metres.⁵⁴⁴ A damaged limestone portcullis was found blocking part of the stairway, just before the interval that provides access to the entrances of magazines, N1-4, and the burial chamber.⁵⁴⁵ The tomb's burial chamber had irregular measurements of 10.80 m (W)-10.95 m (E) long x 5.80 m wide x 3 m deep and was lined with mud brick walls.⁵⁴⁶ At the bottom of these mud brick walls, was an embedded row of timber, about 25-33 cm deep and 22 cm wide that formed a frame around the burial chamber floor level.⁵⁴⁷ Though, it is not conclusive whether all the chamber walls had an additional layer of wooden planks.⁵⁴⁸ Nonetheless, these timber frames had mortise holes for the placement of vertical posts, which may have served to support a wooden structure, believed to be the tomb's timber shrine.⁵⁴⁹ The remains of this timber shrine is represented by a wooden floor found within the centre of the burial chamber, and was built upon a threshold above the chamber's actual wooden flooring.⁵⁵⁰ However, the lack of preserved evidence does not help to advocate this 'supporting structure' theory and it is assumed that a large wooden ceiling may have covered the entire burial chamber.⁵⁵¹ Based on the imprints observed in the bricked walls of the burial chamber, 40 cm thick wooden beams

⁵⁴⁰ Dreyer *et al* (1996: 58); Engel (2008: 32).

⁵⁴¹ Engel (2017: 7-9, Abb. 4).

⁵⁴² Engel (2017: 9, Abb. 4).

⁵⁴³ Engel (2008: 39; 2017: 7-19).

⁵⁴⁴ Dreyer *et al* (1996: Abb. 19). Using scaled dimensions.

⁵⁴⁵ Dreyer *et al* (1996: 63, Abb. 19); Engel (2017: Taf. 14).

⁵⁴⁶ La Loggia (2015: 107); Engel (2017: 19).

⁵⁴⁷ La Loggia (2015: 108); Clark (2016: 36).

⁵⁴⁸ La Loggia (2015: 108, fn. 247).

⁵⁴⁹ La Loggia (2015: 107); Clark (2016: 36).

⁵⁵⁰ Engel (2017: 24, Abb. 21).

⁵⁵¹ Engel (2017: 19).

were orientated from an east-west direction and were spaced between 0-0.3m apart to create a wooden roof, which was then covered with further reed matting.⁵⁵²

Similar to Tomb Z of Djet, evidence of a retaining ‘plastered wall’ was built around the top edges of the burial chamber to hold the weight of a sandy tumulus, which covered the matted wooden roof above the central area of Tomb Q.⁵⁵³ The subsidiary chambers were also found to have wooden roofing as well, but with a much more irregular design compared to that above the main burial chamber.⁵⁵⁴ The wood used for above the royal chamber, has been identified as imported cedar from Lebanon, in comparison to the local timbers used for the subsidiary chambers surrounding the tomb.⁵⁵⁵ Some stelae were retrieved from Qa’a’s tomb complex and have been touted to be larger than the stelae of previous royal tombs.⁵⁵⁶ The initial 16 m long x 18 m wide substructure of the Qaa’s tomb, labelled as Bauphase IIa, is very comparable to the substructures of other Early Dynastic elite tombs and dated to the transition between the late First and early Second Dynasty.⁵⁵⁷ This includes tombs 3500 and 3505, whereby their substructural floor plans almost look identical with a staircase orientated from North-South and flanked by extra magazines close to the entrance of their respective burial chambers.⁵⁵⁸ Moreover, even though it is dated to the reign of Andjib based on comparable stairways being bent at 90°, the substructure of tomb 1371.H.2 from Helwan also features storage chambers flanking its stairway.⁵⁵⁹

3.2.1.10 PERIBSEN

The Second Dynasty tombs of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy are both built on the outskirts of the First Dynasty tombs of the Umm el-Qa’ab. Peribsen’s ‘Tomb P’ is built to the north of Cemetery B with the tombs of Djer and Djet to its south, measuring an area of 18 m long x 15 m wide.⁵⁶⁰ The tomb can be described as a mud bricked tomb containing a series of mud brick walls to create a central chamber, bounded by three concentric walls, creating a space which measures 7.80 m long x 4.15 m wide x 3.5-4 m deep (Fig. 14).⁵⁶¹ It is suggested that a wooden shrine may have been built within the burial chamber, but this assumption is

⁵⁵² La Loggia (2015: 108); Engel (2008: 32; 2017: 14, Abb. 7).

⁵⁵³ Petrie (1900: 16); Dreyer (1991: 100); Engel (2017: 19).

⁵⁵⁴ Engel (2008: 32).

⁵⁵⁵ Engel (2008: 32).

⁵⁵⁶ Petrie (1900: 15, pl. XXXI, XXXVI.47, 48); Martin (2011: 188-189 [285-287]).

⁵⁵⁷ Engel (2017: 14, 95).

⁵⁵⁸ Emery (1958: pls. 2, 114); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 215); Engel (2017: 95).

⁵⁵⁹ Saad (1947: 109, pl. XXXVIII).

⁵⁶⁰ Dreyer *et al* (2006: 99).

⁵⁶¹ Petrie (1901: 11); Dreyer *et al* (2006: 99).

based on the design of the space since no wooden remains were retrieved due to the heavy damage this chamber has received.⁵⁶² This burial chamber was then surrounded by a 13 m long x 9.85 m wide enclosure with ‘tongued’ mud brick walls to create storage spaces.⁵⁶³ An external mud brick wall encloses the mentioned structures, which is 1 m thick.⁵⁶⁴

The entry point of the tomb is in the south-west corner of this external wall, along a step-like ramp, consisting of untreated limestone blocks.⁵⁶⁵ While Tomb P was initially dug up by Amélineau and Naville, the German re-excavations provided a more comprehensive survey of the tomb, clarifying that it was roofed with a wooden beam ceiling, overlaid by reed mats and a layer of Nile mud.⁵⁶⁶ It is proposed that this tomb may have been covered by a sandy tumulus, however, no indications of a retaining wall to hold this tumulus in place was detected around the tomb’s surface level. The design of this tomb has been compared to that of a house, which probably attempts to emulate the design of the First Dynasty royal tombs themselves.⁵⁶⁷ However, Clark states that the local geology of the Umm el-Qa’ab cemetery may have dictated the design of Peribsen’s tomb, which was poorly built with relatively shallow foundations, thin walls and roughly applied mud plaster.⁵⁶⁸ The latter features have been used to dictate that this tomb was hastily built.⁵⁶⁹ The tomb is estimated to consist of around 171 000 mud bricks as part of its construction, required 660 m³ of excavated topsoil to create its pit and 590 m² of the tomb itself was plastered.⁵⁷⁰ No subsidiary burials were found in association with this tomb. The identity of Peribsen being the tomb owner of Tomb P was substantiated by the discovery of two granite made stelae found near the tomb’s entrance close to the south-west corner of the external wall.⁵⁷¹

Along with Khasekhemwy’s tomb, the tomb of Peribsen represents a changing trend to return to the Abydos royal burial ground, compared to the preceding tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer at Saqqara.⁵⁷² General opinions propose that the reason for this change was to be closer to the changing political capital, which may have moved back to the Thinite region.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶² Petrie (1901: 11); Dreyer *et al* (2006: 101); Clark (2016: 45).

⁵⁶³ Dreyer *et al* (2006: 99); Clark (2016: 45).

⁵⁶⁴ Dreyer *et al* (2006: 99).

⁵⁶⁵ Dreyer *et al* (2006: 99).

⁵⁶⁶ Dreyer *et al* (2006: 98, 100).

⁵⁶⁷ Amélineau (1899a: 245); Dreyer *et al* (2006: 101); Tawfik (2016: 449).

⁵⁶⁸ Dreyer *et al* (2006: 100); Clark (2016: 45).

⁵⁶⁹ Emery (1961: 95); Clark (2016: 45-46).

⁵⁷⁰ La Loggia (2015: 109).

⁵⁷¹ Petrie (1901: 33); Wilkinson (1999: 90); Vanhulle (2013: 215-216).

⁵⁷² La Loggia (2015: 109).

⁵⁷³ Wilkinson (1999: 89); La Loggia (2015: 109, fn. 250); Tawfik (2016: 449).

Other opinions point to the inclusion of the quadruped animal god on top of Peribsen's serekh as a representation of 'Seth', recalling the antagonism of this god against Horus from their mythical battle, and thus representing a suggestion that a political conflict occurred.⁵⁷⁴ However, the case for political conflict during the Second Dynasty is relatively unfounded and reasons for economic and religious purposes also need to be considered.⁵⁷⁵

Despite no known funerary enclosures being found for sovereigns after Meretneith, another funerary enclosure was found built to the south west of the one pertaining to Djet at North Abydos. This structure was first found by Ayrton and Currelly, who initially labelled it as the 'Middle Fort'.⁵⁷⁶ This structure measures 108 m long x 55 m wide and has three entry points leading inside it, with a small gap like entrance in the enclosure's southern wall, towards its southwestern corner (Fig. 16).⁵⁷⁷ Moreover, there are two gateway entrances along the structure's eastern wall, with one in the northern corner and the other within the south-eastern corner. A mudbrick structure was found near the south-eastern gateway entrance and is like the cult chapel buildings found within the 'Aha I' enclosure from Hor-Aha's funerary enclosure complex.⁵⁷⁸ This chapel building measures 12.3 m long x 9.5 m wide, consisting of three rooms with an entrance in its southwestern room.⁵⁷⁹ A pile of ceramics and seal impressions were found by the original excavators near this cult building, which revealed Peribsen's serekh upon the seal impressions, indicating an association with this Second Dynasty King.⁵⁸⁰ Subsequent excavations from the North Abydos Project, confirmed further discoveries of seal impressed artefacts with Peribsen's name near the cult building and just outside the eastern gateway of the enclosure.⁵⁸¹

3.2.1.11 KHASEKHEMWY

To the extreme south of Cemetery B, closest to the wadi leading towards the opening in the Western cliffs, lies Tomb V, which is associated with Khasekhemwy, sovereign of the Second Dynasty. The tomb was built without any associated burials and measured 70 m long x 18 m wide as a sole structural entity (Fig. 15).⁵⁸² Projecting tongued walls subdivide the tomb

⁵⁷⁴ Fischer (1961: 53, fn. 21); Emery (1961: 95); Dodson (1996: 24-26; 2016: 9-10)

⁵⁷⁵ Saint-Fare-Garnot (1956: 320); O'Connor (2009: 156); Clark (2016: 44, fn. 331); Allan (2016: 54-55).

⁵⁷⁶ Ayrton, Currelly & Weigall (1904: 2)

⁵⁷⁷ Bestock (2008b: 56).

⁵⁷⁸ Bestock (2008b: 56).

⁵⁷⁹ Bestock (2008b: 56).

⁵⁸⁰ Ayrton, Currelly & Weigall (1904: 4).

⁵⁸¹ O'Connor (1989: 54); Bestock (2008b: 56-57).

⁵⁸² Dreyer *et al* (1998: 164); Engel (2008: 40).

to create a total of 57 magazine chambers with an average width of 2.1 m that border the main burial chamber (V38) with nine designated in the middle of the mortuary structure (V34-44) with thirty three to the north (V1-33) and fifteen to the south (V45-58).⁵⁸³ The chambers of the tomb were found to have the remains of postholes where wooden beams lodged into mud plaster would have been placed to roof the magazine chambers.⁵⁸⁴ La Loggia estimates that 890 beams, measuring 2 m on average, would have been required to cover the magazine chambers, not to mention an extra 22 beams, measuring 5.6 m, to cover the burial chamber.⁵⁸⁵

The main burial chamber was found to be made exclusively of limestone blocks compared to the rest of the mud bricked structure.⁵⁸⁶ It was dug to a depth of 1.8 m, measuring 5.25 m long x 3.20 m wide and may have contained a wooden shrine, based on the traces of paint upon the blocks themselves.⁵⁸⁷ Evidence of stelae bearing the name of Khasekhemwy have been retrieved from the tomb, one as a whole artefact and the other found in two small fragmental pieces.⁵⁸⁸ The tomb itself is orientated with a south west direction. This is not unusual for it has been observed with some of the other royal tombs that their orientation was directed to the south-west in line with the opening of the Wadi in the Western cliffs, but also the fact that most of the tombs had a gap in their mortuary designs in the south-western sectors of either their subsidiary burials or enclosure walls.⁵⁸⁹ This gap in the wadi has been labelled the ‘entrance to the Underworld’ and the orientation of the tombs and their design in relation to the landscape.

Khasekhemwy’s funerary enclosure in North Abydos, labelled as ‘Shunet ez-Zebib’, is the only enclosure left standing at the site (Fig. 16).⁵⁹⁰ However, some of its walls have collapsed over time and it has been reinforced via renovations by the North Abydos project to preserve what is left of it.⁵⁹¹ The enclosure’s preserved walls are measured to have a 5.5 m thick at their base and taper gently upwards to a near height of 11 m at some parts of around the enclosure.⁵⁹² Unlike the other funerary enclosures found, Khasekhemwy’s was found to have surrounding lower level perimeter wall around the main wall, measuring 2.6 m thick x

⁵⁸³ Dreyer *et al* (2003: 108-109, 138); Clark (2016: 47).

⁵⁸⁴ Dreyer *et al* (2003: 112-114); La Loggia (2015: 110).

⁵⁸⁵ La Loggia (2015: 111).

⁵⁸⁶ Petrie (1901: 13).

⁵⁸⁷ Dreyer *et al* (2003: 108); La Loggia (2015: 110).

⁵⁸⁸ Vanhulle (2013: 216).

⁵⁸⁹ Dreyer (1990: 78; 2007b: 200-201); Polz (2008: 525); Effland *et al* (2010: 79).

⁵⁹⁰ Bestock (2008b: 57).

⁵⁹¹ Bestock (2009b: 45).

⁵⁹² Bestock (2008b: 57).

137 m long x 78 m wide.⁵⁹³ Four gateways lead into the structure, with the largest gateway located in the northwest wall, built with a chamber between the main and perimeter walls.⁵⁹⁴ The presence of this structure is what signified North Abydos to be an important site within Abydos.⁵⁹⁵ Nixed walls are observed along the design of this enclosure are likened to the walled enclosure of Khasekhemwy's successor at Saqqara, Netjerikhet.⁵⁹⁶ A cult building was located towards the south-eastern corner of the structure and is the most elaborate of those found within the funerary enclosures, consisting of nine rooms.⁵⁹⁷ Outside the main door to this chapel structure, some seal impressions were found with Khasekhemwy's serekh, along with those of Netjerikhet, confirming him as his successor.⁵⁹⁸

It should be mentioned that down at Hierakonpolis, another enclosure was constructed and has been linked to Khasekhemwy as well, known as 'the Fort' (Fig. 21).⁵⁹⁹ The structure is heavily disturbed today due to erosion, but it is estimated that it measured 67 m long x 57 m wide with some of its walls reaching nearly 5 m in height.⁶⁰⁰ The association of this structure with Khasekhemwy, is through the discovery of fragmented pieces of a pink granite relief, bearing the king's serekh near the entrance to this structure.⁶⁰¹ However, the serekh associated with this relief conveys both Horus and Seth facing each other along with the name of the King being Khasekhem, indicating a different version of this king's name.⁶⁰² Why two structures are associated with Khasekhemwy is puzzling, but it has been suggested that because Egypt was politically divided during the Second Dynasty, Khasekhemwy built this structure at Hierakonpolis first near where he was based. Upon uniting Egypt during his reign, he then had the opportunity to build the 'Shunet ez-Zebib structure at North Abydos.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹³ Bestock (2008b: 57).

⁵⁹⁴ O'Connor (1989: 78); Bestock (2008b: 57).

⁵⁹⁵ Wilkinson (1999: 93); Bestock (2009: 46).

⁵⁹⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 23); Bestock (2008b: 57); Dodson (2016: 12).

⁵⁹⁷ O'Connor (1995: 7); Bestock (2008b: 57).

⁵⁹⁸ Ayrton, Currelly & Weigall (1904: 3); Bestock (2008b: 57)

⁵⁹⁹ Quibell & Green (1902: 19-20); Wilkinson (1999: 246); Friedman & Raue (2007: 309).

⁶⁰⁰ Friedman (1999: 9).

⁶⁰¹ Lansing (1935: 44, Fig. 11); Alexanian (1999b: 14-15); Friedman & Raue (2007: 326).

⁶⁰² Wilkinson (1999: 91); Alexanian (1999b: 15); Wengrow (2006: 248).

⁶⁰³ Wengrow (2006: 248); Friedman & Raue (2007: 328).

CHAPTER 4 - THE NILE DELTA REGION

Located between Cairo and the Mediterranean Sea, the Nile Delta region is a vast alluvial plain that measures 270 kilometres east to west and 160 kilometres from north to south.⁶⁰⁴ The plain acts like a natural sponge collecting the enormous floodwater quantity of the Nile from the rains down in central Africa, before it moves into the Mediterranean Sea, leaving behind fertile silt, which provides an abundant location for human habitation for agricultural settlements. Archaeological activity within the 20th century has focused mainly on Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman sites within this area such as Tanis and Mendes, former Egyptian capitals that were active during the Pharaonic period in the East Delta region, not to mention the Hyksos capital of Avaris located at Tell el-Dab'a.⁶⁰⁵ However, earlier activity in the Delta has been suggested, thanks to the discovery of a concentration of elite objects within the north-eastern part of this region.⁶⁰⁶ Bietak's excavations at Tell el-Dab'a produced an archaeological map which indicated a concentration of sites between Mendes and Tanis and were used as a template by Dutch and Italian survey missions during the 1980s.⁶⁰⁷ These efforts resulted in 31 Predynastic and Early Dynastic sites being recorded within the designated area, not to mention 14 new sites that had not been recorded before. This includes a concentration of sites located in the Eastern side of the Nile Delta, such as Minshat Ezzat, Tell el-Samara, Tell el-Farkha, Tell Ibrahim Awad, Kafr Hassan Dawood and Minshat Abu Omar, some of which are noted to contain elite graves (Fig. 22).⁶⁰⁸ These sites consist of archaeological material dating to the Early Dynastic period, representing an unprecedented development of both settlements and cemeteries that are suggested to have been established to create agricultural land and commercial hubs that can be linked to the Levantine regions.⁶⁰⁹ They are commonly found on *geziras*, small sandy hills that were higher than the floodplain water levels of the Delta and would have been attractive locations for creating villages and their accompanying

⁶⁰⁴ Tristant & Midant-Reynes (2011: 45).

⁶⁰⁵ van den Brink (1987; 1988; 1989); Chłodnicki *et al* (1992a); Tristant (2005: 75).

⁶⁰⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 364).

⁶⁰⁷ Bietak (1975: Plan 4); van den Brink (1987, 1988); Chłodnicki *et al* (1992a: 45); Chłodnicki (2011: 65).

⁶⁰⁸ van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 128-131); Tristant & Midant-Reynes (2011: 53). For Tell Ibrahim Awad and Kafr Hassan Dawoud, see Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 500, fn. 11 & 13). For Minshat Ezzat and Tell el-Samara, see El-Baghdadi (2003; 2008). Finally, for Minshat Abu Omar, see Kroeper (1992).

⁶⁰⁹ Tristant (2008a: 347).

cemeteries.⁶¹⁰ The prospect of elite burials in the Delta has been discussed, notably, through the work of Tassie and van Wetering, who wrote an article to model the regional socio-political hierarchy of sites within the Eastern Delta, between the Protodynastic and First Dynasty periods.⁶¹¹ By analysing the mortuary architecture and mortuary provisions, they proposed a criteria to substantiate whether a regional hierarchy of sites existed during the First Dynasty in the East Delta, based on published material regarding graves and tombs located within the Delta.⁶¹² Part of their approach was creating a grave typology consisting of 6 grave types to assist with comparing cemetery sites based on the architectural features of the graves these cemeteries exhibited. Types 1, 2 & 3, are inhumations in ceramic vessels or coffins, simple pit graves and Mud lined graves respectively, while Types 4, 5 & 6, constitute mud brick tombs, mastaba tombs and Royal tomb complexes correspondingly.⁶¹³ Tassie and van Wetering include the Royal tomb complexes from Abydos, probably as their highest comparative tomb template, even though no examples are known to exist within the Delta region. Therefore, elite burials stand out due to the exhibition of distinct architectural features, which have been noted at various cemeteries within the Delta region, outside the royal burial grounds at Abydos.⁶¹⁴ Moreover, quantitative factors regarding mortuary provisions are also considered, for elite burials within the Delta have also been categorised as burials with plenty of mortuary provisions, at least with 10 or more from various categories of objects.⁶¹⁵ This chapter will review the notable burials and others which are designated to the elite to evaluate them based on the questions outlined in this dissertation's methodology.

4.1 WESTERN NILE DELTA

4.1.1 QUESNA

Located in the central-western area of the Nile Delta (30°31'47"N, 30°10'25"E), the site of Quesna is known for its array of cemeteries dating mostly to the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods that are found on sandy geziras (Fig. 22A).⁶¹⁶ During the Old Kingdom period, Quesna was known to have been part of the Ninth (Busirite) province, with the capital being located at Busiris.⁶¹⁷ Based on the intel gathered from some magnetometry surveys performed by the

⁶¹⁰ Bietak (1979: 100, 102); van den Brink (1987: 12); Wilkinson (1999: 362, 364, 370); Tristant (2005: 84).

⁶¹¹ van Wetering & Tassie (2003).

⁶¹² van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 124, fn. 5).

⁶¹³ van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 124).

⁶¹⁴ Kroeper (1992: 128); Hassan *et al* (2003: 41); van Wetering (2004: 1063); Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 34).

⁶¹⁵ Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 35).

⁶¹⁶ Rowland (2011a: 10).

⁶¹⁷ Rowland (2011a: 11).

Egyptian Exploration Society in 2009, the remains of two separate and disturbed mud brick features were uncovered in the Egyptian spring of 2010 revealing coarse pottery sherds from Old Kingdom beer jars.⁶¹⁸ These Old Kingdom remains were found within the area designated as Trench 5 along the northern edge of the gezira, part of a series of trenches that were explored in the northern and southwestern areas of the site to locate the northern limits of the Ptolemaic-Roman cemetery.⁶¹⁹ The mud brick remains were originally observed since 2007 and it was hypothesised that these remains belonged to a funerary structure based on their proximity to the Ptolemaic-Roman cemetery, plus the lack of settlement evidence at Quesna.⁶²⁰

Excavations in 2010 revealed a mastaba tomb, dubbed Grave 1139, which is estimated to have measured 14.95 m long x 6.14 m wide (Fig. 23).⁶²¹ The tomb's remains were found to be very damaged, especially towards its southern and eastern sides, which required further investigations; however, the northern and western sides were found to be better preserved (Fig. 23).⁶²² Further excavations from 2012-2015 revealed a seal impression bearing the name of the Third Dynasty sovereign, Khaba, within a serekh.⁶²³ As a result, it signifies this tomb to be the first Third Dynasty structure to be found within the area of Quesna and the Nile Delta in general.⁶²⁴ Rowland suggests that there are similarities between this tomb and a Second Dynasty tomb excavated by Emery in North Saqqara, especially with the evidence of possible rubble filling found in between the mud bricks of the tomb's walls which may have filled its superstructure's core.⁶²⁵ Based on comparisons with late Third-early Fourth Dynasty tombs, it is speculated that the internal and external walls found on the eastern side of the mastaba tomb may have represented the location of a corridor chapel, possibly with its own serdab area containing the statue of the tomb owner.⁶²⁶ A similar example of a tomb of larger proportions includes the mastaba tomb of Hemiu in the Giza cemetery, designated as G4000 that has a corridor chapel (Fig. 23).⁶²⁷ Another comparable example includes the mud brick mastaba tomb No. 6 of Ra-hotep and Nefret at the site of Meidum, which features two external chapels on its eastern side (Fig. 23).⁶²⁸

⁶¹⁸ Rowland (2011a: 10).

⁶¹⁹ Rowland *et al* (2010: 31-32); Rowland (2011b: 11, 13, Fig. 1).

⁶²⁰ Rowland (2011a: 10).

⁶²¹ Rowland (2011a: 11; 2011b: 11, fn. 1); Rowland & Tassie (2018: 372).

⁶²² Rowland (2011a: 11).

⁶²³ Martinet (2018: 220); Rowland & Tassie (2018).

⁶²⁴ Rowland (2011a: 13).

⁶²⁵ Emery (1961: 159-163, Fig. 94); Rowland (2011a: 13).

⁶²⁶ Rowland (2011a: 13; 2011b: 17-18).

⁶²⁷ Junker (1929: 135, Abb. 18); Jánosi (2005: 289, Plan 4); Rowland (2011a: 13).

⁶²⁸ Petrie (1892: 15-17, Pl. VII); Harpur (2001: 48-49, Fig. 61); Rowland (2011a: 13).

4.1.2 ABU GHALIB – WARDAN

The remains of Early Dynastic mud brick tombs have been noted from a site that is between the Wardan and Abu Ghalib train stations, based on a survey by Junker and excavations performed by Larsen.⁶²⁹ Today, the site is now destroyed due to increased agricultural activity in the area. This site was located towards the southwest of the Nile Delta region near the western slope of the desert about 50 km north west of Cairo (30°17'03"N, 30°53'18"E).⁶³⁰ A mudbrick tomb was found buried within a sand pit located in the northernmost part of Larsen's concession area of excavation.⁶³¹ According to Larsen, the tomb builders first dug a pit in the sand bed of the site without reaching the solid rock.⁶³² After flattening the pit floor they then built the tomb's substructure before filling it again with sand for the tomb to be buried underneath the flat ground.⁶³³ Despite the intricate construction of its substructure, the tomb measures 1.2 m long x 1 m wide x 1 m high and is described to be 'small and insignificant' by the excavator, with no remains of a superstructure being detected above or around it (Fig. 24).⁶³⁴ Based on the design and possible construction of this tomb, Larsen comments on the similarities which the tomb found by him at Ma'asara also exhibits.⁶³⁵ The northern wall of the grave was described to be crudely built due to the irregular course laying of the mudbricks without any real bonding.⁶³⁶ Outside of this northern wall, the presence of two tall 'torpedo-shaped' pottery vessels were initially found and had possible parallel examples found in a tomb from Ma'asara (Fig. 111).⁶³⁷ However, Larsen reports that these ceramic objects were then stolen by locals before they were properly recovered from the grave, preventing further analysis.⁶³⁸ No remains of a skeleton or other types of mortuary provisions could be found or determined inside the grave; however, fragments of stone vessels were found and can be attributed to the Second Dynasty (Fig. 24).⁶³⁹ They consist of round dishes, round bowls made from either calcite or diorite.⁶⁴⁰ One vessel was made from anorthosite, whose geological makeup is similar to artefacts made from 'diorite gneiss', such as the statue of the

⁶²⁹ Junker (1928); Larsen (1940; 1956).

⁶³⁰ Larsen (1956: 3). Geographic coordinates are subjective based on the figure provided by Larsen (1956: 4, Fig. 1).

⁶³¹ Larsen (1956: 3).

⁶³² Larsen (1956: 3).

⁶³³ Larsen (1956: 3).

⁶³⁴ Larsen (1956: 5).

⁶³⁵ Larsen (1940; 1956: 3).

⁶³⁶ Larsen (1956: 5-6).

⁶³⁷ Larsen (1940: 110-111, figs. 7-9; 1956: 6).

⁶³⁸ Larsen (1956: 6).

⁶³⁹ Larsen (1956: 6).

⁶⁴⁰ Larsen (1956: 6-11).

pharaoh, Khafre, dated to the Fourth Dynasty.⁶⁴¹ According to Aston, from the Second Dynasty onwards, tombs found with stone vessels made from diorite gneiss became more numerous, with parallel examples from non-royal burials found in tomb 3551 from Naga ed-Der and tomb 604 from Matmar.⁶⁴² Where this stone has been sourced has been speculated by Larsen to be from the quarries of the Western Nubian desert which were utilised by the Egyptians during the reign of Khafre.⁶⁴³ However, expeditions to that part of Nubia may have occurred much earlier during the first half of the First Dynasty based on the presence of an incised large block of sandstone featuring the serekh of King Djer at the site of Gebel Sheikh Suleiman, near the pharaonic sites of Kor and Buhen.⁶⁴⁴ If this is the case then such quarries for 'diorite gneiss' were active throughout the Early Dynastic period and acted as a source for this mineral to be obtained and manufactured by crafting experts to be possibly sold for the mortuary offering market.

4.1.3 EL-QATTA

The site of El-Qatta is about 40 km northwest of Cairo within the southwest Nile Delta (30°13'33.31"N, 30°56'51.17"E).⁶⁴⁵ Around 135 tombs were uncovered at the site ranging from the Protodynastic to the Late period (c. 3000–525 BC).⁶⁴⁶ The presence of Protodynastic/Early Dynastic graves are indicated at the site, in the form of pits dug into the sand and mud bricked tombs with storage chambers.⁶⁴⁷ These graves housed the skeletal remains of the deceased lying on their sides in a contracted position, with their head to the north and facing the east; some were found within wooden coffins.⁶⁴⁸ They were accompanied by ceramic vessels, which date to the Naqada IIID period, either towards the end of the First Dynasty or the early Second (Fig. 25).⁶⁴⁹ Some of these ceramic vessels are mentioned to have been inscribed with hieroglyphic potmarks, but no published images are provided.⁶⁵⁰ Nonetheless, some vessels

⁶⁴¹ Larsen (1956: 7-8, fn. 1); Aston (1994: 62-63). This information is based on a petrographical examination by Bror Asklund, a geologist who assisted Larsen.

⁶⁴² Mace (1909: 19, 41, fig. 93.1, 13); Brunton (1948: 25, 27); Aston (1994: 63, fn. 476). Brunton (1948: pl. XX) notes that tomb 604 from Matmar is dated to the Third Dynasty *cf.* Aston (1994: 112, 117). However, according to Brunton (1948: 27, pl. XXIII.16) this tomb also contains Second Dynasty dated stone vessels, including a squat shouldered stone jar *cf.* Spencer (1980: pl. 18 [202]); Aston (1994: 130).

⁶⁴³ Larsen (1956: 8); Shaw & Bloxam (1999); Haldal *et al* (2016: 64).

⁶⁴⁴ Arkell (1950: 28-30, Fig. 1, pl. X); Larsen (1956: 8); Somaglino & Tallet (2015: 130).

⁶⁴⁵ Anonymous (1952: 350).

⁶⁴⁶ Anonymous (1952: 350); Brunner (1952-1953: 160); Leclant (1953: 98).

⁶⁴⁷ Leclant (1953: 98); Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 349); Rowland & Tassie (2018: 370).

⁶⁴⁸ Anonymous (1952: 350); Leclant (1952: 247).

⁶⁴⁹ Leclant (1952: 247, Tab. XLVI, Fig. 24). The ceramic vessels from the taken photograph by Petrie (1953: pl. XIV) appear to be types 60n and 63b. However, because this interpretation is based on a photo, this is very speculative.

⁶⁵⁰ Leclant (1953: 99).

were found to contain grains of barley or wheat, mixed with ashes.⁶⁵¹ Other recovered mortuary provisions also include a turtle shell made and shaped from shale material, which is interpreted to be a protective amulet.⁶⁵² Moreover, small stone vessels made from calcite were found, characterised with a concave shape (Fig. 25).⁶⁵³ These concave stone vessels have been found within other Early Dynastic tombs, designated to elite deceased members at North Saqqara, such as 3504⁶⁵⁴ and 3035⁶⁵⁵ (Fig. 25). However, they are also indicative of an early Old Kingdom date, as shown by examples sourced from the tomb of Hetepheres, G7000X, which were used to store oils and ointments.⁶⁵⁶ No map of the El-Qatta site is available, so it is unclear to determine the burial assemblages from these tombs, nor whether a nearby settlement was located. Moreover, it is unknown if the site still exists today due to the presence of military bases built on where the site is located.⁶⁵⁷

4.2 EASTERN NILE DELTA

4.2.1 MINSHAT EZZAT

Known locally as Tell el-Heglla, the site of Minshat Ezzat is named after a nearby village located within the Markaz El-Sinbillawein district in the Dakahlia region, 40 km south of El-Mansoura city and 20 km southwest of Mendes (30°48'54"N, 31°31'12"E).⁶⁵⁸ Historically, the site can be described as a vast necropolis, which originated in the Protodynastic period, continued occupation in the First Dynasty, was abandoned and then re-inhabited in Roman times.⁶⁵⁹ When it was recorded on Egyptian maps in 1903, the site occupied around 210 000 m² of land.⁶⁶⁰ The more recent publications by El-Baghdadi, states that around 95 Early Dynastic and 20 Protodynastic graves were uncovered at the site with both sets of tomb groups commonly made from mud brick and were rectangular in shape.⁶⁶¹ The Early Dynastic graves at Minshat Ezzat was described to consist of one storage chamber for funerary equipment, while the richer graves were found have up to five internal chambers.⁶⁶² The Protodynastic

⁶⁵¹ Leclant (1953: 98).

⁶⁵² Leclant (1953: 99); Brunner (1952-1953: 160).

⁶⁵³ Leclant (1952: Tab. XLVI, Fig. 25).

⁶⁵⁴ Emery (1954: 84, fig. 103.A14, A17 & A18) *cf.* Aston (1994: 103).

⁶⁵⁵ Emery (1938: pl. 29, 34.26-27).

⁶⁵⁶ Reisner (1955: 92-93, Fig. 135.1235, 1042) *cf.* Aston (1994: 103).

⁶⁵⁷ Tristant (Personal Communication, 31st August 2018).

⁶⁵⁸ Leclant & Minault-Gout (1999: 332); El-Baghdadi (2003: 143; 2007: 487); Adly (2005: 100).

⁶⁵⁹ Leclant & Minault-Gout (1999: 332).

⁶⁶⁰ El-Baghdadi (2003: 143). 1 feddan = 4200m², thus around 210, 000m² or close to 52 hectares of agricultural land.

⁶⁶¹ El-Baghdadi (2007: 488-489, Fig. 1).

⁶⁶² El-Baghdadi (2007: 488-489, Fig. 1).

graves also contained up to five internal chambers, but some were found to only consist of three chambers, with the burial chamber in the middle being flanked by storage chambers on either side.⁶⁶³

From El-Baghdadi's publications, there is not a lot of information about the size of Minshat Abu Ezzat's Protodynastic and Early Dynastic tombs that were encountered. However, some tomb measurements were reported, only because they contained extravagant mortuary provisions. For example, Tomb 82 was a large intact burial measuring 7.25 m long x 4.75 m wide on its south side and 4.75 m on its north side (Fig. 26).⁶⁶⁴ The tomb was found to have been dug into the ground until it reached the sandy levels of the gezira on which the cemetery is built.⁶⁶⁵ The tomb's substructure consisted of three compartments, two chambers were found with pottery and stone vessels and they both flanked a central chamber housing the skeleton of the deceased, who was found contracted on its left side, its head to the north and feet to the south.⁶⁶⁶ The sex and age of the deceased was not determined. Despite the tomb being originally found submerged in water, 14 large cylindrical pottery vessels, 13 stone vessels and three palettes made from greywacke were accounted for from this tomb.⁶⁶⁷ Two of the palettes were rectangular in shape, with one of them found incised with a small mark.⁶⁶⁸ Four pieces of a palette were found near the feet of the deceased within the southwest corner of the burial chamber.⁶⁶⁹ It measured 23 cm x 12.3 cm x 8 cm and is similar in design to the Dog and Narmer palettes from Hierakonpolis (Figs. 27 & 189).⁶⁷⁰ However, a piece of this palette is missing at the top which would correlate with the head of a large herbivore, believed to be a jumping gazelle with a chasing hunting dog located to the far left of the palette.⁶⁷¹ Two mythological animals with tails face each other's mouths and their long necks create a circular shape to form the central focal point of the palette, which was found with traces of brown coloured kohl materials.⁶⁷² Other elements of the palette include a tailed animal with long ears carved within the palette's lower part and a palm tree towards the right.⁶⁷³ Both of these depictions are interpreted to be peaceful elements within the palette's visual repertoire and reflect the stability

⁶⁶³ El-Baghdadi (2007: 489).

⁶⁶⁴ El-Baghdadi (1999: 9).

⁶⁶⁵ El-Baghdadi (1999: 9).

⁶⁶⁶ El-Baghdadi (1999: 9).

⁶⁶⁷ El-Baghdadi (1999: 9).

⁶⁶⁸ El-Baghdadi (1999: 9).

⁶⁶⁹ El-Baghdadi (1999: 10; 2003: 149).

⁶⁷⁰ El-Baghdadi (1999: 10-11, figs. 1 & 2; 2003: 149; 2007: 491).

⁶⁷¹ El-Baghdadi (1999: 10; 2007: 491).

⁶⁷² El-Baghdadi (2007: 491).

⁶⁷³ El-Baghdadi (2007: 491).

of the time period in which this palette was created during the end of the Naqada III period.⁶⁷⁴ However, this opinion being based on visual interpretation should be read cautiously.

Around 274 funerary items were recorded from the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic graves at Minshat Ezzat, including the abovementioned mortuary provisions from Tomb 82.⁶⁷⁵ This comprised stone objects (limestone, calcite, green and grey shale, breccia, flint): bowls, vases, cups, knives, scrapers and arrowheads, crushers, crucibles and palettes; ornaments: necklaces of carnelian beads, shale, breccia, ivory and amethyst; ceramics of various shapes and sizes, jars, bowls, cups and dishes.⁶⁷⁶ The pottery found on site mostly dates to Naqada III, when compared to parallels from other tombs within nearby Nile Delta sites and other parts of Egypt, which are dated to the First Dynasty. For example, small ball-shaped jars that are comparable to the R-Ware dating from Naqada IID1-III, especially at Minshat Abu Omar.⁶⁷⁷ Tall jars with a roll rim, tapering body and rounded base have also caught the excavator's attention, some of which depicting a fish symbol below the shoulder rolls of the vessel (Fig. 28).⁶⁷⁸ Their function has been stated to hold wine, for El-Baghdadi refers to Emery, who has found similar looking vessels at North Saqqara (Fig. 29).⁶⁷⁹ Moreover, other Delta sites have been found to have similar vessels such as Kufr Nigm, Minshat Abu Omar, Tell el-Daba'a and Tell el-Samara.⁶⁸⁰ Storage jars, described to be bulbous in shape with a wide neck and flat base⁶⁸¹ have also been found at Tell el-Samarah,⁶⁸² Buto,⁶⁸³ Abu Rawash⁶⁸⁴ and Abydos.⁶⁸⁵ Stone objects were also found and are dated to the First Dynasty, including cylindrical calcite jars with rolled rims, flat base and rope band (cord) decoration under the rim; wide alabaster plates and oval lug-handled jars.⁶⁸⁶

Rounded bracelets and necklaces were found to be made from schist, flint, limestone, bones and carnelian beads.⁶⁸⁷ A necklace bead was found in Tomb 61, which conveys the

⁶⁷⁴ El-Baghdadi (2007: 491).

⁶⁷⁵ Leclant & Minault-Gout (1999: 333).

⁶⁷⁶ Leclant & Minault-Gout (1999: 333).

⁶⁷⁷ El-Baghdadi (2003: 146, 147, fig. 8).

⁶⁷⁸ El-Baghdadi (2003: 145, fig 4a & 4b; 2007: 489-90, fig. 2f).

⁶⁷⁹ El-Baghdadi (2003: 146). Emery (1949: 149, fig. 80) categorised these types of vessels as 'A3'.

⁶⁸⁰ El-Baghdadi (2003: 146).

⁶⁸¹ El-Baghdadi (2007: 489-90, fig. 2c).

⁶⁸² El-Baghdadi (2007: 497, fig. 5e).





⁶⁸³ Köhler (1998: Taf. 52); Hartung *et al* (2014: 102-103, Abb. 17.1)

⁶⁸⁴ Klasens (1958b: 21, Fig. 6.E18).

⁶⁸⁵ Petrie (1900: pl. XLII.33).

⁶⁸⁶ El-Baghdadi (2007: 489-92).

⁶⁸⁷ El-Baghdadi (2007: 491-92, fig. 3f).

hieroglyphic inscription  and is thought to have a connection with the name or title of the tomb owner (Fig. 30).⁶⁸⁸ El-Baghdadi initially translates the hieroglyphic inscription as *smr-sk3 smr.s Hr* ‘cultivating friend?’.⁶⁸⁹ However, in a later publication, he suggests another transliteration and translation as *shd.s k3 shd Hr* ‘Essence of the inspector...?’ by suggesting that the sign U23  could instead be T3 .⁶⁹⁰ The last sign, however, is considered by Regulski to be an earlier version of Gardiner’s g10 sign in conjunction with the G25 sign  of the *sh* bird rather than *Hr*.⁶⁹¹ Based on a parallel artefact from Buto, this necklace bead may have been part of funerary item for the deceased’s protection and may relate more to the first translation given, rather than a title, whereby it could be read as *smr.s k3 smr.s sh* ‘Essence of the companions, essence of the *sh*’.⁶⁹²

Knives and scrapers were plentiful as well, especially a 48 cm long flint dagger from Tomb 71 that is incised with the serekh of King Den of the First Dynasty, suggesting that the owner of the tomb must have had a connection with the Egyptian king (Fig. 31).⁶⁹³ Further to this, around 200 flint knife shaped scrapers on blade, sickle-blade elements were discovered in the nearby settlement, which the deceased may have been connected to, possibly representing a production centre of some kind.⁶⁹⁴ This settlement was located directly east of the cemetery and its area would have covered 8400 m².⁶⁹⁵ Mud walls were uncovered in the north and western parts of the settlement area, shaping rectangular rooms, and have been dated to the Naqada IIIB period, based on a number of broken sherds representing ovoid pots and oval pots around storage areas.⁶⁹⁶

4.2.2 TELL EL SAMARA

Tell el-Samara is situated 25 km southeast of El-Mansoura city and 1 km west of the El-Samara village (30°55'15.4"N, 30°36'53.4"E).⁶⁹⁷ El-Baghdadi excavated an area covering 7200 m² of this site between 1998 and 2002, where he and his team uncovered a total of 85

⁶⁸⁸ El-Baghdadi (2003: 145; 2007: 491-492, fig. 3f).

⁶⁸⁹ El-Baghdadi (2003: 144-145, fig. 5).

⁶⁹⁰ El-Baghdadi (2007: 491).

⁶⁹¹; Kahl (2002: 4-5); Regulski (2010: 126, 457; Personal Communication, 1st February, 2018).

⁶⁹² Seton-Williams (1967: 143, pl. XXVIII.2)

⁶⁹³ Leclant & Minault-Gout (1999: 333); El-Baghdadi (1999: 10; 2003: 145, fig. 6a-b).

⁶⁹⁴ El-Baghdadi (2007: 494).

⁶⁹⁵ El-Baghdadi (2007: 494).

⁶⁹⁶ El-Baghdadi (2007: 494).

⁶⁹⁷ Tristant *et al* (2007: 1848); El-Baghdadi (2007: 494); Guyot (2016: 1).

tombs concentrated in the south-east side of the lower part of the tell area and in and around the 8 houses located in the modern settlement, west of the cemetery.⁶⁹⁸ The associated settlement in relation to the cemetery has recently been investigated by two campaigns, one by Hamdy Ahmed Mashaly, where he excavated along the western border of El-Baghdadi's excavations of the cemetery.⁶⁹⁹ The second and latest excavation of the settlement was directed by Guyot, where some stratigraphic layers correspond with the Naqada IIIC-D levels, especially phases 5 and 4.⁷⁰⁰

Of the 85 uncovered tombs, 10 are dated to the Protodynastic period and 75 of them are dated to the Early Dynastic period.⁷⁰¹ The Protodynastic graves were found buried deep in the site's stratigraphic levels, characterised by clear sand, and most of these graves are described to be single oval compartment graves 'filled with earth mixed with little sand'.⁷⁰² One tomb example was reported to house the remains of a deceased man, lying in a contracted position on his left side with his head to the facing north-east, but his age is not speculated (Fig. 32).⁷⁰³ Parallel examples of these oval graves from Tell el-Samara are identified at the sites of Minshat Abu Omar and Turah.⁷⁰⁴ In contrast, the Tell el-Samara Early Dynastic tombs numbered up to 75 in total.⁷⁰⁵ They were all rectangular in shape, built only from mud and were found buried in stratigraphic levels characterised by silty and brown silt sand.⁷⁰⁶ These rectangular tombs were further segregated based on the number of internal chambers they exhibited, with 30 tombs having one chamber, another 30 with two, 13 tombs consisting of three chambers and 2 with four chambers (Figs. 33-36).⁷⁰⁷

For each of the segregated examples of tombs outlined by El-Baghdadi, he provides an example for each description level. For the single chambered tombs, one tomb was found housing the deceased body of a man lying in a contracted position on his left side, with his

⁶⁹⁸ El-Baghdadi (2007: 494; 2008: 1155); Guyot (2016: 1).

⁶⁹⁹ Guyot (2016: 1). Mashaly has not published any excavation reports regarding his activities at the site.

⁷⁰⁰ Guyot (2016: 5-6).

⁷⁰¹ El-Baghdadi (2007: 494-495).

⁷⁰² El-Baghdadi (2007: 494).

⁷⁰³ El-Baghdadi (2007: 494-495, fig. 4a).

⁷⁰⁴ The reported mud graves from Minshat Abu Omar by Kroeper & Wildung (1985: 31-32, Abbs. 49-52; 2000: 148, Taf. 46) include Tombs 1143, 404 and 845. From Turah, Junker (1912: 16) *cf.* Reisner (1936: 17) includes Graves '18. h. 2' and '16. h. 6' which both had their inner surfaces cleaned and smoothed with a thick layer of Nile mud. Tomb '16. h. 6' is noted by Junker (1912: 16, Taf. XI) to be like a real brick grave, despite its walls being applied with a thick layer of Nile mud on its shaft walls without the use of masonry.

⁷⁰⁵ El-Baghdadi (2007: 495).

⁷⁰⁶ El-Baghdadi (2007: 495).

⁷⁰⁷ El-Baghdadi (2007: 495-496, Fig. 4c, 4d & 4e).

head to the northeast.⁷⁰⁸ A notable example of a single chambered tomb is mentioned for the deceased was found buried within a ‘pottery coffin’ within a pit lined with mud; however, this is all the information that is provided about it (Fig. 33).⁷⁰⁹ Double chambered tombs are noted for their increasing storage spaces for the deceased’s mortuary provisions, with the burial chamber situated to the north side of the mortuary structure containing the deceased, with one example reported to contain a man with a burnished dish near his skull (Fig. 35).⁷¹⁰ The three chambered rectangular tombs are characterised to have the burial chamber in the middle, being flanked by storage chambers on either end (Fig. 34).⁷¹¹ Parallel examples for these tombs are likened to graves found in Abu Rawash’s Cemetery 800 and Naga ed-Der’s Cemetery 1500 (Figs. 62 & 150).⁷¹² The latter examples have mostly five chambers, but because the layout of the internal design of the substructure looks similar to the Tell el-Samara examples is probably why El-Baghdadi has referenced them.⁷¹³ While the reports from El-Baghdadi provide some of the recent mortuary Early Dynastic evidence from these sites, he does not provide the tomb numbers, barely comments on the position of the tombs and their geographic relation to each other within the cemetery space. Instead there is more attention towards the mortuary provisions found from the tombs, especially the pottery.

Most of the ceramic examples from the Early Dynastic tombs date to the First Dynasty, including tall jars with rolled rims (one with an incised mark of a fish symbol), deep burnished bowls and small cylindrical jars made from red brown ware.⁷¹⁴ Similar to Minshat Ezzat, small storage jars with a bulbous body with a wide neck and flat base are also accounted for.⁷¹⁵ Finally, a triangular ‘terracotta’ seal was found inscribed with hieroglyphic inscriptions transliterated as the following ‘*Iṯt di s3 ḥ3t nst sh*’ or ‘*iṯt di s3 nst ḥ3t sh*’ and has been translated as « *Iṯt* (was) given a protection at the front of the chapel » (Fig. 37).⁷¹⁶ It has been noted by El-Baghdadi that *Iṯt* is another name for Narmer or Hor-Aha.⁷¹⁷ However, he does not definitively state why this is the case, apart from suggesting that the mentioned term is followed by a square containing other hieroglyphic inscriptions for *Hr* ‘*h3*’.⁷¹⁸ The closest transliteration

⁷⁰⁸ El-Baghdadi (2007: 495).

⁷⁰⁹ El-Baghdadi (2007: 495, fig. 4b).

⁷¹⁰ El-Baghdadi (2007: 495-496).

⁷¹¹ El-Baghdadi (2007: 496).

⁷¹² This includes tomb 820 from Abu Rawash (Klasens 1960: Fig. 14) and tombs 1506 and 1533 from Naga ed-Der (Reisner 1908: Map 1).

⁷¹³ Reisner (1908: 29, Fig. 52) *cf.* El-Baghdadi (2007: 495, fig. 4c).


⁷¹⁴ El-Baghdadi (2007: 496).

⁷¹⁵ El-Baghdadi (2007: 497, fig. 5e).

⁷¹⁶ El-Baghdadi (2007: 496-497, fig. 5f).

⁷¹⁷ El-Baghdadi (2007: 496; 2008: 1155).

⁷¹⁸ El-Baghdadi (2007: 496; 2008: 1155).

to this *itt* term is  *itt(i)* and it has been translated as a verb ‘to teach, to bear, to pack’.⁷¹⁹ Nowhere, is there a mention of this term being linked to Narmer or Hor-Aha, nor is the original context of this seal reported at all by El-Baghdadi.

Looking at this assemblage of mortuary provisions from Tell el-Samara, they probably indicate that the deceased had access to items made from highly sought materials which may have required time and skill to craft. Also, the number of Early Dynastic tombs at this site indicates a population growth in the community living at Tell el-Samara during the first part of the Early Dynastic period. At no point in some of El-Baghdadi’s publications and articles does he comment about the social status of the people buried within these graves.

4.2.3 TELL EL-FARKHA

Tell el-Farkha is located north of the modern village, Ghazala, along the southern side of the Ghazala Drain, which is about 14 km NE from el-Simbillawein (30°52'30.53"N, 31°36'6.67"E).⁷²⁰ The site is located on a gezira that covers four hectares and is characterised by three hills, called koms or tells, which are situated in the west, central and eastern parts of the site and are at least five metres in height.⁷²¹ Each of these koms contain different undisturbed features of the site, with test excavations revealing ceramic evidence that date from a Protodynastic to an Early Dynastic occupation.⁷²²

For example, the Western Kom comprises evidence of the earliest settlement occupation to exist at Tell el-Farkha (NIIB-C) right through to the Early Dynastic period (Naqada IIIC), where simple structures developed into an industrial zone for the production of beer; the only brewery constructions of their kind known in the Nile Delta region.⁷²³ Moreover, the presence of the ‘Naqadian residence’ with huge mudbrick walls (1-2.5 m wide) enclosing most of the compartments, covering an area of 500 m² and it may have functioned as either an administrative or cultic centre.⁷²⁴ It is speculated that the brewery site uncovered on the

⁷¹⁹ According to Erman & Grapow (1971a: 149-150); Kahl (2002: 65), *Nehrnen, berbeibringen, packen* is translated as « to teach, to bear, to pack ».

⁷²⁰ Fattovich (1999: 782); Chłodnicki (2012a: 9).

⁷²¹ Ciałowicz (2011: 55); Chłodnicki (2014: 59).

⁷²² Chłodnicki *et al* (1992a: 52).

⁷²³ Ciałowicz (2012a: 155); Rosińska-Balik (2015: 104). An analysis of the botanic remains from beer residues found within some Predynastic structures (e.g. ‘W192’ & ‘W201’) by Kubiak-Martens & Langer (2008: 438-439) indicates that beer was fermented and made at the site.

⁷²⁴ Dębowska (2008: 1109); Ciałowicz (2012b: 165).

Western Kom was controlled by the elite who lived in the 'Lower Egyptian residence' on the Central Kom and had close relations with the Upper Egypt and Levant areas.⁷²⁵

The Central Kom, the largest of the site's three mounds, has been noted to be part of Tell el-Farkha's settlement area and the centre of its economic activity.⁷²⁶ This is because of the mud brick structures that were revealed via the Italian and Polish excavations on the Central Kom since 1988, and they date as early as the Naqada IIB period.⁷²⁷ From 1998, subsequent Polish excavations revealed more evidence to suggest that these mud brick structures formed a 'residence', based on the grids of 20-30 cm wide furrows forming rectangular structures, which are proposed as remnants of houses.⁷²⁸ Also, evidence of a double fence, which was 20 m long x 25 m wide surrounded this 'residence' area, especially on the western border of the excavated area (Fig. 38).⁷²⁹ The objects found inside this designated space have been used to testify its 'residence' label, such as the pear-shaped mace-heads made from basalt or bone, a collection of 27 barrel shaped beads (0.6 to 1.2 mm on average) for a necklace, some made from gold foil, carnelian, quartz and amazonite, which were possibly imported from Upper Egypt (Fig. 39).⁷³⁰ Additionally, some knife implements were found, such as one made from copper, a fragment of a ripple flake knife and what is labelled as a 'Hemamija type flint knife' (Fig. 40).⁷³¹ Based on these different forms of evidence from the settlement areas at Tell el-Farkha, it is believed that an elite group may have inhabited this location and were responsible for monitoring the beer manufacturing activities at the Western Kom and the settlement areas on the Central Kom.⁷³²

The premise of this elite group comes from the major cemetery located on the southern side of the Eastern Kom and has been used across the Protodynastic, Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods.⁷³³ Amongst the Protodynastic/Early Dynastic graves (Naqada IIIB-IIIC1), they range from simple pit burials to mud bricked graves, where most of them were made for individual burials, with very few double burials.⁷³⁴ Most bodies found within the graves were found in a contracted position on their left side with their head orientated to the north.⁷³⁵ A

⁷²⁵ Ciałowicz (2012a: 162).

⁷²⁶ Dębowska (2008: 1108).

⁷²⁷ Chłodnicki *et al* (1992a: 55; 1992b: 182); Chłodnicki (2012a: 10-11); Chłodnicki & Gering (2012: 89-91).

⁷²⁸ Chłodnicki & Ciałowicz (2000: 69); Chłodnicki & Gering (2012: 91).

⁷²⁹ Chłodnicki & Gering (2012: 92).

⁷³⁰ Chłodnicki & Gering (2012: 96-97, Figs. 13-15).

⁷³¹ Chłodnicki & Gering (2012: 98-99, Figs. 17-18); Czarnowicz (2012: 348, 351, Fig. 1.2-3).

⁷³² Ciałowicz (2012a: 162); Rosińska-Balik (2015: 106).

⁷³³ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 53).

⁷³⁴ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 55). These exceptions include graves 1, 7, 23 and 75.

⁷³⁵ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 55).

group of Protodynastic tombs have been labelled by the excavators to be ‘mastabas’ and they include graves 6, 63, 94 and 100.⁷³⁶ While the substructure of these tombs consist of a single mud brick walled chamber and their thickness is up to at least 2 m (e.g. grave 100) compared to the 0.6 m found in smaller graves (e.g. grave 6).⁷³⁷ These tombs are covered by a noticeably bigger superstructure which is a solid brick cover, with some of the graves exhibiting niches of ‘sine and steplike’ projections found on their eastern ‘façade’ walls that were plastered with a clear layer of light coloured sandy mud.⁷³⁸ This includes graves 63, 94 and 100, which were all clustered within the south-eastern part of the cemetery.⁷³⁹

For these tombs to be allocated to a local elite group is based on the similarities between their mortuary provisions assemblage and architectural features. These tombs differed in size, with Grave 100 being the largest, measuring 6.2 m long x 4.1 m wide, with 2 m thick walls and covering an area of about 300 m² (Fig. 41).⁷⁴⁰ Because Grave 100 is dated to between Naqada IIIA2 and Naqada IIIB1 within the Protodynastic period; therefore, it has been labelled the oldest mastaba tomb structure known in Egypt.⁷⁴¹ Its eastern façade has been found to portray the ‘palace-façade’ design with additional white plaster, also making it the oldest example of a mastaba structure to incorporate it (Fig. 41).⁷⁴² Some of the tombs were recorded to have rounded corners on their outer walls, such as the north-eastern and possibly the north-western corners of grave 63’s outer walls, which is a similar ‘monumental’ observation noted with Grave 100.⁷⁴³ The tomb was found with four associated graves interpreted as ‘subsidiary burials’, containing the remains of children laid to rest on mats and were all under 10 years of age (Fig. 41).⁷⁴⁴ These subsidiary burials have been noted as the oldest of its kind in Lower Egypt.⁷⁴⁵ Furthermore, this tomb has been compared to other mastaba tombs that served as the burial places for elite individuals of the First Dynasty.⁷⁴⁶ No direct parallels exist for Grave 100 but the closest includes the First Dynasty tomb T1060 from Tarkhan, based on its central single chamber featured within its substructure.⁷⁴⁷ Based on these features, Grave 100 has been

⁷³⁶ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 57).

⁷³⁷ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 57).

⁷³⁸ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 57); Rosińska-Balik (2015: 107).

⁷³⁹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 57); Rosińska-Balik (2015: 107).

⁷⁴⁰ Ciałowicz (2011: 62); Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 60; 2013: 38).

⁷⁴¹ Ciałowicz (2011: 62); Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 38-39).

⁷⁴² Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 38).

⁷⁴³ Ciałowicz & Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 160).

⁷⁴⁴ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 61).

⁷⁴⁵ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 58).

⁷⁴⁶ Ciałowicz (2011: 62); Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 42-43).

⁷⁴⁷ Ciałowicz & Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 156).

speculated to have belonged to a governor for one of the earliest Egyptian sovereigns or a local who had unquestionably high status within the Nile Delta region.⁷⁴⁸

In comparison, another relatively dated parallel at the site, Tomb 94, measured 4.15 m long x 2.8 m wide x 2.5 m high (Fig. 43).⁷⁴⁹ The later dated Tomb 63 measures 4 m long x 2.5 m wide x 2 m high (Fig. 42)⁷⁵⁰ with Tomb 6 measuring 3.45 m long x 2.56 m wide.⁷⁵¹ The deceased remains allocated to these tombs were male individuals but differed in age, with Tomb 100 assigned to a male, aged 30-35 years; Tomb 63, male aged 24-30 years and Tomb 6 contained the burial of a child, resting on a brick bed.⁷⁵² The grave assemblages were also similar with the tombs containing an array of pottery and stone vessels in different quantities.⁷⁵³ Based on this evidence it was determined by the excavators that the wealthier a burial was, the more pots it would contain, given that the highest recorded number of pots was in Grave 63, where 73 pottery vessels were found within its single burial chamber, despite the average number of pots found in this cemetery being 10 pots per grave.⁷⁵⁴ However, pottery numbers are not the only factor which have caught the attention of the excavators from these tombs. Tombs like Grave 94 was found with cosmetic palettes, others with necklace beads made from either carnelian and limestone, not to mention gold foil covering certain artefacts or left behind as traces (i.e. Graves 6, 7).⁷⁵⁵ Moreover, it should be noted that the bones of diverse animal species were found within the tombs, such as the partial remains of a domestic cow's skull and the skeleton of a cobra *Naja haje* was found in Grave 7.⁷⁵⁶ One tomb, Grave 9, has been singled out because of its diverse set of offerings, which contained pottery vessels, stone bowls and cosmetic palettes, dating this tomb between the Naqada IIIB-IIIC1 periods (Fig. 44).⁷⁵⁷ Despite the fact that Grave 9 did not have large dimensions compared to some of the tombs labelled as 'mastabas', it was mud bricked to a certain degree within its substructure and exhibited a large rectangular superstructure, measuring 4 m long x 2 m wide, with possible traces of a niched façade on its eastern face, but they were found to be very damaged.⁷⁵⁸ It should be noted that

⁷⁴⁸ Ciałowicz (2011: 62); Dębowska-Ludwin (2016: 52).

⁷⁴⁹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 59).

⁷⁵⁰ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 65).

⁷⁵¹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 62-63).

⁷⁵² Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 59-63, 65) notes that the remains found in Grave 94 were disturbed to such an extent that any precise anthropological analyses could not be performed.

⁷⁵³ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 59-63). Grave 100 – 35 pottery vessels and 6 stone items; Grave 94 – 15 pottery and 3 stone vessels; Grave 6 – 20 ceramic vessels.

⁷⁵⁴ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 56, 65).

⁷⁵⁵ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 59).

⁷⁵⁶ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 63).

⁷⁵⁷ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 63).

⁷⁵⁸ Dębowska-Ludwin (2011a: 259-260; 2012: 63).

one tall wine jar from Grave 9 was found inscribed with the serekh of Narmer.⁷⁵⁹ Furthermore, Grave 69 was found to have contained a wine jar with the name of the Protodynastic ruler, Iry-Hor (Fig. 44).⁷⁶⁰ Because of the diversity presented amongst the grave assemblages from the Protodynastic tombs of Tell el-Farkha, it has prompted interpretations to designate the buried population on the Eastern Kom as part of an ‘early Egyptian society wealthy middle class’.⁷⁶¹ With this diversity present amongst the Protodynastic graves through their architectural features and grave assemblages, it is interesting to observe how the subsequent Early Dynastic graves emerged and developed at the site.

Most of the Early Dynastic tombs cut into the older Protodynastic mortuary structures, such as grave 71 cutting into 63 and grave 108 into 100.⁷⁶² While a continuation of the architectural form can be seen there are differences from the older Protodynastic tombs where the graves of the Early Dynastic period exhibit a fixed burial form and ‘typical’ set of funerary offerings, especially with the identical shapes in the pottery, such as the lipped-rimmed beer jars with either a flat or rounded base.⁷⁶³ Analysing the surface treatment of these beer jars, have provided distinctions between graves of the earlier half of the First Dynasty (Naqada IIIB-C2/D), including Graves 91 and 100; to those of the later half (Naqada IIIC2/D), such as Graves 51, 55 and 58 (Fig. 45).⁷⁶⁴ Tombs were either oval shaped, rectangular or mud bricked, leading to suggestions that the deceased members of the Early Dynastic period at Tell el-Farkha were designated into wealthy, mid-range and poor social groups.⁷⁶⁵ The graves designated to the earliest part of the First Dynasty at Tell el-Farkha are found to not exhibit any stark differences in building materials, architectural forms, burial rules or offering objects, thus demonstrating an evolutionary continuation from their Protodynastic predecessors.⁷⁶⁶ However, burials dated to later parts of the Early Dynastic period, begin to show differences, notably with the orientation of the tomb shifting to a North-South axis, sometimes almost perfectly albeit with a small westward declination.⁷⁶⁷ The ‘more interesting’ graves exhibited the multi-chamber features within their substructure, especially Graves 50 and 55 which are designated as ‘wealthy burials’ due to having two and four substructural chambers respectively.⁷⁶⁸ In

⁷⁵⁹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 63-64); Jucha (2012: 82-83, Fig. 4.1).

⁷⁶⁰ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 65); Jucha (2012: 82-83, Fig. 4.2).

⁷⁶¹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 63).

⁷⁶² Dębowska-Ludwin ((2012: 67).

⁷⁶³ Jucha (2012: 84-86); Dębowska-Ludwin (2016: 57).

⁷⁶⁴ Jucha (2012: 79, 82, 86, Figs. 1 & 3).

⁷⁶⁵ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 67; 2016: 57).

⁷⁶⁶ Dębowska-Ludwin (2016: 57).

⁷⁶⁷ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 68).

⁷⁶⁸ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 67-68).

contrast, Early Dynastic tombs which are considered poor at Tell el-Farkha are mostly the simple pit graves with no offerings or any extra architectural features, such as graves 81 and 87.⁷⁶⁹ Moreover, they display a more homogenous mortuary display amongst their burial assemblages.⁷⁷⁰ However, the distinction between simple and poor tombs does become more apparent due to elaborations in architectural forms.⁷⁷¹

The settlement area also seems to have shifted, due to the remains of a ‘solid mudbrick building’ erected on the northern side of the Eastern Kom which dates back to the Naqada IIIA period.⁷⁷² Remnants of walls line part of this structure from north to south and east to west orientations, unlike other Tell el-Farkha buildings which run Northeast to Southwest.⁷⁷³ Nonetheless, the Early Dynastic remains becomes less evident at the site during the first half of the First Dynasty, leading to opinions that the site declined in usage because other more prominent political centres were converging in other areas like Buto and Memphis.⁷⁷⁴ This is based on the ceramic and architectural evidence observed from the Western Kom, attesting its abandonment during the mid-First Dynasty before the reign of Den and it was never resettled.⁷⁷⁵

To label some of the deceased tomb owners at Tell el-Farkha as part of an elite group is debatable. It is argued to be so because of the preserved settlement evidence alongside the mortuary evidence discovered at Tell el-Farkha that makes the site distinguishable amongst the sites within the Samara area of the Eastern Delta. To designate them to be part of the elite means they had to have occupational roles which may have monitored the brewing site and the ‘residence’ structure on the Western and Central Kom areas. Moreover, the discovery of the serekhs inscribed as potmarks, pertaining to Iry-Hor and Narmer, has been used to emphasise the site’s status as a regional urban centre, similarly to how the sites of Hierakonpolis and Naqada are perceived.⁷⁷⁶ However, whether such activities were linked to the local area or beyond the Eastern Delta is not clear and there may be more information about the people themselves that is not available to further clarify who they were exactly.

⁷⁶⁹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 67).

⁷⁷⁰ Dębowska-Ludwin (2012: 67).

⁷⁷¹ Dębowska-Ludwin (2016: 55).

⁷⁷² Chłodnicki (2012b: 21).

⁷⁷³ Chłodnicki (2012b: 21).

⁷⁷⁴ Małecka-Drozd (2014: 58-59).

⁷⁷⁵ Ciałowicz (2012b: 166-168, 180).

⁷⁷⁶ Jucha (2014: 29).

4.2.4 KOM EL-KHILGAN

Kom el-Khilgan is located 0.75 km southwest of the village of El-Samara, around 40 km south of El-Mansoura city amongst the concentration of sites within the Samara area in the Eastern Delta (30°54'54.6"N, 30°37'52.0"E).⁷⁷⁷ Around 239 graves were uncovered at the site, with about 109 of them containing no mortuary provisions, while 94 graves had at least one ceramic vessel. The remaining 23 graves were found with no ceramic vessels, but had one or more other funerary objects, such as flint blades, copper pins and some pearls.⁷⁷⁸ The Protodynastic-Early Dynastic graves found at the site were allocated to Phase 3 (i.e. KeK3) of the site's chronological system that corresponds with the Naqada IIIA-C period.⁷⁷⁹ A couple of graves stand out from the rest as some of the few that are dated to the Early Dynastic period or KeK 3. For example, grave S290, measuring 1.20 m long x 0.80 m wide, is an oval pit with its walls lined and plastered with mud (Fig. 46).⁷⁸⁰ This grave contained the deceased remains of an adult lying on their left side in a contracted position, whose age and sex could not be determined.⁷⁸¹ The deceased was accompanied by several ceramic vessels placed at its feet, not to mention some calcite stone vessels, a palette made from greywacke and two necklaces of carnelian beads.⁷⁸²

4.2.5 TELL EL-ISWID

Tell el-Iswid is located 14 km north west of the modern town of Faqus and is 40 km northeast of Zagazig (30°52'00"N, 31°47'00"E).⁷⁸³ The site was first discovered by a Dutch survey, directed by van den Brink, and it has been the subject of French excavations since 2006, revealing the remains of a cemetery and a settlement which date throughout the Predynastic until the Early Dynastic period.⁷⁸⁴ Predynastic burials at the site are characterised as small circular pits with clay lined walls with added wooden constructions and date to the Naqada IIC-IIID periods.⁷⁸⁵ The Early Dynastic burials are distinguishable due to the introduction of mud brick architecture in their designs, but only two graves were found with ceramic offerings,

⁷⁷⁷ Midant-Reynes *et al* (2003: 55; 2004: 465); Tristant & Dapper (2009: 605, Fig. 2).

⁷⁷⁸ Buchez & Midant-Reynes (2007: 45).

⁷⁷⁹ Buchez & Midant-Reynes (2007: 45).

⁷⁸⁰ Tristant *et al* (2008: 470).

⁷⁸¹ Tristant *et al* (2008: 472, Fig. 7).

⁷⁸² Tristant (Personal Communication, 19th May 2018)

⁷⁸³ van den Brink (1989); Midant-Reynes (2003: 267-268); Midant-Reynes *et al* (2014: 39).

⁷⁸⁴ Midant-Reynes & Buchez (2014: 1); Midant-Reynes *et al* (2014: 40); Buchez *et al* (2017: 35).

⁷⁸⁵ Midant-Reynes (2003: 268).

providing a Naqada IIIC2-D date.⁷⁸⁶ For example, the undisturbed grave S02, measuring 1.86 m long x 0.88 m wide, is a rectangular tomb and consists of a buried deceased adult, placed on a mat, in a contracted position on its left side, with its head to the north and facing the east (Fig. 47).⁷⁸⁷ The sex of the individual could not be determined. Despite its smaller size, the tomb is like the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic tombs found at Minshat Abu Omar and Tell el-Farkha.⁷⁸⁸ It has been dated to the second half of the First Dynasty (Naqada IIIC2-D) based on the accompanying ceramic vessels placed at the feet of the deceased and those found in the storage chamber to the south of the main burial chamber.⁷⁸⁹ Moreover, a seal impression made from Nile clay found underneath S02's deceased remains further confirms this tomb's date (Fig. 47).⁷⁹⁰

Eleven other seal impression examples were also recovered during the excavations with eleven examples found from the test soundings.⁷⁹¹ One example was found in US5502, sector 2 and it conveys a high ranking title, *htm.w [hr.it]-š(i) nb(.t) K3p(?)*. This title translates to 'seal bearer of all districts, Kap(?)' and is deemed to be a shortened version of the title *htm.w hr.it-š(i) nb(.t)*, 'sealer of all that is (in possession) in the Š-area' or 'domain administrator', even though *hr.it* is omitted from this Tell el-Iswid example.⁷⁹² Longer versions of this title are sourced from an elite tomb context within 3506 at North Saqqara⁷⁹³ and the royal Tomb Q of Qaa at Abydos⁷⁹⁴.⁷⁹⁵ Overall, most of the seal impressions examples recovered from the site are difficult to read and do not indicate the presence of a central administration at the site.⁷⁹⁶ But, judging by the discovery of the one found in grave S02, they may have been used as personal ornaments to convey as status symbols for the deceased in their tombs.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁸⁶ According to Midant-Reynes *et al* (2014: 41) only graves S02 and S09 were found with ceramic offerings, so there is a limited sample of well-dated graves.

⁷⁸⁷ Midant-Reynes & Buchez (2014: 75-76).

⁷⁸⁸ According to Kroeper (1992: 128, 131), graves 1930 and 2000 from Minshat Abu Omar. Moreover, see Debowska-Ludwin (2011: 263; 2012: 70-71) for grave 71 from Tell el-Farkha.

⁷⁸⁹ Midant-Reynes & Buchez (2014: 77-78, Fig. 1b).

⁷⁹⁰ Midant-Reynes *et al* (2014: 41); Regulski (2014: 240).

⁷⁹¹ Regulski (2014: 230-240).

⁷⁹² Kaplony (1963a: 421, 642) *cf.* Regulski (2014: 231).

⁷⁹³ Emery (1958: 72, pl. 82.43).

⁷⁹⁴ Engel (2017: 295-296, Abb. 197.2).

⁷⁹⁵ Jones (2000: 773 [2810]); Kahl (2004: 366) *cf.* Regulski (2014: 231).

⁷⁹⁶ Regulski (2014: 141); Midant-Reynes *et al* (2014: 49).

⁷⁹⁷ Regulski (2014: 241-242).

4.2.6 TELL IBRAHIM AWAD

Tell Ibrahim Awad presents a unique archaeological case study within the Eastern Delta, with evidence of multiple settlements, a sequence of temples and cemeteries.⁷⁹⁸ Located about 6 km east of Tell el-Iswid and 2 km south of the modern village of Umm Agram (30°51'00"N, 31°50'00"E), the site originally measures about 450 m long x 360 m wide, but the modern floodplain has covered most of it, resulting in a smaller, yet visible, area (250 m long x 125 m wide) to the south.⁷⁹⁹ Further to this, a modern orange grove orchard has divided this area further, creating two areas designated as Area A and B.⁸⁰⁰

Area B is where the Early Dynastic cemetery is and traces of brick walls and postholes provide an indication about the settlement, but not enough information to provide an idea about its potential layout.⁸⁰¹ Beside the settlement area, evidence of First Dynasty tombs have been reported.⁸⁰² Firstly, a mud brick tomb was uncovered within square B 210/160, measuring 6.5 m long x 3.6 m wide and 2.5 m deep (Fig. 48).⁸⁰³ This tomb was dated to the first half of the First Dynasty based on comparable ceramic material from Minshat Abu Omar, Cemetery 400 at Abu Rawash and North Saqqara.⁸⁰⁴ Potmarks and an incised serekh have been found on the numerous ceramic vessels found from this tomb as well. Other mortuary provisions found within this burial include copper vessels, a copper plaque, ivory gaming pieces, flint tools and stone vessels. Moreover, a collection of items found were classified as 'toilet utensils', including a pot used for holding kohl paint, not to mention a small quartz cup with a flat base and a small spout bowl made from green schist that were found near the head of the deceased (Fig. 48).⁸⁰⁵ In front of the face and right hand of the deceased, the left side of a hippopotamus' knee joint was found and have been interpreted as part of the food offerings for the deceased.⁸⁰⁶ One rimmed handled vessel with a looped handle, popularly known as 'Abydos Ware', was retrieved from this tomb, which has parallels from the First Dynasty royal tombs at Abydos and elite tombs at North Saqqara.⁸⁰⁷

⁷⁹⁸ van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 129).

⁷⁹⁹ van den Brink (1988: 76); van Haarlem (2000: Fig. 1); Midant-Reynes (2003: 268); van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 129).

⁸⁰⁰ van den Brink (1992: 44-45).

⁸⁰¹ van den Brink (1988: 77; 1992: 50); van Haarlem (2000: 15).

⁸⁰² van den Brink (1988); van Haarlem (1996).

⁸⁰³ van den Brink (1988: 77; 1992: 51).

⁸⁰⁴ Klasens (1959: 44-45, Figs. 3-4); Kroeper (1988: 16, Figs. 14-17); van den Brink (1988: 78-79).

⁸⁰⁵ van den Brink (1988: 82, Fig. 23.45, 50 & 78).

⁸⁰⁶ van den Brink (1988: 84); Boessnick & von den Driesch (1988: 117).

⁸⁰⁷ van den Brink (1988: 80, Fig. 19, pl. 5b).

Secondly, an intact tomb measured to be 8.0 m long x 4.5 m wide with a depth of 2.78 m was found within square B200/170 (Fig. 49).⁸⁰⁸ The remains of this tomb's superstructure measured 1.25 m high above ground and consisted of 25 courses of sand tempered mud bricks (ca. 0.30 x 0.12 x 0.05 m).⁸⁰⁹ Overall, such features portray a mastaba shape and prompting comparisons to the First Dynasty mastaba tombs built at North Saqqara.⁸¹⁰ The substructure of the tomb consisted of a main chamber measuring 3.75 m long x 2.10 m wide, featuring three additional annex extensions to provide more storage space surrounding it.⁸¹¹ Inside the main chamber the disturbed remains of a young adult male were found, whose remaining bones were covered with patches of red ochre and its whole body covered with a layer of sand (Fig. 49).⁸¹² No traces of a wooden coffin to house the deceased's remains were found.⁸¹³ Around 95 grave objects were found accompanying the deceased in the main chamber, and the three annex spaces, consisting of 66 pottery vessels and 29 stone vessels.⁸¹⁴ This included the presence of two ceramic vessels, one indicated to be made from a Syro-Palestinian fabric (Fig. 49).⁸¹⁵ The other is interpreted to be emulating the 'Abydos Ware' form, even though it is made from Egyptian fabric, thus indicating the tomb owner's efforts to distinguish themselves by emulating foreign items.⁸¹⁶ The tomb's ceramics and stone vessels relatively date to phase IV at Minshat Abu Omar, indicating a date between the First and Second Dynasty.⁸¹⁷ Five copper objects were also found within the tomb, which is considered to be surprising.⁸¹⁸

Another tomb was also reported by van Haarlem to be dated to the Second Dynasty, however, it was found to be heavily looted with the body completely removed.⁸¹⁹ Nonetheless, some mortuary provisions were found including one medium sized fine calcite cylinder.⁸²⁰ Moreover, there were at least 29 or more complete and partial pottery vessels made from a Nile clay fabric.⁸²¹ But, they have been suggested by the excavator to be imitations of the sole calcite cylinder found for they nearly had the same shape and were all mostly covered in a yellowish

⁸⁰⁸ van den Brink (1992: 51); van Haarlem (1996: 7).

⁸⁰⁹ van Haarlem (1996: 7).

⁸¹⁰ van Haarlem (1996: 7; 2000: 15).

⁸¹¹ van Haarlem (1996: 7).

⁸¹² van Haarlem (1996: 9).

⁸¹³ van Haarlem (1996: 9).

⁸¹⁴ van Haarlem (1996: 9).

⁸¹⁵ van Haarlem (1996: 10, pls. 11, 20.3).

⁸¹⁶ van Haarlem (1996: 10, fn. 14, pl. 20.4).

⁸¹⁷ van Haarlem (1996: 12); Kroeper (2004: 860).

⁸¹⁸ van Haarlem (1996: 12).

⁸¹⁹ van Haarlem (1997: 150, Pl. 5).

⁸²⁰ van Haarlem (1997: 148, Pl. 3.31).

⁸²¹ van Haarlem (1997: 145).

slip.⁸²² It is suggested that the cemetery might have been an exclusive elite cemetery.⁸²³ This is based on the fact that only mud bricked tombs have been encountered at the site, whereas simple grave-pits and mud lined tombs have been notably absent.⁸²⁴ However, because of the intrusion of a modern orchard, the extent of the Area B cemetery is difficult to establish and more excavations may reveal other tombs if any interpretation about the cemetery's 'social rank' is to be determined.

Considering the tomb's layout and the quality and quantity of mortuary provisions found within them, the tomb owners are suggested to have belonged to members of the local elite at Tell Ibrahim Awad.⁸²⁵ Moreover, these types of tombs found within certain sites in the Eastern Delta belonged to areas which should not be just considered as mere colonies or trading outposts, but also as densely populated areas with connections to the Memphite and Upper Egyptian regions during the First Dynasty and beyond due to where Tell Ibrahim Awad was located on a river junction.⁸²⁶

4.2.7 MINSHAT ABU OMAR

Minshat Abu Omar is located about 160 km north east of Cairo within the north eastern part of the Nile Delta, about 2.5 km north west of the modern village of Kafr al-Madina (30°54'22.62"N, 32°01'39.15"E).⁸²⁷ Around 422 graves were uncovered, varying in size from 1.70 m long x 1.15 m wide to larger sizes of 4.5 m long x 3.2 m wide.⁸²⁸ The grave's dating corresponds with the relative chronological stages used at Minshat Abu Omar, stages MAO III and IV, which correlates with the Protodynastic (Naqada III) and the Early Dynastic period (First-Second Dynasty) respectively.⁸²⁹ Several grave types that date to the MAO III relative dates were found, on average, with less than 10 mortuary provisions, especially the 'Sand Graves'; yet, some featured carnelian beads, stone vessels and a copper bangle.⁸³⁰ Similarly 'Mat Graves', called as such due to traces of matting that lined their rectangular pits and covering the deceased's body, were also found to have less than 10 mortuary provisions on average, but the richer graves in this category were found to contain a higher frequency of stone

⁸²² van Haarlem (1997: 145).

⁸²³ van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 129, fn. 16).

⁸²⁴ van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 129).

⁸²⁵ van den Brink (1988: 78); van Haarlem (1996: 12).

⁸²⁶ van Haarlem (1996: 12); van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 138).

⁸²⁷ Kroeper & Wildung (1994: XI); Tristant & Midant Reynes (2011: 45).

⁸²⁸ Kroeper & Wildung (1985: 25); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 501).

⁸²⁹ Kroeper & Wildung (1994: XIV; 2000: XIII); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 501).

⁸³⁰ Kroeper & Wildung (1985: 28, Abb 41, 42).

vessels and unique objects, such as a copper harpoon.⁸³¹ The more prominent graves included the ‘Clay graves’ which are distinguished due to the Nile mud that lined the bottom of these graves about 70 cm above the skeletal remains of the deceased.⁸³² There are also tombs that are labelled as ‘Chamber’ graves due to the mud lined construction within their substructures to create chamber spaces.⁸³³

At least eight ‘Chamber’ grave examples are located towards the northern part of Minshat Abu Omar and they all date to the MAO III and IV stages (Naqada III – Second Dynasty), within the confines of the Early Dynastic period, representing the richest graves at the site and have been designated to belong to the elite members of the local community (Fig. 50).⁸³⁴ The human remains of at least one female and four male adults were retrieved from these graves along with the skeletal remains of a 9-year-old child buried within grave 2275.⁸³⁵ The size of these graves is what sets them apart from the other 400 or more contemporary graves at Minshat Abu Omar. For example, grave 1590 has external measurements of 6 m long x 3.5 m wide, which incorporates the mud-built construction needed to support its roofing of reed mats with mud.⁸³⁶ But, the dimensions of the grave itself, measure 4.5 m long x 3.5 m wide, which are very similar to those of the famed painted tomb 100 from Hierakonpolis.⁸³⁷ Moreover, the largest example amongst these is grave 2897, measuring 5.3 m long x 3.6 m wide and was found to have slit like passage holes in its main cross dividing wall, which are similar to other examples noted from the Protodynastic tomb U-j at Abydos and the First Dynasty subsidiary tomb, 57S, allocated to Mastaba XVII from Abusir (Figs. 53, 81 & 164).⁸³⁸ Most of these mud lined graves featured at least two chambers, one for the storage of mortuary provisions, which are mostly located to the southern end of the grave and a main chamber for the interred human remains to the north. But, grave 1450 stands out with having two short mud bricked cross-walls to create three small rooms for the interred remains in the middle and storage spaces to the north and south (Fig. 54).⁸³⁹ Apart from architectural features, the mortuary provisions found within these graves have also caught the attention of the excavators, including six copper objects in the form of an axe blade, a bowl and chisels from grave 1930.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³¹ Kroeper & Wildung (1985: 28, 32, 88, Abb. 300-301).

⁸³² Kroeper & Wildung (1985: 32).

⁸³³ Kroeper (1992: 128); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 502).

⁸³⁴ Kroeper (1992: 139-140).

⁸³⁵ Kroeper (1992: 141, Table 1). No substantial skeletal remains were found within graves 1590 and 2897.

⁸³⁶ Kroeper (1992: 132); Kroeper & Krzyżaniak (1992: 211).

⁸³⁷ Quibell & Green (1902: 20); Kemp (1973: 40, Fig. 2) *cf.* Kroeper & Krzyżaniak (1992: 211).

⁸³⁸ Kroeper (1992: 138, Fig. 11); Dreyer (1998: 5-6); Radwan (2000: 514, pl. 85).

⁸³⁹ Kroeper (1992: 129).

⁸⁴⁰ Kroeper (1992: 128-129).

Despite the number of mortuary provisions found within these graves, evidence of tomb robbing is evident. For example, the most western wall of grave 2650 was found to be destroyed in order to enter its smaller chamber to then break a hole in its main dividing wall to enter the main chamber (Fig. 56).⁸⁴¹ Regardless, the remains of a 25-30-year-old male were retrieved in grave 2650's main chamber, with the upper part of his skeleton and skull remaining intact with a thick and viscous material on top of the bone, which is believed to be elements of cloth or skin wrapping.

For the other tombs that were not completely robbed, the most common item between these graves are the 'wine-jar' storage vessels and their presence assists with confirming their Early Dynastic date.⁸⁴² Some of these storage vessels were covered with lumps of clay to seal their contents, such as those found in grave 2000, but no seal impressions were found on them.⁸⁴³ Instead, potmarks have been sighted on the vessels themselves, including examples from grave 1590.⁸⁴⁴ One potmark example from this grave has been interpreted to be the name of a domain, specifically to the reign of the First Dynasty sovereign, Semerkhet (Fig. 52).⁸⁴⁵ However, judging by the published examples between the depictions of the domain and the estate assigned to the reign of Semerkhet, the potmark example from Minshat Abu Omar looks like the serekh of the king was inserted within the crenelated oval frame used to differentiate Early Dynastic domain names from estate names.⁸⁴⁶ Moreover, a bag sealing recovered by the German re-excavations of Qa'a's tomb at Abydos, conveys a clearer and updated example of Semerkhet's domain name, *hr.w-wp-ḥ.t*, translated as 'The one who judges the community is Horus' (Fig. 13).⁸⁴⁷ Therefore, this potmark from Minshat Abu Omar remains inconclusive.

Fragments of an ivory box were found within the main chamber of grave 1590 and were found to be decorated with an elaborate palace façade pattern, which are like the serekh designs enclosing the names of Egypt's earliest sovereigns (Fig. 52).⁸⁴⁸ Another similar looking ivory box, with internal measurements of 12 cm long x 10.5 cm wide, was also found within the intact grave 1150, placed at the feet of the deceased woman (c. 20-40 years of age).⁸⁴⁹ This

⁸⁴¹ Kroeper (1992: 136).

⁸⁴² Kroeper (1992: 141). Most of the tombs were found with type 76n-m ceramic vessels, according to Petrie (1953: pl. XXII).

⁸⁴³ Kroeper (1992: 131).

⁸⁴⁴ Kroeper (1988: pl. 13; 1992: 134).

⁸⁴⁵ Kroeper (1988: 17).

⁸⁴⁶ Kaplony (1963a: 142; 1963c: Taf. 70.253); Wilkinson (1999: 118-119); Anselin (2011: 1116).

⁸⁴⁷ Engel (2004: 708-709, Fig. 2).

⁸⁴⁸ Kroeper (1988: 17, pl. 14a); Kroeper & Krzyżaniak (1992: 210-211).

⁸⁴⁹ Kroeper & Krzyżaniak (1992: 209).

example was found in situ and functioned as a container for six miniature stone vessels made from a variety of materials, such as calcite, schist and greywacke. The remains of this ivory box were found to be fragile due to the saline condition of the soil covering the grave, but it did feature the decoration of a simple panelled façade.⁸⁵⁰ The symbolism of the palace façade has been linked to one of the tombs, grave 2275 (Fig. 51).⁸⁵¹ The excavators note that along the inner north-eastern wall of the grave's substructure are three niches on the ground floor of the tomb's main chamber.⁸⁵² The recesses in between these niches were originally faced with wood and covered with a thick layer of plaster with a reddish colour, making grave 2275 a unique example amongst the chamber graves at the site.⁸⁵³ Nonetheless, this 3.75 m long x 2.40 m wide grave is regarded as the richest grave found at Minshat Abu Omar, with 125 objects retrieved, including 70 ceramic vessels (including seven imported models), fragments relating to 17 stone vessels, the remains of bone needles, shell bracelets, schist and carnelian beads and flint tools.⁸⁵⁴ Further to this, ivory objects were found within the main chamber of the tomb in the form of a tiny hedgehog, a spoon in the shape of a cow's leg and a reclining lion.⁸⁵⁵ Because an open space surrounded tomb 2275, it has been speculated that the tomb may have featured a superstructure, despite the absence of the original surface.⁸⁵⁶ Based on the separate remains of wood, matting and reeds pertaining to graves 1590 and 2899, it is speculated that these graves were originally covered with roofing from a combination of these materials, bolstered by mud.⁸⁵⁷

While these tombs at Minshat Abu Omar generally increase in size and item quantity, Kroeper believes that their size and the amount of mortuary provisions does not reflect the wealth and social status of the deceased buried with them.⁸⁵⁸ For example, grave 2275 was found with the buried disarticulated remains of a 9-year-old child and has been used to emphasise that hereditary status may have been prominent in the local community at Minshat Abu Omar.⁸⁵⁹ However, this is not convincing because funerals of any kind are lively contested events where social roles are manipulated, acquired and discarded.⁸⁶⁰ Because this child

⁸⁵⁰ Kroeper & Krzyżaniak (1992: 209, Fig. 5).

⁸⁵¹ Kroeper (1992: 141); Wilkinson (1999: 225-226).

⁸⁵² Kroeper (1992: 135).

⁸⁵³ Kroeper (1992: 135).

⁸⁵⁴ Kroeper (1992: 135).

⁸⁵⁵ Kroeper (1992: 134-135).

⁸⁵⁶ Kroeper (1992: 144); van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 129).

⁸⁵⁷ Kroeper (1992: 132, 137).

⁸⁵⁸ Kroeper (2004: 878).

⁸⁵⁹ Kroeper (1992: 140; 2004: 878).

⁸⁶⁰ Parker Pearson (1999: 32).

unfortunately died at a young age, it would be more perilous for them to journey between the world of the living and the dead. Therefore, the amount of mortuary provisions found within grave 2275 could also indicate the increased efforts of the adult carers within the local community to ensure that the child had every provision at their disposal to ensure their sustenance and safety beyond death.⁸⁶¹

4.2.8 TELL EL-MASHA'LA

Located about 15 km north-east of the modern city of Abu Kebir, the site of Tell el-Masha'la is situated on 17 acre wide gezira, with its namesake modern village built on its western sector (30°49'17"N, 31°43'18"E).⁸⁶² The site was initially excavated by Mohammed Abd El-Hagg Ragab between 1988 and 1989, where the funerary remains dated from the Predynastic and Early Dynastic period was uncovered underneath layers pertaining to the Egyptian Late Period.⁸⁶³ Predynastic occupation at the site has been noted, indicating a possible settlement may have been located at the site, but not much evidence has been found to support this apart from some Predynastic 'objects of daily life' being found in the designated 'Area A'.⁸⁶⁴

Early Dynastic evidence came in the form of a mud brick tomb excavated in the centre of the site in the area designated as 'Area B' (Fig. 57).⁸⁶⁵ According to the excavator, the tomb was rectangular and was orientated from north to south, measuring 4.5 m long x 3.5 m wide.⁸⁶⁶ Upon discovery, the tomb featured an entrance on its northern side with a small court in front of it, but the rest of the tomb was covered with sand and collapsed mud brick fragments.⁸⁶⁷ After removing the debris, the tomb was found to have been dug 2 m deep underground, containing few remains of human bones mixed with some potsherds, but no discussion about the sex of the human bones was reported, indicating that they were not in a good condition for them to be properly analysed.⁸⁶⁸ Another human skeleton found in a contracted position was unearthed in association with this tomb within a 80 cm wide pit in the southern part of the rectangular tomb; again no information about its sex was reported.⁸⁶⁹ Because this pit was

⁸⁶¹ Power (2011: 25, 189).

⁸⁶² El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 210).

⁸⁶³ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212); Leclant & Clerc (1993: 187).

⁸⁶⁴ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212, pl. 9); Rampersad (2003: 171).

⁸⁶⁵ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212); Rampersad (2003: 174-175).

⁸⁶⁶ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212).

⁸⁶⁷ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212).

⁸⁶⁸ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212).

⁸⁶⁹ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212).

found at such a stratigraphic level, it was assumed to have been a Predynastic burial since it was found corresponding with the level to where the Predynastic pottery was found in 'Area A'.⁸⁷⁰ But, because this tomb was found to be damaged and robbed, it may have been disturbed during the Late Period to accommodate this other burial. A small niche was found in the tomb's southern wall, prompting the excavator to give it a First Dynasty date.⁸⁷¹

The presence of this tomb with this niche has been used as a comparable example when discussing the origin and development of niched sepulchral structures within the Nile Delta region.⁸⁷² Nonetheless, because the tomb has been built from mud brick and is large in size, which is comparable to some of the tombs found at nearby Tell Beni Amir, it would have belonged to someone of the Early Dynastic elite.⁸⁷³ However, there are no other tombs at Tell el-Masha'la to compare with since test 'soundings' performed near the rectangular tomb revealed no further information about whether other tombs were located in its vicinity.⁸⁷⁴ Furthermore, no Early Dynastic pottery or any other material evidence mentioned by El-Hagg Ragab, supported the tomb's First Dynasty date and it has been generally assumed to be Early Dynastic since.⁸⁷⁵ Rampersad excavated Tell el-Masha'la between 2002-2004 as part of a salvage operation and, after some initial failed attempts, was able to confirm the findings of at least seven Predynastic/Early Dynastic burials along the western borders of the site.⁸⁷⁶ Two of these burials were found to have the largest number of mortuary provisions compared to the other five, but the small sample of comparable graves only allows tentative interpretations regarding social stratification at the site.⁸⁷⁷ However, Rampersad emphasises that five of the seven deceased members were found to have been covered by some kind of linen, based on some scarcely preserved patches covering parts of their bodies and skulls.⁸⁷⁸ Comparable examples from other Protodynastic sites at Minshat Abu Omar indicate that the use of fabric wrapping was rare.⁸⁷⁹ However, these examples are part of larger grave samples at those sites.

⁸⁷⁰ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212, Pl. 9).

⁸⁷¹ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212-213, Pl. 10).

⁸⁷² van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 132); Dębowska-Ludwin (2016: 47).

⁸⁷³ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 210-211, pls. 4-5); Abd el-Moneim (1996: 245, Fig. 8.D); van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 130).

⁸⁷⁴ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212-213).

⁸⁷⁵ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 212).

⁸⁷⁶ Rampersad (2003: 171, fn. 2, 175; 2006: 797).

⁸⁷⁷ Rampersad (2006: 800).

⁸⁷⁸ Rampersad (2006: 801).

⁸⁷⁹ Kroeper & Wildung (1994: 4-5, 38, 73 & 149; 2000: 64) convey that only the presence of discolorations on the ground surface of several graves at Minshat Abu Omar have been used to indicate the presence of textile evidence, no preserved examples were retrieved.

Using the presence of linen to indicate higher ranked members at Tell el-Masha'la is overrepresented due to the much smaller sample of graves found there.

4.2.9 TELL BENI AMIR

The site of Tell Beni Amir is situated in the eastern Nile Delta, south of the concentration of sites within the Samara area and is named after the nearby modern town of Beni Amir (30°35'28.95"N, 30°33'51.49"E).⁸⁸⁰ It was located on a tell which stood 2.5 m above the local floodplain and consisted of three acres in size.⁸⁸¹ During the Early Dynastic period, this site has been speculated to be where the Tanitic and Pelusiatic branches divided, a location featuring overland routes to Tell Ibrahim Awad and the Southern Levant to the North, the access to the Memphite region to the south and the Wadi Tumilat, the Sinai and other areas beyond towards the East. Therefore, making Tell Beni Amir a suitable place for a transport and communication centre.⁸⁸² Today, the exact location of the site is unknown due to the urban development and agricultural activities of the Beni Amir town. However, excavations between 1967-1975 by Egyptian archaeologists, Mohammed Elewa el-Mussalami and El-Hagg Ragab, revealed the presence of a cemetery containing Pre- and Early Dynastic graves, intermixed with Late Period and Graeco-Roman Period sepulchres.⁸⁸³ A photo of grave no. 169 conveys the presence of what appears to be 'round based shouldered' ceramic vessels placed at the feet of the contracted remains of the deceased, who is facing towards the east (Fig. 58).⁸⁸⁴ These ceramic vessels are indicative of an Early Dynastic date and may have been used as a container for liquids.⁸⁸⁵ Another larger mud bricked tomb was also described, which featured numerous burial chambers and store rooms (Fig. 58).⁸⁸⁶ Furthermore, it was reported that ceramics⁸⁸⁷ and calcite stone vessels⁸⁸⁸ were recovered from the site's cemetery, indicating an Early Dynastic date, but their provenance is not known (Fig. 58).

⁸⁸⁰ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 207); Tristant & Dapper (2009: 605, Fig. 2).

⁸⁸¹ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 207).

⁸⁸² Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 138).

⁸⁸³ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 208).

⁸⁸⁴ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 210, pl. 4).

⁸⁸⁵ Petrie (1953: pl. XV.63Q); Hendrickx (1994: 85).

⁸⁸⁶ El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 209, pl. 5).

⁸⁸⁷ Petrie (1953: pl. XVI.66b); El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 211, pl. 6).

⁸⁸⁸ El-Khouli (1978: 171, pl. 151.1223); Aston (1994: 101.27); El-Hagg Ragab (1992: 211, pl. 7). A parallel for these calcite vessels can be determined from the tomb 260 from Tarkhan, dated to the First Dynasty, according to Petrie *et al* (1913: 28, pl. XLIII).

4.2.10 KAHR HASSAN DAWOUD

Located on the southern edge of the cultivated floodplain of the Wadi Tumilat, about 40 km to the west of Ismailia and 8 km east of El-Tell El-Kebir, Kafr Hassan Dawoud is regarded as the largest cemetery in the Eastern Delta (30°30'59"N, 30°51'0"E) (Fig. 22).⁸⁸⁹ This statement is not just based on the site's 38.5 hectare zone, but also due to the 1069 graves that have been excavated so far, with 317 burials dated between the Late and Ptolemaic periods mixed amongst 752 Protodynastic/Early Dynastic graves.⁸⁹⁰ Forty of the Protodynastic/Early Dynastic burials were identified to belong to the elite category in accordance with a large rectangular shape and grave good assemblages.⁸⁹¹ However, 5 graves that are located in the centre of the cemetery are interpreted to have belonged to local chiefs, for the graves were also found to contain prestigious mortuary provisions and displayed 'elaborate' architecture.⁸⁹² These include graves 233, 371, 913, 970 and 1008, which occupy the south central and north central parts of the cemetery.⁸⁹³ These elite tombs were either generally large oval pits or mud lined graves and were further distinguished by their grave size and funerary contents to assess the social positions of the tomb owners, not to mention the evidence of them being robbed in antiquity.⁸⁹⁴ For example, graves 913 and 970 were found adjacent to one another, were similar in size and design, both measuring 6 m long x 4 m wide and both being rectangular mud filled tombs (Fig. 59).⁸⁹⁵ But, grave 970 was interpreted to be part of a mortuary complex with a 'tumulus' made from sand, silt and gravel covering it.⁸⁹⁶ Serekhs designated to the reigns of Sekhen (Ka) and Narmer were found in graves 1008 and 913 respectively which are argued to indicate a possible connection between the deceased owners of these tombs and the royal administration.⁸⁹⁷ Around 705 burials were categorised as non-elite burials, and are mainly small simple oval pit tombs with an average size of 2.5 x 1.5 m, less than 18 mortuary provisions per tomb, usually consisting of ceramic and alabaster vessels and prestige goods.⁸⁹⁸ Some of the acclaimed elite tombs at Kafr Hassan Dawoud were found to have contained vessels reserved for storing beer, milk and bread and their designs have changed drastically

⁸⁸⁹ van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 127-128); Hassan *et al* (2003: 37-38). In Fig. 22, it is referred to as 'Ezbet Hassan Dawoud'.

⁸⁹⁰ Tassie & Hassan (2013: 3673).

⁸⁹¹ Hassan *et al* (2003: 41); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 500).

⁸⁹² Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 500).

⁸⁹³ Tassie & van Wetering (2003: fn. 13)

⁸⁹⁴ van Wetering & Tassie (2003: 128); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 501).

⁸⁹⁵ Hassan *et al* (2003: 42).

⁸⁹⁶ Hassan *et al* (2003: 42).

⁸⁹⁷ Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 501).

⁸⁹⁸ Hassan *et al* (2003: 41); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 500, fn. 12).

since the Protodynastic period to the onset of the Early Dynastic.⁸⁹⁹ It is stated that the development of such vessels is attributed to changes in both tastes and behaviour by elite persons, who had to be provided food due to their professional administrative, religious and crafting occupations during the Early Dynastic period.⁹⁰⁰ However, not much is disclosed about the dates of these tombs and the diverse range of objects that have been found within each of them that would justify their elite label. Overall, the local elite of Kafr Hassan Dawood are defined as the community members who could afford to outlay more effort and resources towards grave construction and procuring mortuary provisions.⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁹ This includes graves 890, 956 & 970, see Hassan *et al* (2003: 44).

⁹⁰⁰ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 208, 298).

⁹⁰¹ Hassan (1988: 163); Tassie & van Wetering (2003: 500).

CHAPTER 5 - THE MEMPHIS REGION

The term Memphis comes from the rendering of the Greek word, Men-nefer, which refers to the archaeological remains at modern Mit Rahina and its adjacent mounds.⁹⁰² Studying the region's history has commonly used evidence from the New Kingdom period onwards, which at the time was home to Egypt's flourishing administrative capital that was founded by the Thutmosid family.⁹⁰³ However, in the Old and Middle Kingdom periods, the evidence of scattered settlements does not suggest that a permanent capital existed in the area.⁹⁰⁴ Mariette and Daressy suggested that Memphis' location would be near the Saqqara cemetery where the modern village of Mit Rahina resides today, based on their excavations in both areas.⁹⁰⁵ Drill coring tests by the Egypt Exploration Society at the base of the Saqqara escarpment has retrieved Early Dynastic material from a depth of 4 m, in the form of a "stiff black clay layer" which suggests that an Early Dynastic settlement would have existed not far from the North Saqqara necropolis.⁹⁰⁶ However, there is no Early Dynastic evidence at Mit Rahina, so there are also suggestions that the site of Memphis would have been further south of the Nile based on the recent excavations and research at the site of Helwan.⁹⁰⁷ Moreover, Krol proposes another location to the north of the Memphis ruin field in the territory of Kom Tumam.⁹⁰⁸ Regrettably, further excavations cannot prove these suggestions due to the modern urban settings, not to mention the construction of modern walls at the foot of the Saqqara escarpment have been built where further testing for settlement locations would be very useful.⁹⁰⁹

Nonetheless, the presence of numerous cemetery sites on both the western and eastern banks of the modern Cairo area that date to the transition between the Fourth and Third millennium BC, suggests they were associated with nearby settlements which were part of a

⁹⁰² Adams (2013: 4429).

⁹⁰³ Adams (2013: 4429).

⁹⁰⁴ Adams (2013: 4429); Moeller (2016: 16, 158). Also, Heaghy (2014: 75) notes that the presence of Helwan on the eastern escarpment raises the possibility that an administrative centre at Memphis existed during the Early Dynastic period.

⁹⁰⁵ Mariette (1889: 1); Daressy (1902: 22).

⁹⁰⁶ Giddy & Jeffreys (1991: 5-6); Jeffreys & Giddy (1991: 8); Wilkinson (1999: 361).

⁹⁰⁷ Köhler (2008a: 381).

⁹⁰⁸ Krol (2015: 298-299).

⁹⁰⁹ Jeffreys (2012: 233-34).

wider settlement community that shifted within the Memphite region (Fig. 60).⁹¹⁰ These cemetery sites have been chosen by the present investigator for they have been listed by Hendrickx and van den Brink to have contained elite tombs or are part of an elite cemetery.⁹¹¹

5.1 WEST BANK

5.1.1 ABU RAWASH

The site of Abu Rawash is located 8 km northwest of Giza (30°2'17.41"N, 31°5'35.83"E) and has been known since the nineteenth century thanks to numerous surveys by Vyse, Lepsius and Petrie, who generally described the rocky foundations that characterise the presence of a monumental pyramid belonging to the Pharaoh, Redjedef (2482–2475 BC).⁹¹² However, actual archaeological excavations commenced at the site from the 1900s under the direction of Chassinat of the IFAO when the eastern face of the pyramid was cleared.⁹¹³ During a surface collection towards the east of the archaeological area, Chassinat discovered greywacke vessel fragments and suggested that archaic material resided there.⁹¹⁴ Subsequently, Montet would be designated to work within this area that was named 'M' after the first initial letter of his surname and is described as a rocky knoll that measures 300 m long by 50 m wide, not to mention 58 m above sea level (Fig. 63).⁹¹⁵ This cemetery neighbours the Old Kingdom 'F' cemetery, which are both connected by a narrow passage way and was at least 30 m above other archaic cemeteries which developed at the foot of the hill further towards the east (Fig. 61).⁹¹⁶

While Cemetery M sits on top of the rocky knoll, a number of cemeteries are located at the bottom of this knoll towards the southeast, including cemeteries 1957, 300, 400 and 800.⁹¹⁷ Sadly, these sites have been completely overrun and inaccessible due to the encroaching urban development of the greater Cairo metropolitan area.⁹¹⁸ Nonetheless, Klasens excavated most of these cemetery areas revealing smaller Early Dynastic tombs which date between the

⁹¹⁰ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 143); Wilkinson (1999: 360-361); Köhler (2008a: 381); Baines (2013: 27); Verner (2015: 7-8); Moeller (2016: 160).

⁹¹¹ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 348-351). Sites include Old Cairo, Abu Rawash, Tura el-Asmant, Giza South/Nazlet Batran, Abu Ghurab/Abusir, Saqqara North and Helwan.

⁹¹² Vyse (1840: 193); Petrie (1883: 53); Lepsius (1897: 21); Klasens (1957: 58); Tristant (2008a: 326).

⁹¹³ Chassinat (1901: 616-619).

⁹¹⁴ Montet (1938: 12).

⁹¹⁵ Montet (1938: 11-12); Tristant (2008a: 327).

⁹¹⁶ Klasens (1957: 59); Tristant (2008a: 327).

⁹¹⁷ Klasens (1957; 1958a; 1958b; 1959; 1960; 1961).

⁹¹⁸ Tristant (2008a: 337).

Protodynastic to the Third Dynasty.⁹¹⁹ Some tombs were older than the mastaba tombs of Cemetery M, dating between the Naqada IIIB1-IIIC1 periods, and were mostly open pit tombs made from mud brick constructions, with some found to have internal subdivisions, either roofed or back filled to close it off.⁹²⁰ Tombs dated to the Naqada IIIC2-IIID period were found to exhibit open pits with lateral grave niches, as if they were miniature versions of the elite tombs from the M cemetery.⁹²¹ Finally, in cemetery 800, a large mastaba grave labelled 930 is known, which contains two tombs with lateral niches, 930A and 930B, and also has tombs 931-933 in its western vicinity (Fig. 62).⁹²² Judging by its architectural design, the tomb has some similarities to the Third Dynasty tombs of North Saqqara, especially with the additional parallel mud brick wall on its eastern side to create some sort of corridor space.⁹²³ Plans of the tomb by Klasens show that a body was found in tomb 930A, but not much information is given about this deceased person (Fig. 62).⁹²⁴

Excavations at the M cemetery under Montet began in 1913 with a season between March and April, where four Early Dynastic tombs were cleared and two tombs dated to the Old Kingdom period.⁹²⁵ Nine other Early Dynastic and two more Old Kingdom tombs were discovered during a second campaign from November 1913 to the end of January 1914.⁹²⁶ Klasens would also excavate the M Cemetery in 1961, excavating 7 more tombs, bringing the cemetery total to 21 mastabas that are dated to the Naqada IIIC2 period during the mid-First Dynasty.⁹²⁷ A mud bricked mastaba would then cover the tomb's substructures, decorated with niches which are reminiscent of redans or the 'palace façade' style.⁹²⁸ Evidence of superstructures have been reported in association with tombs M01, M02, M03, M04, M06, M07, M08, M12 and M17, but they have been badly eroded since Monet's excavations over a hundred years ago now (Fig. 64-74).⁹²⁹ Most of the tombs are orientated along a general north-

⁹¹⁹ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 206).

⁹²⁰ Klasens (1957: 64-66, Pl. VI; 1958a: Fig. 12; 1960: 70); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: Plan 10). Examples come from Cemetery 300, such as graves 343, 306 & 321. Graves 389, 311, 341 & 313 count as tomb examples with internal sub-divisions.

⁹²¹ Klasens (1957: Pl. XV & XVI; 1959: Fig. 2); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: Plan 10). Examples come from Cemetery 1957, including 1957.34, 1957.28, 1957.25, 1957.37 & 1957.50. Moreover, Cemetery 400, such as graves 465, 505, 492, 489, 406 & 479.

⁹²² Klasens (1960: 71, Fig. 14).

⁹²³ Klasens (1960: 71, Fig. 14). Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: Plan 10) places Grave 930 as a Third Dynasty tomb.

⁹²⁴ Klasens (1960: 71, Fig. 14).

⁹²⁵ According to Tristant (2008a: 328), M01 and M02 to the east of the cemetery and M10 and M11 at the edge of the cemetery hill to the north. Furthermore, the Old Kingdom tombs are labelled as M09, M14 and M15.

⁹²⁶ Tristant (2008a: 328). Early Dynastic tombs M03, M04, M05, M06, M07, M08, M12, M13, M16 and M17.

⁹²⁷ Klasens (1961: 108); Tristant (2008a: 329; 2016: 156, fn. 1).

⁹²⁸ Tristant (2008a: 330).

⁹²⁹ Tristant (2008a: 332; 2016: 156; 2017a: 469, 478, 480).

north east/south-south-west axis, except for tombs M10 and M13 where they have north to north-north-west orientation (Fig. 74).⁹³⁰ Subsidiary burials are associated with at least 10 of the mastaba tombs built at the site, numbering at least 70 subsidiary burials with 15 partially preserved skeletons found (Figs. 64-67, 70 & 73).⁹³¹ The presence of subsidiary burials associated with these Abu Rawash tombs dictates that it was not an exclusive feature for the royal tombs at Abydos or the mastaba tombs at North Saqqara. Moreover, boat burials have been found in association with some of these tombs.⁹³² Based on the dimensions of their superstructures, or lack thereof, the average square area of the M cemetery tombs was 156.24 m².⁹³³ The smallest tomb, M05, was estimated to be 2 m long x 1.2 m wide, while the largest was M07, measuring 26 m long x 13 m wide.⁹³⁴

These mastaba tombs within the cemetery comprise an internal open pit construction with one or more subterranean rooms.⁹³⁵ The deceased occupant may have been buried in one of these rooms, while the others functioned as storage areas for offered funerary items.⁹³⁶ Very minimal skeletal remains have been sourced from the main subterranean areas of these tombs, with only the subsidiary burials providing better preserved skeletal examples.⁹³⁷ Access from the open pit to the subterranean rooms and burial chamber was provided by shafts to the north of the central pit which was hollowed out to a depth between 1.8-2.4 m.⁹³⁸ Some tomb examples are noted to have a staircase roughly cut into the rock, leading from the central rectangular pit to the underground chambers, such as M01; however, no traces of this staircase from M01 was found under Tristant's operations.⁹³⁹ The tombs were also reported to have portcullis installations to block the entrance to their respective internal chambers with at least 6 tomb examples, including M02, M06, M07, M10, M11 and M12 (Figs. 65, 70, 72 & 73).⁹⁴⁰ Other tomb examples were found to have vertical grooves sidelining their substructural room

⁹³⁰ Tristant (2008a: 329).

⁹³¹ Vaudou (2008: 151, Tab. 1); Tristant (2016); Tristant *et al* (2017: Origins 6 Presentation, 13th September). Tombs M01 (7 subsidiary burials), M02 (5 subsidiary burials), M03 (6 subsidiary burials), M04 (5 subsidiary burials), M06 (2 subsidiary burials), M07 (8 subsidiary burials), M11 (2 subsidiary burials), M12 (19 subsidiary burials), M13 (1 known subsidiary burial) and M17 (9 subsidiary burials).

⁹³² Tristant *et al* (2014: 565).

⁹³³ This is based on the recent dimensions provided by Tristant (2016; 2017a). Not all measurements of the tombs could be accounted for due to their poor preservation levels today.

⁹³⁴ Tristant (2017a: 469, 484).

⁹³⁵ Tristant (2008a: 330).

⁹³⁶ Tristant (2016: 156).

⁹³⁷ Tristant (2008a: 329; 2016: 168, fn. 12).

⁹³⁸ Tristant (2008a: 330).

⁹³⁹ Montet (1938: 18-19); Tristant (2008: 330). '*Au nord-est, un escalier grossièrement taillé aboutit à un puits donnant accès à une chambre souterraine qui n'a pas de forme définie.*' « Northeast, a roughly cut staircase leads to a shaft giving access to an underground chamber that has no defined shape ».

⁹⁴⁰ Tristant (2008a: 331; 2016: 165, 170-171; 2017a: 469, 472, 481-482).

entrance, such as M03, despite no preserved slab.⁹⁴¹ Or other tombs, such as M13, were found with no preserved slab or slots, but are theorised to have had a portcullis installation based on the shape and dimensions of the substructural shaft found inside it.⁹⁴² The re-excavation project directed by the IFAO noted some errors with Montet's recording and excavation methods at the site. Firstly, Baud published a new topographical map in 2005, based on a preliminary survey of the M cemetery, to correct the original one made by Monet which exhibited numerous inconsistencies (Fig. 63).⁹⁴³ Secondly, Tristant, noted that Montet did not excavate the entire cemetery and focussed only on the more prominent tomb structures.⁹⁴⁴

The knoll on which the cemetery was located was found to have encompassed a natural limestone formation.⁹⁴⁵ Also, it was recently found that red gravel was brought from an external source to level and cover the central part of the cemetery to provide a more secure foundation.⁹⁴⁶ This observation shows that some effort was made to accommodate these tombs on the site, highlighting that the deceased who were allocated these tombs may have had some social importance. Another factor attesting to the elite status of the deceased buried at Abu Rawash are the mortuary provisions found within the tombs. Most of the mortuary provisions found by Montet were distributed to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Louvre Museum in Paris and the University of Strasbourg.⁹⁴⁷ The French and Egyptian collections have been studied by Tristant and Smythe as part of the re-excavation project by the IFAO.⁹⁴⁸ This includes 125 objects from the Louvre, comprising of stone vessels (68 specimens) and copper objects (45 specimens); five ivory lion figurines; ivory game tokens; a rectangular greywacke palette; a set of flint tools and a single ink-inscribed pottery jar.⁹⁴⁹ Furthermore, 147 objects from Strasbourg consisted of two large solid conical clay stoppers, bearing seal impressions, for sealing wine jars; 43 flint tools; 53 stone vessels and number of plain, decorated or inscribed bone inlay elements for the decoration of boxes or furniture.⁹⁵⁰

The location of Abu Rawash also attributes to its significance as well by being on the northern tip of the western escarpment of the assumed Memphite zone that was active during

⁹⁴¹ Tristant (2017a: 483).

⁹⁴² Tristant (2016: 160).

⁹⁴³ Baud (2005: 13, fig. 6); Tristant (2008a: 356, Figs. 3 & 4).

⁹⁴⁴ Tristant (2016: 158).

⁹⁴⁵ Tristant (Personal Communication, 21st April 2017).

⁹⁴⁶ Tristant (Personal Communication, 21st April 2017).

⁹⁴⁷ Tristant (2016: 172).

⁹⁴⁸ Tristant (2016: 172-174).

⁹⁴⁹ Tristant (2016: 174).

⁹⁵⁰ Tristant (2016: 174).

the First Dynasty.⁹⁵¹ Considering where Memphis is assumed to have been located, Abu Rawash would have been at least 20 km away to the northwest. But, it has also been suggested by Tristant that the site may have been aligned to where the modern town of Ausim resides, which is where the ancient nome of Khem would have been located on the periphery of the Nile Delta.⁹⁵² Overall, the Abu Rawash necropolis and its tombs have been referred to when discussing early state formation, administration and urbanism within the Memphite region during the Early Dynastic period.⁹⁵³ The site had largely been ignored with very little excavation activity until the eastern part of Abu Rawash was re-excavated by the IFAO since 2007, thus providing new insights about the site and its relations with other Early Dynastic cemeteries in the Memphite area.⁹⁵⁴ Moreover, this site acts as another example which designates the striking differences in size and architectural design between the tombs of the M cemetery and the cemeteries below in the plain.⁹⁵⁵

5.1.2 KAFR GHATTATI

On the western bank of the Nile, to the north of Giza, a total of twelve Early Dynastic graves and one grave from the 'Ptolemaic-Roman' period was excavated by Reisner across a 10-day excavation at the site of Kafr Ghattati, a site located on a sandy knoll stated to be between the Mena House Hotel and Abu Rawash (29°59'N, 31°07'E).⁹⁵⁶ Based on the given location of the site from the perspective of a photo taken from Giza, the Kafr Ghattati cemetery would not have been located on the Mokkatam Formation underlying the Giza pyramids (Fig. 75).⁹⁵⁷ Moreover, based on the developmental history of the Giza Plateau, Lehner speculates that the area where 'part of the Mena House Hotel golf course' occupies would have been 17.6-19.5 m above sea level, giving the tombs of this cemetery some elevation above the floodplain.⁹⁵⁸ According to a redrawn map by Engles, who analysed the unpublished field notes of Reisner, the older tombs at the site were mostly grouped together with north to south axial orientations, except for the 'Ptolemaic-Roman' grave that had an east-west axial orientation (Fig. 75).⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵¹ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 161, fig. 1); Tristant (2008a: 341).

⁹⁵² Tristant (2008b: 132, Fig. 2).

⁹⁵³ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 144); Wilkinson (1996: 351); Wengrow (2006: 228); Köhler (2008: 389); Tristant (2008a: 325-326); Bárta (2013b: 159, 161);

⁹⁵⁴ Tristant (2008a; 2008b; 2016; 2017a); Tristant & Smythe (2011).

⁹⁵⁵ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 206).

⁹⁵⁶ Engles (1990: 72).

⁹⁵⁷ Engles (1990: 72, Fig. 1).

⁹⁵⁸ Lehner (1985: 117).

⁹⁵⁹ Engles (1990: 86, Fig. 28).

The tombs varied in their architectural designs, with six of them being mud brick substructures comprised of a single chamber.⁹⁶⁰ Five others contained an early stairway form, while the remaining two were just rectangular open pits.⁹⁶¹ Most of these tombs were robbed in antiquity except for some that were found intact with a number of grave items accompanying the contracted remains of the deceased.⁹⁶² For example, tomb KG2 is a rectangular mud brick grave measuring 2.1 m long x 1.55 m wide x 1 m deep with 30-38 cm thick walls (Fig. 76).⁹⁶³ Within this grave was found the remains of a near complete skeleton with its body tightly contracted on the left side with its head to the south and its face to the west.⁹⁶⁴ The sex of the deceased could not be determined, but the body was accompanied by a variety of grave items including ceramics, stone vessels, ivory hairpins, a bird slate palette and a few cylinder beads made from either carnelian or faience (Fig. 76).⁹⁶⁵

The ceramics included cylinder jars and rounded base pots made from a fabric consisting of a pink drab paste containing mud, in other words a 'Marl A' fabric of some kind.⁹⁶⁶ By consulting the classification system through Kaiser's relative chronologies, Engles suggests that the later First Dynasty pottery corresponds with parallels dated to the reign of Narmer. However, no seal impressions, royal names or any other form of written evidence was found to confirm this idea.⁹⁶⁷ The stone vessels were bowls described to be made from black basalt with straight sides, a plain rim and a rounded interior base, which has close early First Dynasty parallels from tomb 3357 in North Saqqara and the 'Royal Mastaba' located in Naqada.⁹⁶⁸ Accompanying jewellery made from carnelian beads were also found within the grave, which suggests that the deceased had elite connotations due to the effort required to gain this material from outside of Egypt.⁹⁶⁹ Moreover, parallel occurrences of faience beads have been found within Tomb 11 in the HK6 cemetery at Hierakonpolis, dating to a Naqada IIIA2 context.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁰ Engles (1990: 73).

⁹⁶¹ Engles (1990: 73).

⁹⁶² Engles (1990: 73, Fig. 2).

⁹⁶³ Engles (1990: 76).

⁹⁶⁴ Engles (1990: 76, Fig. 7).

⁹⁶⁵ Engles (1990: 76-80).

⁹⁶⁶ Engles (1990: 78); De Souza (Personal Communication, 19th February 2018). Some parallels can be observed from North Saqqara from the tomb 3504, such as 'Archaic 12' according to Emery (1954: 71-72, Fig. 98.C6) *cf.* Wodzinska (2009: 88).

⁹⁶⁷ Engles (1990: 73).

⁹⁶⁸ Engles (1990: 77, Fig. 8c); Morgan (1897: 178, Fig. 604, 605); Emery (1939: 42, Fig. 45.39 & 40) *cf.* Aston (1994: 116).

⁹⁶⁹ Wengrow (2006: 14).

⁹⁷⁰ Adams (2000: 98); Wengrow (2006: 172).

The date of these graves was consulted from analysing the discovered pottery and stone vessels, ranging between the late Protodynastic to the early First Dynasty.⁹⁷¹ Despite this suggested dating range, an overall dating assessment cannot be grasped. This is because complications are encountered with the five tombs found with stairway features.⁹⁷² Based on comparisons to parallel tombs of similar measurements and with staircase features from Sedment and Tarkhan, Engles proposes a late First Dynasty to an early Second Dynasty date.⁹⁷³ However, these stairway tombs at Kafr Ghattati were not found with any archaeological material to determine their date between the late First Dynasty or leading into the Second Dynasty. Moreover, solely using the architectural features of these tombs to determine their date is not conclusive and prevents an understanding about this site's occupational history. Today, the site is now completely lost underneath the modern Cairo urbanism, possibly under the site of the Grand Egyptian Museum, making it difficult to comprehend why this area was chosen as a burial site.⁹⁷⁴

5.1.3 SOUTH GIZA/NAZLET BATRAN

The site of Giza is known for its mortuary complexes that are associated with the interred rulers, the royal family and officials of the Old Kingdom period from the Fourth Dynasty onwards.⁹⁷⁵ However, excavations in the early 20th century revealed the existence of the older Nazlet Batran cemetery area on top of a knoll that is located around 1200 m south of the great Pyramid of Khufu and sits on an elevation of about 59.7 m above sea level (29°57'53.42"N, 31° 8'1.83"E) (Fig. 60A).⁹⁷⁶ A full view of the Giza necropolis and the entire Mokkatam formation that it sits on can be seen from the Nazlet Batran cemetery, which also provides a good view of the Nile valley to the East.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷¹ Engles (1990: 73).

⁹⁷² Engles (1990: 78).

⁹⁷³ Petrie *et al* (1913: 27); Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2, pl. LXXXI); Engles (1990: 74); Grajetzki (2005: 10). Parallel tombs from Tarkhan include tombs 1004, 240 and 545, but no photographs were taken of these three stairway tombs. Parallel tombs from Sedment include tombs 684 and 569.

⁹⁷⁴ According to Shetawy & El-Khateeb (2009: 824, Fig. 3), judging by where Kafr-Ghattati may have been located, it could have been within the Giza plateau's 'buffer zone', as allocated by 'World Cultural Heritage Site' regulations since 1979.

⁹⁷⁵ Martin (1997: 279).

⁹⁷⁶ Petrie *et al* (1907: 1); Lehner (1985: 115); Kromer (1991: 11); Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 145).

⁹⁷⁷ Lehner (1985: 115).

5.1.3.1 MASTABA V

In the late nineteenth century, Mariette found a mastaba made of blueish-grey or oyster filled limestones in this area.⁹⁷⁸ Subsequently, a concession was approved for Daressy to excavate the area in 1904, which he described to be at the end of a small ravine filled with undulating sandy soil, where no rock is visible and is located about 500 m south of the rocky knoll.⁹⁷⁹ Daressy's excavations revealed a substructure in the form of a rectangular pit that was excavated in gravel and contained a central chamber flanked on either end by two chambers, which measured 15.7 m long x 7.5 m wide (Fig. 77).⁹⁸⁰ Petrie would then excavate this tomb during his 1906-1907 campaign, labelled it as 'Mastaba V' and described its location to be a 'mile and a half' South East of Khufu's pyramid (Fig. 77).⁹⁸¹ Unlike Daressy's efforts that excavated only the tomb's substructure, Petrie's team further cleared ground to reveal that the tomb had 'panelled brickwork', similar to Covington's tomb (see below) and Morgan's tomb at Naqada.⁹⁸² The forefront of the distinct brick work was found to be coated in a white plaster; also, the floors of the niche bays were coated white.⁹⁸³ Moreover, 52 subsidiary burials surrounded this tomb's superstructure.⁹⁸⁴ Most of these subsidiary burials were disturbed, but some did contain skeletons, who were positioned with their 'knees sharply bent' (Fig. 77).⁹⁸⁵

The mastaba tomb had a substructural main chamber that measured 10.8 m long x 5.6 m wide x 2.4 m deep and may have functioned as the main burial chamber.⁹⁸⁶ The central chamber (Chamber C) contained eight pilasters, one that occupied each of its corners, two on each of the longer walls and one on each of the shorter walls. Despite their poor state of preservation, it is estimated that these pilasters were 2.3 m high.⁹⁸⁷ They would have helped to support a covering roof made out of perishable materials and covered with a 1 m deep layer of earth for a tumulus.⁹⁸⁸ All around its walls, the chamber was lined with wood, which rested on

⁹⁷⁸ Covington (1905: 193, 196); Martin (1997: 280). Sadly, no record of Mariette's excavations in South Giza were published.

⁹⁷⁹ Daressy (1905: 99); Petrie *et al* (1907: 1-2). This was based on the observation given by Barsanti on his way travelling back from the site of Zawiyet el-Aryan, who alerted Maspero and Daressy about the presence of '*...une place parsemée de débris de vases en terre cuite et en pierre qui lui parurent remonter à la plus haute antiquité*' « a place strewn with ruins of vessels in terracotta and stone, which appeared to him to rise to the highest antiquity ».

⁹⁸⁰ Daressy (1905: 100, Fig. 1).

⁹⁸¹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 2).

⁹⁸² Petrie *et al* (1907: pl. II).

⁹⁸³ Petrie *et al* (1907: 3).

⁹⁸⁴ Petrie *et al* (1907: 3).

⁹⁸⁵ Petrie *et al* (1907: 4, pl. VIA).

⁹⁸⁶ Daressy (1905: 99-100); Petrie *et al* (1907: 2); La Loggia (2012: 206); Clark (2016: 394).

⁹⁸⁷ Daressy (1905: 100, Fig. 1).

⁹⁸⁸ Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 52).

a footing beam; with the space between the lining and the wall being divided by the pilasters, which held in place the posts that supported the timber lining against the wall.⁹⁸⁹ Petrie notes that this arrangement is similar to the interior design of Djet's tomb at Abydos, where similar pilasters are found to support a roof.⁹⁹⁰ Evidence of charcoal and scattered burnt areas of varying intensity have suggested that a fire incident occurred within this chamber.⁹⁹¹ In the middle of the central chamber was a little 20 cm thick mud brick wall that divided the chamber into two separate parts and was irregular in form.⁹⁹² Petrie uncovered this wall in his clearing of the main chamber and describes the bricks to have either a 'burnt red' or 'crude black' colour, deducing that the bricks came from the burnt ruins of the tomb; the function of this wall is unknown.⁹⁹³ Traces of base beams and posts suggest the presence of a wooden chamber or shrine, which measured 9.04 m x 4.16 m.⁹⁹⁴ The flanking chambers to the north and the south of the central chamber each measured on average 2.6 m long x 5.6 m wide x 0.83 m deep, while there were separated by a 1 m thick mud brick retaining wall that ran along the excavated cut of the substructure.⁹⁹⁵ All the chambers are aligned well with each other and follow a general axial direction along the magnetic north.⁹⁹⁶

The mortuary provisions that were found within Mastaba V included flint knives in some of the flanking chambers, such as chamber A (Fig. 77).⁹⁹⁷ Chamber B provided slender wine jars that were decorated with netting or plain bands, which are similar to some found at Abydos.⁹⁹⁸ In the main pit, a large quantity of large jars enveloping inner jars were found to be marked with the serekh of King Djet and possibly the name of the tomb owner (Fig. 77).⁹⁹⁹ An estimated 60 cylindrical stone vessels made from dolomite were found in the burial chamber.¹⁰⁰⁰ Petrie would also find eight large conical seals in Chamber C, which displayed the serekh of King Djet as well.¹⁰⁰¹ Today, there is no exact indication as to where the tomb

⁹⁸⁹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 3); La Loggia (2012: 206).

⁹⁹⁰ Petrie (1900: 9; 1907: 3).

⁹⁹¹ Daressy (1905: 100-101); Petrie *et al* (1907: 3).

⁹⁹² Daressy (1905: 100); Petrie *et al* (1907: 3).

⁹⁹³ Petrie *et al* (1907: 3).

⁹⁹⁴ Petrie *et al* (1907: 3).

⁹⁹⁵ Daressy (1905: 100); La Loggia (2012: 206).

⁹⁹⁶ Daressy (1905: 99).

⁹⁹⁷ Daressy (1905: 101-102, Fig. 2). Petrie (1907: pl. IV) would also find similar flint knives in this same chamber, fourteen of which he designated to belong to the first type.

⁹⁹⁸ Daressy (1905: 102); Petrie (1902: 6, pl. VI, 13); Aston (1994: 124).

⁹⁹⁹ Daressy (1905: 103).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Daressy (1905: 104). The vessel's material was originally believed to be bitumen, but Aston (1994: 41) clarifies the correct material as dolomite. The measurements of these cylindrical vessels varied. Height: 10-65 cm; Diameter: 8-20 cm.

¹⁰⁰¹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 2). Parallel seals are also found in Tomb Z of Djet at Abydos, see Petrie (1901: 31 pl. XVII: 126).

might be between the Giza south field and Zawiyet el-Aryan, since it is not pinpointed on any published map found, but most likely, the tomb may be lost under the modern urbanism.¹⁰⁰² Based on the craftsmanship, material and supposed function of this mastaba tomb, it is proposed that the deceased held some sort of high status in his/her contemporary time.

5.1.3.2 SECOND DYNASTY TOMB AND THE INNER MASTABA OF THE THIRD DYNASTY

The area south of Giza seemed to have a continuous occupation during the Early Dynastic period, where more contemporary tombs were located. This includes a Second Dynasty tomb that was also uncovered by Petrie, east of ‘Covington’s tomb’, but its exact location is undetermined today (Fig. 78).¹⁰⁰³ It was found to be completely disturbed, leaving no traces of a superstructure, for it was found underneath the remains of a Late period tomb dated to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.¹⁰⁰⁴ However, a sloping passage was recorded that led to two grooves made for portcullises to block access to the burial chamber.¹⁰⁰⁵ Only one portcullis was found on the surface near the tomb and has been estimated to have weighed 2.6 tonnes.¹⁰⁰⁶ Clark notes that the arrangement of the portcullis grooves in this tomb’s substructure is similar to the entrance design of Ninetjer’s tomb, which was a rock cut ramp that was subsequently blocked by two portcullises.¹⁰⁰⁷ Mud seal impressions were recorded from the tomb, which were found inscribed with the name of the Second Dynasty king, Ninetjer, hence dating this tomb to the corresponding period.¹⁰⁰⁸ Fragments of stone vessels were either found in the main burial chamber or mixed within the filling of the tomb and they were made from calcite, gypsum, limestone and pink marble.¹⁰⁰⁹

In the early 1980s, another Early Dynastic mastaba tomb was unearthed by Kromer and was labelled as the ‘Inner Mastaba’.¹⁰¹⁰ This tomb was found to be built entirely in stone, the earliest private tomb of its kind and is relatively dated to the Third Dynasty.¹⁰¹¹ The superstructure of the tomb measured 11.57-11.6 m long x 5.7-5.73 m wide, with a preserved

¹⁰⁰² Martin (1997: 283).

¹⁰⁰³ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7); Porter & Moss (1974: 295); Martin (1997: 282-283).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7); Martin (1997: 283); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 205); Clark (2016: 240).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7); Clark (2016: 240).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Clark (2016: 240).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Lacher (2011: 217); Clark (2016: 240, fn. 1794).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Petrie *et al* (1907: Pl. Ve); Porter & Moss (1974: 295).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7); Martin (1997: 283).

¹⁰¹⁰ Kromer (1991: 16).

¹⁰¹¹ Kromer (1991: 18, 42); Clark (2016: 201).

height of 2 m (Fig. 79).¹⁰¹² Kromer notes beautifully cut limestone blocks lined the bottom of the tomb's 9 metre deep shaft, which he comments was used only for entrances and the interior of tombs belonging to princes and nobles (Fig. 79).¹⁰¹³ This is based on the rule stated by Helck, based on his observations of the western Old Kingdom cemetery of Giza, that only the king could permit such building materials to be utilised within noble tombs, for they would have come from the royal quarries.¹⁰¹⁴ Moreover, trained specialists would have been needed to carve the stone required to build a tomb of such magnitude.¹⁰¹⁵ Even so, this stone lining did not progress too far and was only found on the eastern side of the shaft.¹⁰¹⁶ Due to this tomb's size, the material expenditure of utilised stone and the outer decoration of the white paint combined with plastering, Kromer interprets the tomb's owner to have been a member of the the royal house of the king.¹⁰¹⁷

5.1.3.3 COVINGTON'S TOMB

'Covington's tomb' was located at the end of the Nazlet Batran knoll, which deviates towards the west after about 800 m and is located about 1.5 km south of the pyramid of Khufu and 13 km north of Saqqara.¹⁰¹⁸ The tomb's existence was first recorded since its outline can be seen on the plans made by Lepsius' entourage.¹⁰¹⁹ In his campaign at Nazlet Batran from 1902-1903, Covington, with the assistance of Quibell, discovered and cleared 39 tombs, 15 various rock-cut burial shafts, 8 rock cut cave tombs with door entrances as distinct from their

¹⁰¹² Clark (2016: 395).

¹⁰¹³ Kromer (1991: 16).

¹⁰¹⁴ Kromer (1991: 16). According to Helck (1956: 64) *„Es ist also deutlich, daß auf dem Westfriedhof die Beamten, die durch ihre Tätigkeit am Pyramidenbau sowohl Zutritt zum t3 ḏšr hatten wie Verfügungsrecht über die notwendigen Arbeiter und Handwerkert, mit königlicher Erlaubnis und unter Einsatz „staatlicher“ Mittel Gräber für sich und ihre Stabe anlegen konnten. Daher fehlen auch dort die gleichzeitigen Höflinge fast ganz. Einem solchen konnte damals nur ein ausdrücklicher Befehl des Königs zu einem Grab im verbotenen Bezirk um die Pyramide des regierenden Königs vethelfen. Einen solchen Fall kennen wir bei Dibnj unter Chefren, der ausdrücklich anordnete, daß „staatliche“ Arbeiter für Dbbmj ein Grab unter denen der königlichen Prinzen und Königinnen im Steinbruch des Cheops anlegten.“* « It is clear, therefore, that at the West Cemetery the officials, who by virtue of their occupation of the pyramid building had access to the t3 ḏšr (sacred land/necropolis) as well as the right to dispose of the necessary workers and craftsmen, with royal permission and employing "state" means, provided graves for themselves and their staff. Therefore, the concurrent courtiers were almost completely absent there, and only an explicit order from the king to such a grave in the forbidden district around the pyramid of the reigning king could have given such a case to Dibnj under Chefren, who expressly ordered that "state" workers laid a grave for Dbbmj among those of the royal princes and queens in the quarry of Cheops. ».

¹⁰¹⁵ Helck (1956: 64); Kromer (1991: 42).

¹⁰¹⁶ Kromer (1991: 16).

¹⁰¹⁷ Kromer (1991: 42).

¹⁰¹⁸ Covington (1905: 194); Swelim (1983: 88); Jánosi (2006: 19); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 205).

¹⁰¹⁹ Lepsius (1849: pl. 14); Brovarski (1996: 120, fn. 11).

shafts, 13 serdabs, 5 mastabas and part of an outer court of a temple.¹⁰²⁰ Most of these tombs date to the Roman period and a couple that are designated to the Early Dynastic period.

Covington gave plenty of attention to a mastaba, labelled Tomb No. 1. This mastaba tomb would have had a superstructure measuring 54.97 m long x 27.99 m wide that was constructed out of a central mass of mud bricks depicting a possible tumulus covering (Fig. 80).¹⁰²¹ Along the east and west wall of the tomb's superstructure, 14 niched recesses are observed, five of which contained lintels, forming 15 protruding abutments.¹⁰²² For the north and south walls, 7 recesses are reported that formed 8 abutments.¹⁰²³ An unusual brick edging is noted to surround the main walls of the superstructure, the east side of which was preserved well enough for the original excavator to observe its full architectural details.¹⁰²⁴ This wall had abutments on the inside, which hugged the protruding abutments of the superstructure, whose limits were at least 25 cm apart from the limit of the superstructure that created a very small intermediate space where no debris of any kind apart from sand was found.¹⁰²⁵ The function of this wall is not clear, but it certainly aided in providing preservation protection for the niched walls of the tomb's superstructure.¹⁰²⁶ The combination of Tomb No. 1's superstructure and this surrounding wall would have covered an area of about 61.7 m long x 34.53 m wide, making this tomb larger than preceding Early Dynastic counterparts at Naqada and Saqqara.¹⁰²⁷ A coating of white plaster has been noted on the main walls of the superstructure that Covington labels as cement (Fig. 80).¹⁰²⁸ Evidence for a large wall surrounding the niched superstructure was indicated by a 30 cm gap from the limit of the superstructure and was estimated to have been 1.4 m thick.¹⁰²⁹ The height of the tomb has been estimated to be 7 m due to the mass of mud bricks that are south of the tomb's main shaft.¹⁰³⁰

The massif of the tomb covered a substructure composed of a complex two level underground system that was dug 21.8 m into the strata composed of sand stone and clay below

¹⁰²⁰ Covington (1905: 194) states that he discovered 39 tombs, but the total numerical breakdown of the types of tombs excavated adds up to 41. According to Martin (1997: 279), Covington only marks 38 tombs on a site map that was uncovered recently, rather than 39.

¹⁰²¹ Covington (1905: 196); Jánosi (2006: 20). (Fig. 79)

¹⁰²² Covington (1905: 202-203).

¹⁰²³ Covington (1905: 200).

¹⁰²⁴ Covington (1905: 204).

¹⁰²⁵ Covington (1905: 204).

¹⁰²⁶ Covington (1905: 204); Jánosi (2006: 20).

¹⁰²⁷ Covington (1905: 196).

¹⁰²⁸ Covington (1905: 197, 201); Jánosi (2006: 20, Abb. 16).

¹⁰²⁹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7).

¹⁰³⁰ Covington (1907: 198-9); Jánosi (2006: 20).

the red sandy surface.¹⁰³¹ A staircase in the north-eastern corner of the superstructure folds in an L-shape design leading to a portcullis that blocks the entrance to an east-west facing corridor of the substructure's upper level.¹⁰³² Three elongated chambers were found to be cut into the strata with only a 0.8 m height making them inaccessible but were at least 1.7 m above the burial chamber.¹⁰³³ Another chamber to the east of the corridor measures 4.12 m before leading to another small extension to the north measuring 2 m long x 0.8 m wide x 0.8 m deep.¹⁰³⁴ Based on the discarded fragments of stone and ceramic vessels found within these chambers, their function as magazines is the best interpretation.¹⁰³⁵ The setup of these numerous chambers at about 8 m below the ground surface are reminiscent of Second Dynasty tomb substructures.¹⁰³⁶ The lower level was characterised by a 3.2 m x 1.26 m large vertical shaft that leads 7 m deep to a south orientated entrance that is blocked by a massive 15 tonne portcullis to the burial chamber which indicates the early forms of tomb construction of the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁰³⁷ No decorations or inscriptions were found on the substructural walls.¹⁰³⁸ However, the walls of the main chamber, corridor and west chamber were coated by the same white plaster that is found on the exterior walls of the tomb's superstructure.¹⁰³⁹ Despite the tomb being robbed, the mortuary provisions associated with this tomb were mostly found in the main chamber, the corridor and in the west chamber of the tomb's substructure.¹⁰⁴⁰ A fragment of an offering list has been reported to have been found from this tomb (Fig. 80).¹⁰⁴¹ It is reported that a small deposit of human bones were found in the main burial chamber.¹⁰⁴² They are given a physical description, but nothing is described to determine the age and sex from these bones. Covington states that these being the only human bones found may indicate an important burial, but it cannot be determined if there were other bodies which may have been removed from the tomb.¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰³¹ Jánosi (2006: 20); Clark (2016: 136).

¹⁰³² Jánosi (2006: 21).

¹⁰³³ Covington (1905: 211); Jánosi (2006: 21).

¹⁰³⁴ Covington (1905: 211).

¹⁰³⁵ Jánosi (2006: 21).

¹⁰³⁶ Covington (1905: 208); Jánosi (2006: 19-21).

¹⁰³⁷ Jánosi (2006: 19-20).

¹⁰³⁸ Covington (1905: 211).

¹⁰³⁹ Covington (1905: 211).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Covington (1905: 215).

¹⁰⁴¹ Smith (1946: 141) *cf.* Brovarski (1996: 118).

¹⁰⁴² Covington (1905: 215).

¹⁰⁴³ Covington (1905: 215).

Covington did not give a precise date for the tomb, but leans toward a First Dynasty date based on the previous excavations by Mariette at Saqqara.¹⁰⁴⁴ Similarly, Petrie speculated that this tomb may have dated to the First Dynasty based on the niched superstructure; however, its substructural design has parallels with the royal step pyramid of Netjerikhet and its high location is separate from Mastaba V and the Second Dynasty tomb.¹⁰⁴⁵ It is generally accepted now that this tomb dates to the Third Dynasty.¹⁰⁴⁶

As to who was buried in this mastaba is still very much unclear today.¹⁰⁴⁷ The elevation of this tomb is the highest at this site compared to the other tombs dating to the First and Second Dynasties.¹⁰⁴⁸ This has been taken into account by Swelim, who believes that this tomb may have belonged to one of the early or middle Third Dynasty kings and it was not completed at the time of the owner's death due to the preserved state of the tomb.¹⁰⁴⁹ However, no royal names on sealings or pottery were found. The opinion that this tomb belonged to a king due to its large grave dimensions seems outdated, especially since the cemetery space allocated to it would have restricted further expansion.¹⁰⁵⁰ Nonetheless, this grave's superstructure design is like the Third Dynasty mastaba tombs at Beit Khallaf and the Fourth Dynasty grave, Mastaba 17 at Meydum, including the tunnel construction of their substructures.¹⁰⁵¹

Why this area was chosen for a cemetery may come down to practical reasons, for this area is part of the Maadi formation which encompasses a combination of fossiliferous limestone, sandy marl clay deposits and sandstones.¹⁰⁵² The Nazlet Batran cemetery may have been associated with a settlement towards the Nile valley in the East for it is speculated that a settlement of the Predynastic/Early Dynastic periods may have been located on the Giza plateau, especially near the Menkaure complex, where the remains of flint and pottery were

¹⁰⁴⁴ Covington (1905: 201); Martin (1997: 281).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Reisner (1936: 248); Brovarski (1996: 120); Jánosi (2006: 19); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 206); Tristant (2017b: 55).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Jánosi (2006: 19).

¹⁰⁴⁸ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Swelim (1983: 90).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Jánosi (2006: 19).

¹⁰⁵¹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7); Swelim (1983: 90) *cf.* Clark (2016: 490, 524). Mastaba No. 17, Meydum – Substructure: Main Hall 6.27 m long x 2.08 m wide x 5 m high; Superstructure: 103.05 m long x 51.6 m wide. K1, Beit Khallaf – Substructure: Burial Chamber 5 m long x 5 m wide x 3 m high; Superstructure: 85 m long x 45 m wide x 8 m high.

¹⁰⁵² Covington (1905: 194); Lehner (1985: 114); Kromer *et al* (1991: 11).

uncovered and dated to the corresponding timeframe.¹⁰⁵³ Nonetheless, this is meagre evidence and suggests that the Giza plateau was not densely populated before the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁰⁵⁴

5.1.4 ABU GHURAB/ABUSIR

While searching for more sites associated with the Fifth Dynasty sun-sanctuaries, Radwan discovered a burial ground north of the Sun temple complex of Niuserre in the region of Abusir on the edge of the desert margin (29°54'00"N, 31°12'00"E).¹⁰⁵⁵ The cemetery was named Abu Ghurab after the local village and the chronology of this site ranges from Naqada IIIA to the late First Dynasty.¹⁰⁵⁶ The size of the tombs vary between 12 m² and 220 m², with the smaller tombs resembling pit graves, while the larger tombs featured niched walls along with subdivisional compartments with staircases in their design.¹⁰⁵⁷ Some of the more prominent and larger tombs have been given more attention by Radwan across a number of articles.¹⁰⁵⁸

This includes the First Dynasty mastaba tomb XVII which measured 17.3 m long x 8.2 m wide and featured a mud brick enclosure wall, an ‘offering chapel’ space east of the tomb, niched façade panelling on its superstructure not to mention a number of associated burials with some on the tomb’s northern side and a singular one on its eastern side (Fig. 81).¹⁰⁵⁹ The substructure of the tomb comprises a large pit, measuring 8.1 m long x 4.5 m wide, with dividing mud brick walls to create a burial chamber in the middle and two storage chambers on its north and south sides.¹⁰⁶⁰ The tomb’s substructure is similar to tombs which are dated to the reign of Djnet, such as T1060 from Tarkhan.¹⁰⁶¹ The presence of the clay bull’s head on the low bench surrounding Mastaba XVII’s superstructure also attributes this tomb’s emulation of the 300 clay bull heads featured around 3504’s superstructure, another tomb dated to the reign of Djnet (Fig. 81).¹⁰⁶² Ceramics from the tomb and one of its associated burials confirm the

¹⁰⁵³ Wilkinson (1999: 339). According to Bietak (1979: 114, 142, n. 35), Kromer (1972) has dated the remains to those periods.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Bárta (2005: 183).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Radwan (1991: 305); Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 146).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 205).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Radwan (1991: 305-306, Abb. 1); Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 146).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Radwan (1991; 1995; 2000; 2003; 2007).

¹⁰⁵⁹ Radwan (2000).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Radwan (2000: 513).

¹⁰⁶¹ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 211).

¹⁰⁶² Emery (1954: 7, pl. VI-VII); Radwan (2000: 512).

tomb's Naqada IIIC1 date.¹⁰⁶³ Based on these features, Radwan states that this type of tomb 'can only belong to the nobility of his time'.¹⁰⁶⁴

Two other notable tombs in the same area, Mastabas IV and V, were subsequently built during the reign of Den, based on the addition of the staircase entrances leading into their substructures (Fig. 82-83).¹⁰⁶⁵ A mud brick tomb, Mastaba IV measured 17 m long x 14-15 m wide featuring a substructure measuring 16 m long x 13-14 m wide.¹⁰⁶⁶ A sloping descent led into the substructure from the north, where the entrance to the main burial chamber of the tomb was blocked by a limestone portcullis.¹⁰⁶⁷ Radwan noted that what was left of the tomb's superstructure had a niched eastern side, not to mention a 'special cult niche' which may have acted as a 'funerary temple' location for honouring the deceased.¹⁰⁶⁸ Subsidiary burials were 'scattered around the tomb', including a number of burials to the south of the tomb, where the skeletons of three donkeys were recovered.¹⁰⁶⁹ Close to the northern end of Mastaba IV, lies Mastaba V, which was built in a perpendicular fashion with a north to south orientation (Fig. 83).¹⁰⁷⁰ This tomb had a mud brick built superstructure measuring 13.3 m long x 7.2 m wide and had an L-shaped stairway leading to a substructure measuring 5 m long x 4.1 m wide x 2.1 m deep.¹⁰⁷¹ The tomb's burial chamber was found to be lined with plates of wood and from what was left may have also been roofed as well. This tomb was also reported to have a north-south aligned corridor chapel where a double recessed niche was present in its eastern side and a storage room which Radwan interprets may have acted as a serdab room.¹⁰⁷² Many smaller burials were built around these larger mastaba tombs, which Radwan remarks would have belonged to 'common people', who could have been 'servants or members of the household of the mastaba tomb owners'.¹⁰⁷³ Pottery was the common grave good found in all the excavated tombs, no matter whether they have been categorised as either large or small, rich or poor.¹⁰⁷⁴

Other Early Dynastic monuments have been noted further to the south of the Abusir site, such as a twin mastaba tomb labelled 'Mastaba A' by Verner, which he dated between the

¹⁰⁶³ Petrie (1953b: pl. IX.50g); Hendrickx (1999: 24); Radwan (2000: 511-512).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Radwan (2000: 514).

¹⁰⁶⁵ Radwan (1991: 305-308; 2003: 378).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Clark (2016: 399).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Radwan (1995: 313, Taf. III; 2003: 378).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Radwan (1995: 312, Taf. III; 2003: 378).

¹⁰⁶⁹ Radwan (1995: 312-313).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Radwan (1991: 306-307, Abb. 2).

¹⁰⁷¹ Radwan (1991: Abb. 2); Clark (2016: 399).

¹⁰⁷² Radwan (1995: 313; 2003: 378); Bárta (1998: 67).

¹⁰⁷³ Radwan (2003: 378).

¹⁰⁷⁴ Radwan (2004: 1561).

mid to late Third Dynasty based on the tomb's architecture and ceramic material.¹⁰⁷⁵ Inscribed material from the tomb, dictates that the deceased owner may have been named Ity.¹⁰⁷⁶

Another Early Dynastic monument was uncovered recently by Bárta in South Abusir, a late Third Dynasty mastaba tomb from the reign of Huni.¹⁰⁷⁷ Labelled as AS54, the tomb is located to the southeast of the Old Kingdom tomb complex of Qar and was a significant find. This tomb measured 52.60 m long x 23.80 m wide in terms of its ground plan and was built entirely of mud bricks (Fig. 85).¹⁰⁷⁸ Notable architectural features distinguish this tomb to date to the Third Dynasty, including chapel areas on its northern and southern sides, not to mention the tomb's eastern wall was protected by a parallel surrounding wall, measuring 1.40 m in thickness and created a 1 m wide corridor space which connected the southern and northern cult spaces.¹⁰⁷⁹ Moreover, a double recessed niche, which measured 1.10 m wide and 0.90 m deep was built near the north eastern corner of the tomb's eastern wall.¹⁰⁸⁰ A cult chapel area is interpreted to be embedded within the tomb's superstructure on its south eastern corner and included an area for where a false door would have been placed on its western wall based on the cut recess in the mud plastered floor and the installation of a small limestone basin in the floor directly in front of the missing door itself (Fig. 85).¹⁰⁸¹ This room also displayed elements of renovative stages, based on the discovery of original niches found behind the western, southern and northern walls of this chapel space.¹⁰⁸² Bárta states that the floor of the cult chapel was 40.80 m above sea level, thus the tomb itself was built on a high level of altitude within not just the Southern Abusir cemetery area, but the Memphite region in general.¹⁰⁸³

The tomb's substructure is situated to the north of the tomb's layout, and is accessible for a shaft that is 12.60 m deep, with its walls lined with mud bricks for about 5.40 m from the surface.¹⁰⁸⁴ The bottom of this shaft descends to the south of the tomb, leading to a short corridor, measuring 4.35 m long x 1.25 m wide, cut to a height of 1.81 m.¹⁰⁸⁵ This corridor leads to the tomb's burial chamber that was found to have been originally blocked by a limestone portcullis slab, measuring 0.6 m long x 1.05 m wide; this was found pushed to the

¹⁰⁷⁵ Verner (1995: 78); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 205).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: Plan 10).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Bárta (2011: 42).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Bárta (2011: 42).

¹⁰⁷⁹ Bárta (2011: 42, 45).

¹⁰⁸⁰ Bárta (2011: 43).

¹⁰⁸¹ Bárta (2011: 43-45).

¹⁰⁸² Bárta (2011: 42).

¹⁰⁸³ Bárta (2011: 42).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Bárta (2011: 46).

¹⁰⁸⁵ Bárta (2011: 46).

side from the burial chamber entrance.¹⁰⁸⁶ The burial chamber is described as small, yet it consists of a north-south orientated corridor where a niche is cut into its southern wall and a western recess, where the deceased would have been laid.¹⁰⁸⁷

The tomb was found to be mostly robbed, except for a lot of stone vessels discovered within the fill of its shaft and its burial chamber.¹⁰⁸⁸ These stone vessels were made from a range of materials, including calcite, anorthosite, magnesite, limestone, metagabbro, calcite breccia, serpentine and dolomite.¹⁰⁸⁹ Despite the fact that most of the fragments from these stone vessels could not be completely reconstructed, it could be determined that these stone artefacts were originally either bowls, tables/trays, beakers, cylindrical jars and plates.¹⁰⁹⁰ One of the stone vessel fragments made from magnesite was found inscribed with the following inscription, *nswt-bity Hwnj*, close to the edge of the bowl in dots and seemingly pressed into the stone material (Fig. 85).¹⁰⁹¹ This has been interpreted as the name of the last king of the Third Dynasty, Huni.¹⁰⁹² This is also the only piece of inscriptional material to be sourced from the mastaba tomb, but also making it a rare case that the presence of a royal name is found in a Third Dynasty private tomb.¹⁰⁹³

Overall, questions surround the broken state of these vessels as to when they were damaged, either before the burial, during the burial or after due to tomb robbing activities. No skeletal remains were reported from the mastaba tomb, making it difficult to justify who the tomb owner was. Nonetheless, the architectural similarities between this tomb and other contemporary tombs of the Third Dynasty, make for interpretations that the deceased owner was part of the elite. Furthermore, the stone vessels are given precedence, not just because they were the only significant items found from the tomb, but the comparisons made with other stone vessels inscribed with a royal name have been sourced from other Third Dynasty mortuary contexts. For example, the name of Khaba being found on inscribed items from the Mastaba tomb Z500 from Zawiyet el-Aryan¹⁰⁹⁴ and the recently found mastaba tomb at Quesna.¹⁰⁹⁵

¹⁰⁸⁶ Bárta (2011: 46-47).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Bárta (2011: 47).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Bárta (2011: 47); Jirásková (2011: 443).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Jirásková (2011: 445).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Jirásková (2011: 447).

¹⁰⁹¹ Bárta (2011: 47-48, Fig. 6).

¹⁰⁹² Jirásková (2011: 454).

¹⁰⁹³ Bárta (2011: 47); Jirásková (2011: 454).

¹⁰⁹⁴ Arkell (1956: 116).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Rowland & Tassie (2018: 369); Martinet (2018: 220).

5.1.5 ZAWIYET EL-ARYAN

Zawiyet el-Aryan is located 7 km north of Saqqara and is situated around 113 m west of an escarpment rising 27 m above the flood plain to the east (29°55'58.79"N, 31°9'40.11"E).¹⁰⁹⁶ The cemetery is known for the Layer Pyramid, which has been a subject of study since the 1800s (Fig. 86).¹⁰⁹⁷ Fisher, under the supervision of Reisner, examined the Layer Pyramid site in 1903 and received permission to excavate there for about three months from late December 1910.¹⁰⁹⁸ By analysing the pyramid's entrance and substructural chambers, they interpreted similarities to the private stairway tombs of the Third Dynasty at Beit Khallaf.¹⁰⁹⁹ They also excavated the five cemeteries that surrounded the pyramid, in the hope of finding tombs which may belong to members of the royal family or associated officials.¹¹⁰⁰

The 300 tombs they found in these cemeteries ranged from the Early Dynastic to the Roman period and were proposed to be published in a later article, but did not occur due to time constraints.¹¹⁰¹ However, Reisner would publish eight Early Dynastic graves from Zawiyet el-Aryan in his 1936 publication, with most of them being rectangular in shape, averaging 172 cm long x 88 cm wide x 121 cm deep.¹¹⁰² The tombs housed single burials with the deceased not adhering to common burial rules. They were found contracted on either the right or left side with their heads facing to the south or north and only a few of their sexes being identified; including two females, one intermingled with the bones of a possible new born child, and a burial dedicated to a child.¹¹⁰³ The range of mortuary provisions found in these tombs included basalt bowls and cups, cylindrical jars, carnelian beads, tall jars made from either red or brown ware and bracelets and pins made from ivory.¹¹⁰⁴ Reisner's death in 1942 did not allow the full number of these graves to be published. However, Dunham, managed to analyse hand written diary entries by Fisher, tomb cards and photographs of the graves and objects from the Zawiyet el-Aryan excavation that are held at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.¹¹⁰⁵ From such records, Dunham could only publish 72 graves out of the 300 that Reisner and Fisher

¹⁰⁹⁶ Lehner (1996: 508).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Lepsius (1897: 128); Barsanti (1901: 92); Lehner (1997: 95).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Reisner & Fisher (1911: 56); Dunham (1978: IX).

¹⁰⁹⁹ Reisner & Fisher (1911: 56-58).

¹¹⁰⁰ Reisner & Fisher (1911: 59).

¹¹⁰¹ Reisner & Fisher (1911: 59); Dunham (1978: IX). Reisner (1936: 379-382) did manage to publish the drawings of nine graves as Early Dynastic examples.

¹¹⁰² Reisner (1936: 379-382).

¹¹⁰³ Reisner (1936: 379-382).

¹¹⁰⁴ Reisner (1936: 379-382).

¹¹⁰⁵ Dunham (1978: IX).

excavated, for the other 76% of graves were either empty, plundered or re-used countlessly.¹¹⁰⁶ From this publication, two tombs were found to contain ceramics inscribed with the serekhs of Egypt's premier sovereigns, including tomb Z401 where a serekh pertaining to Narmer was inscribed on a ceramic (Fig. 87).¹¹⁰⁷ While Tomb Z2 contained a ceramic with a black painted serekh for Hor-Aha (Fig. 88).¹¹⁰⁸

Four mud brick mastabas were also found to the north of the Layer Pyramid, but their details were also not published due to Reisner's passing.¹¹⁰⁹ However, a record of a large mastaba, labelled Z500, is the only mastaba tomb that Dunham publishes which dates to the Third Dynasty, suggesting that the records of the other three mastabas were not deemed significant for publication or too fragmented.¹¹¹⁰ Lehner would also look through the same archival material, especially Fisher's survey data, diary entries and his pocket field notes, and would publish new information regarding Z500 and a topographical map of the Zawiyet el-Aryan cemetery site and the mastaba's location, which is located to the north of the Layer pyramid between two hills labelled C and D (Fig. 86).¹¹¹¹ A discrepancy with the tomb's orientation was noted when Lehner observed the photograph of Z500 that was published by Dunham, with the latter describing the tomb to have an east-west orientation when in fact it has a north-south direction, for the outline of one of the Giza pyramids can be seen in the background of the picture (Fig. 89).¹¹¹² According to Fisher's diary entries, the tomb's walls were 1.10 m thick made of mud brick built upon rubble or debris and covered with an outer casing of mud, prompting Fisher to suggest that the tomb was reconstructed across two periods.¹¹¹³ Despite not finding any record of the superstructure's dimensions, Lehner hypothesises the mastaba's measurements as either 8.6 m x 11.5 m, based on analysing Dunham's published photograph, or 7.48 m x 17.6 m according to Fisher's tomb sketch.¹¹¹⁴ It was also found that the Z500 mastaba encompassed a niched area (Fig. 89).¹¹¹⁵ The records also suggest that the tomb's substructure was not well preserved leading to speculation that this tomb could be a chapel or north temple for the Layer pyramid, when compared to the

¹¹⁰⁶ Dunham (1978: IX).

¹¹⁰⁷ Dunham (1978: 25-26, pl. XVIB).

¹¹⁰⁸ Dunham (1978: 1).

¹¹⁰⁹ Reisner & Fisher (1911: 59).

¹¹¹⁰ Dunham (1978: 29-34); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 205).

¹¹¹¹ Lehner (1996: 509, 511-522).

¹¹¹² Dunham (1978: XII, Figure A); Lehner (1996: 512).

¹¹¹³ Dunham (1978: 29); Lehner (1996: 515-16).

¹¹¹⁴ Lehner (1996: 516).

¹¹¹⁵ Lehner (1996: 521, Fig. 7).

complexes of Sekhemkhet and Netjerikhet at Saqqara.¹¹¹⁶ However, these perceptions are based on the hypothesis that the tomb was located close to the pyramid itself, but the topographical map that Lehner has produced shows the tomb to be at least nearly 200 m away.¹¹¹⁷ Three sides of this mastaba's substructure were exposed after excavation, with the southern wall being found to be eroded and providing the idea that the tomb was rectangular.¹¹¹⁸ Based on the sketch from Fisher's diary, evidence of a damaged brick wall protruding from the internal western wall of the tomb's substructure suggests that the tomb was divided into two small chambers each containing a shaft on its north and south sides.¹¹¹⁹ According to Fisher's diary notes, the southern shaft continues for a few metres and then divides, to the south leading around a corner to a small chamber to the north extending to a pit 5 m deep down to another passage to the west, but no main chamber or traces of a coffin or burial were discovered at this point.¹¹²⁰ North east of this point a large rock pit with a cave was encountered where the calcite and diorite fragments bearing the name of Khaba were found (Fig. 89).¹¹²¹ There is an issue interpreting whether these notes by Fisher is describing the southern shaft or another shaft altogether, for despite certain areas found entirely empty, plates and bowls made from porphyry were found, not to mention fragments of calcite cylindrical vessels, some displaying rough rims with parts of the shoulder.¹¹²² Six offering tables with low stands or bases attached were also found from the tomb, one found to have a 51 cm diameter and made from saccharine calcite.¹¹²³ Special attention is given to the eight dolomite bowls that were inscribed with the serekh of Horus Khaba, a Third Dynasty king.¹¹²⁴ Five of these inscribed diorite bowls are held at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, USA and there is one located in the Petrie Museum.¹¹²⁵

Unfortunately, the remains from this tomb do not give an indication about who the tomb owner was, but it certainly adds as another example of a non-royal tomb being found with inscribed mortuary provisions with the name of a king. For now, it is interpreted that these

¹¹¹⁶ Swelim (1983: 78, 96); Lehner (1996: 512).

¹¹¹⁷ Based on Lehner's (1996: 509, Fig. 1) scaled dimensions.

¹¹¹⁸ Lehner (1996: 515, Fig. 4).

¹¹¹⁹ Lehner (1996: 515, Fig. 4).

¹¹²⁰ Lehner (1996: 517-518).

¹¹²¹ Lehner (1996: 517-518).

¹¹²² Dunham (1978: 29); Lehner (1996: 518).

¹¹²³ Lehner (1996: 516, 518).

¹¹²⁴ Reisner & Fisher (1911: 59); Arkell (1956: 116); Porter & Moss (1974: 314).

¹¹²⁵ Arkell (1956: 116); Dunham (1978: 34); Kahl *et al* (1995: 158).

inscribed mortuary provisions would have been gifts to the deceased tomb owner from the king, possibly for whom the nearby Layer Pyramid belonged to.¹¹²⁶

5.1.6 SAQQARA

Located 25 km south of the modern city of Cairo on the western bank of the Nile, Saqqara is one of the most prominent archaeological sites of ancient Egypt, having been used from the Early Dynastic period (c. 3100 BC) to the Coptic period (Fifth century AD).¹¹²⁷ It is speculated that the cemetery served as the main mortuary area for the founding city of Memphis, thus contributing to the site's importance for ancient Egyptian studies.¹¹²⁸ Compared to the Umm el-Qaab cemetery, where only the royal family and close associates were exclusively buried, Saqqara offers a more diverse picture with several Early Dynastic cemeteries housing a variety of deceased social groups. This includes the Early Dynastic tombs within the northern cemetery which is considered the final resting place for elite officials who served the first kings of Egypt between the First-Third dynasties (29°53'N, 31°13'E).¹¹²⁹ Moreover, the tombs found in a western cemetery designated as Macramallah's Rectangle, where deceased members, possibly belonging to a middle class, may have been buried during the First Dynasty (29°52'40.83"N, 31°12'29.12"E).¹¹³⁰ Finally, recent excavations have revealed a couple of Second Dynasty tombs underneath the tombs of two high officials, Maya (29°52'0.84"N, 31°13'2.75"E) and Meryneith (29°51'57.81"N, 31°13'2.96"E), in the New Kingdom cemetery of southern Saqqara.¹¹³¹

5.1.6.1 NORTH SAQQARA

The tombs of North Saqqara signify the elite tomb template for the Early Dynastic period, exhibiting some of the most discussed mortuary features which provides archaeological insights regarding the constructional development of the Early Dynastic tomb. The tombs are located on the highest point of the Saqqara necropolis at about 30 m above the flood plain and would have allowed the tombs to be recognised from far away distances, especially from the supposed location of the Memphis settlement (Fig. 60).¹¹³² The presence of these Early Dynastic tombs were revealed by Mariette in the 1860s, thanks to his discovery of the limestone

¹¹²⁶ Lehner (1996: 522).

¹¹²⁷ Chauvet (2001: 176); Bárta (2013a: 6036).

¹¹²⁸ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 202).

¹¹²⁹ Tavares (1999: 703-704); Hendrickx (2008: 64); Regulski (2009: 222).

¹¹³⁰ Macramallah (1940: 1); Baka (2011: 19).

¹¹³¹ Raven *et al* (2001/2002: 98); Regulski (2009: 222; 2011b: Fig. 1.4).

¹¹³² Quibell (1923: 1); Hendrickx (2008: 61); Reader (2017: 74).

stela belonging to Khabausoker and the five wooden panels associated with the tomb of Hesyre, both officials of the Third Dynasty.¹¹³³ It was deduced that the mortuary area had no further interest after Mariette's exploits and the site was left untouched.¹¹³⁴ Very little information about the tomb of Hesyre's location was provided in Mariette's posthumous publication after he died in 1889, leaving only 3 of Hesyre's wooden reliefs to be published; but, their provenance within the eleven niches that were part of the inner corridor of Hesyre's tomb complex was not recorded.¹¹³⁵ Between 1910 and 1914, Quibell would excavate 500 tombs and funeral shafts within the northern cemetery, including tombs dating between the First-Third Dynasties.¹¹³⁶ Despite not being able to publish all his findings, Quibell would confirm the location of Hesyre's tomb in 1911 (Fig. 104A).¹¹³⁷

Following his excavations of the Old Kingdom funeral shafts leading to the tombs belonging to Mereruka, Kagemni, Ikhekhi, Kairer and Idut, Firth turned his attention to the northern Saqqara plateau during the 1930-31 winter after Quibell's efforts twenty years prior.¹¹³⁸ Despite commencing the clearing of the tomb of Hemaka, Firth would unexpectedly pass away in 1931, leaving only a preliminary report about the presence of First Dynasty mastaba tombs 'near the edge of the low cliff overlooking the village of Abusir'.¹¹³⁹ It is from the rock-cut burial chambers of these mastaba tombs that inscribed stone vessels with the serekhs of Hor-Aha and Den were discovered.¹¹⁴⁰ Firth was of the immediate opinion that these tombs belonged to either 'princes of the royal house or of great officials of the First Dynasty' and that they were not cenotaphs or memorials representing the kings of the First Dynasty.¹¹⁴¹ Emery inherited Firth's concession in October 1935 on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society.

¹¹³³ Mariette (1889: 68-86); Murray (1905: 3, 32, Pls. I-II).

¹¹³⁴ Quibell (1913: 1); Emery (1938: vii); Hendrickx (2008: 61).

¹¹³⁵ Mariette (1871: Pl. 12); Quibell (1913: 2); Wilkinson (2007: 32); Regulski (2010: 42, fn. 392). Quibell (1913: pl. XXIX-XXXII) and Weill (1908: 230-31) would then publish the rest of the wooden reliefs.

¹¹³⁶ Quibell (1913; 1923); Buongarzone (2003a: 110-111; 2003b: 122). The map published in Reisner (1936: Map 2) was drawn by William Stevenson Smith and was the most updated after Quibell's excavations in the North Cemetery and it included some preliminary data from Firth's earliest excavations there in the 1930s.

¹¹³⁷ Morgan (1897: pl. 10); Warnemünde (2012: 13). Regarding the early location of the Tomb of Hesy, Quibell (1913: 2) writes, « *This is marked on De Morgan's map but bears no title. It will be seen on plate X, the solitary red T-shaped marked 1 centimetre above the word (Arabic consonant) in (Arabic word).* » The Arabic word is read as 'Elwayet Zaid' and translates as 'Tell Zaid'. I thank Naguib Kanawati for clarifying this.

¹¹³⁸ Buongarzone (2003a: 111).

¹¹³⁹ Firth (1931: 47); Emery (1938: vii).

¹¹⁴⁰ Firth (1931: 47, pl. 1 & 2); Emery (1938: 1). Based on the Superstructure, one mastaba tomb measured 57 x 26 m. and the other 40 x 22 m which is likely to be tombs 3035 (Hemaka) and 3036 (Ankha) respectively.

¹¹⁴¹ Firth (1931: 47).

Across a 40 year period, Emery would excavate the western portion of the northern plateau from the northern rocky outcrop overlooking the Abusir pyramids down to the south portion of the plateau where tomb 3507 is located (Fig. 60B).¹¹⁴² Despite the fragile state of the mud brick tomb's superstructures, Emery was the first to seriously appreciate their importance by also systematically investigating their substructures, which helped to determine their early date.¹¹⁴³ The excavation of tomb 3357 was such an impressive find for its time that Emery believed it deserved its own volume with added comparisons to other Early Dynastic tombs and hieroglyphic designations that were still relatively unknown for the period.¹¹⁴⁴ This resulted with the discovery of at least over twenty large mud brick mastaba tombs dated to the First Dynasty that have been published within 5 excavation reports.¹¹⁴⁵ Emery also discovered other mud brick tombs that date to the Second and Third Dynasties; however, they are not well published compared to their First Dynasty counterparts.¹¹⁴⁶ The size and the quality of what was left of the tomb structures at North Saqqara have been used by Emery to further testify Saqqara's importance during the Early Dynastic period.¹¹⁴⁷ By analysing the data from these tombs, especially the written evidence, many authors have looked to these tombs to discuss aspects of tomb ownership and social differentiation.¹¹⁴⁸ The written evidence found within them convey the deceased's possible connections to the king and the administrative roles they were charged with in his governing body across a number of institutions.¹¹⁴⁹ However, it must be noted that over half of the tombs in this cemetery do not contain the names of the possible owners that includes the First Dynasty tombs 3357, 2185, 3471, 3338, 3121, 3120, 3500 and the Second Dynasty tomb 2171.¹¹⁵⁰ Tombs 3504, 3505, 3506 and 3507, all dating to the First Dynasty, contain more than one name which has been linked to an official.¹¹⁵¹

The First Dynasty tombs are mostly open cut pits that were dug into the limestone strata that is topped with gravel and roofed with heavy wooden beams.¹¹⁵² A mud brick mastaba was

¹¹⁴² Emery (1938: vii); Tavares (1999: 700); Wilkinson (1999: 11-12); Buongarzone (2003a: 112); Ormeling (2017: 1-2). Emery would excavate across three seasons, 1936-1939, with Saad before the Second World War would force Emery to not return to the site until five years later. He would recommence excavations from 1946-1949 and would then finish at the site after his last concentrated efforts from 1952-1959.

¹¹⁴³ Emery (1939: 9); Buongarzone (2003a: 112); Wenke (2009: 253); Ormeling (2017: 14).

¹¹⁴⁴ Emery (1939: vii).

¹¹⁴⁵ Emery (1938; 1939; 1949; 1954; 1958).

¹¹⁴⁶ Martin (1981: 109). See also Emery (1961: 155-63, figs. 92-7, pls. 10-11), Tomb 3046 is also illustrated in pls. 12-13.

¹¹⁴⁷ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 202).

¹¹⁴⁸ Kees (1957); Trigger (1983); O'Connor (2005); Hendrickx (2008).

¹¹⁴⁹ Morris (2007a: 171).

¹¹⁵⁰ Regulski (2010: 68, fn. 686)

¹¹⁵¹ Regulski (2010: 68, fn. 686).

¹¹⁵² Emery (1958: 4); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 201); La Loggia (2015: 44); Clark (2016: 76).

then built over the superstructure with a mud brick enclosure wall usually surrounding it.¹¹⁵³ These tombs also exhibited numerous magazine rooms in their superstructure and substructure to accommodate high quantities of mortuary provisions. As a result, their grave design resembled a rectangular model house integrated into the mastaba.¹¹⁵⁴ Compared to other contemporary tombs at other sites, though, the tombs of North Saqqara exhibit certain architectural features which have been interpreted to distinguish the high social status of the deceased, but also made to symbolise the deceased's personality upon these funerary monuments.¹¹⁵⁵

Tomb 3357 is the oldest grave at the site from the reign of Hor-Aha and is deemed the first tomb to exhibit the niched façade in the Memphite region, not to mention a superstructure that encompassed 27 magazine rooms for storing funerary goods for the deceased (Fig. 90).¹¹⁵⁶ Underneath its superstructure, a large rectangular pit made up the tomb's substructure that was divided into 5 separate chambers with one of them interpreted to have been the burial place for the deceased (Fig. 90).¹¹⁵⁷ The tomb itself was surrounded by two enclosure walls, both hypothesised to be 1.5 m high, consisting of unbonded mudbricks that were laid in a 'tile' fashion within a number of rows (Fig. 90).¹¹⁵⁸ An associated boat grave, in the form of a low mudbrick tumulus that was plastered with mud and gypsum on its outer walls, was found about 3.5 m north of 3357 and parallel with its northern wall (Fig. 90).¹¹⁵⁹ From his stratigraphical analysis, Emery deduces that the plastered tumulus surrounding the wooden boat was built after the nautical vessel was positioned within the mortuary space.¹¹⁶⁰

Other contemporary tombs at the same site also incorporated these features and other innovations. For example, Tomb 3471 dates to the reign of King Djer and the tomb's substructure was covered by a rubble filling which may have been originally fallen debris from the tomb's roof (Fig. 91).¹¹⁶¹ This debris is interpreted to be elements of an earthen tumulus, which has been noted in other North Saqqara graves where it is made of sand, gravel and cased with brickwork, such as 3507 from the reign of Herneith.¹¹⁶² A recent article has stated that the

¹¹⁵³ La Loggia (2015: 44).

¹¹⁵⁴ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 210).

¹¹⁵⁵ János (2006: 8); Tristant (2017b: 50).

¹¹⁵⁶ Emery (1939: 10).

¹¹⁵⁷ Emery (1939: 10); La Loggia (2015: 47).

¹¹⁵⁸ Emery (1939: 12).

¹¹⁵⁹ Emery (1939: 18).

¹¹⁶⁰ Emery (1939: 18).

¹¹⁶¹ Emery (1949: 14).

¹¹⁶² Emery (1958: 73, 75).

rubble above 3471's substructure may be traces of the oldest 'tumulus' made out from sand, gravel and brickwork, but not in a stepped form.¹¹⁶³ Despite Emery changing his opinion in a later publication, he does not provide much information about what the rubble covering 3471's substructure consisted of to justify it being a tumulus from his original excavation report.¹¹⁶⁴

Subsidiary burials were another funerary feature amongst these tombs, especially with tombs 3504, 3503, 3506, 3507, 3111, 3505 and 3500.¹¹⁶⁵ Tomb 3504 had the largest number with 62 subsidiary burials, where thirty-eight of these burials contained the skeletal remains of male adults (Fig. 92).¹¹⁶⁶ The remains of adult females occupied four of these burials while one female adult was found in a double burial with the remains of a young person, but its sex could not be determined (Fig. 92).¹¹⁶⁷ The other nineteen burials contained human remains, including those of children, but their sex could not be determined based on the minimal osteological evidence available because of the excessive plundering these tombs endured.¹¹⁶⁸

The tomb 3035, concerning the individual Hemaka, had a superstructure measuring 26 m wide x 57.3 m long and was constructed using at least 3 359 500 mud bricks within a pit which was excavated from a total volume of 835 m³ from the local limestone strata – making it the largest tomb built at North Saqqara (Fig. 93).¹¹⁶⁹ It is reported that a boat pit was found in association with Mastaba 3035 when it was excavated in 1936.¹¹⁷⁰ No information about this boat was written in Emery's original excavation report. However, a minor anonymous reference reports the remains of the boat was found to the north of 3035 and it measured 16 m long.¹¹⁷¹ No other information about its preservation level or its current whereabouts is given. While the evidence of niched facades and subsidiary burials are present, this tomb heralded some funerary innovations during the reign of Den to which it is dated.¹¹⁷² Firstly, it is found with an inserted staircase with its entrance leading from the tomb's east side underneath its superstructure to the burial chamber.¹¹⁷³ Secondly, instead of an open pit as its substructure,

¹¹⁶³ Cervelló Autuori (2017: 224, Table 4).

¹¹⁶⁴ Emery (1949: 13-14).

¹¹⁶⁵ Vaudou (2008: 151, Tab. 1).

¹¹⁶⁶ Emery (1954: 24-37).

¹¹⁶⁷ Emery (1954: 24-37). Single depositions of the female adults included burials 3, 9, 12 and 19. Grave 52 was the double burial.

¹¹⁶⁸ Emery (1954: 24-37).

¹¹⁶⁹ Emery (1938: 3); La Loggia (2015: 60); Clark (2016: 284).

¹¹⁷⁰ Saad (1969: 74-75); Hendrickx (2008: 67, tab. 2).

¹¹⁷¹ Anonymous (1939: 80). *Au nord du mastaba, on a découvert les restes d'un grand bateau en bois, mesurant plus seize mètres de longueur. C'est le plus ancien bateau en bois de cette dimension, connu jusqu'à ce jour.*

¹¹⁷² Anonymous (1939: 79); Saad (1969: 74-75); Hendrickx (2008: 67, tab. 2); Vaudou (2008: 153).

¹¹⁷³ Emery (1938: 4-6); Engel (2003: 43); Hendrickx (2008: 77-78); La Loggia (2015: 60).

this tomb encompasses lateral spaces that are accessed via narrow tunnel passage ways.¹¹⁷⁴ Thirdly, the tomb was built with what is considered a side gallery construction in the south east area of its superstructure where four magazine rooms contained an exclusive area for large quantities of wine jars and these rooms were connected to each other by doors with wooden lintels which were potentially 1.5 m high.¹¹⁷⁵ Finally, this tomb had four portcullises installed, three along different intervals in its staircase and one blocking the burial chamber's entrance (Fig. 93).¹¹⁷⁶ This is the most of any tomb in the North Saqqara necropolis, signifying the amount of effort and resources which was made by the deceased owner and possibly the living kin to safeguard the tomb.¹¹⁷⁷

Like tomb 3038, tomb 3505 is given precedence for the royal tomb debate based on the adjoining cult area construction built to its north, where the feet of two wooden statues were found in a niche within the main chamber and is considered an innovation for private tomb building at the site (Fig. 95).¹¹⁷⁸ This particular feature though has been used to advocate the deceased being a king rather than a private person.¹¹⁷⁹ However, this is still relying on one architectural feature from one tomb to advocate the royal nature of a group of tombs.¹¹⁸⁰ Much like how the niched façade recessing found on these tomb's superstructures has been likened to as 'icons for the dominating royal clans, the highest princes and main queens'.¹¹⁸¹

The development of tunnelling subterranean tombs topped with mud brick superstructures characterise Second Dynasty tomb examples that are intermixed with the tombs of the First Dynasty.¹¹⁸² This trend to go from pit graves of the First Dynasty to subterranean graves of the Second Dynasty is regarded as a monumental development for the substructures of both royal and private tombs.¹¹⁸³ This development is exemplified when analysing the structural designs of tombs 3121 and 3120, where both of their substructures have been tunnelled into the rock, the first of their kind in the North Saqqara cemetery (Fig. 98 & 99).¹¹⁸⁴ Based on these features some scholars have either dated these tombs to the late First

¹¹⁷⁴ Emery (1938: pl. 1); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 211); Tristant (2017b: 53).

¹¹⁷⁵ Emery (1938: 4, 10-11, pl. 1, 4a). Chambers C, D, E & F. Magazine C was connected to magazine LL via a doorway with the latter being mostly filled with sand and rubble.

¹¹⁷⁶ Emery (1938: 6-7); Birrell (2000: 20).

¹¹⁷⁷ Emery (1938: pl. 6c & d); Clark (2016: 235, 350).

¹¹⁷⁸ Emery (1958: 6, Pl. 27); Kemp (1967: 26); La Loggia (2015: 66).

¹¹⁷⁹ Lauer (1980: 64-65); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 223).

¹¹⁸⁰ Jánosi (1995: 155).

¹¹⁸¹ Stadelmann (2005: 370).

¹¹⁸² La Loggia (2015: 44).

¹¹⁸³ Emery (1961: 153); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 217); Dodson (2016: 6); Tristant (2017b: 53).

¹¹⁸⁴ Emery (1949: 118, 121); Lacher (2008: 433).

Dynasty¹¹⁸⁵ or the early Second Dynasty,¹¹⁸⁶ despite the fact that some jar sealings from these tombs have been found inscribed with the serekh of Qa'a (Fig. 98).¹¹⁸⁷

While the First Dynasty saw the royal tombs at Abydos stick mostly with the traditional 'model house' with either brick or wooden construction, elite tombs at North Saqqara were providing new architectural innovations in the form of subterranean chambers within their substructures through the advent of tunnelling methods.¹¹⁸⁸ However, in the Second Dynasty the roles are reversed with the royal tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer located at Saqqara providing the architectural innovations, such as the 'model residence' with the additional features of latrines and washrooms, and the elite tombs of North Saqqara generally align with the grave design of the early Second Dynasty.¹¹⁸⁹ The capacity to build underground tombs was possible at Saqqara due to its limestone strata properties, which was soft enough to be worked with using copper chisels, but also strong enough to hold the ceilings of these underground galleries from collapsing.¹¹⁹⁰

For example, tomb 2302 is located in the centre of the northern cemetery, has a superstructure that measures 58 m long x 32.64 m wide and also incorporates a tunnelled substructure containing at least 26 internal rooms, one of the largest sets amongst the elite tombs at North Saqqara (Fig. 100).¹¹⁹¹ These rooms are accessible through a long corridor going in a north-south orientation and is secured by three portcullis stones at different intervals.¹¹⁹² Due to such architectural features, Jánosi labels tomb 2302 as one of most powerful private graves of the early Second Dynasty.¹¹⁹³ The tomb dates to the time of Ninetjer and has been linked to an individual named Ruaben, based on this name being inscribed on stone vessels along with the accompanying title of 'Overseer of Sculptors'.¹¹⁹⁴ An interesting feature of this tomb is a room designated as a 'latrine', due to the presence of a seat in the far eastern end of the room facing to the south.¹¹⁹⁵ Other Second Dynasty tomb examples from

¹¹⁸⁵ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 215); Clark (2016: 117).

¹¹⁸⁶ La Loggia (2015: 69, fn. 89) refers to Köhler via personal communication, who is also of the opinion that these tombs are dated to the Second Dynasty.

¹¹⁸⁷ Emery (1949: 119, 123, Fig. 67B).

¹¹⁸⁸ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 219); La Loggia (2015: 2-3).

¹¹⁸⁹ Lacher (2008: 438); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 218-219).

¹¹⁹⁰ Jánosi (2006: 12); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 217); La Loggia (2015: 2). Not to mention, there are also Second Dynasty underground tombs located at Helwan.

¹¹⁹¹ Quibell (1923: 29, Pl. XXX); Reisner (1936: 138); Clark (2016: 417).

¹¹⁹² Quibell (1923: Pl. XXX).

¹¹⁹³ Jánosi (2006: 12). *„Es zählt zu den gewaltigsten Privatgräbern der frühen 2. Dynastie.“* « It is one of the most powerful private tombs of the early Second Dynasty »

¹¹⁹⁴ Quibell (1923: Pl. XVII.4); Porter & Moss (1981: 437).

¹¹⁹⁵ Quibell (1923: 29, Pl. XXXI.3); Jánosi (2006: 12).

North Saqqara also exhibit similar subterranean chamber systems to 2302, such as tomb 3023, which measured an average of 32.7 m long x 13.9 m wide.¹¹⁹⁶ This subterranean tomb had 26 rooms, with room 26 allocated to be the burial chamber and the adjacent Room 24 interpreted to be a ‘latrine’ (Fig. 101).¹¹⁹⁷ This latrine feature has also been found in other contemporary Second Dynasty tombs at Saqqara, including tombs 2307 and 2337.¹¹⁹⁸ The abovementioned tombs have also been noted to consist of rooms where water jars were found and they just happen to be connected to the rooms where the ‘latrines’ are located; thus, they have also been interpreted as ‘Washrooms’.¹¹⁹⁹

The development of the Second Dynasty tombs after the reign of Ninetjer is still relatively unknown due to a lack of information.¹²⁰⁰ It could be that tombs pertaining to this time are still yet to be uncovered in North Saqqara. However, the architectural development of these Second Dynasty tombs at North Saqqara, provide precedence for later developments in the Third Dynasty.¹²⁰¹ For example, Tomb 2307 was found with an additional set of enclosing walls on its eastern side and this has been interpreted to be a corridor reserving a space for cult funerary practices for the living to pay homage at the niched areas (Fig. 102).¹²⁰² It may also be a place of external burial, since Quibell notes an intrusive burial containing a Late Period coffin, facing the southern niched area on the tomb’s eastern side.¹²⁰³

The Third Dynasty would then see centrally spatial groups within the substructure be incorporated, but additional rooms and corridors were greatly reduced while spaces for cult corridors and places of worship containing statues became attached to the superstructure.¹²⁰⁴ For example, tomb 3030’s substructure consisted of a central main hall that had eight protruding rooms attached and another four rooms a metre below that were accessible via one of the two pits in the main hall (Fig. 103).¹²⁰⁵ The substructure of this tomb was covered by a mudbrick mastaba that measured 38.50 m long x 20.45 m wide and featured an entrance corridor on its eastern side.¹²⁰⁶ Another prominent example is the tomb of Hesyre, 2405, that

¹¹⁹⁶ Folder D from the unpublished Emery Archive *cf.* Martin (2007: 137). Information about these tombs from Emery’s archive was consulted thanks to the kind permission of Martin. The digital copies were provided thanks to a grant funded by the Isaac Newton Trust, Cambridge University via Kate Spence and Barbora Janulíková.

¹¹⁹⁷ Folder D from the unpublished Emery Archive *cf.* Martin (2007: 137).

¹¹⁹⁸ Quibell (1923: 31, Pl. XXX, XXXI.2).

¹¹⁹⁹ Quibell (1923: XXX); Jánosi (2006: 12, 14, Abb 11); Lacher (2008: 437).

¹²⁰⁰ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 219).

¹²⁰¹ Jánosi (2006: 14).

¹²⁰² Quibell (1923: Pl. XXX); Baud (2009: 209-210).

¹²⁰³ Quibell (1923: 31).

¹²⁰⁴ Jánosi (2006: 16); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 181).

¹²⁰⁵ Folder D from the unpublished Emery Archive *cf.* Martin (2007: 137).

¹²⁰⁶ Folder D from the unpublished Emery Archive *cf.* Martin (2007: 137).

was located near the highest point within the North Cemetery and it was chosen as the starting point for Quibell's excavations.¹²⁰⁷ Quibell's publication would describe the main architectural features of Hesyre's tomb, such as the limestone lintel above its entrance, the decorated frieze on the outer east wall, a room for the peering serdab statue of the deceased to receive offerings from the living, a stairway into the burial chamber and some of the best documented written evidence from an Early Dynastic private tomb since the First Dynasty (Fig. 104).¹²⁰⁸

Based on the unearthing of pottery vessels and jar sealings bearing the name of Hor-Aha in Room no. 4 [K] of 3357's substructure, Emery realised the importance of the deceased who were buried in the mastaba tombs built within this cemetery.¹²⁰⁹ By highlighting their monumental mastaba structural form, brick size, wealthy furnishings, inscriptional material displaying royal epigraphy and iconography, Emery suggested that these First Dynasty Saqqara mastaba tombs belonged to the first kings of Egypt while the tombs within the cemetery of Umm el-Qa'ab at Abydos were considered their cenotaphs; unlike Firth's views.¹²¹⁰ Some supported Emery's argument.¹²¹¹ While the opposing majority view Abydos as the true royal burial ground and that the Saqqara tombs were attributed to high officials.¹²¹² The excavations by the German Archaeological Institute since 1973 has certainly helped consolidate our Early Dynastic knowledge about Abydos' funerary practices, which have been drawn from Predynastic Naqadian traditions; surprisingly, the same cannot be said for North Saqqara.¹²¹³ Despite Emery's efforts, little is known about the tomb development of the North Saqqara necropolis after the First Dynasty with earlier excavators being content with drawing mostly the outlines of the Second and Third Dynasty tombs to create rough plans of the mortuary area.¹²¹⁴ Since Emery finished working there in the 1960s, compounding with his death in 1971, systematic excavations within the Early Dynastic areas of North Saqqara have not been

¹²⁰⁷ Quibell (1913: 2). According to Quibell (1923: 5, pl. IV.2), this survey point was marked out by Craig, who worked for the Survey Department within the Service des Antiquités de L'Égypte. The point was marked by a cast-iron cylinder embedded in cement and can be seen towards the left upper corner of the photograph's background presented on pl. III (not pl. II as quoted by Quibell) on top of the mound which is surmounted by the excavated debris of the tomb to the right. This same mound can also be seen in the background of another published photograph by Quibell.

¹²⁰⁸ Quibell (1913: 4); Warnemünde (2012: 13).

¹²⁰⁹ Emery (1939: 9).

¹²¹⁰ Emery (1954: 1-4).

¹²¹¹ Ricke (1950: 13); Lauer (1955: 158); Edwards (1971); Hoffman (1984: 286); Stadelmann (1985; 1987); Wengrow (2006: 229-231).

¹²¹² Kemp (1967: 23); Helck (1984: 394-399); Dreyer (1990: 65); Baines (1995: 137); Tavares (1999: 703-704); O'Connor (2005: 223); La Loggia (2015: 5).

¹²¹³ Midant-Reynes (2003: 227).

¹²¹⁴ Martin (1981: 109).

performed since, save for unpublished details regarding Hawass' excavations at the site.¹²¹⁵ Hawass re-excavated the tomb of Hesyre and found another intact Early Dynastic tomb nearby while he was Chief Inspector of Saqqara during the 1990s. From this new tomb, it is reported he found an inscribed name belonging to a new king called Sneferka.¹²¹⁶ However, the results of such excavations have not been published and the name cannot be clarified for now.

Overall, the territory that these tombs encompassed is something to consider and attributes to the elite identity that the deceased of these tombs may have been given. As a result, the cemetery's tombs and associated mortuary provisions have continually been referred to for evidence concerning the consolidation of the state during the Early Dynastic period, especially when referring to the deceased as part of the 'inner elite' in service of the king.¹²¹⁷

5.1.6.2 WEST SAQQARA – THE MIDDLE CLASS OF MACRAMALLAH'S RECTANGLE

To the far west of the Saqqara necropolis, in the vicinity of the Serapeum galleries, lies an Early Dynastic cemetery dubbed 'Macramallah's Rectangle' after Rizkallah Macramallah, who excavated this cemetery in 1936, revealing 231 graves grouped within six areas (Fig. 105).¹²¹⁸ This cemetery is dated to the reign of Den based on a number of reasons outlined by Macramallah.¹²¹⁹ Firstly, the similarities found between the pottery of this cemetery and those that were found in tomb 3035 at North Saqqara, especially red ware, are characteristic of the First Dynasty.¹²²⁰ For example, some parallel pottery in question are described as globular vessels made from red ware with patches of a yellowish tone being exhibited on the pottery's external fabric.¹²²¹ Secondly, seal impressions and pottery vessels bearing the cartouche name of Den were found.¹²²² It should be noted that Köhler has dated some of the pottery to the Second Dynasty, which has challenged the overall First Dynasty date for these tombs.¹²²³ The grave types within various areas of this cemetery are generally rectangular in shape, ranging

¹²¹⁵ La Loggia (2015: 5, fn 19); Ormeling (2017: 1). A topographical survey of the site by Giammarusti (2003: 97) was made as part of a collaboration between the University of Pisa, Italy and the then Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt in the early 2000s which revealed high risk levels of erosion the North Saqqara cemetery was facing due to ecological factors being triggered by continuous anthropic pressures.

¹²¹⁶ Wilkinson (2010: 50); Tristant (Personal Communication, 10th October 2017).

¹²¹⁷ Baines (1999: 8); Wilkinson (1999: 197); Midant-Reynes (2003: 228); Köhler (2008: 389); Hendrickx (2008: 83); Wenke (2009: 252).

¹²¹⁸ Macramallah (1940: VI-2).

¹²¹⁹ Macramallah (1940: 3-4).

¹²²⁰ Emery (1938: 49, pl. 25-27); Macramallah (1940: 3, 11, pl. XLV-XLVI).

¹²²¹ According to Macramallah (1940: 4, 11), types K & L especially.

¹²²² Macramallah (1940: 4, 21-22, Fig. 23-24, pl. XLVII).

¹²²³ van Wetering (2017b: 420).

from tombs that have mostly rounded corners to ones with distinct vertices with mud brick additions, which are reminiscent of the transition between the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic period (Fig. 106-107).¹²²⁴

The location of this cemetery and the people who were buried within it have skewed archaeologist's interpretations regarding their social identity.¹²²⁵ Macramallah labelled the people within this cemetery to belong to the 'classe moyenne du peuple' (Middle Class people), based on his observations of the archaeological material, the size of the graves and the obscure location of this cemetery being away from the royal and elite cemeteries of North Saqqara.¹²²⁶ However, the graves in this cemetery are not a homogenous bunch, with Macramallah even noting that some of the graves from Group E found to be neat in shape with mud brick lined walls and lateral divisions belonged to 'gens plus aisés' (more rich people).¹²²⁷ This cemetery's material has been reanalysed, especially by Kaiser who claims that there are more differentiated social groups than just a 'middle class'.¹²²⁸ Comparing the archaeological material from this site to other contemporary Early Dynastic sites is very difficult because Macramallah devised his own classification systems regarding the grave types and the artefacts from the site, therefore quantitative comparisons will not provide meaningful results.¹²²⁹ Multiple types of Levantine vessels were found within the graves of this cemetery, suggesting that access to foreign ware (or their imitations) was not limited to elite social groups.¹²³⁰ This puts some social observations under notice, especially the assumption that graves found with items displaying the highest level of diversity represented individuals or groups who had greater access to different types of resources.¹²³¹ Recent analyses have dictated that there is no quantifiable evidence to suggest that foreign wares being found in certain graves played a major role in the assemblage of Predynastic and Early Dynastic burials.¹²³² Moreover, that a high diversity in mortuary provisions within a tomb may not be just a representation of economic status, but possibly a number of other cultural factors, such as inheritance, where certain grave assemblages can be dictated by the wishes of the living kin of the deceased.¹²³³

¹²²⁴ Macramallah (1940: 5-10).

¹²²⁵ Kaiser (1985); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 70); van Wetering (2017b).

¹²²⁶ Macramallah (1940: 2); Helck (1984: 398); Kaiser (1985: 47).

¹²²⁷ Macramallah (1940: 2, 8-9, Fig. 12 & 13).

¹²²⁸ Kaiser (1985: 47).

¹²²⁹ Semble (2012: 62); van Wetering (2017b: 420).

¹²³⁰ Macramallah (1940: 12-13); Semble (2012: 18).

¹²³¹ Wason (1994: 37); Baines & Yoffee (2000: 15-17); Richards (2005: 109-110).

¹²³² Cox (2012: 6).

¹²³³ Stevenson (2009: 186).

What these graves were surrounding, due to their rectangular allocations, is not certain and has been debated.¹²³⁴ Based on his study of the Palermo Stone, Wilkinson suggests that these graves may be associated with a cultic enclosure built at Saqqara, called the *swt-ntrw*, during the reign of Den.¹²³⁵ Whatever these tombs were surrounding or focused upon, is evidently an open space of some kind and is reminiscent of the rectangular enclosures found at Abydos' northern cemetery and also the speculated Gisir el Mudir and 'L-shaped' enclosure spaces nearby at North Saqqara.¹²³⁶ According to van Wetering, the open space has been attributed to be an area where an 'embalming station' or *w'h't* tent was constructed to preserve the body of the sovereign before complete interment and the 'M burials' belonged to people who were enticed, coerced or commanded to join with the sovereign in the afterlife.¹²³⁷ However, this seems implausible by just basing his theory on how the subsidiary burials associated with the royal funerary enclosures at Abydos are arranged and the way the 'M burials' are arranged does not reflect that at all.¹²³⁸ Moreover, no evidence of any structure of such kind has been found within the area surrounded by these burials.¹²³⁹

5.1.6.3 SOUTH SAQQARA – THE SECOND DYNASTY NECROPOLIS SOUTH OF NETJERIKHET'S STEP PYRAMID

To the south of the Unas causeway, east of the entrance shafts for the Second Dynasty royal tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer, the presence of a possible Second Dynasty necropolis was confirmed by two underground gallery tombs underneath two New Kingdom mortuary structures.¹²⁴⁰ Firstly, one underneath the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb attributed to the priest, Meryneith (Meryre).¹²⁴¹ Secondly, another underneath the tomb of Maya, who was a treasurer during the reigns of Tutankhamun and Horemheb.¹²⁴² The entrance to the Second Dynasty tomb underneath the tomb of Maya was accessible via a secondary shaft (Shaft V), built during the Late Period, located near the south wall of Maya's tomb and it led down to a burial chamber 9.18 m underground, flanked by three niche chambers that was also dated to

¹²³⁴ Kaiser (1985); Morris (2007b); Baka (2011); van Wetering (2017b).

¹²³⁵ Wilkinson (2000b: 115). This is based on the hieroglyphic designation *swt-ntrw* as translated by Wilkinson (2000b: 112) based within PS r.III.8 *wpt-š swt-ntrw stt h(3)b mh 2* « Opening the (sacred) lake (at the building) 'thrones of the gods'; spearing the hippopotamus 2 cubits ».

¹²³⁶ Reader (2017: 81).

¹²³⁷ van Wetering (2017b: 423).

¹²³⁸ Baka (2011: 21-22).

¹²³⁹ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 150); van Wetering (2017b: 423).

¹²⁴⁰ van Wetering (2004: 1066); Lacher (2011: 215); Regulski (2011: 294).

¹²⁴¹ van Walsem (2003: 7); Raven & van Walsem (2014: 72-74).

¹²⁴² Raven (2000: 133; 2001: XXIII).

the Late Period (Fig. 108).¹²⁴³ A breakthrough made by robbers was encountered to the west of this burial chamber. This led to a branching L-shaped passageway (A400) that connects to a near 8 m long corridor (A), that also had three other branching passageways (A100, A200, & A300) in connection to another main chamber (B) to the southwest, measuring over 3 m long x 2.35-3 m wide, via another passage way (B100); all part of an underground tomb complex.¹²⁴⁴ Chamber B was found to contain 10 bodies, including one child, that were retrieved from there; however, these were probably collectively buried by later visitors who reused the tomb during the Late period.¹²⁴⁵ Comparing the orientation and design of Shaft V to the Second Dynasty tomb complex that it led down to suggests that the south-eastern area of the tomb was reused for a separate burial during the Late Period.¹²⁴⁶ Chamber B is believed to be the original burial chamber, due to its area size (8.85 m²) and its south-eastern location within the tomb complex.¹²⁴⁷ Due to these activities not much information about the original Early Dynastic dating of this part of the tomb could be observed apart from the fragments of pottery and stone vessels.¹²⁴⁸

The entrance to this tomb would have come from northeast in the form of a passage leading to Corridor A. However, this was impossible to confirm by the most recent excavations, for this area was filled with collapsed sand from shaft VII, in connection with the outer courtyard aboveground and the subsidiary complex IX of the tomb of Maya.¹²⁴⁹ Nonetheless, it is theorised that this entrance passage may have been a stairwell which would have been blocked by a portcullis according to the tomb plan.¹²⁵⁰ The distinction of the tomb under Maya's Second Dynasty date can be observed from its architectural form, which resembles the internal underground tunnel designs found in the nearby royal tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer.¹²⁵¹ Initially, this tomb complex was dated to the Old Kingdom period based on a few stone fragments found in the fill of this complex's passage.¹²⁵² However, subsequent excavations compared this tomb complex to the one found under Meryneith's mortuary structure and found they were similar due to their archaeological evidence and architectural

¹²⁴³ Raven (2001: 64, pl. 4-5); Regulski (2009: 222); Regulski *et al* (2010: 26).

¹²⁴⁴ Regulski (2009: 222); Regulski *et al* (2010: 26-28, Fig. 2)

¹²⁴⁵ Regulski *et al* (2010: 26).

¹²⁴⁶ Regulski *et al* (2010: 28-29). According to Regulski *et al* (2010: 29, fn. 7), Lacher notes that the chisel marks found all over the Late period crypt, that are 'small, long and bended' make it distinct from the Early Dynastic passageway.

¹²⁴⁷ Regulski *et al* (2010: 30).

¹²⁴⁸ Regulski *et al* (2010: 26).

¹²⁴⁹ Raven (2001: 65, pl. 5); Regulski *et al* (2010: 26).

¹²⁵⁰ Regulski *et al* (2010: 28, Fig. 2).

¹²⁵¹ Lacher (2008: 429, Fig. 2; 2011: 216-217, Fig. 2); Regulski *et al* (2010: 29).

¹²⁵² Regulski (2009: 222).

features.¹²⁵³ Therefore, such comparisons have specifically dated these tombs to the late Second Dynasty of the Early Dynastic period. Even though, Maya's tomb covers the entirety of the aboveground space, there is no indication about whether a superstructure would have covered this tomb.¹²⁵⁴

Entering the Second Dynasty tomb under Meryneith also required going down a shaft, dated to the Late Period, south of the actual tomb of Meryneith above (Fig. 109).¹²⁵⁵ The whole tomb complex measures 17.5 m x 14 m and is about 7.9 m below the tomb of Meryneith.¹²⁵⁶ The original entrance of this tomb also would have had a staircase ramp blocked by a portcullis from the north, leading into a large central chamber (Room C) that measured 11 m long x 2.4 m wide x 1.8 m high.¹²⁵⁷ There are five corridors which branch from Room C, three towards the west (C100, C300 and C500) and two on the eastern side (C200 and C400).¹²⁵⁸ Corridor C100 eventually leads westwards to corridors C700 and C900, creating a lengthy corridor measuring at least 14 m.¹²⁵⁹ Along the east wall of both C700/C900, 12 irregular niches were encountered from the north of the tomb with some of them showing signs of a blockage that were originally plastered in white.¹²⁶⁰ It is from some of these niches that the excavators discovered a cache of mortuary provisions, especially niches 1, 3 and 4.¹²⁶¹ A fragmented assemblage of seventy-five dummy vessels made of limestone and an assortment of pottery, including one intact wine jar, provided the means to date these underground mortuary structures to the latter half of the Second Dynasty.¹²⁶² Both tombs reflect the developmental changes in Second Dynasty tombs which saw an increase in grave good quantities requiring an increase of magazine space underground, meaning more subterranean galleries.¹²⁶³ Based on the architectural comparison of this tomb compared to the Second Dynasty North Saqqara tombs, it was found that the niches of these latter tombs, specifically tombs 2337, 2406 and 2498, their niched areas are found towards the east of their respective burial chambers.¹²⁶⁴ Moreover, both tombs are dated to the late Second Dynasty during the reign of Khasekhemwy,

¹²⁵³ Regulski (2009: 222).

¹²⁵⁴ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 221).

¹²⁵⁵ Regulski *et al* (2010: 30, Fig. 4).

¹²⁵⁶ Regulski *et al* (2010: 34).

¹²⁵⁷ Regulski *et al* (2010: 34).

¹²⁵⁸ Regulski *et al* (2010: 34).

¹²⁵⁹ Regulski *et al* (2010: 34, Fig. 4).

¹²⁶⁰ van Walsem (2003: 9).

¹²⁶¹ van Walsem (2003: 12).

¹²⁶² Raven *et al* (2003: 98); Walsem (2003: 7, 10-11, figs. 5 & 6); van Wetering (2004: 1066-1067).

¹²⁶³ Stadelmann (1985: 296).

¹²⁶⁴ Quibell (1923: pl. 30); van Walsem (2003: 13).

based on the ceramic material studied from both tombs and the seal impressions found from the tomb of Maya.¹²⁶⁵

Why would these tombs have been built in this part of Saqqara? The location of where Hetepsekhemwy and Ninetjer's royal tombs are, indicates the possibility that Early Dynastic structures would have been present in the area and would have been visible from the cultivated land before the construction of Netjerikhet's step pyramid.¹²⁶⁶ As a result, Netjerikhet's step pyramid may have been built over this area to be in close proximity to the Second Dynasty royal tombs, possibly to consolidate his legitimacy as part of the royal lineage, not to mention his collection of objects featuring the names of his predecessors, such as those dated from the First Dynasty reign of Djer.¹²⁶⁷ If the evidence regarding the lineage between Netjerikhet and Khasekhemwy as his father is deemed correct, it could be that the two high officials occupying these two tombs may have had important roles during the reign of Khasekhemwy as well.¹²⁶⁸ While these Second Dynasty tombs may not have been seen from the area they were built within compared to the northern First Dynasty mastaba tombs, the later dated tombs of Horemheb, Maya and Meryneith indicate that this area was not an 'inferior' burial location.¹²⁶⁹

5.2 EAST BANK

5.2.1 OLD CAIRO

The substructure of an Early Dynastic tomb was revealed by blasting operations at a former quarry named Batn el-Baqara in 1931, which was in the modern suburb of Fustat to the south of the Old Cairo district on the Eastern bank of the Nile (30°00'00"N, 31°13'60"E).¹²⁷⁰ The tomb's substructure measured 6.2 m long x 4.4 m wide, consisting of a central passage with at least seven chambers branching from it (Fig. 110).¹²⁷¹ Pottery vessels, stone jars made from calcite and slate, flint implements, not to mention a jar made from copper were retrieved from the tomb.¹²⁷² The dating of the tomb has been correlated with Naqada IIIC2, based on some pottery jars found with potmarks which have parallel instances from the tomb of Den at

¹²⁶⁵ Raven *et al* (2009: 21, Fig. 14); Regulski (2009: 237, Fig. 9; 2011b: 703); Regulski *et al* (2010: 38-39).

¹²⁶⁶ van Wetering (2004: 1064).

¹²⁶⁷ van Wetering (2004: 1064).

¹²⁶⁸ Wilkinson (1999: 94-95); Regulski (2011b: 708).

¹²⁶⁹ Raven & van Walsem (2014: 324).

¹²⁷⁰ Boghdady (1932: 153, Fig. 1, pl. I).

¹²⁷¹ Boghdady (1932: 153-154); Clark (2016: 391).

¹²⁷² Boghdady (1932: 154-157).

Abydos.¹²⁷³ The presence of a Ptolemaic burial in the southern ‘Chamber D’ area, where a deceased body was found lying on its back accompanied by some artefacts, indicates that the tomb was already broken into.¹²⁷⁴ Today the tomb has been destroyed and any remains are underneath modern housing.

5.2.1 MA’ASARA

The site of Ma’asara is located 20 km south of Cairo and is just north of the designated cemetery of Helwan (29°54'00"N, 31°17'00"E).¹²⁷⁵ According to Larsen, the cemetery site was ‘east of the great highroad between Cairo and Helwan’ being bounded by the ‘road to Maasara Cement Works’ to the north, the steep cliff of Gebel Tura and Gebel Hof to the east and to the south it reached to the town of Helwan.¹²⁷⁶ From this cemetery only six tombs were excavated from two separate areas of the cemetery.¹²⁷⁷ Three of these graves (Tombs 1-3) are described as shaft graves, which were excavated into the ground at least 8-10 metres deep underground, so they were not very visible from above ground.¹²⁷⁸ However, these tombs were found to be badly plundered.¹²⁷⁹ Two other graves (Tombs 5 & 6) were located about 370 metres southwest of the three shaft graves and may have been part of a larger cemetery that was separated by a wadi.¹²⁸⁰ Tomb 6 was a rectangular tomb measuring 1.75 m long x 1.50 m wide, but was given special attention due to the valuable artefacts that were found inside it (Fig. 111).¹²⁸¹ For example, seven stone vessel bowls made from calcite and slate were found to be damaged inside the grave.¹²⁸² Whether they were broken due to funerary ritual or the work of grave robbers is not clear. The pottery inside the grave are generally ‘long vases’ with rolled rims and were found along the edges of the grave surrounding the deceased (Fig. 111).¹²⁸³ Comparisons with the rolled rims from other similar looking examples from the site of Abusir and others lean towards a Second Dynasty date.¹²⁸⁴ The remains of a skeleton were found surrounded by some of the artefacts, with its head to the south and knees to the south.¹²⁸⁵ These

¹²⁷³ Petrie (1900: 29, pl. XLVII-XLVIII); Boghdady (1932: 159, pl. VI.2 & 4). Boghdady (1932: PL. VI.2) has made comparisons to similar potmarks, bearing the ‘Ka’ and ‘double hill’ *cf.* (Petrie 1900: 30, Pl. XLVII.208T).

¹²⁷⁴ Boghdady (1932: 153, 160).

¹²⁷⁵ Larsen (1940: 103, Fig. 1).

¹²⁷⁶ Larsen (1940: 103).

¹²⁷⁷ Larsen (1940: 103-105).

¹²⁷⁸ Larsen (1940: 106).

¹²⁷⁹ Larsen (1940: 123).

¹²⁸⁰ Larsen (1940: 106).

¹²⁸¹ Larsen (1940: 107, Fig. 3).

¹²⁸² Larsen (1940: 109-110, 116).

¹²⁸³ Larsen (1940: 110, Figs. 7-9).

¹²⁸⁴ Bonnet (1928: 40) *cf.* Larsen (1940: 110).

¹²⁸⁵ Larsen (1940: 109)

skeletal remains were found to be disorganised due to robbing activities and not much information about its sex and age were discussed. Under the neck of the skeleton, some necklace beads were also retrieved made from faience.¹²⁸⁶ Based on these features and what has been left behind, this tomb has been described to be a rich mortuary example of the Second Dynasty.¹²⁸⁷

5.2.2 TURA AND TURA EL-ASMANT

Tura is located on the Eastern bank of the Nile, around 14 km south east of Cairo (29°59'N, 31°17'E).¹²⁸⁸ Along with the sites of Ma'asara and Helwan, it was close to the quarrying site of Gebel Tura, where calcite and limestone was sourced in great quantities.¹²⁸⁹ Junker excavated at least 600 tombs across three cemeteries at Tura between 1909-1910, revealing a burial record with a somewhat unbroken sequence of tombs from the Protodynastic period throughout the Early Dynastic period.¹²⁹⁰ The oldest burials were constructed in the southern part of the site (Site S) before subsequent tombs were built within a northern cemetery (Site N), ranging from the Protodynastic to the beginning of the Second Dynasty (Fig. 112).¹²⁹¹ Different types of tombs included sand graves, which may have been allocated to the poorer social groups initially, but Junker notes that even some of these sand graves housed deceased members who had valuable stone vessels and pearls placed near their bodies, such as grave 17.g.3 (Fig. 113).¹²⁹² Moreover, mud brick tombs with either one or more chambers with wooden roofing exist, including grave 15.i.6 (Fig. 114).¹²⁹³ What made some of the tombs distinct from these two cemeteries is the number of pottery vessels retrieved from them that featured inked names within serekhs and they have provided speculation that at least 10 rulers were already existing before the reign of Hor-Aha.¹²⁹⁴ Another small separate cemetery (Site O), with tombs dating to the Second and Third Dynasties, was located about 100 metres to the east of sites N and S.¹²⁹⁵

¹²⁸⁶ Larsen (1940: 120, 122, Fig. 22).

¹²⁸⁷ Larsen (1940: 123).

¹²⁸⁸ Meyer (1986: 808); Jeffreys (1999: 849)

¹²⁸⁹ Arnold (1991: 29); Jeffreys (1999: 849).

¹²⁹⁰ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 145); Wilkinson (1999: 362); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 206).

¹²⁹¹ Junker (1912: 1); Kaiser (1964: 107, Abb. 5); Meyer (1986: 808); Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 145).

¹²⁹² Junker (1912: 11, pl. XXXV).

¹²⁹³ Junker (1912: 23, pl. XXIV); Meyer (1986: 808).

¹²⁹⁴ Junker (1912: 6-9); Wilkinson (1999: 16).

¹²⁹⁵ Junker (1912: 1, 86); Kaiser (1964: 107, Abb. 5).

The tombs built in this cemetery are mostly mud bricked shaft graves with stairs and a perimeter wall around their substructure.¹²⁹⁶ For example, the largest grave in this cemetery includes 27.w.1 that featured a mud bricked enclosure wall measuring 16 m long x 9.5 m wide, enclosing a side entrance to a staircase leading to a 7 m deep shaft (Fig. 115).¹²⁹⁷ A large stone block was found deep in the tomb pit and may have covered the opening to the shaft from the end of the staircase, but it was not found in its original position.¹²⁹⁸ This tomb did not reveal much from the bottom of the shaft, with only small ceramic fragments retrieved from it.¹²⁹⁹ Not much excavation activity was performed after Junker's efforts until the impending construction of the cement factory in the local area forced rescue excavations implemented by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities during the 1960s and 70s.¹³⁰⁰ These efforts revealed Early Dynastic tombs including the First Dynasty grave 137/76 that was discovered south of the Tura el-Asmant railway station, just east of the Cairo-Helwan suburban railway line (Fig. 116).¹³⁰¹ There was not much of the tomb to describe since it was cut in half due to the construction of the railway at the beginning of the 20th century.¹³⁰² It is likely that this tomb is now destroyed due to further modern development within the area today. Nonetheless, the remains of this tomb were installed within a dug out pit that was excavated from the compact limestone gravel.¹³⁰³ Two rooms were observed by the excavators that were reinforced by mud bricks and stiff clay that was laid against the pit walls.¹³⁰⁴ The northern room encompassed an L-shaped wall ('b-b'), measuring 4 m long from east to west featuring a wall gap and a 'niche' in its structure, leading to a 1 metre protruding extension running N-S that is perpendicular to a pit wall, measuring at least 4.4 m (Fig. 116).¹³⁰⁵ The southern room, is bordered by a wall ('a-a') running 5 m from north to south, which also features a 'niche' in its central area. This then meets a southern wall ('c-c') that was 2.98 m in height and had a door space in its centre which may have led to a now lost third room, alongside a robber's tunnel (Fig. 116).¹³⁰⁶ Both rooms are separated by a 1.3 m thick wall running for about 4 m long and had a door-gap measuring 50 cm wide (Fig. 116).¹³⁰⁷ Despite its disturbed state and the presence of robbers

¹²⁹⁶ Junker (1912: 4).

¹²⁹⁷ Junker (1912: 25-26, pl. XXVIII).

¹²⁹⁸ Junker (1912: 26, pl. XXVIII).

¹²⁹⁹ Junker (1912: 26).

¹³⁰⁰ Junker (1912: 1-2); El-Khouli (1968: 73); Yacoub (1981: 159); El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983).

¹³⁰¹ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 159).

¹³⁰² El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 159).

¹³⁰³ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 159).

¹³⁰⁴ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 159).

¹³⁰⁵ The following measurements are taken from the Plan A scale by El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 161, Fig. 1).

¹³⁰⁶ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 159).

¹³⁰⁷ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 159, Fig. 1).

tunnels, a handful of sherds, described to be from Red ware storage jars that are reminiscent of a First Dynasty date, were recovered from the tomb, but they displayed no potmarks of any kind.¹³⁰⁸ However, their description is very minimal with no technical drawings provided. Moreover, information about this tomb has been dominated by the five oval and two conical mud sealings that were retrieved from the rubble located within the ‘niche’ area in the tomb’s eastern ‘a-a’ wall.¹³⁰⁹ Numerous animals are depicted, including dogs and quadrupeds with horns.¹³¹⁰ However, serekhs surmounted by falcons and containing the names of Hor-Aha and Djer are what has caught the attention of the excavators from these seal impressions, indicating a tomb example dated to Naqada IIIC1 (Fig. 116).¹³¹¹

Based on this evidence the excavators have questioned why is it that such seal impressions have been found within this tomb in the Tura cemetery of all places, which is perceived to be less important compared to the royal burial grounds of Naqada, Abydos and North Saqqara where parallel instances of Hor-Aha’s name has been found.¹³¹² It may be that Tura was a larger cemetery than what has been left behind due to a number of tombs also being found in proximity to the cement factory and they were unearthed by Yacoub further west of the Turah cemeteries excavated by Junker.¹³¹³ The pottery found from these tombs included big wine jars with tapering bodies and rounded bases to create a ‘torpedo’ shape, ovoid and cylindrical jars, dishes, bowls and plates; some of these jars were found with conical mud seals covering their tops.¹³¹⁴ The retrieved ceramic material help to support a late First Dynasty date, specifically the Naqada IIID period, when comparing the ceramic examples that have been retrieved from Qa’a’s tomb at Abydos,¹³¹⁵ tombs 3505 and 3500 at North Saqqara¹³¹⁶ as well tombs from Cemetery 800 at Abu Rawash.¹³¹⁷ These tombs at Tura el-Asmant constitute another insight towards the development of tombs between the First and Second Dynasties, where they were characteristic open pit tombs lined with mud bricks and were possibly roofed to close with an additional staircase made of either mud bricks or stone leading into substructures.¹³¹⁸ The tombs date to various stages within the First Dynasty, based on their

¹³⁰⁸ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 159). Based on the inscriptional evidence, parallels would have been consulted from 3357 from North Saqqara, where Red ware pottery is plentiful according to Emery (1939: 69, pl. 19.2-5)

¹³⁰⁹ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 163, 166).

¹³¹⁰ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 162).

¹³¹¹ El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: Figs. 1, 7, 5, 9, 11, 13 & 14).

¹³¹² El-Sadeek & Murphy (1983: 168).

¹³¹³ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 145-146).

¹³¹⁴ Petrie (1953: pl. XXIII); Yacoub (1981: 160-161, pl. XXIII); Hendrickx (2006: 87).

¹³¹⁵ This includes wine jars (Engel 2017: Abbs. 71-74) and ovoid vessels (Engel 2017: Abbs. 92-105).

¹³¹⁶ Emery (1958: pls. 29-30, 123).

¹³¹⁷ Klasens (1960: 74, Fig. 14); Hendrickx (1996: 59).

¹³¹⁸ Yacoub (1981: 159-160); Clark (2016: 92).

architectural features. For example, tombs 986 and 249 date to the late First Dynasty, featuring magazines that flank their stairways leading to the burial chamber.¹³¹⁹ Such flanking magazines have suggested a date to the reign of Qa'a, in comparison to Qa'a's tomb at Abydos and others from North Saqqara and Helwan.¹³²⁰

5.2.3 HELWAN

The Helwan cemetery is located on the East bank of the Nile near the modern district of Maadi and was named after a smaller village to the south of the site by Saad when he excavated there between 1942 and 1954 (29°53'3.27"N, 31°17'45.97"E).¹³²¹ Saad's efforts at Helwan revealed the existence of over 10 000 tombs across three areas that have been labelled Areas 1, 2 and 3 (Fig. 117).¹³²² Between 1997-2017, Köhler directed a project that launched re-excavations at the site alongside reviewing Saad's documentation and the Helwan artefacts from the Cairo Museum.¹³²³ These excavations have revealed some of the most important Early Dynastic mortuary evidence that has been uncovered.¹³²⁴ This is because the buried deceased at Helwan are speculated to belong to the mass populace of the Early Dynastic Memphite settlement, in contrast to the elite cemeteries on the West bank of the Nile at Saqqara, Abu Rawash, Giza etc.¹³²⁵ The cemeteries of Helwan were built on the southern edge of the Wadi Hof palaeofan, especially on its western most portion where secondary wadis divided this part of the palaeofan into discrete water channels which ran by the northern sectors of the cemetery itself.¹³²⁶ The largest of these channels, dubbed the 'northern wadi' and the 'central wadi', formed the northern and the southern boundaries of the high ridge where Saad focused his Third and Fourth seasons within Area 3.¹³²⁷ The presence of these wadis would have influenced the decisions when building and orientating the tombs in the Helwan cemetery, especially the

¹³¹⁹ El-Khouli (1968: 75, pl. XII.B); Yacoub (1981: 100, pl. XX).

¹³²⁰ Kaiser (1998: 78-79); Clark (2016: 92, fn. 649); Engel (2017: 28). According to Emery (1949: pl. 43 & 55), tomb examples from North Saqqara include SX and 3338. Moreover, Saad (1947: pls. XL & XXXVIII; 1951: pl. 10) has examples from Helwan include Tombs 1371.H.2, 1502.H.2 and 426.H.4.

¹³²¹ Saad (1947; 1951; 1957; 1969); Köhler (2005: 1). It should be noted that Hjarner Larsen excavated within the area before Saad, however, his efforts were closer to the area of Ma'asara.

¹³²² Saad (1969: 5); Köhler (2008b: 113). Area 1 is the northern burial ground, with Area 2 occupying the central zone and Area 3 being the most southern zone. Location names of the various areas of the Helwan site are based on the recent excavations made by Köhler between 1997-2017.

¹³²³ Köhler (2005; 2014; 2017a); Köhler & Jones (2009).

¹³²⁴ Köhler (2003a: 25).

¹³²⁵ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 143); Köhler (2003a: 25; 2004b: 311).

¹³²⁶ Köhler (2005: 7-8).

¹³²⁷ Köhler (2005: 8; 2014: 2, Fig. 1).

larger ones to the north of the entire necropolis, where Saad excavated in his Fifth season at the site in Area 3.¹³²⁸

Wilkinson suggested that the Helwan tombs belonged to those who ‘did not merit an elite tomb’ at North Saqqara and may have been a mixture of ‘middle-ranking officials of the Memphite administration’ including the general population.¹³²⁹ To substantiate his claims about the deceased’s status at Helwan, Wilkinson only considers 22 Helwan tombs which had a sufficient amount of inscribed mortuary provisions with royal names, pottery and stone vessels to compare to other Early Dynastic sites for seriation and tomb architectural features to analyse.¹³³⁰ Other indicators of status also included the titles preserved on the so-called ‘ceiling stelae’, the size of the Helwan tombs in question and the occurrence of boat-burials associated with a couple of tombs.¹³³¹ Wilkinson’s descriptions of the southern (Area 1), central (Area 2) and northern (Area 3) areas of the Helwan cemetery focus on the clusters of larger tombs in each of the different areas which exhibited the abovementioned features and are part of the elite group (Fig. 118).¹³³² However, the incomplete registry of the tombs and their associated finds by Saad prevents a thorough discussion about the social identities and status of this so-called elite group at Helwan.¹³³³ Since Saad did record the location of the tombs that he excavated, it allowed Wilkinson to assume that the tombs which contained preserved mortuary provisions, inscribed mortuary provisions with royal names and exhibited tomb architecture should be allocated as elite tombs for having such exclusive features compared to other tombs within and outside the cemetery. Since Wilkinson was utilising Saad’s published records as the primary source for his analysis, it is a given that the best-preserved tombs were in the northern field which was the largest and oldest area excavated by Saad at Helwan, based on a cluster of burials dated to the Protodynastic period and early First Dynasty within the central area.¹³³⁴

The earliest burials in the northern area pre-date both the construction of the North Saqqara elite tombs (i.e. 3557 reign of Hor-Aha) and the supposed date of Memphis’ inauguration as Egypt’s first capital under the reign of Narmer.¹³³⁵ Based on tomb size, Area 3 is considered an elite burial ground, while the less wealthy were scattered in the central and

¹³²⁸ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 153); Köhler (2005: 8 fn. 37). The area designated in Purple according to Saad’s plate plans of his excavated sites, see Saad (1947: Plate II-III).

¹³²⁹ Wilkinson (1996b: 348).

¹³³⁰ Wilkinson (1996b: 338-340).

¹³³¹ Wilkinson (1996b: 348).

¹³³² Wilkinson (1996b: 344).

¹³³³ Wilkinson (1996b: 343).

¹³³⁴ Wilkinson (1996b: 345).

¹³³⁵ Wilkinson (1996b: 347).

southern cemetery areas.¹³³⁶ However, the research and excavations undertaken by both Saad and Köhler have revealed tombs across all these areas that exhibit funerary features thought to be exclusive for the tombs of sovereigns and high officials within the western bank cemeteries.¹³³⁷

Some Helwan tombs have been noted to have inscribed mortuary provisions with royal names, pottery and stone vessels.¹³³⁸ Secondly, the architecture of these tombs varies and does not conform to one homogenous group. Initially, Protodynastic and First Dynasty tombs conform to the ‘classic’ Early Dynastic tomb ‘Type I’ which included pit burials of oval or rectangular shapes across a variety of sizes.¹³³⁹ For example, tomb 563.H.11 has been noted due to its architectural features, especially encompassing a mud brick superstructure covering its substructure based on its remains.¹³⁴⁰ The superstructure would have covered a rectangular pit that measured 2.7 m long x 1.3 m wide x 2.2 m deep.¹³⁴¹ However, evidence of this tomb is noted only from Saad’s unpublished field notes, so no official plan can be referred to.¹³⁴² This tomb was also plundered, but it was reported to contain a wine jar, stone vessels, ivory jewellery, not to mention pottery vessels including wavy handled types helping to date this tomb to the Naqada IIIA2 period.¹³⁴³ In comparison to similar grave assemblages found in tomb 315 from Tarkhan¹³⁴⁴ and Grave 85 from Elkab (Fig. 185),¹³⁴⁵ tomb 563.H.11 is suggested to be an elite tomb and has been used to emphasise that the settlement of Memphis may have been active before the commencement of the First Dynasty.¹³⁴⁶

First Dynasty tombs are singled out to be elite tombs due to their exhibition of funerary features being made from valuable resources in comparison to other elite tombs on the Western Memphite bank. This includes the use of monolithic limestone for the walls, floor pavement and roof construction of some Helwan tombs, such as the late First Dynasty Tomb 1/1 (Tomb 40.H.3) (Fig. 119).¹³⁴⁷ Most of these tombs feature internal subdividing walls in the substructure of the tomb made from mud bricks, or rarely out of fieldstones.¹³⁴⁸ Other tombs

¹³³⁶ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 153); Wilkinson (1996b: 346).

¹³³⁷ Saad (1951: 41); Köhler (2004a: 84).

¹³³⁸ Wilkinson (1996: 338-340).

¹³³⁹ Köhler (2008b: 114; 2017c: 4).

¹³⁴⁰ Köhler (2004b: 307).

¹³⁴¹ Köhler (2004b: 307).

¹³⁴² Clark (2016: 25-26).

¹³⁴³ Köhler (2004b: 307).

¹³⁴⁴ Petrie *et al* (1913: 8); Hendrickx (1996: 69, fn. 78); Mawdsley (2012a: 342).

¹³⁴⁵ Hendrickx (1994: 194-195).

¹³⁴⁶ Köhler (2004b: 307).

¹³⁴⁷ Köhler (2005: 27-28, pl. 13; 2008b: 115).

¹³⁴⁸ Saad (1947: pl. VII; 1951: pl. LIV, LVIIIa); Köhler (2008b: 114).

have added features such as the remains of enclosing walls around their superstructures, including First Dynasty tombs 571.H.2, 565.H.2, 204.H.2 and 250.H.2 that are located in Area 2 and were excavated by Saad in 1942 (Fig. 120).¹³⁴⁹

Some of the tombs are identified to be elite tombs due to their substantial size including one of the largest Early Dynastic tombs excavated at Helwan, tomb 423.H.9. It featured a mastaba superstructure that covered the substructural mud brick tomb, measuring 40 m long x 25 m wide with 250 cm thick walls and covering an area of 950 m².¹³⁵⁰ The tomb is dated to the reign of Den of the mid-First Dynasty thanks to the presence of a clay stopper found on one of the jars from the grave.¹³⁵¹ The tomb is renowned for its niched decoration on the outside of its superstructure, not to mention there is evidence that the tomb was constructed in limestone, including installations of stone slabs for its roof (Fig. 121).¹³⁵² There is no published plan for this tomb given by Saad since it was excavated in his ninth season at the site, despite the published photos in his 1969 monograph (Fig. 121).¹³⁵³ However, based on these photos and the provided measurements, Kaiser created a hypothetical figure of this tomb to scale when discussing the development of private Early Dynastic tombs during the reign of Den, which exhibited less substructural divisions of magazine spaces (Fig. 121).¹³⁵⁴ To the north of this tomb, a boat pit was found, measuring 12.5 m long.¹³⁵⁵ However, the limited information about tomb 423.H.9 does not disclose the boat pit's location.¹³⁵⁶

Tomb 287.H.6 was also another considerably large mortuary structure, with remains of a superstructure estimated to have measured 56 m long x 27.4 m wide and was built using white limestone (Fig. 122).¹³⁵⁷ This enclosed a rectangular shaft cut 11 m deep underground into the gravel strata, lined with limestone bricks in a header and stretcher formation, imitating mud bricks.¹³⁵⁸ This shaft led to a subterranean rectangular tomb with two magazine rooms to its eastern and western sides.¹³⁵⁹ The tomb was evidently plundered due to the presence of a robber's tunnel within the west wall of the western magazine room, not to mention the presence of a pottery lamp, which dated to the Graeco-Roman period, indicating when this tomb would

¹³⁴⁹ Saad (1947: 26, pl. IX, Plan 2); Köhler (2014: 2-3).

¹³⁵⁰ Saad (1969: 22-23); Wilkinson (1996b: 351).

¹³⁵¹ Saad (1969: 22).

¹³⁵² Saad (1969: pl. 11); Leclant (1952: Fig. 21, Tab. XLIII); Köhler (2005: 25).

¹³⁵³ Saad (1969: pls. 11-13); Clark (2016: 88, fn. 618).

¹³⁵⁴ Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 257, Abb. 13).

¹³⁵⁵ Saad (1969: 23, 187, pl. 108).

¹³⁵⁶ Saad (1969: 22); Clark (2016: 282).

¹³⁵⁷ Saad (1951: 3).

¹³⁵⁸ Saad (1951: 4, Fig. 2).

¹³⁵⁹ Saad (1951: 4).

have been broken into.¹³⁶⁰ A limestone slab was found in this subterranean tomb, not to mention fragments of pottery and stone vessels dating to the Early Dynastic period were found.¹³⁶¹ A date pertaining to the Third Dynasty is preferred for this tomb, due to its similarities with other contemporary tombs, such as 3517 from North Saqqara.¹³⁶² No skeletal remains or signs of the deceased were reported from this tomb. The tomb's architecture and the presence of limestone installations indicates that a lot of resources were invested to protect it from tomb robbing activities. Based on these features, Saad comments that this tomb's features would have been made for a king or a noble of a very exalted rank.¹³⁶³

Other features that sets apart the tombs of Helwan, are the presence of the so-called 'ceiling stelae', which provides social evidence about the deceased individuals who owned these tombs.¹³⁶⁴ These funerary slabs were mostly found in the burial chambers of the tomb, especially at the bottom end of a vertical shaft that connected the tomb's substructure with the surface via the ceiling.¹³⁶⁵ Originally, Saad believed that these slabs were installed in the ceiling of the burial chambers, facing the deceased from above.¹³⁶⁶ Moreover, one particular undecorated slab was found in tomb 505.H.4 and it was similar in shape to the other stelae found in other Second Dynasty tombs.¹³⁶⁷ This slab was found in association with a seal impression bearing the name of Ninetjer of the Second Dynasty.¹³⁶⁸ Based on the context of a funerary slab being found within a tomb encompassing a staircase and subterranean chambers that are reminiscent of Second Dynasty tombs, plus the presence of the seal impression with Ninetjer's name, Saad used these factors as a dating measure for all the Second Dynasty tombs at Helwan.¹³⁶⁹ However, alternate opinions and recent investigations by Köhler have proved that such interpretations are misleading, for the stelae, and the seal impression from 505.H.4, were found in secondary contexts and not their original archaeological context.¹³⁷⁰ Therefore making Saad's original Second Dynasty date for these tombs impossible to concur with. It has been confirmed that these slabs range in date from the late First Dynasty to the early Fourth

¹³⁶⁰ Saad (1951: 5).

¹³⁶¹ Saad (1951: 5).

¹³⁶² Wood (1987: 67) *cf.* Köhler (2005: 28, fn. 143; 2008b: 126-127); Clark (2016: 145).

¹³⁶³ Saad (1951: 5).

¹³⁶⁴ Saad (1957); Köhler (2004a: 34).

¹³⁶⁵ Köhler (2004a: 34).

¹³⁶⁶ Köhler & Jones (2009: 3).

¹³⁶⁷ Köhler & Jones (2009: 7).

¹³⁶⁸ Saad (1951: 17, pl. XIIa & b); Kaplony (1963a: 153, 354).

¹³⁶⁹ Saad (1957: 3; 1969: 76).

¹³⁷⁰ Haeny (1971: 151); Köhler & Jones (2009: 7); Jones (2010: 84). The contexts of the Helwan funerary slabs have come from a variety of disturbed contexts and they have been listed elsewhere, see Köhler & Jones (2009: 9, Table 3).

Dynasty, so they do not date to one specific time period.¹³⁷¹ The range of titles inscribed on these offering panels vary considerably, including priests, carpenters, sculptors, scribes, palace administrators, not to mention sons and daughters of the king.¹³⁷² Therefore, it is suggested that the owners of these stelae represented a ‘bureaucratic elite’ group that was lower in rank compared to the deceased occupants at North Saqqara and other western bank sites, but still distinguishable from the poorer graves.¹³⁷³ Hence, this group has been cautiously referred to either as middle-ranking members or part of, for lack of a better term, the ‘Middle Class’.¹³⁷⁴

Some tombs have also been found with seal impressions, thus their owners have been noted to have had a connection with the administration.¹³⁷⁵ The earliest example comes from tomb 160.H.3 in the form of a small cylinder seal, made from steatite.¹³⁷⁶ This cylinder seal (EM97-18) features a standing male figure, with a palace façade design crowned by a small hawk depicted behind him, along with a pair of giraffes facing each other to the right of the cylindrical scene, both crowding around a date palm tree and a vertical stroke with spikes and a thick ovoid section (Fig. 124).¹³⁷⁷ Moreover, beside one of the giraffes is what appears to be a reptile with a long tail and is interpreted as a crocodile.¹³⁷⁸ This artefact has been used to date tomb 160.H.3 to the Naqada IIIA2/B period, based on comparative analyses with the inscribed serekhs retrieved from Cemetery U at Abydos.¹³⁷⁹ These observations with seal impressions or inscribed objects should be treated with caution though, for the context of these inscribed grave items needs to be considered. For example, tomb 150.H.5 was found to contain a stone vessel fragment marked with the serekh of Qa’a in ink, leading to conclusions that the tomb was dated to this king’s reign during the late First Dynasty (Fig. 125).¹³⁸⁰ While the tomb’s architectural features, such as the straight staircase, helps support a late First Dynasty date, Köhler suggests an earlier date for this tomb, due to the presence of cylindrical vessels found within a secondary burial in the tomb’s staircase and has been dated to the Naqada IIIC1/2 phases – basically a mid-First Dynasty date rather than a late First Dynasty one.¹³⁸¹ While an argument can be made that these cylindrical vessels may have been heirlooms for the deceased, the original context

¹³⁷¹ Köhler (2004a: 34); Köhler & Jones (2009: 5).

¹³⁷² Köhler (2004a: 34); Köhler & Jones (2009: 81).

¹³⁷³ Wilkinson (1996b: 353); Köhler & Jones (2009: 82, 94).

¹³⁷⁴ Köhler (2008a: 392); Köhler & Jones (2009: 95).

¹³⁷⁵ van Wetering (2017b: 427).

¹³⁷⁶ Köhler (2005: 78-79, pl. 69.5).

¹³⁷⁷ Köhler (2005: 79).

¹³⁷⁸ Köhler (2005: 79, pl. 48.3).

¹³⁷⁹ Saad (1947: 165-166, Fig. 14). This seal was originally stated to have come from Tomb no. 40, however, this was corrected by Köhler (2005: 78-79, pl. 48.3).

¹³⁸⁰ Saad (1951: 29-30, fig. 11, pl. XXIXa); Wilkinson (1996b: 339).

¹³⁸¹ Köhler (2004b: 298).

of the inscribed stone vessel fragment is unclear for it was found within the filling of the tomb, suggesting that it was only part of the tomb's assemblage due to intrusive circumstances much later through tomb robbing activities.¹³⁸²

Tomb 150.H.5 was also found to have wooden planks encasing the floor and walls of its burial chamber, not to mention two parallel rows of 5 postholes placed along the walled perimeters of the substructure provide evidence that a wooden compartment was built to enclose the buried deceased and associated mortuary provisions (Fig. 125).¹³⁸³ This wooden structure would have measured 6 m long x 3 m wide.¹³⁸⁴ Another example of such a construction has been noted within tomb 653.H.4 as well, for postholes were also visible in that tomb's substructure and has been estimated to have a wooden compartment measuring 20 m long x 6 m wide.¹³⁸⁵ The presence of these wooden compartments are linked to similar wooden constructions found within some of the elite tombs at North Saqqara and the royal tombs at Abydos.¹³⁸⁶ While Helwan is considered to be a lower status cemetery compared to other Early Dynastic cemeteries, it is one of the few cemeteries apart from Saqqara to contain tombs with the distinct underground gallery design of the Second Dynasty.¹³⁸⁷ Tombs such as 672.H.3, 508.H.4, 25.H.4 are included as examples and date to the early Second Dynasty based on the appearance of chambers located on the sides of their staircases and are outside the deeper tomb areas that are blocked by a portcullis (Fig. 126).¹³⁸⁸ It is possible that these are smaller scale designs emulating such structures from the royal tombs, for example Tomb 505.H.4¹³⁸⁹ is dated to the Second Dynasty and has been earmarked to have contained a 'miniature model cult palace' (Fig. 123).¹³⁹⁰ According to Lacher-Raschdorff, this is characteristic for late First Dynasty to early Second Dynasty tombs based on some parallel examples found in North Saqqara, including 3505, 3042 and 2302.¹³⁹¹

Based on the mortuary features described, the tombs from Helwan provide a picture of a diverse buried community, some which would warrant a comment about the social identities about the deceased who were buried there. However, more than 90% of the tombs within the

¹³⁸² Köhler (2004b: 297-298; 2005: 27).

¹³⁸³ Köhler (2008b: 115); La Loggia (2015: 169).

¹³⁸⁴ Köhler (2008b: 115).

¹³⁸⁵ Saad (1951: 18, pl. XII); Köhler (2008b: 115).

¹³⁸⁶ La Loggia (2015: 168-169).

¹³⁸⁷ Köhler (2008a: 393; 2008b: 114); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 218).

¹³⁸⁸ Saad (1951: 6-7); Lacher (2008: 435).

¹³⁸⁹ Saad (1951: Pl. 11).

¹³⁹⁰ Saad (1951: 15-16, Plan 11); Lacher (2008: 439, fn. 25).

¹³⁹¹ Quibell (1923: Pls. I & XXX); Reisner (1936: 144, Fig. 67); Emery (1958: 8-9, Pl. 4); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 218, fn. 827).

Helwan necropolis have been plundered at least once; therefore, a lot of the artefacts found within these graves were not found in their primary contexts.¹³⁹² Therefore, this has caused some confusion about the dates and social contexts with some of the finds that Saad originally found and have been corrected by Köhler. Compared to the western cemetery sites where a high elevation is observed for sites like North Saqqara and Abu Rawash, the cemetery of Helwan is considered to not be as important because it did not have a high elevation for its tombs to be visible.¹³⁹³ While Helwan may not have been as high compared to the western bank cemeteries, the site would have still been chosen for it is well above the level of the annual inundation.¹³⁹⁴ The geological properties of the site also attribute to why it was chosen as a cemetery site in the first place. The fact that this cemetery is not far from the limestone quarries at Gebel Tura, not to mention Turah and Ma'asara, provides an idea that the local population had access to a close source of limestone for their tombs.¹³⁹⁵

¹³⁹² Köhler (2017c: 4).

¹³⁹³ Cervelló Autuori (2017: 215).

¹³⁹⁴ Köhler (2005: 16).

¹³⁹⁵ Arnold (1991: 29); Köhler (2005: 24).

CHAPTER 6 - THE REGION OF MIDDLE EGYPT

Middle Egypt is an ambiguous geographical term which is used to designate the area between the Memphite and Thinite regions.¹³⁹⁶ Baines and Malek have utilised this term to group the sites located between Memphis in the north and Asyut in the south, based on the continuity of both settlement areas being active administrative centres between the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom periods in reference to written texts and archaeological evidence.¹³⁹⁷ Some other published inventory maps convey a number of Predynastic and Early Dynastic sites between 'Northern Middle Egypt' and 'Middle Egypt', but, they do not specify which Early Dynastic sites fall within these mentioned areas.¹³⁹⁸ Nonetheless, Early Dynastic sites within Middle Egypt, be they cemeteries or settlements, are scarce on the western bank possibly due to geological factors, the encroachment of sand dunes from the Western desert or the movement of the Nile river channel through this area.¹³⁹⁹ Moreover, the greater width of the alluvial plain makes natural irrigation from the Nile river more difficult to control and less suitable for agricultural purposes, therefore the extensive natural pasture lands in this region have been more suited for animal herding, which do not require a great deal of settlement infrastructure.¹⁴⁰⁰ There are certain urban sites that have been established in the region as far back as the Early Dynastic period, such as Herakleopolis which is located near modern day Ihnasya el-Medina and 15 km east of Beni Suef.¹⁴⁰¹ This site has been mentioned in an entry on the Palermo stone during the reign of Den indicating it may have been active before and during the First Dynasty.¹⁴⁰² However, no evidence from there indicates any earlier occupation before the First Intermediate period.¹⁴⁰³ Determining the Early Dynastic occupation of social groups inhabiting a number of the known sites is very difficult, however, there are certain areas within this region's Eastern desert where stone mining sites are known, which has spawned the

¹³⁹⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 372).

¹³⁹⁷ Baines & Malek (1980: 120); Kahl (2012: 5-6, 35).

¹³⁹⁸ Porter & Moss (1934: 272-275, pls. III-V); Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 346-347, Figs. 23.2, 23.3).

¹³⁹⁹ Wilkinson (1999: 325).

¹⁴⁰⁰ Köhler (2017b: 340).

¹⁴⁰¹ Baines & Malek (1980: 129)

¹⁴⁰² Wilkinson (2000b: 115-116).

¹⁴⁰³ Wilkinson (2000b: 115).

development of a number of settlements and cemeteries.¹⁴⁰⁴ Elite tombs have been noted from some of these sites due to their similarities to contemporary tombs in the Memphite region, such as Tarkhan, Qarara and Qau (Figs. 127-127B).¹⁴⁰⁵ Based on the mentioned evidence, this chapter will focus on mortuary sites that contain Protodynastic and Early Dynastic artefacts dated between Naqada IIIA-D and are concentrated near the Fayum Oasis and are scattered towards the latter boundary corresponding with the site of Qau.¹⁴⁰⁶

6.1 WEST BANK

6.1.1 TARKHAN

The site of Tarkhan is located about 60 km south of modern day Cairo, nestled on the western bank of the Nile before the gateway to the Fayum oasis begins a couple of kilometres further south (29°29'30.96"N, 31°13'6.40"E) (Fig. 127).¹⁴⁰⁷ It is debated whether the Tarkhan cemetery had any connection with the Memphite region or was representing people who came from a peripheral community in relation to the Memphite community. Reasons for the Memphite connection are due to the presence of tombs depicting niched mastaba designs which compare with the one found at South Giza.¹⁴⁰⁸ However, when one considers the 60 km distance between the site today and where the Memphis capital may have been, the cemetery should have been attached to a community that was not connected to Memphis, but probably locally based communities living near the peripheral gateway to the Faiyum Oasis.¹⁴⁰⁹

Petrie first excavated the site between 1911-1912 and excavated at least 2000 tombs dating between the Protodynastic period (Naqada IIIA2) to the end of the First Dynasty.¹⁴¹⁰ These tombs run from north to south within a narrow strip despite being dispersed over a wide area of the low desert which characterises the site and are found in two prominent areas.¹⁴¹¹ Firstly, there is the 'valley' cemetery, where 1054 tombs dated from the Protodynastic to the First Dynasty reside (Fig. 128).¹⁴¹² Secondly, there are the 'hill' cemeteries comprising of 305 tombs dating to the same chronological range (Fig. 128).¹⁴¹³ In both these locations, elite

¹⁴⁰⁴ Briois & Midant-Reynes (2015: 49-50); Köhler *et al* (2017: 29). Wadi Sannur is directly opposite the Fayum Oasis, while continuing southwards connects with Wadi el-Sheikh.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Wilkinson (1999: 357; 2016: 545-546).

¹⁴⁰⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 372).

¹⁴⁰⁷ Petrie *et al* (1913: 1); Grajetzki (2004: 6); Snape (2011: 8-9).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Petrie *et al* (1913: 14).

¹⁴⁰⁹ Köhler (2010: 48); Mawdsley (2012a: 335).

¹⁴¹⁰ Petrie *et al* (1913: 1); Mawdsley (2011: 1044); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 205).

¹⁴¹¹ Ellis (1996: 151-153).

¹⁴¹² Petrie (1914: 2-3, pl. XLVI).

¹⁴¹³ Petrie *et al* (1913: 3, pls. LXX-LXXVI).

burials have been distributed and are distinguished based on architecture, grave volume, location and number of accompanying mortuary provisions.¹⁴¹⁴ Petrie correlates the differences in burial architecture to be related to the socio-economic status of the deceased at Tarkhan, labelling the pit graves covered with sand crusted domes to be ‘commoner graves’, while the small mastabas found at the site were regarded the ‘more important graves’.¹⁴¹⁵

Seven small mastaba tombs dated to the Protodynastic period are also known within the ‘valley’ cemetery towards the western section, including tomb 1845 which has been referred to as a mastaba type and is confirmed to date to the Naqada IIIA2 period (Fig. 129).¹⁴¹⁶ The undisturbed deceased male within tomb 1845 was found lying in a contracted position within a shallow oval pit, accompanied by numerous mortuary provisions such as a calcite bowl between his face and knees, a slate palette lying on top of the bowl, pottery jars and stone vessels by his feet (Fig. 130).¹⁴¹⁷ The deceased male and the accompanying assemblage within this oval pit are surrounded by a mud brick enclosure wall measuring 3-3.10 m long x 1.85-2.00 m wide.¹⁴¹⁸ The head of the deceased male was orientated to the south and looking to the west so that he was positioned to face what has been labelled to be a ‘chapel’ or offering area where a large quantity of stacked pottery vessels was placed.¹⁴¹⁹ Part of the enclosure wall from which the deceased faces on its left side has slits cut into the wall’s brickwork.¹⁴²⁰ Despite the body of the deceased being found half a metre below this wall, it has been interpreted to be a purposeful arrangement where the deceased could face the wall and see through the slits to receive the nourishing offerings from the living.¹⁴²¹ This arrangement and the tomb structural design was not exclusive to just tomb 1845, but also noted in other tombs including 1231, 740, 852, 749, 1889 and 1674; the only difference was that tomb 1845 was not plundered.¹⁴²² Based on these features, these tombs are distinguishable from the rest of the more simple burials within the valley cemetery, which are packed closely together.¹⁴²³ Moreover, these tombs have been heralded to showcase some of the common funerary customs which would emerge in later Egyptian dynastic history surrounding the bipartite nature of tombs to not just provide a place for the deceased but to also provide the facilities for the deceased to be nourished in the

¹⁴¹⁴ Mawdsley (2012a: 339, fn. 46).

¹⁴¹⁵ Petrie (1914: 2).

¹⁴¹⁶ Petrie (1914: pl. XII, XIV, XLVI); Mawdsley (2012a: 339-340).

¹⁴¹⁷ Petrie (1914: 2, pl. XII, VI).

¹⁴¹⁸ Petrie (1914: 2, pl. XII); Clark (2016: 471).

¹⁴¹⁹ Petrie (1914: 2-3, pl. XXXVI); Grajetzki (2004: 26).

¹⁴²⁰ Petrie (1914: 2, pl. XII); Jánosi (2006: 10).

¹⁴²¹ Petrie (1914: 2); Jánosi (2006: 10); Snape (2011: 13).

¹⁴²² Petrie (1914: 2-3, pl. XIII-XIV).

¹⁴²³ Grajetzki (2008: 104).

afterlife.¹⁴²⁴ In talking about the differences between the royal tombs at Abydos and the elite tombs at North Saqqara, Jánosi notes that Abydos was already a traditional burial ground where the kings could be buried close to their ancestors and had space allocated for cult areas in the form of the funerary enclosures in the North Cemetery, some of which were surrounded by subordinate burials and accompanied by boat graves.¹⁴²⁵ For elite tombs they had to create their own communal mortuary space and cult areas, such as the aforementioned Protodynastic tombs found at Tarkhan and their burial arrangements along with their well-preserved cult spaces are the earliest known in ancient Egypt.¹⁴²⁶ Therefore, they are deemed to be a precursor to how pairs of eyes are painted on the shafts and the eastern side of coffins to enable the deceased to see and communicate with the living.¹⁴²⁷

Some tombs within the ‘hill’ cemetery have also been given attention compared to the rest of the burials, not just due to their location atop the hill areas, but also due to the greater investment in mortuary provisions.¹⁴²⁸ This evidence suggests the presence of an elite group who made efforts to separate themselves from the greater community in terms of mortuary ostentation.¹⁴²⁹ For example, tomb 315 was a rectangular pit grave, measuring 1.52 m long x 3.4 m wide x 1.39 m deep and its substructure would have taken up 6.42 m³ in volume to be created.¹⁴³⁰ The tomb was located on Hill L to the south of the valley and its mortuary provisions supports a Naqada IIIA2 date; no skeleton was recorded.¹⁴³¹ The features of tomb 315 have prompted interpretations that its tomb owner was of a high social status in the local region.¹⁴³² Other notable Naqada IIIA2 graves from this area also includes tombs 1006 and 1023, but their locations was left unrecorded by Petrie.¹⁴³³ According to Mawdsley, these two tombs would have been the largest burials in the hill cemetery, with the substructure of 1023 requiring 9.56 m³ in volume to be built, while 1006 needed 14.95m³ to create its rectangular

¹⁴²⁴ Petrie (1914: 2-3, pl. XII-XIV); Jánosi (2006: 10); Baud (2009: 196); Snape (2011: 11).

¹⁴²⁵ Jánosi (2006: 10); Bestock (2008b: 44-46).

¹⁴²⁶ Jánosi (2006: 10); Grajetzki (2008: 104).

¹⁴²⁷ Jánosi (2006: 10). For example, the outer coffin of Nephthys, which is dated to the Twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1981-1802 B.C.). This coffin is held in the Metropolitan Museum (11.150.15a), see ‘Outer Coffin of Nephthys’, <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/558152>>, accessed 31/10/2017.

¹⁴²⁸ Ellis (1996: 161).

¹⁴²⁹ Mawdsley (2012a: 343).

¹⁴³⁰ Grajetzki (2005: 17); Mawdsley (2012a: 342).

¹⁴³¹ Petrie *et al* (1913: 8, 21, pl. 39); Mawdsley (2012a: 342).

¹⁴³² Wilkinson (1996a: 72); Köhler (2010: 45).

¹⁴³³ Petrie *et al* (1913: 8); Mawdsley (2012a: 342).

pit measuring 1.62 m long x 3.83 m wide x 2.41 m deep.¹⁴³⁴ Both tombs were recorded to have pottery, stone vessels and copper model tools.¹⁴³⁵

Tombs 412 and 414 are found upon Hill A and are both dated to the early First Dynasty (Naqada IIIC1), based on the pottery found within these tombs (Fig. 131).¹⁴³⁶ While the superstructure of tomb 414 was completely eroded, the substructural burial chamber measured 3.55 m long x 1.67 m wide x 1.80 m deep making this tomb one of the largest on the Hill A mortuary area.¹⁴³⁷ This tomb was also found to be carved into the ground, and then lined with bricks, which were then covered by mud plaster mixed with straw. No skeletal remains were found within the burial chamber, however, what was found included a great quantity of pottery vessels, calcite stone vessels, not to mention one large inscribed pottery jar and seal impressions bearing the serekhs containing the name of the First Dynasty sovereign, Narmer (Fig. 131).¹⁴³⁸ Tomb 412 was of a similar constructional build to the neighbouring 414 located to its east.¹⁴³⁹ Like 414, tomb 412 did not have a preserved superstructure and its burial chamber measured 3.18 m long x 1.54 m wide x 1.52 m deep.¹⁴⁴⁰ Not much information about its burial assemblage was given by Petrie's original description, however, Grajetzki has recovered the actual tomb card of the tomb from the Petrie Museum of Archaeology to provide more information.¹⁴⁴¹ The tomb was found to contain the pelvis and thigh skeletal remains of a deceased male, placed in the middle of the burial chamber and was found with some traces of cloth.¹⁴⁴² The body was surrounded by a variety of mortuary provisions, including pottery vessels on its western side, two copper adzes and a copper bowl.¹⁴⁴³ Amongst this assemblage, a pottery vessel was found inscribed with a serekh in ink, which was referred by Petrie as the name of 'Tahuti-mer' and is unparalleled.¹⁴⁴⁴ The inscription depicts a bird on top of the serekh, a Horus falcon perhaps, which is accompanied by three lines underneath this serekh designation, possibly indicating some kind of quantity.¹⁴⁴⁵ Wilkinson does not regard this serekh to be a royal example.¹⁴⁴⁶ However, Dreyer regards this name to be allocated to a

¹⁴³⁴ Mawdsley (2012a: 342).

¹⁴³⁵ Mawdsley (2012a: 342).

¹⁴³⁶ Petrie *et al* (1913: pl. LXX); Hendrickx (1996: 60); Grajetzki (2008: 106).

¹⁴³⁷ Petrie *et al* (1913: 9); Grajetzki (2005: 14).

¹⁴³⁸ Petrie *et al* (1913: 9, pl. II.1-4, XXXI.68); Grajetzki (2004: 14-15); Edqvist (2015: 40)

¹⁴³⁹ Petrie *et al* (1913: pl. LXX).

¹⁴⁴⁰ Grajetzki (2006: 61).

¹⁴⁴¹ Petrie *et al* (1913: 9); Grajetzki (2006: 60-61).

¹⁴⁴² Petrie *et al* (1913: 9); Grajetzki (2006: 61).

¹⁴⁴³ Grajetzki (2006: 61).

¹⁴⁴⁴ Petrie *et al* (1913: 9, pl. XXXI.71).

¹⁴⁴⁵ Grajetzki (2006: 64).

¹⁴⁴⁶ Wilkinson (1996a: 13).

Protodynastic ruler who was in charge of the settlement connected to the Tarkhan cemetery.¹⁴⁴⁷ The written evidence recovered from these tombs has prompted suggestions that the deceased owners had a connection to the royal court during the reign of Narmer.¹⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, their grave size has been used to further attribute that both of these tombs belong to elite members of the local community.¹⁴⁴⁹ However, no other titles or inscriptions were found from these tombs which could help clarify such a proposal, not to mention skeletal evidence to provide further analysis. Further to this, the presence of such inscribed evidence within these tombs should not act as a confirmation that the deceased had a connection to the king, whose name is on the vessels that have been mentioned.¹⁴⁵⁰

To the far south of the Tarkhan cemetery, tucked away on a hill, are the large mastaba tombs T1060, T2050 and T2038, which are isolated from the rest of the burials (Fig. 128).¹⁴⁵¹ These tombs represent a stark moment in the tomb development observed during the Early Dynastic period at Tarkhan, for these mastaba tombs date from the time of Djet, just before the mid-First Dynasty.¹⁴⁵² Despite being categorised as similar mastaba tombs, each of them also display differences in their architecture and burial assemblages.

T1060 is considered the oldest of the mastaba tombs in this area due to it being an open pit comprising internal subdivisions in its superstructure, which is the common design amongst Naqada IIIC1 mastaba tombs located at North Saqqara, Giza and Naqada.¹⁴⁵³ This tomb was built on top of a mud brick platform, with its walls lined with mud bricks, plastered with a mud mixture of sticks and reeds in between for bonding purposes.¹⁴⁵⁴ Both ends of the tomb's superstructure were badly eroded, but it is estimated to have measured 34.04 m long x 15.62 m wide x 0.68 m deep (Fig. 132).¹⁴⁵⁵ No subsidiary burials were found to surround the tomb, instead remnants of its 'fender' or enclosure wall were found on the west side of the tomb.¹⁴⁵⁶ The niched façade was found to be present on the eastern and western sides of the tomb, and speculated to have had nine niches on the longer sides of the tomb and possibly four on the shorter sides (Fig. 132).¹⁴⁵⁷ Traces of paint were found to have existed on the tomb's exterior,

¹⁴⁴⁷ Dreyer (1992: 260, fn. 9) *cf.* Grajetzki (2006: 64).

¹⁴⁴⁸ Grajetzki (2005: 16).

¹⁴⁴⁹ Wilkinson (1996a: 72); Grajetzki (2005: 14, 16).

¹⁴⁵⁰ Mawdsley (2012b: 121).

¹⁴⁵¹ Petrie *et al* (1913: 13, pl. LXIX); Petrie (1914: 3, pl. XLVIII).

¹⁴⁵² Petrie *et al* (1913: 16); Petrie (1914: 4); Grajetzki (2008: 108).

¹⁴⁵³ Petrie (1914: 4, 16); La Loggia (2008: 77); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: Plan 10).

¹⁴⁵⁴ Petrie *et al* (1913: 13-14); Spencer (1979: 19).

¹⁴⁵⁵ Petrie *et al* (1913: 13); Grajetzki (2008: 109); Clark (2016: 471).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Petrie *et al* (1913: 14); Reisner (1936: 31); Grajetzki (2008: 109).

¹⁴⁵⁷ Grajetzki (2008: 109).

especially white plaster which would have covered the entire tomb, not to mention traces of a red colour were found on the inside recesses of the preserved niches on the tomb's exterior setting.¹⁴⁵⁸ However, one recess on the eastern wall of the tomb near the centre of the tomb did not show any traces of a red colour on its recess and evidence of a wooden floor was found in front of it, prompting suggestions it was a reserved place for the living to provide offerings at this spot for the cult of the deceased in an effort to prolong the life of the deceased for eternity.¹⁴⁵⁹ Four recesses were found to be painted red on the inside on the north and south sides of the burial chamber, a similar phenomenon observed from within the burial chambers of the royal tombs allocated to Djer and Djet.¹⁴⁶⁰ Broken limestone slabs, which may have measured 0.4 m x 0.3 m x 0.8 m, were also found amongst the rubbish filling within the tomb's burial chamber, prompting Petrie to propose they could have been used for the roof of the tomb (Fig. 132).¹⁴⁶¹ But their function remains contentious because these slabs were found to be broken and not in their original context.¹⁴⁶² Nonetheless, compared to other contemporary Naqada III CI mastaba tombs, this tomb is unique due to these limestone slabs, not to mention the discovery of some pieces of cloth.¹⁴⁶³ T1060 was also found to have inscribed seal impressions which resembled those found in the tombs of Djer and Djet, but do not bear their names at all.¹⁴⁶⁴ Based on the similarities of this tomb's architecture, the pottery and stone vessels to the examples from Djet's tomb, this tomb has been dated to have been built during that king's reign.¹⁴⁶⁵ As to who was buried within this tomb, it was initially attributed it to an individual named Senar, based on an ink inscription on a quartz bowl.¹⁴⁶⁶ This has been dismissed by Kaplony, instead another name found on a seal impression, Neb-ka, has also been suggested to be the name of the tomb owner.¹⁴⁶⁷ This name was not found within a serekh and seemingly has no connection to the Third Dynasty king of the same name.¹⁴⁶⁸ Regardless, no skeletal evidence was recovered from the tomb to consolidate an alternative theory.

The second of the mastaba tombs, T2038, was a much smaller version of T1060 measuring 32.13 m long x 12.95 m wide and it was surrounded by a 'fender' or enclosure wall

¹⁴⁵⁸ Petrie *et al* (1913: 13).

¹⁴⁵⁹ Petrie *et al* (1913: 13, pl. XV.2); Jiménez Serrano (2007: 30); Grajetzki (2008: 109); Baud (2009: 212).

¹⁴⁶⁰ Petrie (1900: 10, pl. LXIII; 1901: 8); Petrie *et al* (1913: 14).

¹⁴⁶¹ Petrie *et al* (1913: 15, pl. XVI.1).

¹⁴⁶² Petrie *et al* (1913: 15); Grajetzki (2008: 109); La Loggia (2008: 77); Clark (2016: 81).

¹⁴⁶³ Petrie & Mackay (1915: 50, pl. LVIII, fig. 1).

¹⁴⁶⁴ Petrie (1900: pl. XIX; 1901: pl. XVI); Petrie *et al* (1913: 28, pl. XXX.1-5).

¹⁴⁶⁵ Petrie *et al* (1913: 16, 18).

¹⁴⁶⁶ Petrie *et al* (1913: 18, pl. XVI.5); Kaplony (1963a: 429).

¹⁴⁶⁷ Kaplony (1963a: 85).

¹⁴⁶⁸ Petrie *et al* (1913: 18, pl. XXX.1); Kaplony (1963c: fig. 108B); Grajetzki (2004: 20); Regulski (2010: 84).

based on the mud brick remains on its west, north and eastern sides (Fig. 133).¹⁴⁶⁹ Part of this wall created a corridor space on the eastern side of the tomb that had a projecting entrance with stacks of pottery vessels piled against the outside of the eastern side of this enclosure wall, probably as offerings placed by the living for the deceased.¹⁴⁷⁰ Two domed subsidiary burials were uncovered on the eastern side of the tomb within the corridor space between the fender wall and the tomb's superstructure which were found to be well preserved (Fig. 133).¹⁴⁷¹ No pottery was found within the main tomb to help confirm a date for this tomb, thus there is a reliance on architectural features to determine it.¹⁴⁷² It is thanks to the pottery from the subsidiary burials that a date corresponding to Djed's reign was confirmed.¹⁴⁷³ The superstructure of the tomb featured niched extrusions, but no traces of paint were found on the inside recesses like T1060. However, like T1060 there is one niched recess area on the eastern wall, the fourth bay from the southern end near the T2039 subsidiary burial, that had wooden planks paved in front of it and is interpreted to be a cult offering location.¹⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, this tomb was not found to have internal subdivisions in its superstructure and instead the interior was filled with sand and gravel covering a rectangular pit in the middle lined with wood which measured 5 m long x 3.2 m wide that also contained a burial pit on the inside measuring 4.2 m long x 2.6 m wide.¹⁴⁷⁵ This pit could be entered by a descent which was parallel to the tomb's eastern wall.¹⁴⁷⁶ No carved stairs were visible from this descent, despite the opinions of Grajetzki, who utilises this feature to claim that this tomb was built during the reign of King Den, though this is generally agreed amongst most scholars.¹⁴⁷⁷ Nonetheless, this is a unique funerary feature within a First Dynasty context at Tarkhan. Apart from the subsidiary burials, no skeletal evidence was reported to have been found within this pit since the original burial construction could barely be detected.¹⁴⁷⁸ It is reported that three specimens of cloth textiles were retrieved from this tomb.¹⁴⁷⁹

With a square area of 540.85 m² combining an enclosure wall and a superstructure measuring 35.38 m long x 15.10 m wide, T2050 is the largest tomb at Tarkhan (Fig. 134).¹⁴⁸⁰

¹⁴⁶⁹ Petrie (1914: 4-5, pl. XVIII); Grajetzki (2008: 109).

¹⁴⁷⁰ Petrie (1914: 4).

¹⁴⁷¹ Petrie (1914: 5, pl. XV); Grajetzki (2008: 110).

¹⁴⁷² Grajetzki (2008: 110).

¹⁴⁷³ Petrie (1914: 5).

¹⁴⁷⁴ Petrie (1914: 4); Grajetzki (2008: 110).

¹⁴⁷⁵ Petrie (1914: 5); La Loggia (2012: 209).

¹⁴⁷⁶ Petrie (1914: 4).

¹⁴⁷⁷ Petrie (1914: 4); Reisner (1936: 71-72); Grajetzki (2008: 110).

¹⁴⁷⁸ Petrie (1914: 3-5).

¹⁴⁷⁹ Petrie & Mackay (1915: 49, pl. LVII).

¹⁴⁸⁰ Petrie (1914: 3); Reisner (1936: 37-38); Grajetzki (2008: 110); Clark (2016: 89, 472).

Similar to tomb T2038, an array of niched facades are displayed on its exterior facade and no internal subdivisions were found within the tomb's interior with a filling of sand and gravel covering a burial pit measuring 5.4 m long x 4.5 m wide x 6.1 m deep.¹⁴⁸¹ Again, like tomb T2038, no traces of the original burial was found within this underground pit, meaning no skeletal evidence.¹⁴⁸² Three subsidiary burials attached to this tomb were found under the eastern wall of the tomb along with a longer grave towards the southern end, where the skeletal remains of three donkeys were discovered (Fig. 134).¹⁴⁸³ The mortuary provisions from this tomb do not provide much dating material, but it has been deduced that the tomb dates to the reign of Den.¹⁴⁸⁴ Amongst some of the finds from T2050, 17 different quality types of linen textiles were retrieved.¹⁴⁸⁵ This included a v-necked pleated dress found under the sand near the calcite stone vessels recovered from the tomb (Fig. 134).¹⁴⁸⁶ There are two smaller tombs to the west of both 2038 and 2050 that were also recorded. Firstly, tomb T2055, which was dated to the reign of Den based on the pottery recovered from the tomb.¹⁴⁸⁷ Despite being poorly disturbed, the tomb is believed to have also been a mastaba type based on the remains of mud brick walls and large underground chamber pit measuring 6.12 m long x 2.61 m wide x 4.95 m deep.¹⁴⁸⁸ Secondly, there is T2056 which was cut into the rock and measured 4.5 m long x 2.7 m wide.¹⁴⁸⁹ This tomb was found to be robbed, but a stone vessel made from black and white porphyry (diorite) was recovered from the tomb's northern chamber.¹⁴⁹⁰

Despite their size and extensive architectural features, the written evidence from these larger palace façade mastaba tombs pales in comparison to the older tombs in the hill cemetery, especially tomb 414.¹⁴⁹¹ Overall, based on the features emanating from these tombs and their isolated location, it is suggested that these tombs were allocated to provincial governors or civil servants who served the king in some capacity.¹⁴⁹² Yet what kind of area were they governing? What is the evidence for a settlement associated with Tarkhan? The settlement associated with Tarkhan has been speculated to have included Shenakehn, Semenuhor or Akanthon; however, these are names for the provincial capital of the 21st Upper Egyptian nome during the Ptolemaic

¹⁴⁸¹ Grajetzki (2004: 22).

¹⁴⁸² Petrie (1914: 3-4).

¹⁴⁸³ Petrie (1914: 6, pl. XIX).

¹⁴⁸⁴ Hendrickx (1999: 79-80); Clark (2016: 89).

¹⁴⁸⁵ Petrie (1914: 10); Petrie & Mackay (1915: 49-50, pls. LVII-LVIII); Köhler & Jones (2009: 53).

¹⁴⁸⁶ Petrie (1914: 6); Grajetzki (2004: 22-23); Johnstone (2015: 36).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Petrie (1914: 8, pl. XLIII).

¹⁴⁸⁸ Grajetzki (2008: 111).

¹⁴⁸⁹ Petrie (1914: 8).

¹⁴⁹⁰ Petrie (1914: 8).

¹⁴⁹¹ Grajetzki (2006: 61).

¹⁴⁹² Wilkinson (1999: 73); Grajetzki (2008: 111); Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 205).

period.¹⁴⁹³ One of the seal impressions from tomb 414, conveys numerous crocodile depictions accompanied by the hieroglyph for ‘hundred’ and a building of some sort in the middle of the overall image (Fig. 131).¹⁴⁹⁴ The building has been likened to a later hieroglyphic depiction of the word ‘Shedet’ by Grajetzki, which was the capital of the Fayum region since the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁹⁵ Regardless, no traces of archaeological evidence for an earlier dated settlement has been found near this cemetery because any nearby settlement would have had to modify their position in accordance with the shifting Nile river over the centuries, resulting in new settlements being created in different locations.¹⁴⁹⁶

6.1.2 EL-LAHUN

The site of El-Lahun is located adjacent to the Fayum Oasis entrance and is well known for its Middle Kingdom archaeological evidence, especially the distinct pyramid belonging to Senusret II and the corresponding valley temple by the settlement of Kahun (29°14'7.40"N, 30°58'12.64"E).¹⁴⁹⁷ However, the site was occupied much earlier during the Early Dynastic period due to the corresponding cemetery of Bashkatib, where 104 graves were discovered by Brunton and Murray, dating from the First to Third Dynasties based on pottery comparisons between Abydos and Tarkhan.¹⁴⁹⁸ In relation to the Senusret's pyramid, the Bashkatib cemetery is southwest of the monument, closer to where the cultivation from the Fayum resides by along the southern limits of the El-Lahun mortuary area and where most of the earlier graves are located to the east and west of the ‘Dyke Ridge’ (29°13'45.39"N, 30°57'33.36"E) (Fig. 135).¹⁴⁹⁹ The cemetery has limestone and marl clay geological properties, providing suitable conditions to create tombs in the area.¹⁵⁰⁰ Shallow shaft and stairway tombs at the site were usually built in areas of the cemetery where 0.3-0.6 m layer of hard limestone covering a softer marl clay layer was located.¹⁵⁰¹ The upper limestone layers would have provided roofing materials for the tombs, while the chambers were cut into the marl layers. The hillock to the west and the rise to the north of the cemetery was characterised by deeper limestone with lower

¹⁴⁹³ Montet (1961: 195-196); Grajetzki (2004: 6).

¹⁴⁹⁴ Petrie *et al* (1913: pl. II.4).

¹⁴⁹⁵ Grajetzki (2005: 15); Snape (2014: 168).

¹⁴⁹⁶ Grajetzki (2004: 8); Mawdsley (2012a: 334).

¹⁴⁹⁷ Brunton (1920: 7); Frey (2001: 150).

¹⁴⁹⁸ Petrie *et al* (1923: 21).

¹⁴⁹⁹ Petrie *et al* (1923: 21, 25 pl. II).

¹⁵⁰⁰ Petrie *et al* (1923: 23).

¹⁵⁰¹ Petrie *et al* (1923: 23).

marl clay layers, thus resulting in the deep shaft tombs being built in that part of the cemetery.¹⁵⁰²

The excavators note the different grave types present within the Bashkatib cemetery, including open graves, shallow shaft tombs, stairway tombs and deep tomb shafts. Not one type of grave represented a chronological stage, but these different grave types continued to be made throughout the Early Dynastic period.¹⁵⁰³ This is based on their analysis of the pottery and stone vessels emanating from the graves, not using the grave types as a form of relative dating.¹⁵⁰⁴ There are eighteen shallow graves which date mostly from the early to mid-First Dynasty including graves 725, 733 and 757 that are located within the cluster of tombs to the far east of the Bashkatib cemetery (Figs. 136-137).¹⁵⁰⁵ The open graves showcase some of the deceased being placed within wooden coffins, showing that effort and care was made to preserve them. For example, tomb 725 was found with a wide vessel with a curved base and a pointed base vessel with rough characteristics, helping to date this tomb to at least the beginning of the First Dynasty (Naqada IIIC1).¹⁵⁰⁶ The shallow shaft graves also date mostly to the mid-First Dynasty according to four examples, but one example, tomb 768, pertains to the later First Dynasty and is located amongst a cluster group to the north eastern limit of the cemetery.¹⁵⁰⁷ Ten examples of the stairway tombs subsequently date to around the Mid-First Dynasty and these tombs are scattered across most parts of the cemetery, such as Tomb 771, which is situated between tombs 871 and 823.¹⁵⁰⁸

It is noticeable as well that from the Mid-First Dynasty onwards, the Early Dynastic tombs at El-Lahun exhibited more differentiating features, including limestone portcullises or remnants of grooves where these would be installed to secure the deceased's body in the tomb.¹⁵⁰⁹ For example, tomb 771, was found to have such features inside its rock cut substructure with a 2 m high x 0.12 m thick limestone portcullis blocking a burial chamber measuring 0.83 m long x 1.17 m wide x 1.06 m high (Fig. 138).¹⁵¹⁰ The remains of a deceased male were reported from this tomb and he was accompanied by pottery and stone vessels not

¹⁵⁰² Petrie *et al* (1923: 23)

¹⁵⁰³ Petrie *et al* (1923: 21).

¹⁵⁰⁴ Petrie *et al* (1923: 24).

¹⁵⁰⁵ Petrie *et al* (1923: 24, pl. II, XLI.D).

¹⁵⁰⁶ Petrie *et al* (1923: pl. XLV), Petrie (1953: XIV.63g, XVI.68t).

¹⁵⁰⁷ Petrie *et al* (1923: 24, pl. II, XLI.X).

¹⁵⁰⁸ Petrie *et al* (1923: 24, pl. II, XLII.Q).

¹⁵⁰⁹ Petrie *et al* (1923: 23).

¹⁵¹⁰ Petrie *et al* (1923: 23, pl. XLII.O); Clark (2016: 491).

to mention copper tools, but no information about his age could be determined.¹⁵¹¹ Other contemporary tombs were found with additional recess chambers, forming a cruciform shape, to store more offerings near the burial chamber of the deceased, such as tombs 806 and 734 that were located in the central area of the cemetery amongst the scattered cluster of tombs (Fig. 139).¹⁵¹² Both these tombs did not contain skeletal remains, but were found with pottery and stone vessels.¹⁵¹³ Finally, the deep shaft tombs date from the mid-First Dynasty to the Second and Third Dynasties, based on some examples of pottery found from these tombs, such as tomb 731, which was also found to contain a wooden head rest similar to one found by Petrie at Kafr Ammar.¹⁵¹⁴ Tomb 769, dated to the Third Dynasty, was found with a 3.45 m deep shaft harbouring two chambers, one to the west was the burial chamber, measuring 1.47 m long x 0.88 m wide x 0.81 m high with a limestone and marl roof (Fig. 140).¹⁵¹⁵ This area was blocked with a mud brick wall and contained the deceased remains of a male lying on the traces of a wooden coffin.¹⁵¹⁶ The other chamber to the south measured 2.13 m long x 1.06 m wide x 1.19 m high.¹⁵¹⁷ The deceased remains of a female was found on the bottom of the tomb's shaft pit and has been suggested to be a servant; however, this is a subjective opinion.¹⁵¹⁸

It has been deemed 'natural' by the excavators that the rough pit graves belonged to poorer deceased members for they were not given so much effort to be created compared to the deep shaft tombs which were cut into the rock and exhibited large door slabs.¹⁵¹⁹ Because of the poor nature of the open graves etc. it is noted that some of the deceased bodies from these graves were found to still have their skin and hair preserved, one example from grave 752 was waxed to be transported to the University College London, however, no record of its current whereabouts is known.¹⁵²⁰ Crocodile bones were noted to be found from a number of these grave types.¹⁵²¹ Based on Petrie's map and cross checking with Google Earth maps, this cemetery has been mostly destroyed by modern agricultural activities today.

¹⁵¹¹ Petrie *et al* (1923: pl. XLVI).

¹⁵¹² Petrie *et al* (1923: 23, pls. XL, XLI.O & XLII.T).

¹⁵¹³ Petrie *et al* (1923: pl. XLVI)

¹⁵¹⁴ Petrie & Mackay (1915: 20, pl. XIX.18) *cf.* Petrie *et al* (1923: 24, pl. XLVI),

¹⁵¹⁵ Petrie *et al* (1923: 23, pl. XLIII.AA); Clark (2016: 496).

¹⁵¹⁶ Petrie *et al* (1923: pl. XLVI); Clark (2016: 496).

¹⁵¹⁷ Petrie *et al* (1923: 23); Clark (2016: 496).

¹⁵¹⁸ Petrie *et al* (1923: 23, pl. XLVI).

¹⁵¹⁹ Petrie *et al* (1923: 21).

¹⁵²⁰ Petrie *et al* (1923: 22, pl. XLI.A, XLIV.1). This has been confirmed by Anna Garnett (Personal Communication, 21st June 2018), curator of the Petrie Museum.

¹⁵²¹ Petrie *et al* (1923: 22).

6.1.3 SEDMENT

The site of Sedment is further south of the Fayum alluvial area and it is named after a modern village (29°08'N, 30°54'E).¹⁵²² A series of cemeteries comprise the area located on the edge of the desert to the west and would have served several communities across most parts of ancient Egyptian history, especially the burials dating to the First Intermediate and New Kingdom periods, which have been given more attention compared to other burials at the site.¹⁵²³ It has been speculated that Sedment's cemeteries would have served as a cemetery for less wealthy individuals living in the settlement of Herakleopolis.¹⁵²⁴ However, the distance between Sedment and Herakleopolis is larger than anticipated and this site would have likely served smaller local communities instead.¹⁵²⁵

Despite the small number of tombs compared to other sites within the vicinity of the Fayum, Sedment displays a varied number of grave types for tombs dated to the Early Dynastic period, including rectangular graves, shaft tombs and tombs with a staircase leading to an underground chamber.¹⁵²⁶ Petrie is inconsistent with the number of tombs excavated, stating that 28 Early Dynastic tombs were found with stone vessels, but only publishing the details of only 17 tombs in a tomb register, probably because they were the best preserved tombs while the rest were more or less looted and not carefully recorded to be suitable for the published record.¹⁵²⁷ Based on his analysis of the tomb cards from the Petrie Museum, Grajetzki notes that at least 40 Early Dynastic tombs were present at the site, some of which were found to be undisturbed based on some of the descriptions of the deceased's bodies by Petrie, such as the one found in tomb 315.¹⁵²⁸ This tomb is a shaft tomb with a side chamber at its bottom floor, where the deceased was found partly contracted with knees bent at a sharper angle than its right angled hips; traces of a coffin were also present by the deceased.¹⁵²⁹ Apart from the tomb's undisturbed nature, the accompanying objects are what grabbed the attention of the excavators, with a copper diadem found underneath the skull of the deceased and copper armlets on its arms.¹⁵³⁰ There is also, what has been interpreted to be, a mirror made from copper found near the feet of the deceased which looks like a rounded palette with a small protruding tang at the

¹⁵²² Grajetzki (2005: 3).

¹⁵²³ Grajetzki (2005: 3).

¹⁵²⁴ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 1); Spänel (2001: 91); Grajetzki (2005: 5).

¹⁵²⁵ Grajetzki (2005: 5).

¹⁵²⁶ Petrie & Brunton (1924: pl. XXXVI); Grajetzki (2005: 6); Clark (2016: 497-500).

¹⁵²⁷ Petrie & Brunton (1924: pl. XXXVI); Grajetzki (2005: 6).

¹⁵²⁸ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2).

¹⁵²⁹ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2); Grajetzki (2005: 8).

¹⁵³⁰ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2, pl. XXII.1 & 2).

bottom (Fig. 141).¹⁵³¹ However, this interpretation may be exaggerated considering that no traces of whether a reflective piece of metal or glass was attached to this object. Because of this ‘mirror’ object and that no contemporary parallels are known from Grajetzki’s point of view, he argues that the Early Dynastic date for this tomb may be wrong and uses parallel examples from Sixth Dynasty tombs at Giza to suggest an Old Kingdom dating alternative.¹⁵³² However, there are some parallel items from other Early Dynastic tombs, which have been indicated to be ‘mirror’ objects.¹⁵³³ Nonetheless, the fact that copper objects were found in this tomb has prompted interpretations of the deceased to be someone of high social status and that these objects were specifically made for the burial and not for daily usage.¹⁵³⁴ These personal adornments were exclusive to tombs within cemeteries connected to the royal residence, until the late Old Kingdom period.¹⁵³⁵ However, the deceased’s body is unusually contracted and is contemporary with other deceased members from other Early Dynastic tombs, such as Tomb 508, which is dated to the Second or Third Dynasty, and was found to have a number of mortuary provisions placed at its feet within a small recess.¹⁵³⁶ Despite the deceased being found within a wooden coffin, the body pertaining to tomb 509 was also contracted and also dates to the Early Dynastic period.¹⁵³⁷

The greater quantity of tombs at Sedment date to the Second Dynasty and have been identified due to the stone tables found within the tomb and the long staircases that descend into them.¹⁵³⁸ For example, Tomb 560 was found intact with the deceased found lying contracted on a wooden tray, possibly the remnants of a coffin, within a recess which is accessed by a staircase etched out of the surrounding gravel and marl strata at the site; entry into this recess was blocked by a mud brick wall combined with a limestone portcullis.¹⁵³⁹ Stone vessels are found in close proximity of the feet of the deceased in tomb 560 and are a common occurrence for most of the burials at Sedment, which are regarded as ‘luxury’ items and were placed next to the body of the deceased.¹⁵⁴⁰ Again, 28 of the tombs were dated to the Early Dynastic period based on the presence of stone vessels, for not much ceramic evidence

¹⁵³¹ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2, pl. XXII.3); Lilyquist (1979: 5).

¹⁵³² Grajetzki (2005: 14).

¹⁵³³ Lilyquist (1979: 4-5); Tassie (2011: 609).

¹⁵³⁴ Grajetzki (2005: 14).

¹⁵³⁵ Grajetzki (2005: 14).

¹⁵³⁶ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2); Grajetzki (2005: 7).

¹⁵³⁷ Grajetzki (2005: 7).

¹⁵³⁸ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2).

¹⁵³⁹ Petrie & Brunton (1924: pl. LXXXI); Clark (2016: 126).

¹⁵⁴⁰ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2, pl. I. 1-17); Grajetzki (2005: 6).

was found within them.¹⁵⁴¹ What is also surprising is that some of these tombs were found with copper vessels, such as tomb 314, which are unusually shaped vessels with an additional ‘ewer’ for pouring purposes.¹⁵⁴²

Overall, while there are distinct differences between First Dynasty tombs, the same cannot be said for the Second and Third Dynasty examples. Moreover, the grave good assemblages from these tombs follow a general set up of having a coffin for the deceased, commonly accompanied by stone vessels for the containment of food.¹⁵⁴³ However, Grajetzki rightly points out that it should be asked whether the excavators did not record any tombs with just pottery solely accompanying the deceased.¹⁵⁴⁴ While Grajetzki highlights the architectural differences between the tombs as reflections of socio-economic differences, the mortuary sample at Sedment is too disturbed to make such a judgement. While skeletons have been recorded from these graves, it is surprising that not much more details about their sex and age was provided.

6.2 EAST BANK

6.2.1 QARARA/NAZLET AWLAD EL-SHEIKH

At a cemetery located 2 km south of the small village of Nazlet Awlad el-Sheikh, Ranke revealed the remains of three Early Dynastic tombs between 1912-1913 beneath the Coptic graves he was excavating (28°39'N, 30°53'E).¹⁵⁴⁵ He excavated this area in only two short days and did not provide a systematic excavation; but revealed that the three tombs were lined with limestone.¹⁵⁴⁶ Judging by the drawn topographical contours from Ranke’s figures, the cemetery space these tombs occupied was on an elevated area in relation to the surrounding landscape (Fig. 142).¹⁵⁴⁷ Despite surveying this area within his survey of Middle Egypt, Kaiser does not provide much information as to where Ranke’s Early Dynastic tombs are located, thus leaving the site’s current whereabouts undetermined.¹⁵⁴⁸ When analysing the security features of these Early Dynastic tombs, Clark does not attempt to pinpoint where the cemetery’s location is and only mentions that it is within the broad area between el-Hiba and Izbat Qarara, which are

¹⁵⁴¹ Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2); Grajetzki (2005: 6).

¹⁵⁴² Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2, pl. II. 2 & 3).

¹⁵⁴³ Grajetzki (2005: 6).

¹⁵⁴⁴ Grajetzki (2005: 6).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Ranke (1926: VII, Abb. 1).

¹⁵⁴⁶ Ranke (1926: 8).

¹⁵⁴⁷ Ranke (1926: 8, Abb. 2).

¹⁵⁴⁸ Kaiser (1961: 38-40).

roughly 13 km apart.¹⁵⁴⁹ However, a new archaeological project for monitoring the past mining activities within the Wadi el-Sheikh area has been implemented since 2014 by Köhler and part of this project aims to relocate the tombs from this cemetery in the Awlad el-Sheikh area to compare them to the Early Dynastic mortuary findings at Helwan.¹⁵⁵⁰ The first of these Early Dynastic tombs mentioned by Ranke had no plans or dimensions were recorded. What is mentioned is that the tomb's walls were made from mud brick and that there were mortuary provisions found within a quadrangular pit in the mortuary space, including three clay pots made from Alabaster.¹⁵⁵¹ The second and third tombs, however, have been given the most attention due to their better-preserved state, despite being mostly robbed in antiquity.¹⁵⁵²

Grab II was not recorded to have a superstructure with only a substructural pit remaining measuring 4.4 m x 3.4 m x 2.8 m deep and it consisted of three chambers including a burial chamber measuring 1.9 metres long x 1.22 m metres wide and 1.35 metres deep (Fig. 143).¹⁵⁵³ Some mortuary provisions were found in the burial chamber which would have been left behind by the robbers, including a few shallow clay bowls with diameters of 21-23 cm to the north of the chamber.¹⁵⁵⁴ There was also a bowl found made from well-tempered red clay with remains of white paint on the inside of its 19 cm diameter.¹⁵⁵⁵ Moreover, a wooden piece with an unknown function was also found along with carnelian ringed beads chained with an almost preserved linen thread.¹⁵⁵⁶ Elements of broken wood were also found in the burial chamber's bricked walls which is possibly acacia wood used to reinforce the tomb's walls and for the roofing.¹⁵⁵⁷ Architectural comparisons were also made between Grab II and N1606 and N1624 from Naga ed-Der, based on the wooden beams that were implemented into their tomb structures.¹⁵⁵⁸

Grab III was of a similar design to Grab II with similar pit dimensions, measuring 4.6 m long x 2.9 m wide x 2.85 m deep, and internal subdivisions in its substructure (Fig. 144).¹⁵⁵⁹ But, its side chambers are subdivided by mud brick cross walls to create four magazines and it

¹⁵⁴⁹ Clark (2016: 82, fn. 564).

¹⁵⁵⁰ Köhler *et al* (2017: 2-3); Köhler *et al* (2017: Origins 6 Presentation, 15th September).

¹⁵⁵¹ Ranke (1926: 8).

¹⁵⁵² Ranke (1926: 8); Clark (2016: 500).

¹⁵⁵³ Ranke (1926: 8).

¹⁵⁵⁴ Ranke (1926: 9, Taf. 5.1).

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ranke (1926: 9, Taf. 5).

¹⁵⁵⁶ Ranke (1926: 9).

¹⁵⁵⁷ Ranke (1926: 8, fn. 3); La Loggia (2015: 35). Some of this wood is being held at the University of Heidelberg, measuring 110 cm long with a diameter of 20 cm.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Ranke (1926: 12, fn. 9).

¹⁵⁵⁹ Ranke (1926: 9); Clark (2016: 501).

has a larger burial chamber, measuring 2.5 m long x 1.85 m wide x 2 m high.¹⁵⁶⁰ The burial chamber's walls are also bordered by 10 cm thick limestone blocks, approximately four tonnes worth to line the chamber space.¹⁵⁶¹ Some were found to be damaged on the north wall when the tomb was excavated, especially the eastern plate leading to the northern side chambers, but the rest still remained in their place and were reinforced by a 60 cm thick layer of sand backfilled behind them.¹⁵⁶² Since this tomb was robbed, there was no corpse and not many mortuary provisions were found, except for scraps of white linen that were found 20 cm above the chamber floor level, which the excavator believed were associated with the burial.¹⁵⁶³ Beside the western limestone plate of the north wall of the burial chamber a large number of clay pots were found stacked on top of each other in the sand and a low four legged wooden chair.¹⁵⁶⁴

Other notable finds included empty clay pots measuring 25-30cm and stone bowls, one that was white and crafted with a notched rim to provide a platform to fit a lid.¹⁵⁶⁵ There were also wooden implements of furniture found, one believed to belong to a bed armchair, a rectangular wooden lid and the remains of an unknown rectangular piece of wood, measuring 22.2 cm in length, which was painted white and black.¹⁵⁶⁶ Two rectangular plates made from bone or ivory, one measuring 3.4 cm long and 2.1 cm wide and the other 4.3 cm long and 2 cm wide, that are carefully smoothed and marked by oblique incisions.¹⁵⁶⁷ Where the overturned limestone block was found was probably the result of tomb robbers gaining access to the northern side chambers and they were found to be completely robbed; however, Ranke found that there were two additional magazines behind them through the mud brick cross walls and seemingly untouched by looters.

The eastern side chamber contained a number of clay pots that were still closed with mud stoppers and stacked into the sand, while nine other sealed clay pots were also found in the western side chamber along with eight slender wine jars; one of which was sealed with a mud stopper.¹⁵⁶⁸ The contents of these jars were investigated but nothing much was left apart

¹⁵⁶⁰ Ranke (1926: 10).

¹⁵⁶¹ Ranke (1926: 10, Taf. 4); La Loggia (2012: 212).

¹⁵⁶² Ranke (1926: 10).

¹⁵⁶³ Ranke (1926: 10).

¹⁵⁶⁴ Ranke (1926: 11).

¹⁵⁶⁵ Ranke (1926: 11).

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ranke (1926: 11).

¹⁵⁶⁷ Ranke (1926: 11).

¹⁵⁶⁸ Ranke (1926: 12, Taf. 5,6).

from an earthy substance mixed with pieces of charcoal.¹⁵⁶⁹ Some of these pots were marked with incised potmarks, which have been compared to similar marks found at Turah by Junker.¹⁵⁷⁰ Apart from these potmarks, no inscribed goods were found within these tombs which meant that the dating was done by analysing the shape and nature of the mortuary provisions.¹⁵⁷¹ Ranke uses the wine jars found in the side chambers and has suggested parallel examples from Turah, Naga ed-Der and Beit Khallaf with two jars labelled H531 and H532.¹⁵⁷² This tomb has been clearly dated to the First Dynasty based on recent opinions about the pottery.¹⁵⁷³ Grab III was described by Ranke to be a unique type of grave based on its shape with the extra side chambers being on one narrow side of the tomb and the technique behind the lining of its walls with limestone, which he writes is a subsequent development in tomb building compared to the Early Dynastic graves at Naga ed Der.¹⁵⁷⁴ Due to the stone lining found in Grab III, it could be that the deceased who occupied these tombs may have been involved with the mining activities occurring in the nearby Wadi el-Sheikh area, where a huge resource of flint or silex was being mined.¹⁵⁷⁵ Moreover, sources of limestone have been noted within the local area.¹⁵⁷⁶

Kaiser indicates from his surveys of Middle Egypt in the 1960s that traces of a settlement were found on a raised crest about 700-800 m southwest of the Nazlet Awlad el-Sheikh village and 150-200 m from the Nile bank, just east of the Zawyet el-Gidami channel in the middle of a fruit orchard/fertile land.¹⁵⁷⁷ This area was found to be covered with thousands of flint pieces leading Kaiser to interpret its functionality as a community centre associated with many flint workshops as part of the local area's stone industry.¹⁵⁷⁸ This settlement would have received chert material from the Wadi el-Sheikh area, where mining activities have been determined to have been active between the Middle Palaeolithic period in the Fifth millennium B.C.E until the New Kingdom period in the late Second millennium B.C.E.¹⁵⁷⁹ However, a complete excavation of the cemetery near Awlad el-Sheikh is still yet to be performed and is necessary to provide more clarity to the speculations mentioned in order

¹⁵⁶⁹ Ranke (1926: 12).

¹⁵⁷⁰ Junker (1912: 44).

¹⁵⁷¹ Ranke (1926: 12).

¹⁵⁷² Junker (1912: 32, pl. 39a); Reisner (1908: 91); Garstang (1903: pl. 31. 21-26) *cf.* Ranke (1926: 12, Taf. 5,6).

¹⁵⁷³ Köhler (2005: 28, fn. 134).

¹⁵⁷⁴ Ranke (1926: 13).

¹⁵⁷⁵ Köhler *et al* (2017: 1).

¹⁵⁷⁶ Klemm & Klemm (1993: 76).

¹⁵⁷⁷ Kaiser (1961: 39).

¹⁵⁷⁸ Kaiser (1961: 39).

¹⁵⁷⁹ Kaiser (1961: 39); Köhler *et al* (2017: 16).

to compare to other graves dated to the same time and in the same mortuary space. As Ranke has stated, such a task would be very rewarding.¹⁵⁸⁰

6.2.2 BADARI

Home of the Badarian cultural group of the Neolithic period, the site of Badari was also continuously inhabited throughout the subsequent Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods.¹⁵⁸¹ Badari can be described as a 10 km strip of low desert comprising of numerous limestone covered spurs protruding from the eastern cliffs and these spurs are separated by depressions which may have been former wadis (26°58'55"N, 31°27'43"E).¹⁵⁸² The Early Dynastic cemeteries 3100 and 3200 occupy spurs 5-6, where stairway tombs are generally found in these areas, hence they have been given a general date between the Second and Third Dynasties.¹⁵⁸³ The mortuary provisions emanating from these tombs provide a varied and rich assemblage, including slate palettes, stone vessels of the Second or Third Dynasties.¹⁵⁸⁴ Moreover, beads made from carnelian, felspar, olivine, lapis lazuli, quartz, amethyst, garnet and haematite were retrieved.¹⁵⁸⁵ Brunton finds it surprising that such 'middle-class' graves would be containing such materials, especially for First Dynasty graves found at nearby Qau.¹⁵⁸⁶ Not many inscriptions are reported from the tombs of this site, except for a few exceptions, such as tomb 3112 that contained a calcite vessel bearing the serekh of the Second Dynasty king, Hetepsekhemwy, the name of an estate and the name of a mortuary priest (Fig. 145).¹⁵⁸⁷ The personal name has been translated as 'Ha-sa-ka' and has been interpreted to be the name of an individual with an occupation from the palace.¹⁵⁸⁸

6.2.3 HEMMAMIEH

The Hemmameh cemetery is located between the modern villages of Sheikh 'Esa and its namesake modern village, where Early Dynastic tombs are found to the north and south of the main wadi (26°56'53"N, 31°28'24"E).¹⁵⁸⁹ The northern cluster comprises of just three tombs, numbered 1964, 2048 and 2071, which have all been given a First Dynasty date.¹⁵⁹⁰

¹⁵⁸⁰ Ranke (1926: 13).

¹⁵⁸¹ Midant-Reynes (2000: 36);

¹⁵⁸² Brunton & Caton-Thompson (1928: 2).

¹⁵⁸³ Brunton (1927: 10, pl. VII); Brunton & Caton-Thompson (1928: 45).

¹⁵⁸⁴ Brunton (1927: 16, pl. XVIII-XX).

¹⁵⁸⁵ Brunton (1927: 16, pl. XVII).

¹⁵⁸⁶ Brunton (1927: 16).

¹⁵⁸⁷ Brunton (1927: 13, pl. XIX.25); Wilkinson (1999: 83).

¹⁵⁸⁸ Brunton (1927: 17, pl. XIX.25).

¹⁵⁸⁹ Brunton (1927: 10); Holmes & Friedman (1994: 108-109).

¹⁵⁹⁰ Brunton (1927: 10).

Tomb 1964 was found to contain a near 1 m deep shaft to a burial chamber housing the deceased remains of a male within a rounded pottery coffin.¹⁵⁹¹ No pottery or stone vessels were found but a copper item was noted and its craftsmanship is similar to parallel items found in Sedment.¹⁵⁹² South of the main wadi are where the other Early Dynastic tombs are located within a cemetery where the tombs are numbered between 1500-1800 by Brunton.¹⁵⁹³ The tombs are shaft types reaching on average three metres down to access a recess at the bottom, where the deceased is placed, who have been commonly found lying on their left side in a contracted position with the arms raised and the legs bent.¹⁵⁹⁴ Some of the tombs were found to have a mud brick wall blocking the entry point to the burial recess of the deceased, such as tombs 1520 and 1562.¹⁵⁹⁵ Pot burials, dated to the Protodynastic period, have also been reported from the south-eastern area of Hemmamiya, referred to as A1-A6.¹⁵⁹⁶ For example, the body of an infant, aged between 1-2 years of age, was found wrapped in an undergarment of linen, which was further wrapped with an extra layer of goat-skin, based on the traces found around the body.¹⁵⁹⁷

6.2.4 QAU

The site of Qau el-Kebir sits on the Eastern bank and is located to the south of the sites of Mostagedda, Matmar and Hemmamiya and comprises the Qau-Badari region (26°54'N, 31°31'E).¹⁵⁹⁸ The site of Qau attracted Brunton due to the rock tombs excavated in the surrounding limestone mountains to the east.¹⁵⁹⁹ However, there is not a great deal of high ground in this area, thus the majority of the cemeteries at Qau are located on a rising hill to the north of the main wadi, as well as the south and east of the nearby modern village, known as Etmanieh.¹⁶⁰⁰ Cemetery 400 is the main hub for the Early Dynastic tombs located at the site, but it is underneath the modern village today.¹⁶⁰¹ The tombs designated to this cemetery are numbered between 400 and 800 and generally date between the Second and Third

¹⁵⁹¹ Brunton (1927: 13, pls. XI, XX.67)

¹⁵⁹² Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2, pl. XXII.3).

¹⁵⁹³ Brunton (1927: 10); Holmes & Friedman (1994: 109, Fig. 2).

¹⁵⁹⁴ Brunton (1927: 13). See plate XXV.5b of this same publication for a visualisation of the position of the deceased.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Brunton (1927: 13).

¹⁵⁹⁶ Brunton & Caton-Thompson (1928: 88-89); Power & Tristant (2016: 1482)

¹⁵⁹⁷ Brunton & Caton-Thompson (1928: 89, pl. LXXXVII.2).

¹⁵⁹⁸ O'Connor (1972: 91); Patch (1991: 351, 367).

¹⁵⁹⁹ Brunton (1927: 2-3).

¹⁶⁰⁰ Brunton (1927: 3); Holmes (1999: 184)

¹⁶⁰¹ Brunton (1927: 10).

Dynasties.¹⁶⁰² Some tombs were found with unusual architectural features, such as tomb 669 where a 'serdab' was noted by the excavators to the west of the burial, not to mention an offering chamber to the north, where six pots were found placed outside to the north-west of this area.¹⁶⁰³ This same tomb was found to contain both male and female human skeletal remains, indicating that this may have been a multiple burial.¹⁶⁰⁴ In terms of inscribed finds, a spouted vessel made from copper discovered in the stairway tomb 429, similar to those found in Sedment, was found inscribed with the name of the Second Dynasty king, Hetepsekhemwy (Fig. 146).¹⁶⁰⁵

¹⁶⁰² Brunton (1927: 10).

¹⁶⁰³ Brunton (1927: 12-13, pl. XII.7).

¹⁶⁰⁴ Brunton (1927: 13).

¹⁶⁰⁵ Brunton (1927: pl. XIII.10).

CHAPTER 7 - THE ABYDOS REGION

The Abydos region is home to the ambiguous settlement of ‘This’ which is designated as the place of origin for the early kings of the First and Second Dynasties, who, along with their associated communities, are referred to as the ‘Thinities’.¹⁶⁰⁶ The settlement of This is believed to be underneath the modern town of Girga, located about 20 km northeast of Abydos; however, not much archaeological data is available from the Girga area to confirm the site’s location today.¹⁶⁰⁷ Nonetheless, the ‘Thinite’ adjective has been used to designate the Eighth Upper Egyptian nome area in which a number of Early Dynastic cemeteries have been recorded on both the eastern and western banks of the Nile, where elite tombs have been noted from them.¹⁶⁰⁸ This includes the sites of Naga ed-Der, El-Reqaqnah, Beit Khallaf, El-Mahasna, Abydos and El-Amrah (Fig. 147).¹⁶⁰⁹ Of course, the site of Abydos is the genuine location where the tombs of the early Egyptian sovereigns are situated based on the labour input exercised for the tombs, the funerary enclosures as well as the retrieved seal impressions and stelae.¹⁶¹⁰ The importance of this site is also further enhanced by the fact that this area was designated as the original burial place of Osiris, especially the tomb of Djer.¹⁶¹¹ Not to mention, the high quantities of broken ceramic pieces scattered all over the site which reflects the thousands of people who made pilgrimages to this area to honour not just Osiris, but also acknowledging the social importance that this site had to ancient Egypt’s indigenous history - a feat that lasted for 2500 years from the Predynastic to the Roman periods.¹⁶¹² The tombs from other cemeteries at and outside of Abydos that are dated to the Early Dynastic period reflect designs in their tomb designs and artefact assemblages which emulate the royal tombs. This chapter will review the documentation there is for such tombs within this area.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Waddell (1940: 26-27, fn. 4; 32-33); Gardiner (1961: 430, fn. 1); Bresciani (1986: 475); Dreyer (1992: 55).

¹⁶⁰⁷ Kees (1961: 231); Baines & Malek (1980: 114); Wilkinson (1999: 354); Adams (2013: 6715); Moeller (2016: 39).

¹⁶⁰⁸ Montet (1961: 99-100); Patch (1991: 42-43); Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 357-359); Incordino (2008: 75).

¹⁶⁰⁹ Helck (1977: 388); Patch (1991: 43-46); Baud (2002: 219).

¹⁶¹⁰ Porter & Moss (1937: 78-89); Bard (1999: 33); Engel (2008: 31); La Loggia (2015: 152).

¹⁶¹¹ Effland *et al* (2010: 91); Dreyer *et al* (2011: 55-57, fn. 4).

¹⁶¹² Naville (1914: 37); Wegner (2001: 8-9); Hikade & Roy (2015: 27).

7.1 EAST BANK

7.1.1 NAGA ED-DER

Naga ed-Der is the name given to a group of cemeteries which are located within a low desert area on the eastern side of the Nile around 160 km north of Luxor (26°22'N, 31°54'E).¹⁶¹³ This group of cemeteries was named after a modern village located 50 m to its south and is directly opposite the modern town of Girga (Fig. 147).¹⁶¹⁴ Reisner revealed several necropolises dating from the Predynastic period to recent times, during his excavations there between February 1901 to March 1903.¹⁶¹⁵ The cemeteries range along a 2 km core region between Sheikh Farag in the north and an abandoned Coptic cemetery southwest of the modern Naga ed-Der town which is intersected by three large ravines that are pierced by several wadis (Fig. 148).¹⁶¹⁶ It is in between these wadis that the cemeteries dating to the Predynastic and Early Dynastic cemeteries are located; Cemeteries N7000, N1500, N3000, N3500 and N500 (Fig. 148).¹⁶¹⁷

The Predynastic material is represented at the site through cemetery N7000, but there are some periods that are not well represented within the cemeteries, especially with very few tombs being dated from the late Naqada II to the early Naqada III period, when the state formation of Egypt supposedly occurred.¹⁶¹⁸ Reasons for this unusual gap in the mortuary record is unclear and it has been suggested that an alternative burial place may have been preferred, such as Mesaeed to the south of Naga ed-Der.¹⁶¹⁹ Graves that date to the First and Second Dynasties are predominantly found in cemeteries N1500 and N3000, while cemeteries N3500 and N500 primarily contained tombs of the Second and Third Dynasties.¹⁶²⁰ These cemeteries within Naga ed-Der has been subjected to tomb robbing during the Coptic period and ongoing activity by *sebbakhin* diggers, leaving not much of the original Early Dynastic surface to be preserved.¹⁶²¹ However, it is assumed that most of the grave's large rectangular

¹⁶¹³ Delrue (2001: 21).

¹⁶¹⁴ Reisner (1908: pl. VI); Brovarski (1982: 296); Patch (1991: 401); Podzorski (2008: 89).

¹⁶¹⁵ Reisner (1908: VI); Patch (1991: 402); Podzorski (2008: 90).

¹⁶¹⁶ Reisner (1908: 1, pl. I); Podzorski (2008: 90).

¹⁶¹⁷ Reisner (1908: Map IV); Podzorski (2008: 90).

¹⁶¹⁸ Brovarski (1982: 300); Wilkinson (1999: 354); Delrue (2001: 54).

¹⁶¹⁹ Brovarski (1982: 300); Podzorski (2008: 92).

¹⁶²⁰ Reisner (1908: 14, 66); Mace (1909: 1); Baud (2002: 220); Podzorski (2008: 92).

¹⁶²¹ Reisner (1908: 3-4); Brovarski (1982: 302). Anderson (2006: 29, fn. 2) notes that *Sebbakh* is the Egyptian Arabic term given to organic-rich soil that is removed from ancient sites to be used as agricultural fertiliser. Those who perform the activity of digging this *sebbakh* are referred to as *sebbakhin* (diggers of *sebbakh*).

pits containing mud brick chambers that were filled with gravel, rubble, sand or mud bricks and were covered by a mud-brick superstructure.¹⁶²²

Elite tombs are interpreted to be present within cemeteries N1500 and N3000 because of their size and their exhibition of some funerary architectural features.¹⁶²³ This includes aspects of roofing, enclosure walls, walled courtyards and niched areas in their superstructures. There is evidence of some tomb's super and substructural walls being coated with a mud plaster and painted on top with a white plaster finish.¹⁶²⁴ There are also other instances where the inner niche within the niched façade was painted red.¹⁶²⁵

Two groups of tombs occupy Cemetery N1500, in the southern sector, tombs with wooden roofed implements can be found whose substructure and grave contents are similar to the First Dynasty royal tombs found at Umm el-Qa'ab, Abydos.¹⁶²⁶ Tomb N1506 is one of the oldest tombs (Naqada IIIC1-2) consisting of a substructural mud brick construction built within a pit dug out of the gravel and covered with a wooden and mud bricked roof (Fig. 150).¹⁶²⁷ The substructure measured to be 4 m long x 2.23 m wide x 1.27 m deep.¹⁶²⁸ Despite being robbed, a few mortuary provisions were found consisting of a couple of tall ceramic jars with a reddish brown fabric, a small light brown ceramic inscribed with a potmark and a sherd designated to a red polished bowl.¹⁶²⁹ Traces of a mud bricked superstructure, which would have measured 12.5 m long x 7.5 m wide, covered an area of 50 m² over the tomb and was constructed out of a pattern of alternating simple and compound niches that can be distinguished on its western wall, facing the valley, and its southern walls.¹⁶³⁰ These have been interpreted to be offering niches and are found on the western and southern sides of the tomb.¹⁶³¹ Moreover, the inner niche of the compound offering niches was painted red over a thin white plastered coating.¹⁶³² Traces of a low wall surrounds the remains of the superstructure creating an intermediate space

¹⁶²² Reisner (1908: 7); Podzorski (2008: 93).

¹⁶²³ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 357).

¹⁶²⁴ Reisner (1908: 5-6; 1936: 258); Mace (1909: 13) *cf.* Podzorski (2008: 93).

¹⁶²⁵ Reisner (1908: 7).

¹⁶²⁶ Brovarski (1982: 302). Because of architectural similarities, Reisner (1908: 14) believes numerous tombs within Cemetery N1500 correlate within certain reigns of the First Dynasty sovereigns. For example, the earliest tombs, N1506, N1521, N1624, N1508, N1532 and N1533 are designated to the reigns of Djer, Djet and Meretneith. Tombs N1512 and N1581 designate to the Second half of the First Dynasty under the reigns of Den, Andjib and Qa'a.

¹⁶²⁷ Reisner (1908: 33-34, pl. 11.c).

¹⁶²⁸ Reisner (1908: 34); Clark (2016: 507)

¹⁶²⁹ Reisner (1908: 34).

¹⁶³⁰ Reisner (1908: 34); Podzorski (2008: 93, fn. 14); Clark (2016: 507).

¹⁶³¹ Reisner (1908: 34).

¹⁶³² Reisner (1908: 34).

that is covered by a floor laid on gravel consisting of a mixture of mud plaster and a thin coating of white.¹⁶³³ An entrance into this intermediate space has been perceived to be ‘on the south end of the west or valley side’ of the tomb’s low wall.¹⁶³⁴ It is interpreted that this intermediate space may have been a designated area to accommodate offering activities by the living for the deceased and similar spaces have been found with other tombs such as N1514 and N3017.¹⁶³⁵ Both N1506’s superstructure and surrounding wall have also been found to have been painted in white as well.¹⁶³⁶ Tomb N1506 is considered to be one of the oldest Early Dynastic tombs within cemetery N1500, not to mention tomb N1581.¹⁶³⁷

Tomb N1581, is dated to the second half of the First Dynasty (Naqada IIIC2-D) and is considered one of the largest wooden roofed tombs in Cemetery N1500.¹⁶³⁸ Consisting of a mud brick lined rectangular pit that is cut into the gravel and limestone strata with mud brick installations and plastered walls, it is similar in design to N1506, but has a stairway carved out of the strata that descends to the burial chamber within a 1.8 m deep substructure.¹⁶³⁹ The doorway into the burial chamber featured a wooden lintel and its entry was blocked by two brick walls which may have been installed after the burial of the deceased.¹⁶⁴⁰ The substructure encompasses 180 cm high brick walls creating space for a number of interior rooms, such as one main chamber and two smaller chambers flanking either end.¹⁶⁴¹ Evidence of plastering can be seen on the exposed parts of the substructural walls with a row of tree limbs or saplings laid across the top of the lower walls, a similar trend to what was found in N1506.¹⁶⁴²

The N1506 tomb has been disturbed due to plundering activities and the installation of Middle/New Kingdom dated burials. However, some mortuary provisions are accounted for on the burial chamber floor, including a roughly cut flint knife with a handle, 19 rough flints, a couple of calcite cylindrical jars, pottery made from either red painted brown ware and a coarse red ware fabric.¹⁶⁴³ Traces of the superstructure are found on the southeast corner of the tomb’s surface area where mud bricks are constructed to form a central mass with compound and

¹⁶³³ Reisner (1908: 34).

¹⁶³⁴ Reisner (1908: 34, pl. X.1).

¹⁶³⁵ Podzorski (2008: 94).

¹⁶³⁶ Reisner (1908: 34).

¹⁶³⁷ Brovanski (1982: 301).

¹⁶³⁸ Reisner (1908: 36).

¹⁶³⁹ Reisner (1908: 37); Clark (2016: 508).

¹⁶⁴⁰ Reisner (1908: 37).

¹⁶⁴¹ Reisner (1908: 36).

¹⁶⁴² Reisner (1908: 33, 36, pl. 10, 3).

¹⁶⁴³ Reisner (1908: 38, pl. 40a).

simple niches on the south end, but, no niches on the eastern side.¹⁶⁴⁴ On its back wall facing the east, it is observed to be plain with no niches.¹⁶⁴⁵ The superstructure is estimated to have encompassed an area of 140 m² over the substructure.¹⁶⁴⁶ Moreover, it is estimated that an enclosing wall would have surrounded the superstructure with an entrance into an intermediate space for offerings, like tomb N1506.¹⁶⁴⁷ Based on these two tomb's designs, Reisner states that the superstructure was built after the burial.¹⁶⁴⁸ The denudation of these tomb's superstructures did not make it possible for him to determine how high they would have stood originally. However, estimations of at least two metres have been suggested by La Loggia.¹⁶⁴⁹

Despite not many preserved superstructures amongst the smaller tombs, Reisner did not assume that their absence was related to social differentiation; instead the non-preservation of the ancient cemetery surface on which the superstructure was built contributed to its ongoing erosion.¹⁶⁵⁰ Reisner discusses the distinctions he found between the Predynastic and Early Dynastic graves he encountered at Naga ed-Der, comparing the inclusion or absence of certain factors.¹⁶⁵¹ This includes stone vessels which become more sophisticated and common during the Early Dynastic period, compared to the rare instances observed from Predynastic funerary assemblages.¹⁶⁵² Moreover, the presence of beads made from precious metals and stones have been discovered from these tombs, indicating a wealth of investment made from the deceased and their associated kin. For example, tomb N1532, dating to the Naqada IIIC1 period, contained a variety of funerary jewellery items accompanying the crushed skeletal remains of the deceased. This included a circlet made from gold enclosing the fragmented remains of the deceased's skull.¹⁶⁵³ Moreover, gold mollusc shell beads, gold oryx and bull amulets as well as other gold beads were retrieved, which indicates the wealth invested into this tomb's assemblage.¹⁶⁵⁴ Not to mention beads for a necklace made from crafted carnelian and garnet were retrieved.¹⁶⁵⁵ These examples have been singled out as prestigious items and compared

¹⁶⁴⁴ Reisner (1908: 37).

¹⁶⁴⁵ Podzorski (2008: 93).

¹⁶⁴⁶ Reisner (1908: 37); Podzorski (2008: 93).

¹⁶⁴⁷ Reisner (1908: 37).

¹⁶⁴⁸ Reisner (1908: 6).

¹⁶⁴⁹ Reisner (1908: 6); La Loggia (2012: 316, fn. 1053).

¹⁶⁵⁰ Reisner (1908: 7).

¹⁶⁵¹ Reisner (1908: 127-132).

¹⁶⁵² Reisner (1908: 129).

¹⁶⁵³ Reisner (1908: 30, Fig. 54.7, pl. 5b & c); Podzorski (2008: 101).

¹⁶⁵⁴ Reisner (1908: pls. 6-9).

¹⁶⁵⁵ Reisner (1908: 30).

with parallel examples from other First Dynasty elite tombs, such as the ‘royal tomb’ of Naqada.¹⁶⁵⁶

The Second Dynasty tombs at Naga ed-Der are mainly characterised as excavated subterranean chambers, accessed by deep stepped stairways or slopes.¹⁶⁵⁷ Tombs with corbel vaulted structures characterise the northern and middle sectors of Cemetery N1500 and are similar in their design to the Second Dynasty tombs of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy’s tombs at Umm el-Qa’ab.¹⁶⁵⁸ It is at Naga ed-Der that the greatest number of Second Dynasty corbelled tombs have been found so far, for their constructional details were well recorded by Reisner.¹⁶⁵⁹ Sadly, most of the superstructures for these tombs are hardly preserved due to the disturbed nature of the cemetery’s original surface.¹⁶⁶⁰

The Second Dynasty Tomb N1514 is the only case where a superstructure is partially preserved and covers an area of just under 60 m² (Fig. 151).¹⁶⁶¹ From what remains of the tomb, the substructure measures 8.18 m long x 4.52 m wide x 3.1 m deep consisting of what is believed to be five chambers due to the position of three groups of mortuary provisions on the substructure’s floor.¹⁶⁶² The mortuary provisions include 28 stone vessels made from calcite, slate, tuff (volcanic ash) and limestone.¹⁶⁶³ Parallels have been accounted for in some corresponding royal tombs of the Second Dynasty, such as tomb P of Peribsen, where round bottomed plates and convex bowls have been found.¹⁶⁶⁴ Moreover, 19 pottery forms,¹⁶⁶⁵ a cylinder seal,¹⁶⁶⁶ a curved flint knife without a handle,¹⁶⁶⁷ and a small piece of carved ivory were also found.¹⁶⁶⁸ The doorway into the main chamber was found to have a wooden lintel, but the brick work it rests upon does not cover the entire doorway from east to west.¹⁶⁶⁹ A stairway leads from the tomb that looks to have been carved out of the gravel strata; however,

¹⁶⁵⁶ Bagh (2004: 596).

¹⁶⁵⁷ Reisner (1932: 35). Either Type IIA or IIB according to Clark’s (2016: 12) revised changes of Reisner’s tomb types.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Brovarski (1982: 302).

¹⁶⁵⁹ Spencer (1979: 12).

¹⁶⁶⁰ Reisner (1908: 41).

¹⁶⁶¹ Reisner (1908: 14, 41); Podzorski (2008: 93, fn. 14).

¹⁶⁶² Reisner (1908: 45, fig. 77); Clark (2016: 510).

¹⁶⁶³ Reisner (1908: 45–46, 99).

¹⁶⁶⁴ Petrie (1901: pl. 48A.110, pl. 49A.137, 141, pl. 50.158, 160, pl. 50A.173, 175); Reisner (1908: fig. 210, Type 26) *cf.* Aston (1994: 26, 108 112).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Reisner (1908: 99).

¹⁶⁶⁶ Reisner (1908: pl. 43).

¹⁶⁶⁷ Reisner (1908: 112, pl. 40a).

¹⁶⁶⁸ Reisner (1908: pl. 41c).

¹⁶⁶⁹ Reisner (1908: 44).

it is infringed by tomb N1584 and a Coptic burial.¹⁶⁷⁰ Traces of the superstructure on the northern and western sides depicts a central mass of mud bricks that would have covered the substructure and was bounded by an outside wall filled with gravel and rubbish.¹⁶⁷¹ This superstructure would have measured 13.5 m long x 7.5 m wide, but its limits were not parallel with the sides of the substructural pit it covers, leading to suggestions that it was built subsequently.¹⁶⁷² A slight batter of white plaster can be observed on the superstructure's walls and has constructed perpendicular faces that are broken by alternating simple and compound niches on the south, west and, possibly, north sides of the tomb.¹⁶⁷³ Similar to tomb N1506, some of the back walls of the niches are also painted red, which has been suggested to imitate the painted wooden panels found within Hesyre's Third Dynasty tomb at North Saqqara.¹⁶⁷⁴ Other emulating examples includes the red painted recesses within the burial chambers of the tombs of Djet and Djer.¹⁶⁷⁵ Not to mention the north and south walls of the burial chamber within T1060 at Tarkhan that were also found to exhibit a red colour.¹⁶⁷⁶ A possible enclosure wall can be determined from the remains that are located about 50 cm from the south side and about 80 cm from the northern sides of the tomb N1514's central superstructural mass.¹⁶⁷⁷ Again, similar to tomb N1506, the intermediate space between the enclosure wall remains and the central mass has been coated with a layer of beaten mud or mud plaster.¹⁶⁷⁸ It shows that an emulation of funerary beliefs and practices was being conveyed via architectural means with examples of niched walls and stairways being integrated into some of the Naga ed-Der tombs.

The tombs within Cemetery N3000 are generally dated to the Second Dynasty cemetery by Reisner based on the similarities of architecture and mortuary provisions between some of the later tombs within cemetery N1500 (e.g. N1513 and N1572) and the earliest dated tombs in cemetery N3000 (e.g. N3016 and N3062).¹⁶⁷⁹ They are characterised as medium sized tombs and small tombs with some of the larger tombs exhibiting wooden roofs (e.g. N3016), with additional stairways (e.g. N3062 and N3071).¹⁶⁸⁰ Some of these Second Dynasty tombs have their partially preserved superstructures, such as tombs N3017 and N3093.¹⁶⁸¹ A preserved part

¹⁶⁷⁰ Reisner (1908: 10, 45, fig. 78).

¹⁶⁷¹ Reisner (1908: 41, 45).

¹⁶⁷² Reisner (1908: 37); Clark (2016: 510).

¹⁶⁷³ Reisner (1908: 41); Podzorski (2008: 93, fig. 4b).

¹⁶⁷⁴ Quibell (1913); Reisner (1936: 248, 258); Podzorski (2008: 94).

¹⁶⁷⁵ Petrie (1900: 10, pls. lxi, lxiii), (1901: 8, pl. lx) *cf.* Adams (1994: 183).

¹⁶⁷⁶ Petrie (1913: 14, pl. xvi.1) *cf.* Adams (1994: 187).

¹⁶⁷⁷ Reisner (1908: 45).

¹⁶⁷⁸ Reisner (1908: 45); Podzorski (2008: 94).

¹⁶⁷⁹ Reisner (1908: 65-66).

¹⁶⁸⁰ Reisner (1908: 65).

¹⁶⁸¹ Reisner (1908: 65).

of tomb N3017's superstructure was found on its north-eastern corner, with two other parts found on the tomb's west and eastern sides, above its substructure.¹⁶⁸² Overall, such features signify the tomb's superstructural measurements as 6.3-6.8 m long x 4 m wide, covering a substructure measuring 5.15 m long x 3.7 m wide x 2.8 m deep.¹⁶⁸³ No niched walls were found with this tomb, yet Reisner classifies this tomb to be a two-niched type tomb.¹⁶⁸⁴ Around 33 stone vessels were recovered from this tomb and help confirm its Second Dynasty date, when compared to other stone vessel examples from other regions.¹⁶⁸⁵ For example, a stone vessel from the Second Dynasty tomb found by Petrie at Giza.¹⁶⁸⁶ Interestingly, two associated burials are found on the tomb's southern end and have been labelled as tombs N3018 and N3019.¹⁶⁸⁷ These tombs are dated to a later time though, with N3018 dated to be a Second Dynasty tomb based on the presence of blue glazed and carnelian barrel-shaped beads, not to mention a limestone amulet/pendant adorning the deceased adult female within this tomb.¹⁶⁸⁸ Tomb N3019 on the other hand was dated to the Fourth Dynasty¹⁶⁸⁹. Another notable example, is tomb N3016 that contained copper chisels, calcite vessels.¹⁶⁹⁰ Not to mention a broken plate made from limestone, which has been interpreted as a cosmetic plate.¹⁶⁹¹

Tombs of the Third Dynasty from N500-700 at Naga ed-Der, have been found to emulate some of the larger tombs located at Beit Khallaf.¹⁶⁹² This includes N573 + 587 which has similarities to the design of tomb K2 from Beit Khallaf, based on the stairway entrances that this tomb incorporates.¹⁶⁹³ This tomb measures 25.8 m long x 5.6 m wide is considered a provincial version of the ones found at Beit Khallaf and on the western side of the mastaba walls are two offering niches. Within the enclosed mastaba space there are two stairway tombs, N573 (north) and N587 (south) and the offering niches in the west wall of the overall tomb correspond to the location of the stairway tombs.¹⁶⁹⁴ The mortuary provisions recovered from this tomb include mostly stone vessels made from calcite and diorite.¹⁶⁹⁵ Because there are two

¹⁶⁸² Reisner (1908: 72, Fig. 138).

¹⁶⁸³ Reisner (1936: 132); Clark (2016: 514).

¹⁶⁸⁴ Reisner (1936: 72, 132).

¹⁶⁸⁵ Reisner (1908: 102, Fig. 189.16 & 17).

¹⁶⁸⁶ Petrie *et al* (1907: 7, pl. VI.B); Aston (1994: 103).

¹⁶⁸⁷ Reisner (1908: 72, Fig. 138, Pl. 78).

¹⁶⁸⁸ Reisner (1908: 85, 118, 142). The deceased adult female within this tomb was found to be adorned with, see Reisner (1908: 118).

¹⁶⁸⁹ Reisner (1908: 87).

¹⁶⁹⁰ Reisner (1908: 69-70, pl. 70a).

¹⁶⁹¹ Reisner (1908: 69, pl. 70a); Podzorski (2008: 101).

¹⁶⁹² Brovarski (1982: 303); Baud (2002: 220-221).

¹⁶⁹³ Reisner (1932a: 186); Brovarski (1982: 303).

¹⁶⁹⁴ Reisner (1936: 181, Fig. 86).

¹⁶⁹⁵ Reisner (1932a: 218-219, Figs. 134-136).

tombs fused together within one mortuary structure, this tomb has been heralded as a ‘twin mastaba’, based on the knowledge about more famous examples located within the Old Kingdom cemetery at Giza, to the east of Khufu’s pyramid.¹⁶⁹⁶ Not to mention, similar tombs of the same date that are located within the North Saqqara cemetery, about 200 m south of Hesyre’s grave (e.g. 3518).¹⁶⁹⁷ Characteristically, the northern tomb is larger than the southern one and these observations has led to gender specific differentiation, with the ‘husband’ occupying the larger tomb and the ‘wife’ the smaller tomb.¹⁶⁹⁸ However, with N573 + 587, the southern N587 tomb is larger along with its corresponding offering niche area leading Reisner to suggest that it would have belonged to the ‘husband’ of the couple.¹⁶⁹⁹ While the ‘wife’ would have occupied the smaller N573 stairway tomb and associated offering niche area.¹⁷⁰⁰ Despite the fact that some skeletal remains were found from these tombs, there are no statements from the archaeological reports to determine the sex of either of them; therefore, making this ‘couple’ suggestion to be unfounded in this particular case.

When commenting about the possible owners of these tombs, Reisner states he followed the principle of allocating the large tombs to those who had the means to command the services of the most advanced craftsmen; the kings and fellow courtiers.¹⁷⁰¹ However, because Naga ed-Der is regarded as a provincial cemetery, the largest tombs at the site are also seen in the same ‘main line of development’, but follow the designs of the tombs within the royal cemeteries.¹⁷⁰² At least 22 tombs, dated between the First to the late Second Dynasty are accounted for and Reisner suggests that each of these tombs belonged to the chief man of a family from the local area.¹⁷⁰³ Smaller wooden-roofed or corbel roofed graves, of a parallel date, numbered to at least 26 examples and have been assigned to belong to women or minor members of the family due to their smaller size.¹⁷⁰⁴ Of course, size is another factor Reisner relies upon for differentiation, even when distinguishing his groups based on this factor he has trouble when tombs which are called ‘small’ are larger than the tombs properly called small.¹⁷⁰⁵ This becomes problematic when interpreting the social relations between cemetery groups at

¹⁶⁹⁶ János (2006: 28).

¹⁶⁹⁷ János (2006: 28).

¹⁶⁹⁸ János (2006: 28).

¹⁶⁹⁹ Reisner (1932a: 217-218).

¹⁷⁰⁰ Reisner (1932a: 217-218).

¹⁷⁰¹ Reisner (1908: 11; 1932: 5).

¹⁷⁰² Reisner (1932a: 5).

¹⁷⁰³ Reisner (1936: 131).

¹⁷⁰⁴ Reisner (1936: 131).

¹⁷⁰⁵ Reisner (1936: 132).

the site and whether some cemeteries are more important than others based on the status of family groups.

Reisner's analysis concludes that Cemetery N3000 contained the resting places for a family of lesser importance compared to the neighbouring contemporaneous Cemetery N1500, based on the smaller size of the wooden-roofed and corbel-roofed graves present in Cemetery N3000.¹⁷⁰⁶ However, the archaeological record from these cemeteries is still incomplete and needs to be rectified. Overall, the number of tomb and burial types, along with their associated funerary objects, which date to the Second-Third Dynasty tombs found at Naga ed-Der, help contribute to a remarkable unbroken archaeological group between the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods.¹⁷⁰⁷

7.2 WEST BANK

7.2.1 EL-REQAQNAH

The site of El-Reqaqnah is located on the desert edge about 16 km west of Girga and about 3.2 km north of Beit Khallaf (26°19'N, 31°45'E).¹⁷⁰⁸ The site was excavated by Garstang as part of a campaign surveying the northern Upper Egyptian region which included excavations at El-Mahasna and Beit Khallaf, between 1900-1901.¹⁷⁰⁹ Despite the dominance of Coptic burials and Old Kingdom mastaba tombs, Early Dynastic mastaba tombs are known at El-Reqaqnah and date to the Third Dynasty, based on their architectural similarities with contemporary tombs located at Beit Khallaf, El-Amrah, Elkab and Naga ed-Der.¹⁷¹⁰ Not to mention the pottery vessels retrieved from these tombs, which are characteristic of the Third Dynasty.¹⁷¹¹

Generally, the tombs are described as four walled mastabas which all had one or two recessed panels exhibited on their eastern sides and displayed staircase entrances leading to subterranean chambers cut into the rock.¹⁷¹² Three notable tombs initially caught the attention of Garstang, tombs R1, R2 and R40.¹⁷¹³ The superstructures of all three tombs was not found to be well preserved, but it is estimated that a core covering roofed the substructures and was

¹⁷⁰⁶ Reisner (1936: 132).

¹⁷⁰⁷ Reisner (1932a: 35).

¹⁷⁰⁸ Garstang (1902: 65; 1904: 11, pl. II).

¹⁷⁰⁹ Garstang (1903: 1; 1904: 12).

¹⁷¹⁰ Garstang (1902: 65), (1904: 21); Baud (2002: 222).

¹⁷¹¹ Garstang (1904: 27, pl. XIII); Petrie (1953: pls. XVI.68, XXIII.76U, XXX.99Y).

¹⁷¹² Garstang (1902: 65; 1904: 21, pl. IV_A & B)

¹⁷¹³ Garstang (1904: 13).

surrounded by an enclosing wall that was at least 1.75 m thick.¹⁷¹⁴ A chapel or shrine has been suggested to have been part of the core covering above the tomb's substructure, based on the tomb designs encountered at Beit Khallaf.¹⁷¹⁵ However, the preservation levels from the El-Reqaqnah tombs do not allow any of these theories to be proven otherwise. Nonetheless, the substructures from these mentioned tombs are still relatively large.

Tomb R1's substructure measured 24.9 m long x 12 m wide, featuring a staircase that was cut into the gravel strata at least 8 m below the surface (Fig. 152).¹⁷¹⁶ An interesting feature noted from this tomb is the presence of arched walls above the stairway passage, possibly created in response to the increased amount of buttress walls to prevent the deep stairway passage from collapsing underground.¹⁷¹⁷ These are considered mortuary innovations for the Third Dynasty, even though inclined vaults were found to cover the substructures of the subsidiary burials linked with tomb 3500 of the late First Dynasty at North Saqqara.¹⁷¹⁸ A portcullis block is found at the bottom of the passage leading to the three chambers recorded at the tomb's floor level.¹⁷¹⁹ This portcullis in tomb R1 is considered the largest one found at the site, which has been estimated to be 2 m high x 1.5 m wide x 0.6 m thick, weighing a possible 3.19 tonnes.¹⁷²⁰

Tomb R40 were constructed in a similar fashion, whose substructure measured 17.3 m long x 10.4 m wide, with an arched stairway passage leading to another set of chambers that were protected by a portcullis, dug at least 9 m below the surface (Fig. 153).¹⁷²¹ Tomb R2 was not considered a chief subject of discussion in comparison to R1 and R40 because of its superstructure's poor preservation and the small amount of mortuary provisions recovered in comparison.¹⁷²² Nonetheless, this tomb also featured a staircase, but no plan of the tomb was provided by Garstang apart from a photograph showing the tomb's featured staircase.¹⁷²³ Most of these tombs yielded a large amount of pottery and offering tables, not to mention stone vessels, especially the single deposit found in R40's burial chamber, which included large examples made from calcite, diorite, breccia, porphyry and steatite.¹⁷²⁴ It was surprising for the

¹⁷¹⁴ Clark (2016: 292).

¹⁷¹⁵ Garstang (1904: 21); Thomas (2002: 463).

¹⁷¹⁶ Garstang (1904: 21-2); Reisner (1936: 179); Clark (2016: 522).

¹⁷¹⁷ Garstang (1904: 22, pl. V); Spencer (1979: 23).

¹⁷¹⁸ Garstang (1904: 28); Emery (1958: 102, pl. 116); Spencer (1979: 10-11, Fig. 3).

¹⁷¹⁹ Garstang (1904: pl. IV_A)

¹⁷²⁰ Garstang (1904: pl. IV_A, IV_B); Reisner (1936: 179-180); Clark (2016: 246, 522).

¹⁷²¹ Garstang (1904: 22-3); Reisner (1936: 180); Clark (2016: 522).

¹⁷²² Garstang (1904: 30).

¹⁷²³ Garstang (1904: Pl. XV.14).

¹⁷²⁴ Garstang (1904: 25, pls. VII-XII); Thomas (2002: 463) Aston (1994: 108-109, 129).

excavators to find this cache of grave items left behind, however, no evidence of seal impressions or names relating to the identities of the deceased could be recovered from them.¹⁷²⁵ Neither were there any skeletal remains which could also help to suggest possible ideas regarding the identities of the deceased. The only form of written evidence from these tombs includes a limestone stela recovered from the eastern side of tomb 88_A within a brick enclosure and was found in a bad state of preservation (Fig. 154).¹⁷²⁶ A standing male figure is depicted facing to the right of the stela and is holding an upright staff in his left hand along with a baton in his right hand by his side (Fig. 155).¹⁷²⁷ Depicted to the right of the male's face are a number of funerary offerings in one pile, which includes wine jars at the top, followed by bread, a goose and the leg of an ox. Above this pile to the top right of the stela is what is believed to be the name of the deceased, written as 'Se-Mery' or 'Simery'.¹⁷²⁸ Garstang estimates that 'w' 'b' can be read from the damaged hieroglyph in the centre of the stela, therefore designating this individual to be a priest.¹⁷²⁹ The stela is currently held at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.¹⁷³⁰

Because of the architectural similarities which these tombs exhibited and the mortuary provisions discovered, Garstang initially believed these tombs to be royal tombs belonging to sovereigns of the Third Dynasty.¹⁷³¹ However, Garstang's opinions would have been influenced by his previous excavations at Beit Khallaf, where he excavated first before moving to dig at El-Reqaqnah between 1901-1902.¹⁷³² Due to the features of the tombs described, scholars have questioned as to who were buried in these tombs. Wilkinson attributes the deceased from these tombs to belong to lesser officials of the regional administration.¹⁷³³ Regardless, the tombs at El-Reqaqnah provide an interesting scenario where the transition between Third Dynasty and Fourth Dynasty mortuary architecture can be compared, due to the accompanying Old Kingdom tombs at the site. For example, the early Fourth Dynasty tomb R70 was also found with a rock cut stairway and was found with niched redans on its eastern wall and has been likened to the 'palace-façade' exterior design.¹⁷³⁴

¹⁷²⁵ Garstang (1904: 25).

¹⁷²⁶ Garstang (1904: 45-46, pl. 24).

¹⁷²⁷ Garstang (1904: 58, pl. 28).

¹⁷²⁸ Garstang (1904: 58); Thomas (2002: 463).

¹⁷²⁹ Garstang (1904: 58).

¹⁷³⁰ I thank Liam McNamara (Personal Communication, 11th June 2018) for providing the record card for this stela at the Ashmolean Museum.

¹⁷³¹ Garstang (1904: 25).

¹⁷³² Thomas (2002: 463).

¹⁷³³ Wilkinson (1999: 355).

¹⁷³⁴ Thomas (2002: 166, Fig. 6)

7.2.2 BEIT KHALLAF

Around 20 km to the north of Abydos, five imposing mastaba tombs are known at the site of Beit Khallaf (26°17'44.28"N, 31°46'19.81"E).¹⁷³⁵ At least four of these tombs are grouped together (K1-K4) on a secondary terrace providing them an elevated presence, while K5 is further to the east by about 1 km from K1 and is within the Nile river's cultivation zone today (Fig. 156).¹⁷³⁶ Garstang excavated the site between 1900–1901 and describes tombs K1 & K2 in great detail.¹⁷³⁷

K1 is the largest tomb at the site with a mastaba superstructure made from mud bricks measuring 85 m long x 45 m wide x 8 m high that sits on a sand dune overlooking a nearby wadi (Fig. 157).¹⁷³⁸ The stairway passage of the tomb consists of 50 steps and descends at a right angle for about 9 m from the top of the mastaba superstructure towards a point which is under the centre of the mastaba tomb and is 16 m below the surface level.¹⁷³⁹ Despite being partly destroyed, built brick archways can be seen above this stairway with a similar design and purpose to what is known from the tombs at El-Reqaqnah.¹⁷⁴⁰ At six intervals, there are other passages along this stairway that were blocked by six portcullises made from limestone.¹⁷⁴¹ Its substructure featured 18 chambers laid out for 25 m south of the tomb's stairway passage, including the burial chamber that measured 5 m long x 5 m wide x 3 m high and could be described as the highlight of the tomb's architectural design for it was found to be lined with limestone blocks for its walls, but were undecorated.¹⁷⁴² No skeletal remains were reported from this tomb, but an abundance of pottery vessels were found in most of the substructural chambers that helped to confirm the tomb's Third Dynasty date.¹⁷⁴³ At least 800 large cylindrical jars made from calcite were retrieved from the tomb, mostly from the stairway passage of the tomb.¹⁷⁴⁴ This quantity of stone vessels has been attributed to designate that whoever was buried in mastaba K1 had an important social standing.¹⁷⁴⁵ A large cache of seal impressions were found on clay stoppers from this tomb bearing the name of Netjerikhet, first

¹⁷³⁵ Jánosi (2006: 16); Incordino (2008: 75).

¹⁷³⁶ Patch (1991: 313); Incordino (2008: 76).

¹⁷³⁷ Spencer (1979: 23).

¹⁷³⁸ Garstang (1903: 8); Clark (2016: 524).

¹⁷³⁹ Garstang (1903: 9); Incordino (2008: 77).

¹⁷⁴⁰ Garstang (1903: 9, pl. VI).

¹⁷⁴¹ Garstang (1903: 9, pl. V); Clark (2016: 247).

¹⁷⁴² Garstang (1903: 3); Jánosi (2006: 16).

¹⁷⁴³ Garstang (1903: pl. XXX.20, XXXI.21-25); Petrie (1953b: pls. XXIII.76S & U, XXV.83H); Patch (1991: 208).

¹⁷⁴⁴ Garstang (1903: 3, pl. XIII.9).

¹⁷⁴⁵ Thomas (2002: 462).

sovereign of the Third Dynasty.¹⁷⁴⁶ Furthermore, there was one instance of a clay seal impression bearing the name of the Second Dynasty sovereign, Peribsen.¹⁷⁴⁷ Finally, the name of Nimaathapi was found referring to the queen whose name had also been found in the tomb of the last sovereign of the Second Dynasty, Khasekhemwy, in Abydos.¹⁷⁴⁸ Based on these impressions Nimaathapi is believed to be the wife of Khasekhemwy and the queen mother of Netjerikhet.¹⁷⁴⁹ These names do not provide much evidence to suggest who the tomb owner was, despite the initial insistence by Garstang to attribute this tomb to belong to a king. The other tombs at the site were smaller than K1, but they also exhibited features which prompted Garstang to believe they also belonged to kings of the Third Dynasty.

Tomb K2 was located about 300 m north-west of K1, and was found to be more badly disturbed.¹⁷⁵⁰ The overall measurements for this tomb were not recorded, but its superstructure has been estimated to be 64.9 m long x 23.6 m wide based on the tomb plan provided by Garstang (Fig. 158).¹⁷⁵¹ Its substructure's dimensions cannot be determined, but it encompassed two stairway entrances on the north and south sides of the superstructure downwards into the substructure.¹⁷⁵² The 'U' shaped stairway entrance to the north descends for about 13.4 m leading down to a number of chambers that were found with no artefact deposits and no portcullis, deeming them to be 'supplementary' additions by Garstang.¹⁷⁵³ The southern stairway descends for about 11.5 m in an 'L' shape and was blocked by two fitted portcullises in the descent within grooved emplacements, one halfway and the other at the end blocking the access to eight subterranean chambers branching off from a long passage.¹⁷⁵⁴

At the end of the long passage to the west, is the burial chamber and within there was a greatly disturbed wooden coffin containing the skull, two tibiae, left femur, left clavicle, left humerus, pelvis fragments, scapulae and fibulae belonging to a deceased male.¹⁷⁵⁵ These skeletal remains were correlated with the deceased owner of the tomb, who was believed to be the Third Dynasty king, Sanakht, based on the seal impressions found from this tomb, but they have not been proven.¹⁷⁵⁶ Calcite and copper vessels, flint and copper implements were found

¹⁷⁴⁶ Garstang (1903: 11, pl. VIII-X).

¹⁷⁴⁷ Garstang (1903: 23, pl. X.8).

¹⁷⁴⁸ Petrie (1901: pl. XXIV.210); Garstang (1903: 11, 22, pl. X.7); Jánosi (2006: 22).

¹⁷⁴⁹ Garstang (1903: 23); Incordino (2008: 5-6).

¹⁷⁵⁰ Incordino (2008: 76)

¹⁷⁵¹ Garstang (1903: pl. XVIII); Reisner (1936: 174-6); Incordino (2008: 82); Clark (2016: 524).

¹⁷⁵² Garstang (1903: pl. XVIII);

¹⁷⁵³ Garstang (1903: 11); Reisner (1936: 176).

¹⁷⁵⁴ Garstang (1903: 11, pl. XVII).

¹⁷⁵⁵ Garstang (1903: 12-13).

¹⁷⁵⁶ Garstang (1903: 11, 24-25, pl. XIX.7); Porter & Moss (1937: 37).

from this southern substructural area, not to mention flint and copper implements.¹⁷⁵⁷ Despite the comparative differences of artefactual finds between the two substructural areas, Clark notes that the empty northern burial chamber was found to have a thicker gravel roof (12 m) than the southern one (9 m).¹⁷⁵⁸ Moreover, the entrance leading to the northern stairway had a smaller square area of 50.3 m² compared to the 80.4 m² of the southern stairway, making the former difficult to find through test excavations.¹⁷⁵⁹ In spite of these differences, it seems this northern stairway area was never used, if it was built as a dummy area to ward off tomb robbers, it clearly failed its purpose since the southern stairway was plundered anyway.¹⁷⁶⁰ Despite the ruined state of this K2 tomb, Garstang noted that its mastaba covering was built up originally on stepped brick layers based on his observations of the eastern side of the tomb.¹⁷⁶¹ This eastern side was found to be built on a low brick platform on top of the desert floor, which is a similar feature noted with the Step Pyramid of Netjerikhet at Saqqara and the M17 tomb from Meydum, dating to the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁷⁶² However, a recent survey by Incordino confirmed no sightings of this feature from her 2007 survey.¹⁷⁶³

Tombs K3 and K4 are located about 300-400 m east of K1, but not much descriptive information about these tombs was provided by Garstang for these tombs were originally found to be greatly disturbed.¹⁷⁶⁴ Nonetheless, tomb K3 had a built mud-brick mastaba measuring 44.25 m long x 21.8 m wide which covered a substructure that is 11.5 m underneath the surface and contained three chambers with access to them blocked by a portcullis placed within a grooved emplacement (Fig. 159).¹⁷⁶⁵ The burial chamber of K3 was found to contain a recess where a coffin would have been placed, instead skeletal remains consisting of a skull, which is described to have a 'narrow' frontal region and a parietal region being 'broad between the eminences'.¹⁷⁶⁶ But, the sex of the deceased, from these remains, was not determined by the excavator.

Tomb K4 was similar in design to K3, but its superstructure was smaller measuring 18.8 m long x 9.6 m wide, with a direct stairway passage descending to a depth of 7.44 m below

¹⁷⁵⁷ Garstang (1903: 12, pl. XX-XXII)

¹⁷⁵⁸ Clark (2016: 132).

¹⁷⁵⁹ Clark (2016: 132, fn. 890).

¹⁷⁶⁰ Garstang (1903: 12); Clark (2016: 132).

¹⁷⁶¹ Garstang (1903: 11).

¹⁷⁶² Garstang (1903: 11, pl. XVII); Petrie *et al* (1910: 13, pl. XII); Reisner (1936: 174); Lauer (1936: 12, pl. II).

¹⁷⁶³ Incordino (2008: 82).

¹⁷⁶⁴ Garstang (1903: 14); Incordino (2008: 76, 84).

¹⁷⁶⁵ Garstang (1903: 14, pl. XXV); Reisner (1936: 177).

¹⁷⁶⁶ Garstang (1903: 15).

the desert surface with a portcullis blocking access to at least three chambers branching off a subterranean passage cut out of the gravel strata (Fig. 160).¹⁷⁶⁷ Similar funerary equipment between the tombs is observed where evidence of calcite/copper vessels and pottery forms were found and help to consolidate their dating Third Dynasty during the reign of Netjerikhet.¹⁷⁶⁸ No skeletal remains were reported from the K4 tomb.

In an area within the Nile river cultivation zone a kilometre to the east of K1, lies the large tomb, K5, with its superstructure estimated to have measured about 61.7 m long x 29.8 m wide (Fig. 161).¹⁷⁶⁹ Despite not a lot of description for the K5 tomb, it did provide seal impressions depicting the name of *Nḏm-‘nh* (Nedjemankh), which have been used to suggest the identity for the tomb owner.¹⁷⁷⁰ The name of *Nḏm-‘nh* has also been found on two statues made of granite, whose provenances have not been identified.¹⁷⁷¹ Today these statues are being held in the Louvre and Leiden museums.¹⁷⁷²

From all this evidence determining the identities of the deceased who were buried in these tombs has remained a mystery. Garstang initially designated tombs K1 and K2 as either the royal tombs of Sanakht and Netjerikhet respectively, most likely due to the size of the tombs.¹⁷⁷³ However, he also theorised them to be the royal cenotaph tombs of these sovereigns in the south, which is a similar train of thought regarding the debate between the Early Dynastic tombs located in Abydos and North Saqqara.¹⁷⁷⁴ Regardless, based on the evidence, like the statues recovered from K5, the tombs have instead been attributed to provincial governors within the Thinite region.¹⁷⁷⁵ This is a preferred theory compared to the initial proposal that these tombs were the resting places of some of the Third Dynasty sovereigns.¹⁷⁷⁶ Because K1 is considered the largest Third Dynasty tomb found, even larger than the tomb allocated to Netjerikhet at Saqqara, it has been suggested by Incordino that the idea pertaining this tomb's ownership to a provincial elite member could be revised.¹⁷⁷⁷ However, the present investigator believes this is going in the same debatable territory which exists between the tombs of Abydos

¹⁷⁶⁷ Garstang (1903: 15, pl. XVII); Reisner (1936: 178).

¹⁷⁶⁸ Garstang (1903: 15).

¹⁷⁶⁹ Garstang (1903: 15); Reisner (1936: 176-177).

¹⁷⁷⁰ Garstang (1903: 16, 26-7, pl. XXVI.7); Porter & Moss (1937: 37); Incordino (2008: 127).

¹⁷⁷¹ Garstang (1903: 15-16, pl. XXIV); Weill (1908: 181-182); Vandier (1952: 982-983, Figs. 660-661); Incordino (2008: 127, fn. 33).

¹⁷⁷² Bresciani (1986: 476, fn. 6).

¹⁷⁷³ Garstang (1904: 3); Thomas (2002: 462).

¹⁷⁷⁴ Thomas (2002: 462).

¹⁷⁷⁵ Patch (1991: 46).

¹⁷⁷⁶ Patch (1991: 312); Baud (2002: 223-224); Incordino (2008: 87)

¹⁷⁷⁷ Baud (2002: 222); Incordino (2008: 91).

and North Saqqara. The size of K1 should not be a sole factor for such a reconsideration, especially since no satellite burials or other major mortuary features that compare to Netjerikhet's enclosure wall, Heb Sed court etc. were found in connection with this tomb nor the other Beit Khallaf mortuary interments. Moreover, the isolated space that these tombs at Beit Khallaf encompassed deems it to be an exclusive space and potentially highlighting that the people buried within these tombs were important people within the Abydos region.¹⁷⁷⁸

7.2.3 EL-MAHASNA

Located about 10.5 km north of the Abydos, the archaeological site of el-Mahasna lies on the edge of the low desert on the west bank of the Nile intersecting with the bordering cultivated land about 2 km southeast of its name-sake village and approximately 1.5-3km northwest of Maslahet Harun (26°15'39"N, 31°50'26"E).¹⁷⁷⁹ Huge cliffs that border the desert plateau lie 8 km to the west of the site followed by secondary terraces at about 4-6 km and leading to small rolling hills before reaching the site 2 km later.¹⁷⁸⁰ The surface of the cemetery has been reported to be quite loose due to previous excavations with large amounts of pottery sherds and limestone fragments scattered on its surface, including small amounts of bone fragments and other organic material.¹⁷⁸¹ But, outside of the site's limits, it is a more solid sand surface with light amounts of gravel scattered over it with rare amounts of cobble.¹⁷⁸²

Morgan has briefly mentioned the site's tombs being dug into the ground that is located at the foot of the bordering cliffs.¹⁷⁸³ Apparently, the tombs contained the bodies of the deceased whose limbs were folded which were surrounded by coarse pottery, flint arches and animal figurines made of schist.¹⁷⁸⁴ These interpretations were based on the reporting from local inhabitants who probably brought the artefacts to Morgan from the cemetery for he admits he had not initially explored the site himself.¹⁷⁸⁵ However, he would eventually visit the Predynastic cemetery noting the scattered artefacts such as 'coarse instruments' from the Neolithic period.¹⁷⁸⁶ Garstang excavated the cemetery as part of a campaign from 1900-1901 that examined a region of about 16 km including the site near Beit Khallaf.¹⁷⁸⁷ His excavations

¹⁷⁷⁸ Baud (2002: 223).

¹⁷⁷⁹ Patch (1991: 404); Anderson (2006: 22).

¹⁷⁸⁰ Patch (1991: 404).

¹⁷⁸¹ Patch (1991: 404).

¹⁷⁸² Patch (1991: 404).

¹⁷⁸³ Morgan (1896: 76).

¹⁷⁸⁴ Morgan (1896: 76).

¹⁷⁸⁵ Morgan (1896: 76); Ayrton & Loat (1911: 2).

¹⁷⁸⁶ Morgan (1897: 32).

¹⁷⁸⁷ Garstang (1903: 1).

at El-Mahasna revealed tombs from the Fourth-Sixth Dynasties of the Old Kingdom to the Eleventh Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁷⁸⁸ However, he notes the presence of tombs from the Early Dynastic period, especially a tomb called M1, since it was the first tomb to be excavated by him from the late First Dynasty.¹⁷⁸⁹ According to the published ‘Site M’ map, the tomb is located in an isolated area marked as ‘Tombs Previously Cleared’ within the ‘M1’ subdivision, with the dig house to the northeast of the M1 tomb and to the west south west lies Tomb M2 (Fig. 162).¹⁷⁹⁰

Tomb M1 is described to have ‘fine character’ due to its featured stairway leading from the north into an open pit dug into the ground that is lined with mud brick and containing three subsidiary chambers or recesses (Fig. 163).¹⁷⁹¹ Based on scaled dimensions, the substructure of the tomb would have measured 8.4 m long x 5.4 m wide x 2.5 m deep, despite its denuded state as reported by Reisner.¹⁷⁹² No superstructure is reported to have existed, especially since the surface remains overlaying the Early Dynastic part of the cemetery that was excavated by Garstang is now very much denuded.¹⁷⁹³ But the tomb is speculated to have been covered by a roof made from wood and mud that would have been 0.35 m thick; however, there are no traces of such evidence from the tomb’s original report.¹⁷⁹⁴ The mortuary provisions emanating from this grave were found in the debris of the tomb and included a number of stone vessels made from slate, limestone and calcite.¹⁷⁹⁵ A piece of polished ivory accompanied by a copper cap is also mentioned.¹⁷⁹⁶ Despite Morgan not stating that he excavated at Mahasna to a certain degree, Garstang states that he previously excavated tomb M1.¹⁷⁹⁷

Tomb M2 is shown to have a similar substructural design to M1. However, it is much smaller with internal rooms made of dividing mud brick walls creating at least two main chambers and being bordered by two subsidiary chambers on either end.¹⁷⁹⁸ The tomb’s plan by Garstang is a speculated one for it was found to be very disturbed due to sebbakhin activities.¹⁷⁹⁹ As to who may have occupied these tombs is not known or speculated by the

¹⁷⁸⁸ Garstang (1903: 28).

¹⁷⁸⁹ Garstang (1903: 28).

¹⁷⁹⁰ Garstang (1903: pl. II).

¹⁷⁹¹ Garstang (1903: 28, pl. XXXIII); Reisner (1936: 67).

¹⁷⁹² Reisner (1936: 67); Clark (2016: 526).

¹⁷⁹³ Patch (1991: 312).

¹⁷⁹⁴ Garstang (1903: 28); Reisner (1936: 67); Clark (2016: 526).

¹⁷⁹⁵ Garstang (1903: 28, pl. XXXV.12, 15, 16, 17 & 19).

¹⁷⁹⁶ Garstang (1903: 28).

¹⁷⁹⁷ Garstang (1903: 28).

¹⁷⁹⁸ Garstang (1903: pl. XXXIII).

¹⁷⁹⁹ Garstang (1903: 28).

original excavators, especially since no skeletal remains are reported to have been found from within these tombs due to their disturbed state.

With the nearby settlements and at least over 600 tombs from the preceding Predynastic period, this site would have held some cultural significance when the state unification transition supposedly occurred.¹⁸⁰⁰ Garstang noted he found a series of pottery kilns to the south of the Predynastic settlement known as S1, that is close to the area where tombs M1 and M2 are located.¹⁸⁰¹ However, they have been interpreted to be beer brewing facilities and it is suggested that craft specialisation activities were concentrated within this area, considering they are near the supposed location of the Predynastic capital of This.¹⁸⁰²

7.2.4 ABYDOS

The site of Abydos is 430 km south of Cairo on the west side of the Nile and is 9 km from the modern course of the Nile river (26°11'0.2.68"N, 31°55'22.49"E).¹⁸⁰³ The site has been the focus of many modern excavations since the late nineteenth century, revealing cemeteries, temples and other archaeological features across an 8 km² area, which emphasises the site's religious significance from all phases of ancient Egyptian civilisation.¹⁸⁰⁴ Mortuary occupation at the site dates to the Naqada I period before transforming into an elite necropolis during the Naqada IId period, before being solely reserved for the Predynastic rulers and members of the elite from the Naqada III period onwards.¹⁸⁰⁵ The numerous excavators who have worked on the Early Dynastic cemeteries within the site have raised a number of factors regarding the exclusive nature of the site, the identities of the deceased buried there and how they socially relate with each other locally and with other cemetery sites in the same region. These areas include the cemeteries located on the Umm el-Qa'ab, including cemeteries U and the royal cemetery B. Further to this, there are Early Dynastic cemeteries located on the northern and southern areas of the site, where private tombs are known.

7.2.4.1 NORTH ABYDOS

The Funerary Enclosures of the Northern Cemetery belong to the kings who are buried in the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery (26°11'22.77"N, 31°54'28.21"E). Interpretations about their

¹⁸⁰⁰ Ayrton & Loat (1911: 2); Beinlich (1980: 1164).

¹⁸⁰¹ Garstang (1903: 7, pl. III).

¹⁸⁰² Geller (1992); Wilkinson (1996a: 79); Anderson (2006: 30).

¹⁸⁰³ Bestock (2009: 1).

¹⁸⁰⁴ Wegner (2001: 7); Bestock (2013b: 18-21)

¹⁸⁰⁵ Lacher-Rashdorff (2014: 200); Dodson (2016: 2).

function have been long debated, but it is thanks to these structures that the longstanding opinion about the royal nature of the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery was confirmed, in comparison to North Saqqara. Kemp argued that these structures would have complemented the royal tombs and to support his argument used the combined size of both the corresponding enclosure and tomb of a particular king as though they were part of one funerary complex.¹⁸⁰⁶ As a result, his argument has often been referred to by historians and archaeologists who support that Abydos is the royal burial ground of the Early Dynastic period.¹⁸⁰⁷

There have been remains of earlier tombs found within the North Abydos area on the outskirts of the funerary structures of the Early Dynastic kings, especially by Peet when he excavated between 1909-1912 and revealed the remains of a Predynastic settlement.¹⁸⁰⁸ Located four metres southeast of a long wall in parallel fashion in Cemetery S, the presence of at least thirty small non-royal First Dynasty tombs were found dug within the same trench. Each of these tombs were 120 cm wide on average, were separated by crude brick cross walls and contained male bodies in each of them.¹⁸⁰⁹ Fourteen other First Dynasty tombs are also found, heavily disturbed, in a parallel line 24 m northwest of the thirty just mentioned that were much larger and were supposedly much richer in mortuary goods, even rivalling what has been found in Umm el-Qa'ab.¹⁸¹⁰ They were heavily disturbed, even robbed many times according to Peet's original reports.¹⁸¹¹ Peet did not know that the presence of these burials were actually the subsidiary burials associated with the north-eastern wall of the funerary enclosure built by Meretneith, which Petrie would further attest through his subsequent excavations.¹⁸¹²

Another cemetery of North Abydos, Cemetery D, contained some tombs with mastaba features and niches which are speculated to date to the Third Dynasty.¹⁸¹³ Despite making a regional comparison to the tombs found at El-Reqaqnah and Naga ed-Der, Peet concludes that nothing earlier than the Fourth Dynasty, in terms of funerary architecture, is found in Cemetery D.¹⁸¹⁴ However, a late Third Dynasty date is suggested due to the pot burials and pottery that have been found within the same area, but he is not conclusive in his opinions.¹⁸¹⁵

¹⁸⁰⁶ Kemp (1967).

¹⁸⁰⁷ Ch. 2.3 Kemp & Kaiser Updating the Record.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Peet (1914: ix, 1-13).

¹⁸⁰⁹ Peet (1914: 31-33).

¹⁸¹⁰ Peet (1914: 33-35).

¹⁸¹¹ Peet (1914: 33).

¹⁸¹² Ch. 3.2.1.5 Meretneith.

¹⁸¹³ Peet & Loat (1913: 8-22); Peet (1914: xiv, Fig. 1).

¹⁸¹⁴ Peet & Loat (1913: 17).

¹⁸¹⁵ Peet & Loat (1913: 17).

7.2.4.2 SOUTH ABYDOS

The area of South Abydos lies to the south of the ancient town and is an extensive area of low desert which is home to a series of royal cult foundations dated from the Middle and New Kingdom periods.¹⁸¹⁶ The notable and best preserved of these royal cult features include the complex of Senusret III dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, the complex of Ahmose of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the temple dedicated to Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁸¹⁷ These cult areas are accompanied by accompanying settlement areas which probably housed the people who were responsible for the maintenance and operation of the abovementioned cult areas.¹⁸¹⁸ It is these archaeological features that are usually synonymous with this area in the broad Abydos landscape with the Umm el-Qa'ab and Northern Abydos areas being the oldest sites in the area.

In 2007, a new Early Dynastic cemetery site was located 435 m south of Seti I's Temple and 1146 m south-east of the Umm el-Qa'ab by an Egyptian expedition under the auspices of the Supreme Council of Antiquities where they uncovered 13 tombs dated to the First Dynasty (26°10'50.24"N, 31°55'15.41"E) (Fig. 165).¹⁸¹⁹ These tombs featured substructures reinforced by mud bricks to create a multi-chamber design which are more or less preserved and had the same orientation from a northwest to southeast direction (Fig. 165A).¹⁸²⁰

Tomb II is one of the smallest tombs at the site, measuring 3.15 m long x 2.2 m wide x 1.5 m high and is characterised as a multi-chambered tomb which is reminiscent of the Protodynastic graves found at Cemetery U (Fig. 166).¹⁸²¹ Others, though, exhibit stairway features as part of their design such as Tomb I, which measures 11.87 m in length and 4 m in width, making it the largest tomb at the site (Fig. 167).¹⁸²² This tomb has been dated to the Naqada IIIC2-D period because of its staircase feature, but it has a corbelled roof above it, which is unusual for a tomb presumably dated for the First Dynasty.¹⁸²³ Therefore, there are suggestions that the presence of the corbelled roof may represent a later addition for the tomb from a later time, such as the Third Dynasty, based on what is known from the tombs at Beit

¹⁸¹⁶ Harvey (1999: 117).

¹⁸¹⁷ Harvey (1999: 117); Shubert (1999: 113).

¹⁸¹⁸ Harvey (1999: 117).

¹⁸¹⁹ Hussein (2011: 269-270; 2016b: 299).

¹⁸²⁰ Hussein (2011: 271; 2016b: 299-300).

¹⁸²¹ Hussein (2011: 273, fn. 2).

¹⁸²² Hussein (2011: 271); Gabr (2011: 284).

¹⁸²³ Hussein (2011: 271-273).

Khallaf and El-Reqaqnah.¹⁸²⁴ At least seven smaller associated burials were found around this tomb, but they date to the Roman/Byzantine periods.¹⁸²⁵ A recent discovery has found a tomb built into the recent settlement which was discovered 30 m north of the South Abydos cemetery, which also features a staircase like Tomb I.¹⁸²⁶ Its date has been discussed to be dated to Naqada IIIC1, older than Den's tomb, which has always been labelled by Egyptian archaeologists as the first tomb to feature the staircase architectural feature.¹⁸²⁷ However, the date is based on ceramic material that was found outside of the tomb and not within its confines, which may be due to later human activity.¹⁸²⁸

Skeletal remains were recovered from some of the tombs, including a disturbed burial (Burial 9) inside Tomb I that was found in association with wooden pieces, indicating it may have been placed within a coffin and is probably the remains of the tomb owner.¹⁸²⁹ The remains retrieved included a right femur, one lumbar vertebra and part of a pelvis, but their disturbed state could not help with assessing the sex of the deceased.¹⁸³⁰ Tomb II on the other hand was found with a burial (Burial 12) within the centre of its burial chamber and also placed within what is left of a disturbed wooden coffin.¹⁸³¹ The burial was not complete, consisting of just long bones and the deceased's cranium, which was assessed to signify that a 45-55 year old male was buried here.¹⁸³² Degenerative changes analysed from the bones also indicated that the deceased suffered from unhealed trauma.¹⁸³³

Who these tombs belonged to is not known, but these tombs may have been part of the largest non-royal Early Dynastic cemetery found at Abydos.¹⁸³⁴ The results of a surface survey suggest that the area surrounding Seti I's temple may have been the location for an active settlement during the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods.¹⁸³⁵ The presence of this nearby settlement to the north of the cemetery may be related to previous excavations performed by Peet and Habachi, who have reported material evidence dating from between Naqada II-III.¹⁸³⁶

¹⁸²⁴ Clark (2016: 182, fn. 1224).

¹⁸²⁵ Gabr (2011: 283, 291)

¹⁸²⁶ Hussein (2017b: Origins 6 Presentation, 12th September).

¹⁸²⁷ Hussein (2017b: Origins 6 Presentation, 12th September).

¹⁸²⁸ Hussein (2017b: Origins 6 Presentation, 12th September).

¹⁸²⁹ Hussein (2011: 273); Gabr (2011: 285).

¹⁸³⁰ Gabr (2011: 285).

¹⁸³¹ Hussein (2011: 273-275); Gabr (2011: 286-287).

¹⁸³² Gabr (2011: 288).

¹⁸³³ Gabr (2011: 288-289).

¹⁸³⁴ Hussein (2016: 299).

¹⁸³⁵ Hussein (2017a: 133)

¹⁸³⁶ Peet & Loat (1913: 1-13); Habachi (1939).

7.2.5 EL-AMRAH

The cemetery of El-Amrah was named after a nearby village, which is located nearly 9 km to the south east of the royal cemetery of Abydos (26°8'56.99"N, 31°58'46.10"E).¹⁸³⁷ It had been excavated numerous times since the late Nineteenth century, notably by Morgan and Amélineau.¹⁸³⁸ However, their reports regarding their activities at the site were very minimal, which encouraged Randall-MacIver and Mace to initiate an intensive campaign to excavate and study the Pre- and Early Dynastic material from the site, between 1900-1901.¹⁸³⁹ Two hundred graves were excavated on the western side of E-Amrah during their month long campaign. Two parts of the cemetery were distinguished; firstly the western side, labelled 'cemetery a' where mostly Predynastic graves were located and ranged from the Naqada I to early Naqada III phases.¹⁸⁴⁰ Nearly 200 metres east of this part of 'cemetery a', another area was excavated due to the presence of broken pottery on the surface that indicated more graves.¹⁸⁴¹ This area was labelled 'cemetery b' and was described to be of 'considerable size and importance' because nearly 600 tombs were excavated, which date from the Naqada I period to the Second Dynasty.¹⁸⁴² Out of this total only 156 tombs were recorded in full detail for they had enough information.¹⁸⁴³ However, some tombs were purported to be 'rich graves' by the original excavators and they mostly date from the Predynastic to the Early Dynastic period.

For example, tomb b91, which was the largest tomb excavated at the site, measured 6.96 m long x 3.48 m wide x 1.5 m deep (Fig. 168).¹⁸⁴⁴ The tomb is a typical open cut pit construction, lined with mud bricks to create a 2.6 m long x 2.3 m wide main burial chamber, with three accompanying internal chambers.¹⁸⁴⁵ This tomb also exhibited a 7.16 m long staircase leading into its burial chamber, which implies this grave to have been built during the second half of the First Dynasty.¹⁸⁴⁶ The tomb was originally robbed, however, remains of broken pieces of pottery, calcite stone vessels, ivory and a fragment of copper were retrieved.¹⁸⁴⁷ Furthermore, half of a black steatite cylinder was reported to be have been found

¹⁸³⁷ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 1); Hill (2010: 75); Hill & Herbich (2011: 109).

¹⁸³⁸ Morgan (1896: 85-86); Amélineau (1896: 22, 38); Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 2).

¹⁸³⁹ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 1-2); Hill & Herbich (2011: 109).

¹⁸⁴⁰ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 3).

¹⁸⁴¹ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 3).

¹⁸⁴² Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 3); Hill & Herbich (2011: 109-110).




¹⁸⁴³ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 2); Hill & Herbich (2011: 109).

¹⁸⁴⁴ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 39); Reisner (1936: 67-68).

¹⁸⁴⁵ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 39, pl. IV.8)

¹⁸⁴⁶ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 39); Regulski (2010: 76).

¹⁸⁴⁷ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 39).

from the staircase area, and was found with an impressed inscription (Fig. 168).¹⁸⁴⁸ The top half showcases  while the bottom half consists of  but the other glyphs are unclear.¹⁸⁴⁹ Kaplony suggests they are unclear components for a name, and the inclusion of  *hnm.w* ‘Khnum’ suggests a personal name based on parallel occurrences inscribed on some of the private stelae from Abydos; however, this remains speculative.¹⁸⁵⁰ Moreover, a wooden seal impression was found, but it was greatly disturbed and not much more information was provided about it.

Some cow bones were retrieved from the burial chamber and were stated to have been found in the north eastern corner of the tomb, but they do not provide information about the tomb’s orientation within ‘cemetery b’. Based on the tomb’s size and minimal remains of the retrieved mortuary provisions, the tomb is considered to belong to a person of importance within the local community.¹⁸⁵¹ Further excavations may help to provide better clarity about this tomb and its cemetery, but the site is currently being threatened by impending urbanisation from the north to the south, agricultural activities to the east and a highway to the west.¹⁸⁵²

¹⁸⁴⁸ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 39, pl. VI.6); Kaplony (1963b: 1092; 1963c: Taf. 6, abb. 9); Regulski (2010: 76).

¹⁸⁴⁹ Kaplony (1963c: Taf. 6, abb. 9). The hieroglyphic designation is given as Aa1:S29:X1:E11:N35, after Regulski (2010).

¹⁸⁵⁰ Kaplony (1963b: 1092); Wilkinson (1999: 288); Martin (2011: 38 [41], 42 [47], 56 [62], 116 [151]).

¹⁸⁵¹ Randall-MacIver & Mace (1902: 39).

¹⁸⁵² Hill & Herbich (2011: 110).

CHAPTER 8 - THE NUBT AND NEKHEN REGIONS

Archaeologists and historians studying the transition from the Protodynastic to the Early Dynastic periods have observed whether or not the regional areas of ancient Egypt were affected by the socio-economic changes under the first sovereigns.¹⁸⁵³ These areas include where Naqada and Hierakonpolis are situated, which were both prominent archaeological sites from Predynastic times and were both deemed regional centres within the Upper Egyptian landscape (Fig. 169).¹⁸⁵⁴ Naqada was a significant site throughout the Predynastic period based on its mortuary evidence that has contributed to our knowledge about the past of the indigenous ancient Egyptians within Upper Egypt.¹⁸⁵⁵ This site's importance has been measured not just in terms of the quantity of graves which were discovered by Petrie and Quibell, but also qualitatively through the presence of the so-called elite Cemetery T, which was a prominent feature of the site since the Naqada II period and contributed to Naqada's status as a 'capital of a chieftdom or a small state'.¹⁸⁵⁶ However, during the threshold between the Predynastic period and the First Dynasty, declines are observed by analysing the archaeological record from the Cemetery T site, which has led to suppositions that Naqada (Nubt) lost its 'capital' status and was absorbed by other emerging regional areas, such as This and Hierakonpolis.¹⁸⁵⁷ Around 12 cemeteries are known within Hierakonpolis, which covers a range of social groups who were buried there.¹⁸⁵⁸ This includes the elite cemetery, HK6, where large graves are located (Naqada II-III periods) and they exhibit superstructures interpreted as shrines, animal burials, and wooden enclosure walls, which are understood to belong to rulers within the local area.¹⁸⁵⁹ The presence of this cemetery indicates that expending on grave construction was highly regarded and has been counted as a forerunning example for the tombs built within both Cemeteries U and B at Abydos, dated from the Protodynastic to the Second Dynasty.¹⁸⁶⁰ Other Predynastic/Early Dynastic tombs deemed to belong to elite social groups, which have come

¹⁸⁵³ Wilkinson (2000a: 378); Tassie & van Wetering (2013/14: 61).

¹⁸⁵⁴ Savage (2001: 113).

¹⁸⁵⁵ van Wetering (2017a: 522).

¹⁸⁵⁶ Wilkinson (2000a: 384); Kemp (2006: 79-81).

¹⁸⁵⁷ Wilkinson (2000a: 393).

¹⁸⁵⁸ Friedman (2008b: 9-10, Table 1).

¹⁸⁵⁹ Friedman (2008a: 1169-1170; 2008b: 13).

¹⁸⁶⁰ Adams (2000: 176); Friedman (2008a: 1191).

from the sites located close to Naqada (Nubt) and Hierakonpolis (Nekhen) will also be investigated in this chapter.

8.1 WEST BANK

8.1.1 NAQADA/NUBT

The area commonly known as Naqada refers to a collection of archaeological sites bounded by the modern villages of Kom el-Bilal to the southeast and el-Zawaydah to the northeast (25°58' N; 32°43' E).¹⁸⁶¹ Apart from its major Predynastic cemetery, Naqada is also home to the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple of Seth, the minor step pyramid of Tukh and the South Town (Ombos) sites.¹⁸⁶² Because a continuity of evidence is observed from the Predynastic to the Old Kingdom periods, this area is referred to by its ancient name, Nubt.¹⁸⁶³ The Predynastic mortuary evidence of Nubt was first excavated by Petrie and Quibell between 1894-1895 and it stems from three areas (Fig. 170).¹⁸⁶⁴ Firstly, north of the minor step pyramid of Tukh spur, lies cemetery N North which was active during the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods and is where the Dynastic cemeteries are located. Secondly, the N East and N West cemeteries encompass the central zone that is due west of the South Town spur and date during the Early Predynastic period (Naqada IA-B). Finally, cemeteries N South, G and T collate the southern group of cemeteries that are located to the southwest of the South Town spur and date between the Mid-Predynastic and the Early Dynastic (Naqada IIC onwards); comprising over 2000 tombs.¹⁸⁶⁵

8.1.1.1 CEMETERY T

Cemetery T is located to the southwest of South Town spur, to the east of two tumuli structures and was excavated by Petrie and Quibell, where at least 58 tombs were uncovered and dated between the Naqada IIB-IIIB periods (Figs. 170-171).¹⁸⁶⁶ Only 38 of the Cemetery T tombs were recorded and 21 of them were provided with a date.¹⁸⁶⁷ Not to mention, the general layout and description of these tombs was not given much detail until Baumgartel

¹⁸⁶¹ Hassan *et al* (2017: 81).

¹⁸⁶² Petrie & Quibell (1896: 65, pl. I_A, LXXXV); Ćwiek (1998: 40); Kemp (2006: 78); Hassan *et al* (2017: 83-84).

¹⁸⁶³ Kemp (2006: 78); Hassan *et al* (2017: 83).

¹⁸⁶⁴ Petrie & Quibell (1895: 1); Bard (2017: 11); van Wetering (2017a: 528).

¹⁸⁶⁵ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 360); van Wetering (2017a: 527).

¹⁸⁶⁶ Petrie & Quibell (1896: pls. I_A, LXXXVI); Davis (1983: 17); Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 360); van Wetering (2017a: 535).

¹⁸⁶⁷ Davis (1983: 17).

reviewed Petrie's notebooks as part of a supplement publication.¹⁸⁶⁸ This cemetery contained large brick lined tombs and were found to contain prestigious funerary goods, thus consolidating their 'elite' status.¹⁸⁶⁹ The tombs are characterised as brick lined tombs that contained various funerary goods as well as multiple skeletal remains, which mostly date to the Naqada IIC period.¹⁸⁷⁰ For example, tomb 'T5' was found undisturbed and is considered the largest and most important of the burials within the cemetery, measuring 4 m long x 2.8 m wide (Fig. 172).¹⁸⁷¹ The tomb contained five polished stone vessels, some of which had flat bases and pierced handles, interpreted to be hung in suspension.¹⁸⁷² Furthermore, a slate palette shaped in the form of a double-headed bird was retrieved along with 42 ceramic vessels including coarse and wavy-handled types.¹⁸⁷³ The skeletal remains consisted of six crania, five of which were distributed across the floor (Skulls A-E), and one placed on top of a brick by itself (Skull F) on the south side of the tomb.¹⁸⁷⁴ Unfortunately, no vertebrae or other skeletal remains associated with the skulls were reported, so it is impossible to confirm whether five full bodies were buried within this tomb.¹⁸⁷⁵ However, it is also questionable whether all five deceased bodies were buried at the same time since some of the skulls and stone vessels were associated with different assemblages. For example, the hanging stone vessel 'H. 28' contained hard-stone beads, which may have been worn as part of a necklace, bracelet or a girdle that may have been wrapped around the head.¹⁸⁷⁶ Beads have been found in other sites like el-Gerzeh, where it is commonly found like ceramics and stone vessels, and have been described to indicate "conspicuous bodily display".¹⁸⁷⁷ Underneath the young and broken 'Skull D', stone beads were found including malachite, while other beads found were made from cornelian, steatite, garnet, lapis lazuli and gold foil.¹⁸⁷⁸ 'Skull E' had an oval shell pendant underneath it, which Petrie interprets to have been worn along the forehead.¹⁸⁷⁹ This interpretation has received mixed opinions, such as Brunton who found similar items at Mostagedda, labelling them as 'scoops'.¹⁸⁸⁰ Baumgartel on the other hand, interpreted them to not be pendants at all,

¹⁸⁶⁸ Baumgartel (1970); Kemp (1973: 38); Davis (1983: 17).

¹⁸⁶⁹ Wilkinson (1999: 37); Midant-Reynes (2000: 188-189)

¹⁸⁷⁰ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 19-20, pl. lxxxii); Wengrow (2006: 119).

¹⁸⁷¹ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 19-20, 32, pl. lxxxii); Davis (1983: 23).

¹⁸⁷² Petrie & Quibell (1896: 19, pl. viii). Labelled as H. 25, 28 & 29.

¹⁸⁷³ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 19); Baumgartel (1970: 67); Wengrow (2006: 119).

¹⁸⁷⁴ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 19, 32); Midant-Reynes (2000: 188); Wengrow (2006: 119).

¹⁸⁷⁵ Davis (1983: 23).

¹⁸⁷⁶ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 19-20, 32); Petrie *et al* (1912: 22); Stevenson (2009: 115).

¹⁸⁷⁷ Stevenson (2009: 115).

¹⁸⁷⁸ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 20, 32); Baumgartel (1970: 67, pl. lxxvii); Bard (1994: 99); Wengrow (2006: 14, 51, 119).

¹⁸⁷⁹ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 32, 47).

¹⁸⁸⁰ Brunton (1937: pl. xxix, 227); Stevenson (2009: 123).

instead that such items served as a container for cosmetics.¹⁸⁸¹ Nonetheless, these pendants are made from thin copper and grey marble stone, making them valuable commodities.¹⁸⁸² Overall, this tomb contains materials that would require specialised efforts to obtain. For instance, the lapis lazuli used for the beads is sourced from the mountains of Badakhshan, east of modern-day Afghanistan.¹⁸⁸³ Other examples containing such material includes tomb '3005' from the site of Matmar, dating to the Naqada I period.¹⁸⁸⁴

Other Cemetery T tombs are considered distinct amongst the Predynastic mortuary record at the site, including tombs T20, T15 and T 23, whose sizes average 5 m long x 2 m wide with a depth of at least 1 metre below the surface (Fig. 173).¹⁸⁸⁵ These have provided parallels for other distinct Predynastic brick lined tombs with similar size and architecture such as Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis, dated to the Naqada IIC period (Fig. 173).¹⁸⁸⁶ The mortuary provisions exhibited by some of these tombs, include stone vessels which have parallels from some distinct Early Dynastic elite tombs and the royal tombs from Abydos. For example, tomb T20 was found with ovoid stone jars with a disc base and there are some parallels noted within the Early Dynastic niched mastaba tomb of Naqada, located further to the south of the Nubt cemeteries.¹⁸⁸⁷ Furthermore, a vessel described to be similar to a marble ovoid bowl with flaring rim and a round base, was found in T23 and has parallels from the royal tombs at Abydos and the Naqada niched mastaba tomb as well.¹⁸⁸⁸

Based on the architectural descriptions and the contents of these Cemetery T tombs, the unknown deceased occupants within this cemetery are interpreted to be part of a social group of rulers based at Naqada.¹⁸⁸⁹ While Cemetery T has been labelled a ruler's cemetery and was considered the location for some of the largest Middle Predynastic graves at the site, recent analyses by van Wetering provides a contrasting opinion to suggest that cemeteries G and N South, not to mention the N West and N East clusters, should also be considered as elite cemeteries due to the displays of wealthy mortuary provisions emanating from the graves situated there.¹⁸⁹⁰ Further to this, van Wetering states that from the Naqada IB-IIIB-C period,

¹⁸⁸¹ Baumgartel (1960: 77); Stevenson (2009: 123).

¹⁸⁸² Petrie & Quibell (1896: 47); Payne (2000: 217).

¹⁸⁸³ Bavay (1997: 80); Aston *et al* (2000: 39).

¹⁸⁸⁴ Brunton (1948: pl. ix); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 63).

¹⁸⁸⁵ Based on scaled measurements provided by Kemp (1973: 40-41, Fig. 2).

¹⁸⁸⁶ Case & Payne (1962: 10); Kemp (1973: 38); Friedman (2011: 43).

¹⁸⁸⁷ Morgan (1897: 183-184, figs. 657 & 664); Petrie (1920: pl. XXXVII.15); Davis (1983: 19)

¹⁸⁸⁸ Morgan (1897: 187, Fig. 682); Davis (1983: 20). Petrie (1901: 43, pl. XLIX.130) incorrectly labels 'Fig. 684'.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Bard (1994: 113); Kemp (2006: 78-79).

¹⁸⁹⁰ van Wetering (2017a: 543).

Cemetery T does not have the largest and most elaborate graves, instead this is attributed to graves NW.399 and NW.1233 that are located within the N West cemetery.¹⁸⁹¹ This evidence contrasts against the usual assumptions that Cemetery T was Naqada's single rich elite cemetery during the Naqada II period and designated to a small elite group of rulers.¹⁸⁹² However, for these graves to be designated to belong to a 'ruling elite' may be too exaggerated according to Davis, when compared to the grave inventory of the Early Dynastic niched mastaba dated to the First Dynasty.¹⁸⁹³

8.1.1.2 THE EARLY DYNASTIC NAQADA TOMB

Contrary to general opinions, the Early Dynastic niched Naqada tomb is not connected with any of the Nubt cemeteries.¹⁸⁹⁴ It is located approximately 7 km south of the South Town/Nubt settlement, which is about halfway between the settlement and cemetery of el-Khattara, southwest of the modern Naqada village (25°53'52" N; 32°42'12" E).¹⁸⁹⁵ The area it is currently situated has been dubbed PWT.112, after the nearby power towers which run along the 22 km area investigated by the *Predynastic of Egypt* project (1978-1981), between Danfiq to the south (PWT.92) to just above Ballas to the north (PWT.202) (Fig. 174).¹⁸⁹⁶ This tomb was found in a small tell by Morgan while surveying Naqada in 1896 (Fig. 175).¹⁸⁹⁷ Despite Morgan being highly commended for his discovery and its contribution to Early Egyptian studies, he did not completely publish his results after only analysing this tomb and the surrounding mortuary area for only 15 days.¹⁸⁹⁸ This led to disagreements with the construction designs of the tomb, so subsequent excavations were conducted by Borchardt in 1898 and Garstang in 1904 to re-evaluate the tomb and its findings.¹⁸⁹⁹ Borchardt performed excavations of the Naqada tomb for one day, but he provided more information about the tomb's niches and architectural form compared to Morgan (Fig. 176).¹⁹⁰⁰ Garstang's excavation activities focused on the spoil heaps left behind by Morgan and Borchardt when they cleared the interior of the tomb, which resulted in more inscribed evidence being found, especially an extra piece

¹⁸⁹¹ van Wetering (2017a: 537). The tomb's measurements are not given by van Wetering, but these may be further clarified through a future article he is preparing titled 'Cemetery T and the other cemeteries at Nubt during the Naqada II – III', see van Wetering (2017a: 549).

¹⁸⁹² Wilkinson (2000a: 382); Kemp (2006: 78-79); Bard (1994: 85; 2017: 11).

¹⁸⁹³ Davis (1983: 27).

¹⁸⁹⁴ Wilkinson (1999: 37); Hassan (2001: 493).

¹⁸⁹⁵ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 360); van Wetering (2012: 95, 110; 2017a: 528, fn. 6); Tristant (Personal Communication, 8th September 2017).

¹⁸⁹⁶ van Wetering (2012: 94, 120-121).

¹⁸⁹⁷ Morgan (1897: 147-148).

¹⁸⁹⁸ Kahl (2001: 5).

¹⁸⁹⁹ Borchardt (1898); Garstang (1905a; 1905b); van Wetering (2012: 93, fn. 2).

¹⁹⁰⁰ Borchardt (1898: 87-89).

for the Naqada tablet that was found by Morgan.¹⁹⁰¹ Hassan confirmed the tomb's location in 1981 and found that the tomb's plan designs had some discrepancies made by previous excavators (Fig. 177).¹⁹⁰² The architectural plans made by Morgan and Borchardt did not completely match what had been found, for a western annex was found and the walls were irregular without much of an indication of the niched façade decoration.¹⁹⁰³ Van Wetering notes that the early excavation reports of the tomb may have aimed to make it look more regular in shape for aesthetic purposes, which was the standard of publications during the early years of Egyptology.¹⁹⁰⁴

The discovery of this tomb signified for the first time a mortuary structure dated to the First Dynasty, that was found due to its unique construction, specifically the exterior walls with protruding formed vaults.¹⁹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the features on this tomb's exterior walls are the earliest instance of the 'palace façade' style discovered.¹⁹⁰⁶ Morgan believed them to be evidence of royal connotations, for they have great similarities to Old Kingdom royal stela designs.¹⁹⁰⁷ The remains of this tomb's superstructure measured 53.4 m long x 26.5 m wide and its internal substructure measured 44.8 m long x 18.1 m wide, built by mud bricks that varied in size, mostly 29 cm in length, 13 cm wide and 7 cm thick.¹⁹⁰⁸ The area that it encompassed was at least 1400 m², making it much larger than some of the contemporary royal tombs found in the royal cemetery of Abydos (i.e. 340 m²), of course excluding their separate funerary monuments.¹⁹⁰⁹ The tomb was unique for it was found to have been built above ground, whereas other contemporary tombs had a pit dug partially into the ground to create the substructure.¹⁹¹⁰ As a result, this tomb had a total of sixteen rooms surrounding five central ones, but no mortuary provisions were found in the outer rooms and they were instead filled mostly with gravel and sand.¹⁹¹¹ Kahl believes these rooms were not built for storage, but built for architectural support for the whole tomb.¹⁹¹² Based on Borchardt's plans, La Loggia states that there is no evidence that this tomb had a separate substructure.¹⁹¹³ It is noted that the

¹⁹⁰¹ Morgan (1897: 167, Fig. 549); Garstang (1905a; 1905b: 711).

¹⁹⁰² van Wetering (2012: 93); Tassie & van Wetering (2013/2014: 64).

¹⁹⁰³ van Wetering (2012: 95).

¹⁹⁰⁴ van Wetering (2012: 95).

¹⁹⁰⁵ Wilkinson (1999: 5).

¹⁹⁰⁶ Reisner (1936: 352); Spencer (1979: 15); Arnold (2009: 148).

¹⁹⁰⁷ Morgan (1897: 148).

¹⁹⁰⁸ Reisner (1936: 27); Spencer (1979: 16); Arnold (2009: 148).

¹⁹⁰⁹ Reisner (1936: 9, 27); Trigger (1983: 52).

¹⁹¹⁰ Morgan (1897: 154); Engel (2003b: 111).

¹⁹¹¹ Morgan (1897: 154, 158).

¹⁹¹² Kahl *et al* (2001: 174).

¹⁹¹³ La Loggia (2012: 213, fn. 808).

architectural design of this tomb is certainly not very different to the preceding Predynastic tombs in other cemeteries in Naqada and contemporary examples from the First Dynasty.¹⁹¹⁴ Many areas of this tomb were found to be looted and burnt, with initial suggestions that the observed fire damage occurred due to the actions of tomb robbers. However, alternative opinions dictate that the fire damage may have occurred while the tomb was still intact before the looting started and the act of setting the tomb on fire may have been a deliberate action for religious purposes.¹⁹¹⁵

A great quantity of mortuary provisions were recovered from this tomb including stone vessels, pottery, seal impressions, flint tools, jewellery, cosmetics and statues.¹⁹¹⁶ Parallel instances of these items were found within the royal tombs of Abydos, providing comparative material, especially stone vessels made from diorite and quartz (Fig. 176).¹⁹¹⁷ The finds associated with the tomb from Morgan's campaign were widely distributed to a number of museums and they have been re-examined by a project under Kahl.¹⁹¹⁸ By comparing the assemblage with the findings from the contemporary 3557 tomb at North Saqqara, it is concluded that the diversity of the stones found within the grave (i.e. peridotite, porphyry, greywacke, serpentinite, carnelian, limestone, dolomite, granite, gabbro, diorite, basalt, dolerite, calcite alabaster, rock crystal and obsidian) testify that the owner of the tomb would have been a relative of the royal family.¹⁹¹⁹ Necklace beads were also recovered from the tomb and a high quantity of these items within a single burial signifies the wealth and status of a deceased tomb owner during the Early Dynastic period.¹⁹²⁰ One particular material found within this grave includes obsidian and this exotic material has been linked with both royal tombs and elite tombs of the Early Dynastic period.¹⁹²¹ For example, the royal tombs of Narmer and Aha have been reported to have had this material found in their graves.¹⁹²²

Morgan did not conclude anything regarding the ownership of the tomb, despite finding numerous epigraphic references to Hor-Aha on seal impressions (Fig. 176).¹⁹²³ The attribution

¹⁹¹⁴ Kemp (1973: 42-43); Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: pl. 12).

¹⁹¹⁵ Borchardt (1898: 90); Morgan (1926: 165); Kahl *et al* (2001: 57)

¹⁹¹⁶ Kahl *et al* (2001: 175).

¹⁹¹⁷ Morgan (1897: 170, 178, fig. 604-605); Petrie (1901: pl. 49A.140, pl. 51C.234, pl. 51F.302, pl. 53B.405); Quibell (1905: 182 [CG 11921], 192, pl. 39 [CG 11962]) *cf.* Aston (1994: 116-117).

¹⁹¹⁸ Kahl (2001: 3); Bagh (2004: 591).

¹⁹¹⁹ Garstang (1905: 711); Kahl *et al* (2001: 183-185); Kahl (2001: 27).

¹⁹²⁰ Bagh (2004: 594) refers to a stela found by Emery (1962: 2, pl. 3A) from Saqqara which depicts a princess, named Shepsetipet, with three necklaces, a bracelet and anklets, not to mention a string of beads around her hair.

¹⁹²¹ Kahl *et al* (2001: 183-184); Campagno (2004: 695).

¹⁹²² Kahl *et al* (2001: 184).

¹⁹²³ Morgan (1897: 168, figs. 556-558).

of this tomb was initially given to the mythical king Menes.¹⁹²⁴ The tomb was a topic of the debate in the earlier 1900s in relation to whether the mythical Menes from Manetho's writings correlated with the identity of Hor-Aha or Narmer.¹⁹²⁵ Once it was confirmed that Hor-Aha was buried in Abydos, more attention was paid towards the name, Neith-hotep, which was also inscribed upon some mud seals and labels, to determine her as the tomb's owner.¹⁹²⁶ The presence of this name has also been found inscribed on the edge of an ivory lid accompanying a slate palette from B16 of Hor-Aha's tomb complex.¹⁹²⁷ Furthermore, the name of Neithhotep has been found to be written inside a serekh, similar in style to that of Meretneith, such as the seal inscription found on a jar sourced from the tomb (Fig. 176).¹⁹²⁸ Therefore, leading some opinions to suggest that this tomb was the resting place of a Queen named Neithhotep, who is believed to be the mother of Hor-Aha and wife of Narmer.¹⁹²⁹ But, it could be that the presence of Neithhotep's name may not be an indication of tomb ownership.¹⁹³⁰ Rather, her name may signify a linked role to the ancient Egyptian rulership. For example, recent evidence from the surveys and excavations conducted by Tallet in the South Sinai have revealed more royal inscriptions indicating the mining expeditions performed during the Early Dynastic period, including one pertaining to Neithhotep in the Wadi Ameyra.¹⁹³¹ Moreover, a seal with her name has been found inscribed on an ivory plaque from the debris associated with tomb 728.H.5 at Helwan.¹⁹³²

Fragments of a burnt skeleton was found in the main funerary chamber γ , including the phalanges of a right hand, fragments of a skull, teeth and some undetermined pieces of bone (Fig. 176A).¹⁹³³ Kahl is critical that not even a proper anthropological assessment of these remains was even provided.¹⁹³⁴ However, some burnt bones of the smallest quantity were found by Garstang and were brought to the University of Liverpool, despite there being no mention of them from his reports.¹⁹³⁵ These skeletal remains were then sampled for DNA testing under

¹⁹²⁴ Maspero (1897: 1); Borchardt (1897: 1056-1057); Emery (1961: 37) *cf.* Heagy (2014: 76).

¹⁹²⁵ Gardiner (1961: 405-407).

¹⁹²⁶ Morgan (1897: 169, Fig. 559); Bagh (2004: 592-593, Fig. 1).

¹⁹²⁷ Petrie (1901: 38, pl. 32.67).

¹⁹²⁸ Emery (1954: 169, Fig. 226; 1961: 49, Fig. 8); Troy (1986: 133, Fig. 96); Roth (1997: 108-109, Fig. 3).

¹⁹²⁹ Petrie (1901: 4); Garstang (1905: 712); Reisner (1936: 10); Kaplony (1963: 589); Spencer (1980: 63); Wilkinson (1999: 70; 2007: 17); Kahl *et al* (2001: 185); Heagy (2014: 76).

¹⁹³⁰ Gardiner (1961: 405-407).

¹⁹³¹ Tallet (2009: 179, fn. 1), (2012: 1652).

¹⁹³² Saad (1951: 44, Fig. 14); Regulski (2010: 77).

¹⁹³³ Morgan (1897: 158-159).

¹⁹³⁴ Kahl *et al* (2001: 175).

¹⁹³⁵ Kahl (2001: 27).

the auspices of Kahl's project and have been attested to belong to a male individual.¹⁹³⁶ Thus, this has led to alternative discussions designating the deceased tomb owner to be a man, leading considerations of Neithhotep as a male name, in the form of 'Hetepneith' as suggested by Regulski.¹⁹³⁷ However, other private names have been referenced from the tomb, such as 'Rechit', whom van Wetering proposes to be the tomb owner instead.¹⁹³⁸ However, the original context of these skeletal remains are not known and they would have been sourced from the excavated debris outside of the tomb, even though they are attested to have come from the interior of the tomb.¹⁹³⁹ Most likely, they would have come from one of the surrounding 16 graves, for Morgan reports finding unburnt small bones coming from these chambers nearer to the surface.¹⁹⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the dating of these remains is not confirmed and they could also be considered intrusive remains from a later period due to looting activities.

There is very limited information regarding the mortuary area surrounding the Naqada mastaba, since Morgan did not provide much information about the other nearby graves. However, another large mastaba tomb was mentioned to be located to the south-southwest of Morgan's mastaba and was dug into the ground rather than built above ground compared to its famous neighbour (Fig. 175).¹⁹⁴¹ Similar pottery to those found from the Naqada tomb was recovered from this tomb, but, these were perceived from broken fragments since this tomb was also heavily looted and only a small amount of debris was left behind.¹⁹⁴² Morgan describes it to be of considerable size and dimensions in comparison to the Naqada mastaba, but he does not provide any exact measurements. However, Kemp has estimated the size of its substructural pit to measure 23 m long x 8 m wide and the potential superstructure to have been 33 m long x 18 m wide, based on Morgan's scaled map.¹⁹⁴³ No other information about this neighbouring tomb can be retrieved.

¹⁹³⁶ Kahl (2001: 27, fn. 31); Regulski (2010: 56).

¹⁹³⁷ Regulski (2010: 56). Based on the gold wire beads found from the tomb of Djer, Petrie (1901: 28) has advocated that the deceased owner of the Naqada tomb may have been a male individual. However, he does not rule out the argument for a female deceased tomb owner, based on the high quantity of labels inscribed with Neithhotep's names, who could have provided the necklaces for the tomb.

¹⁹³⁸ van Wetering (2012: 111-112).

¹⁹³⁹ Garstang (1905b: 711).

¹⁹⁴⁰ Morgan (1897: 159). « *Dans les autres chambres les os qui ont été trouvés n'avaient point été brûlés et provenaient des tombes postérieures de la surface.* » 'In the other chambers the bones found were not burnt and came from the most recent graves of the surface.'

¹⁹⁴¹ Morgan (1897: 159).

¹⁹⁴² Morgan (1897: 159).

¹⁹⁴³ Morgan (1897: 148); Kemp (1967: 24-25, fn. *).

Other discussions about the Naqada tomb's importance concern its isolated location.¹⁹⁴⁴ However, this is not a unique case, for other Early Dynastic tombs of a similar design are known at Armant near the Nile bend near the sites of Er-Rizeiqat and Gebelein where Predynastic and Early Dynastic activities may have occurred on the western bank.¹⁹⁴⁵ It is speculated that the building of this tomb was an act of legitimising an 'alliance' between the Dynastic kingship and the ancestral Predynastic rulers of Nubt, to whom Neithhotep/Hetepneith may have descended from.¹⁹⁴⁶ Savage has also discussed this potential alliance, but prefers to link Neithhotep/Hetepneith to the ruling line of Hierakonpolis.¹⁹⁴⁷ However, van Wetering points to Nubt as an important location for economic purposes and the placement of a tomb solidifies the kingship's influence over the area's gold procurement.¹⁹⁴⁸ Nonetheless, since being excavated in the early 20th century, the Naqada tomb has been subjected to erosion and seabakkin activities.¹⁹⁴⁹ Despite being relocated in 1981, the tomb has reportedly been destroyed since early 2017, due to modern agricultural activities.¹⁹⁵⁰

8.1.2 ARMANT

The cemetery of Armant is located about 15 km south west of Luxor within the desert area to the north of a number of Pharaonic buildings, including the temple of Montu-Re, which was actively used between the Middle Kingdom and Ptolemaic periods (25°37'20" N; 32°32'40" E); not to mention the Ptolemaic 'Buchem' which housed the deceased sacred bulls of the cult of Montu at Armant.¹⁹⁵¹ These religious structures were initially excavated by Mond & Myers, who performed a small sondage in the small area of the West Forecourt of the temple of Montu-Re, which revealed a deposit containing Predynastic/Early Dynastic ceramic sherds underneath the temple.¹⁹⁵² Furthermore, a group of Protodynastic/Early Dynastic tombs within the Armant cemetery itself.¹⁹⁵³ The tombs labelled 1207 and 1208, however, were given better descriptions due to the amount of archaeological 'wealth' which was found in them and the similarities they both shared in terms of their architectural style and size.¹⁹⁵⁴ However, both these tombs have

¹⁹⁴⁴ Wilkinson (1999: 70, 337); van Wetering (2012: 113-114).

¹⁹⁴⁵ Ejsmond (2013: 37; 2017b: 242, fn. 16).

¹⁹⁴⁶ Tyldesley (2006: 27); Wilkinson (2007: 17);

¹⁹⁴⁷ Savage (2001: 133).

¹⁹⁴⁸ van Wetering (2012: 115).

¹⁹⁴⁹ Wilkinson (1999: 70); Kahl *et al* (2001: 173).

¹⁹⁵⁰ Tristant (Personal Communication, 8th September 2017).

¹⁹⁵¹ Mond & Myers (1937: pl. II; 1940: pl. I); Werner (2001: 126-127); Thiers (2014: 32).

¹⁹⁵² Mond & Myers (1934; 1940: 1-2, 29, pls. II, X). The excavators date the pot sherds to be between S.D. 60-78.

¹⁹⁵³ Mond & Myers (1937: 32). Tombs 1207, 1208, 1210, 1312, 1317, 1350 & 1353.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Mond & Myers (1937: 3, pl. V).

been severely plundered, leaving no sign of the deceased's body, which would help to suggest an idea about who was buried in these tombs.

Tomb 1207 is a lined rectangular pit measuring 5.1 m long x 3.8 m wide x 2.4 m deep, which was dug into the native 'gebel' desert soil of the site and is described to have two levels of wall construction (Fig. 177).¹⁹⁵⁵ The first is a 'fine filling' founding the pit of the tomb, with the actual brickwork starting halfway and being supported by a coarse and lumpy rubble filling behind the base of the wall on the inside.¹⁹⁵⁶ Where the brickwork begins in the tomb's walls is hypothesised by the excavators to be the tomb's superstructure.¹⁹⁵⁷ The walls are not completely preserved and are mostly damaged towards where a 'ledge on floor' is labelled to be located.¹⁹⁵⁸ The tomb consists of numerous areas in its substructure, which have been branded to be chambers by the excavators, accounting for eight spaces in total (A-J); however, some of them are damaged.¹⁹⁵⁹ Furthermore, certain parts of the wall protrude out into the substructure's inner space, which are similar to the cross wall plan within the royal tombs of Djer and Djet.¹⁹⁶⁰ Within the centre of the tomb there are two strange trenches at the tomb's base, which were thought to be dug out by robbers who plundered the grave, but may be originally designed insertions due to their symmetrical dimensions.¹⁹⁶¹ The mortuary provisions found within this tomb is a varied assemblage, however, precedence was given to describing the undisturbed pottery found in Chamber E¹⁹⁶², some copper 'axes'¹⁹⁶³ found near the southern trench of the tomb and an enormous amount of stone vessel fragments accounting for 49 units made from numerous stone elements including calcite, limestone, altered gabbro and veined rose quartz.¹⁹⁶⁴ The stone vessels fragments have been useful in dating this tomb to the timeframe of Djer and Djet of the First Dynasty, especially a stone bowl fragment made from rose quartz.¹⁹⁶⁵

¹⁹⁵⁵ Mond & Myers (1937: 16); Clark (2016: 83, 531).

¹⁹⁵⁶ Mond & Myers (1937: 19, pl. V).

¹⁹⁵⁷ Mond & Myers (1937: 19).

¹⁹⁵⁸ Mond & Myers (1937: pl. V).

¹⁹⁵⁹ Mond & Myers (1937: 16).

¹⁹⁶⁰ Petrie (1900: 10, pls. lxi, lxiii), (1901: 8, pl. lx); Mond & Myers (1937: pl. V); Adams (1994: 184). Clark (2016: 83, fn. 585) suggests that the trenches may have been founding supports for a wooden shrine and it was abutted by the protruding walls.

¹⁹⁶¹ Mond & Myers (1937: 20).

¹⁹⁶² Mond & Myers (1937: 19-20). Pottery identified as 67b (x 2), 63o and 66t (x 4).

¹⁹⁶³ Mond & Myers (1937: 119).

¹⁹⁶⁴ Mond & Myers (1937: 20, 36, pl. XVII).

¹⁹⁶⁵ Mond & Myers (1937: pl. XVII, 1s); Aston (1994: 65-66, 127) *cf.* Clark (2016: 83). Other dates for both tombs have been proposed, such as Naqada IIID, which accounts for a late First Dynasty date instead of an earlier one, see Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 361).

Despite being called ‘a less accurate structure’ due to the different range of measurements, the 1208 tomb has a similar construction to tomb 1207 (Fig. 178).¹⁹⁶⁶ However, it is larger, measuring 6.3 m long x 4.75 m wide x 3.1 m deep and consists of subdividing 0.4 m thick internal mud brick cross walls which create the space for an additional burial chamber for the deceased, which measures 3.02 m long x 2.02 m wide.¹⁹⁶⁷ The retrieved mortuary provisions included stone vessel fragments from either bowls or cylindrical jars made from limestone, calcite, brecciated marble and slate; making up 36 stone vessel units.¹⁹⁶⁸ Both these tombs were also found to have contained blue glazed faience beads.¹⁹⁶⁹

Despite the discovery of these interesting tombs, they were found within Cemetery 1200, which the excavators regarded as a trial site where tombs labelled from 1201-1299 in their tomb catalogue were located.¹⁹⁷⁰ It is possible that because of this type of attitude towards these labelled tombs, there is not much contextual information regarding where 1207 and 1208 are located in relation to the published 1300, 1400-1500 cemetery plans.¹⁹⁷¹ Some authors have highlighted both of these tomb’s importance despite not having too much information about their actual location and the evidence of their superstructures.¹⁹⁷² Bard states that tombs 1207 and 1208 are ‘spatially apart’ from cemeteries 1400-1500, but Mond & Myers do not state where these tombs are within their report.¹⁹⁷³ Wilkinson has highlighted that these two tombs have palace façade niches; however, this is not explicitly stated by the original excavators nor is it indicated on the tomb plans.¹⁹⁷⁴ Yet, Wilkinson categorises them together with other Early Dynastic tomb examples with palace façade characteristics to emphasise their presence as very unique tombs at the site of Armant and in comparison to other cemetery sites.¹⁹⁷⁵ Nonetheless, these tombs have been earmarked to be elite tombs, whose architectural characteristics are unlike anything found in the preceding Predynastic burials at Armant and have been interpreted to represent a change in both the burial facilities and social differentiation at the site during the First Dynasty.¹⁹⁷⁶ While much consideration is given to tombs 1207 and 1208, there are other Protodynastic tombs listed, but are not deemed to be monumental in comparison. For example,

¹⁹⁶⁶ Mond & Myers (1937: 17, 20, pl. V).

¹⁹⁶⁷ Mond & Myers (1937: 18, pl. V); Clark (2016: 531).

¹⁹⁶⁸ Mond & Myers (1937: 36, pls. XVII-XVIII).

¹⁹⁶⁹ Mond & Myers (1937: 20, 108).

¹⁹⁷⁰ Mond & Myers (1937: 6).

¹⁹⁷¹ Bard (1988: 54) mentions that 1207 and 1208 are ‘set spatially apart from Cemetery 1400-1500’, but their exact location is not stated.

¹⁹⁷² Campagno (2003: 23).

¹⁹⁷³ Bard (1988: 54-55; 1994: 73-74).

¹⁹⁷⁴ Mond & Myers (1937: 16-20, Pl. V); Wilkinson (2010: 55-56).

¹⁹⁷⁵ Wilkinson (2010: 55-56; 2016: 545-546).

¹⁹⁷⁶ Bard (1988: 54-55).

tomb 1312 is labelled by the excavators to be undisturbed, well-preserved and contained some glazed stone beads¹⁹⁷⁷, a variety of pottery types (Naqada IIIC) and the skeleton of the deceased¹⁹⁷⁸. The funerary assemblage of tombs 1350 and 1353 also included similar looking beads to 1312.¹⁹⁷⁹ Sadly, there is not much more information given about the other Protodynastic tombs, for they warranted no further comment from the excavators.¹⁹⁸⁰

8.1.3 GEBELEIN

The site of Gebelein is located on the west bank of the Nile in the modern area designated as ‘Naga el-Gherira’, about 28 km south of Luxor (25°29'32" N; 32°29'01" E).¹⁹⁸¹ Two hills made of limestone characterise the local topography and are both parallel to the Nile river.¹⁹⁸² The presence of these hills influences the site’s ancient (*Inr-ti*) and modern names (Gebelein), which both mean “two rocks” or “two mountains”.¹⁹⁸³ The Eastern hill is the largest and was indicated by Donadoni Roveri to be the location of the main settlement of Sumenu with the accompanying cemetery located to the south and west of the Eastern hill.¹⁹⁸⁴ To the south of the site is the Western hill, where the temple area of Per-Hathor is located, with an adjacent cemetery located to the west of this religious area. While the site has yielded a substantial amount of evidence in relation to the Old and Middle Kingdom, Late and Graeco-Roman periods, recent discussions have revived interest about the Predynastic and Early Dynastic occupation of the site.¹⁹⁸⁵

A unique Predynastic-Protodynastic funerary assemblage, including a flint dagger that Quibell acquired from a dealer in Qena, was stated to have come from a tomb within Gebelein.¹⁹⁸⁶ It is also stated that this funerary assemblage were also found together with a wooden bedstead with legs shaped as bull’s feet and a large ceramic vessel painted with a ship image.¹⁹⁸⁷ Early Dynastic evidence is limited from this site compared to other historical epochs, however, there are artefacts which date to this time period. For example, two parts of a

¹⁹⁷⁷ Mond & Myers (1937: 20, 76, 108, pls. XIV.1, XXXVII.7).

¹⁹⁷⁸ Mond & Myers (1937: pl. X.2, pl. LI). The skeleton associated with this tomb has not been properly described, apart from its position being photographed and drawn within the grave. There is also no information about its age or sex either.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Mond & Myers (1937: 108).

¹⁹⁸⁰ Mond & Myers (1937: 20).

¹⁹⁸¹ Donadoni Roveri (1999: 402); Ejsmond (2017a: 182).

¹⁹⁸² Wilkinson (1999: 335).

¹⁹⁸³ Donadoni Roveri (2001: 7); Ejsmond (2013: 31-32; 2015: 44-45).

¹⁹⁸⁴ Donadoni Roveri (1990: 23).

¹⁹⁸⁵ Wilkinson (1999: 335-336; 2000a: 384-385); Takamiya (2008: 32-33); Ejsmond (2013: 31).

¹⁹⁸⁶ Quibell (1901: 131).

¹⁹⁸⁷ Quibell (1901: 131).

limestone block sourced from the Gebelein's Ptolemaic temple of Per-Hathor were retrieved. The first one was found by Schiaparelli and Farina between 1910 and 1937 and is housed in the museum of Turin (Fig. 179).¹⁹⁸⁸ The second one is attributed to be connected to the one from Turin based on stylistic similarities and is being kept in the Cairo museum; but, its inventory number within the Cairo museum records is not known so it is not known when and where it was acquired within Gebelein (Fig. 180).¹⁹⁸⁹ While both of these blocks were found in Per-Hathor, the stylistic inscriptions found upon them signify that they date to an earlier time and are similar to those depicted on the Narmer palette.¹⁹⁹⁰ The function of these blocks may have acted as door jambs, yet this is not confirmed.¹⁹⁹¹

An Early Dynastic cemetery was discovered in the 1930s, located to the north of the Eastern mountain.¹⁹⁹² Several rectangular graves were found in this cemetery and they reportedly date to the early First Dynasty.¹⁹⁹³ Moreover, these tombs were made from mud brick with attached burial compartments and exhibit roof remains made from tamarisk wood beams or boards.¹⁹⁹⁴ Details about the superstructure of these tombs is not given, except the remains of rows of bricks which may have covered the substructural pits containing coffins.¹⁹⁹⁵ Recent survey work by the 'Gebelein Archaeological Project' has looked to uncover more information about this Early Dynastic cemetery's location which seems to be a bigger and more complex site than previously thought due to the intermingling of archaeological features from a variety of periods, from the Predynastic to the Late period.¹⁹⁹⁶ A combination of geophysical surveys and surface collections of pottery at the site has reinforced the existence of these mud brick walled Early Dynastic tombs.¹⁹⁹⁷ However, these tombs have not been completely excavated, therefore, information about their architecture and other in situ artefacts is very limited.¹⁹⁹⁸

Evidence of a Predynastic/Early Dynastic settlement within Gebelein has not been confirmed, despite the contemporary archaeological evidence emanating from the site. It has

¹⁹⁸⁸ Morenz (1994: 221); Bussmann (2010: 58). The Turin block has the inventory number, Supplement 12341.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Smith (1949: 137); Morenz (1994: 228). An inventory number for the Cairo block is reported to be TN 20.1.21.7. However, this is not in accordance with the 'JE' system that is in place for the Cairo museum.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Curto (1953); Morenz (1994); Bussmann (2010: 59); Kuhn (2014: 19-20); Ejsmond (2016: 7)

¹⁹⁹¹ Kuhn (2014: 20).

¹⁹⁹² Ejsmond (2013: 37).

¹⁹⁹³ Donadoni Roveri (1990: 25); Wilkinson (1999: 336).




¹⁹⁹⁴ Ejsmond (2013: 38).

¹⁹⁹⁵ Ejsmond (2013: 38).

¹⁹⁹⁶ Ejsmond (2017a).

¹⁹⁹⁷ Chyla *et al* (2017: 59).


¹⁹⁹⁸ Donadoni Roveri (1990: 25); Ejsmond (2016: 5-6).

been suggested that the site of Sumenu (Ptolemaic city of Crocodilopolis) may have been located to the north of Gebelein, which has been attested since the Middle Kingdom.¹⁹⁹⁹ However, this site may have been active since the Early Dynastic period, based on the presence of a recumbent crocodile sign  and an *im3* tree  within an inked hieroglyphic designation  on a stone vessel from tomb 3121 from North Saqqara (Fig. 98).²⁰⁰⁰ Regulski has validated this recumbent crocodile to be Gardiner sign (I5), which refers to Sobek.²⁰⁰¹ Furthermore, the combination of the recumbent crocodile and the *im3* tree has been linked to the name of Sumenu.²⁰⁰² More evidence is needed to validate this speculative theory though.

8.1.4 HIERAKONPOLIS

Located on the western bank of the Nile in southern Upper Egypt (25°05' N; 32°45' E), Hierakonpolis is considered a significant archaeological site because it is associated with more than 70 'localities', which could classify it as a micro-region.²⁰⁰³ The area has been active since the Predynastic period, especially in the Wadi Abu Suffian area adjacent to the Kom el-Ahmar area in the alluvial plain, where some important Predynastic archaeological remains have been excavated so far (Fig. 181).²⁰⁰⁴ The remains of a town mound lies in the alluvial plain of Nekhen, where the temple or 'palace' site containing the Narmer Palette and Main deposit were located and is known to have consisted of the only niched brick architecture, or palace façade decoration, known in a non-mortuary context (Fig. 181).²⁰⁰⁵ Hierakonpolis is deemed to be a fertile area, therefore an attractive spot to support a substantial community in ancient times.²⁰⁰⁶ Recent archaeobotanical studies on Predynastic plant macro remains within soil samples from a stratified trash mound, southeast of the settlement area of Locality 11C at Hierakonpolis, suggest that barley and wheat were major crop sources since the mid-Predynastic period.²⁰⁰⁷ Perennial vegetation is also represented on the outskirts towards the Western Desert which

¹⁹⁹⁹ Betrò (2006: 91); Ejsmond (2017b: 245).

²⁰⁰⁰ Emery (1949: 116-120); Kaplony (1963a: 149); Ejsmond (In Press). The hieroglyphic designation reads as , while the transliteration reads as *hm-ntr Sbk Im3t Mrii-R*, see Kaplony (1963b: 1197; 1963c: Taf. 150.865).

²⁰⁰¹ Regulski (2010: 130-131).

²⁰⁰² Kuentz (1929: 157-158).

²⁰⁰³ Hoffman (1982: Table VI.3); Savage (2001: 114); Friedman (2008b: 9).

²⁰⁰⁴ Adams (2000: 19); Figuerido (2002: 1); Friedman (2008b: 9).

²⁰⁰⁵ Bussmann (2014: 30); Friedman & Bussmann (2017: 81).

²⁰⁰⁶ Fairservis (1971-2: 10); Wilkinson (1999: 347); Friedman (2010a: 20).

²⁰⁰⁷ Fahmy *et al* (2011: 106).

confirms that the water table underneath the surface provides a good permanent source of water.²⁰⁰⁸ With this in mind Hierakonpolis is deemed to be an important regional area and an important site for Predynastic and Early Dynastic studies for it is the best example for investigating the long-term evolution of an early urban centre in Upper Egypt.²⁰⁰⁹ The history of this site may not have much Early Dynastic evidence to study, but the preceding Predynastic mortuary evidence from the site indicates the presence of a minority group regarded as the elite within this local area, based on the tombs emanating from the cemetery HK6, nestled within the Wadi Abu Suffian.

8.1.4.1 HK6 CEMETERY AND TOMB 100

The HK6 cemetery measures 220 m long x 90 m wide has always attracted great interest due to its unique location and has been excavated numerous times under Lansing in 1934 and Hoffman between 1979-85.²⁰¹⁰ It was then given a concentrated effort from 1997-1998 under Adams which revealed the existence of more than 30 graves.²⁰¹¹ The elements of wooden architecture exhibited by the tombs in this cemetery count as an innovative practice for the Naqada II period and the region, leading Friedman to interpret them to belong to strong leaders who were able to marshal labour and exotic resources to express their authority in a variety of ways via the construction of such tombs.²⁰¹²

The tombs found so far range in date from the Naqada IC-IIIC periods with a subsequent absence of evidence for the NIIC period.²⁰¹³ Recent analyses of the skeletal evidence sourced from the HK6 cemetery, indicate a complete absence of buried individuals younger than eight years and older than forty years of age.²⁰¹⁴ This suggests that to be buried within this cemetery was not available to all members of the local population at Hierakonpolis and reinforces the cemetery's exclusive burial location.²⁰¹⁵ While these are predominantly Predynastic tombs, it is important that they are mentioned since they depict mortuary features which are not too dissimilar to the subsequent royal and elite tombs of the Early Dynastic period. Tomb 23, for example, was found with an enclosing wooden posted fence measuring 16 m long x 9 m wide

²⁰⁰⁸ Fahmy *et al* (2011: 113).

²⁰⁰⁹ Figuerido (2004: 1); Moeller (2016: 108).

²⁰¹⁰ Adams (2000: 22-23; 2004: 35, fn. 2).

²⁰¹¹ Adams (2000: ix; 2004: 35);

²⁰¹² Friedman (2008b: 19); Friedman *et al* (2011: 157).

²⁰¹³ Adams (2004: 35).

²⁰¹⁴ Friedman *et al* (2017: 283).

²⁰¹⁵ Friedman *et al* (2017: 283).

with an entrance to the northeast (Fig. 182).²⁰¹⁶ This surrounds a tomb with a superstructure made from stout timbers to cover a substructure measuring 5.4 m long x 3.1 m wide x 1.17 m deep.²⁰¹⁷ These features attribute this tomb to be one of the earliest to provide clear evidence of a superstructure as part of one of the earliest known funerary complexes discovered, possibly a precedent for funerary complexes known in the Early Dynastic period, such as the Step Pyramid complex of Netjerikhet.²⁰¹⁸

It should be noted though that activity from the Protodynastic (Naqada IIIA-B) to the Early Dynastic period has been observed within the HK6 cemetery, due to the restorations reported from some of the tombs, especially the Naqada IC-IIA dated Tomb 16.²⁰¹⁹ This tomb is located about 30 m to the north of the Tomb 23 complex and measured approximately 4.3 x 2.6 m with a depth of 1.45 m, making it one of the largest tombs of the Predynastic period (Fig. 183).²⁰²⁰ A large number of subsidiary burials surround Tomb 16's central grave, with at least 12 human burials and the outer one for exotic animal burials that contains the remains of cats, dogs, a baboon, a hartebeest and the remains of an elephant.²⁰²¹ From within the central grave of Tomb 16, the skeletal remains of a young female adult (21-25 years) were found and the bones of an adult whose gender is unknown, including the fragments of a juvenile skeleton.²⁰²² Within this space was another brick-lined tomb that was inserted at a later period (Naqada IIIA2) which has been interpreted as a 'respectful renovation' to further reinforce the internal structure.²⁰²³

A number of sherds pertaining to Third Dynasty beer jars and bread moulds were discovered within structure 08-4, south-east of the pillared hall precinct in association with Tomb 23.²⁰²⁴ Their Third Dynasty date has been suggested due to their fabric similarities to some pottery found at the site of Dahshur within the mastaba of Prince Netjer-aperef.²⁰²⁵ The bread mould fabric from both Hierakonpolis and Dahshur are made from Nile silt and is mixed

²⁰¹⁶ Friedman (2005: 4).

²⁰¹⁷ Adams (2001: 5); Friedman (2005: 4).

²⁰¹⁸ Adams (2001: 6); Friedman (2005: 4; 2010b: 74).

²⁰¹⁹ Adams (2004: 35); Friedman (2008b: 10, 26).

²⁰²⁰ Friedman (2008a: 1188); Friedman *et al* (2011: 159); Friedman *et al* (2017: 233).

²⁰²¹ Friedman *et al* (2011: 174-185). The 12 human burials are home to at least 36 human bodies, out of which 8 males, 13 females and 11 juvenile skeletons have been accounted for. However, the sex of four bodies of skeletal evidence could not be determined.

²⁰²² Friedman *et al* (2011: 174).

²⁰²³ Hendrickx (2008: 75); Friedman *et al* (2011: 159).

²⁰²⁴ Adams (2004: 44-46); Friedman (2010b: 73-74, Fig. 10).

²⁰²⁵ Alexanian (1999a: 122-126, fig. 51, M3, M4; 130-137, fig. 54, M30, M33, M35, M38) *cf.* Friedman (2010b: 74).

with organic (e.g. chaff) and inorganic (e.g. pebbles) inclusions, giving it a coarse texture.²⁰²⁶ The beer jars are also found with a similar fabric to the bread moulds and are made from Nile silt, but have more inorganic inclusions, such as limestone pieces, and externally are very burnt with a porous texture and coated with a medium gloss.²⁰²⁷ Other examples of pottery with Third Dynasty examples, include a Nile B2 bowl, with internal ledge rim was found 40 cm above the torso of the deceased woman, buried alongside another individual affected by dwarfism, within tomb 47, located just north of Tomb 16.²⁰²⁸ The overall mortuary context surrounding this artefact dates to the Naqada IC-IIA period and not to the Third Dynasty, indicating that this artefact and the grave were inserted during one of the restoration stages of this tomb during the Early Dynastic period.²⁰²⁹

The act of renovating some of the tombs at HK6 at the dawn of the Early Dynastic period has also been discussed to have occurred for the painted Tomb 100, located towards the south of the Hierakonpolis cemetery. While the tomb's mortuary provisions solidify its Naqada IIC periodic date, certain motif depictions found towards the left corner of the tomb's wall painting have caused differing opinions to also suggest a Naqada III date for this tomb.²⁰³⁰ For example, an individual is depicted in the act of smiting a group of bound captives with a mace instrument, which is also depicted on the Naqada III dated ceremonial palettes, especially the Narmer palette (Fig. 184).²⁰³¹ Furthermore, an individual holding two animals is also depicted and is similar to the 'Master of Animals' motif that is seen on the Gebel el Arak knife, which is relatively dated to the Naqada III period (Fig. 184).²⁰³² The inclusion of these incongruent depictions suggests that the wall painting in Tomb 100 was not painted at an exclusive time and not by just one person.²⁰³³ Huyge suggests that the inclusion of these depictions reflect a modernisation of the painting during the Naqada III period, alongside his observation of the 'black boat' to be the only one painted with a high prowed stem.²⁰³⁴ Boats depicted with high prows are typical for Naqada III dated boat imagery as seen with the rock art examples found at the site of Nag el-Hamdulab, north of Aswan.²⁰³⁵ Based on this evidence, the tombs from the HK6 cemetery and Tomb 100 may have been regarded as revered sites during the earliest

²⁰²⁶ Alexanian (1999a: 124).

²⁰²⁷ Alexanian (1999a: 132, 134).

²⁰²⁸ Friedman *et al* (2017: 235-237, Fig. 3c, 281)

²⁰²⁹ Friedman *et al* (2017: 272, 274).

²⁰³⁰ Reisner (1936: 362); Baumgartel (1960: 126); Kaiser & Dreyer (1982: 242).

²⁰³¹ Quibell & Green (1902: 20-21, pls. lxxv-lxxix); Midant-Reynes (2000: 208)

²⁰³² Czichon & Sieversten (1993: 50-52); Dreyer (1999: 200-202); Vanhulle (2018: 175).

²⁰³³ Wengrow (2006: 115).

²⁰³⁴ Huyge (2014: 98).

²⁰³⁵ Huyge (2002: 198); Hendrickx *et al* (2012: 1072, 1078, Fig. 11); Vanhulle (2018: 175).

stages of the Pharaonic period, possibly as pilgrimage spots, and efforts were made to preserve them.²⁰³⁶ This is similar to how Umm el-Qaab at Abydos was highly regarded as a burial site for Osiris during the Twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, based on the dated artefacts that has been found in the tomb of Djer, not to mention the large quantities of pottery sherds scattered all over the site.²⁰³⁷ While the identities of the deceased buried in HK6 and Tomb 100 remain unknown for now, it is interpreted that they were a selection of individuals who were buried in this area due to their special attributes, whether they be physical or charismatic.²⁰³⁸ Moreover, based on the exclusive mortuary features observed from these tombs, the agency allocated to the deceased who these tombs were built for are referred to as the possible ancestral innovators of political and iconographic representations of power that will be observed from the mortuary evidence of the First Dynasty and onwards.²⁰³⁹

8.1.4.2 HK27 - THE FORT CEMETERY

A couple of Early Dynastic cemeteries are also present at Hierakonpolis. Firstly, there is the large HK27 cemetery or the Fort Cemetery, which is known as such due to its position underneath and around the fort structure attributed to the Second Dynasty king, Khasekhemwy (25°05'28" N; 32°46'25" E) (Fig. 21).²⁰⁴⁰ The HK27 cemetery is home to over 298 burials, which date from the Naqada IIC period to at least the Second Dynasty and the area is interpreted to have been the burial place for most of the local community's population.²⁰⁴¹ Large rectangular graves have been noted from Garstang's excavation records, which were mainly clustered in the north-west corner of the Fort.²⁰⁴² Their Early Dynastic date has been reinforced by the discovery of a pottery coffin lid fragment found by Hoffman in a looted grave, labelled Tomb 1, about 50 m west south west of the western corner of the Fort structure.²⁰⁴³ Tomb 1 itself was a rectangular pit measuring 2.28 m long x 1.30 m wide with a depth of 1 m, a prime example of most grave types which appear towards the end of the Predynastic period.²⁰⁴⁴ This tomb was excavated until a destruction layer was encountered just above the tomb floor where a total of twenty-eight incised fragments of this coffin were found that exhibited coherent

²⁰³⁶ Droux (2008: 14-15); Friedman (2010b: 74-75).

²⁰³⁷ Dreyer (1999: 125); Richards (2005: 39, 51); Effland *et al* (2010: 26-27).

²⁰³⁸ Huyge (2014: 97); Friedman *et al* (2017: 283).

²⁰³⁹ Friedman (2008a: 1191); Friedman *et al* (2011: 157); Anđelković (2011b: 27).

²⁰⁴⁰ Hoffman (1982: 35); Friedman (2007: 326-327).

²⁰⁴¹ Garstang (1907: 136); Adams (1987: 178); Friedman (2008b: 10, Table 1).

²⁰⁴² Adams (1987: 178, pl. 23, 24 [Grave 142]);

²⁰⁴³ Hoffman (1982: 35-36); Adams (1987: 178).

²⁰⁴⁴ Hoffman (1982: 36).

deigns depicting a bird and a bovid.²⁰⁴⁵ Despite the tomb being mostly robbed, accompanying ceramic shapes and wares were also found, including a ‘Ka-bowl’, and they date consistently to the Protodynastic or First Dynasty period.²⁰⁴⁶ Along with the coffin fragments found within the destruction layer above the tomb’s floor, adult human bones were also found, but they did not provide much information to determine the sex of the individual.²⁰⁴⁷ Additionally, the skeletal remains of two forelimbs from a very young goat were also found.²⁰⁴⁸

According to the notes of the excavators, three brick mastabas exist in this cemetery, located to the north of the fort structure and were lined near each other from West to East.²⁰⁴⁹ The most western tomb of these was the largest mastaba and it featured a stairway leading to a small chamber below ground.²⁰⁵⁰ Other chambers within this tomb were also present due to the existence of half-partition walls, but these chambers contained nothing but filling and in the stairway and chamber below were fragments of calcite cylinder jars and coarse pots commonly attributed to the Old Kingdom period.²⁰⁵¹ The other two mastabas differed in their architectural features. One had a central wall instead of a stairway, but both tombs contained fragments of diorite and limestone vases, but no inscribed objects, nor anything which would differentiate them from any other mastaba tomb.²⁰⁵² The outer sides of the mass of brick built tomb walls were very disturbed due to sebbakhin activities, so it was impossible for the excavators to trace their tomb outlines.²⁰⁵³ The most eastern tomb featured a stairway like its western mastaba tomb counterpart, but it was not in the centre of the tomb.²⁰⁵⁴ The excavators mention a plaque of green glaze which was oblong in shape and similar to the plaques that were discovered within the Step Pyramid of Netjerikhet at Saqqara.²⁰⁵⁵

8.2 EAST BANK

8.2.1 ELKAB

The site of Nekheb, known as Elkab today, is located on the east bank of the Nile, opposite the site of Hierakonpolis and it is famous for its striking mudbrick walled enclosure

²⁰⁴⁵ Hoffman (1982: 36-37).

²⁰⁴⁶ Hoffman (1982: 37).

²⁰⁴⁷ Hoffman (1982: 36).

²⁰⁴⁸ Hoffman (1982: 36).

²⁰⁴⁹ Quibell & Green (1902: 25); Friedman (2008b: 10).

²⁰⁵⁰ Quibell & Green (1902: 25).

²⁰⁵¹ Quibell & Green (1902: 25).

²⁰⁵² Quibell & Green (1902: 25).

²⁰⁵³ Quibell & Green (1902: 25).

²⁰⁵⁴ Quibell & Green (1902: 25).

²⁰⁵⁵ Quibell & Green (1902: 25).

that dates to the Late Period (25°07'10" N; 32°47'50" E).²⁰⁵⁶ The site is near the Nile, located within the mouth of the Wadi Hilal.²⁰⁵⁷ Because of the Wadi Hilal, a large valley area has been eroded within the dominating hills of the Nubian sandstone, making this area very suitable for agriculture.²⁰⁵⁸ The cemeteries of Elkab lie just beyond this agricultural land. Elkab's location would have been considered a suitable location to control transport on both land and the river for economic and military activities, since the alluvial plain only allows a narrow passage between the Nile and the escarpment due to the nature of the Wadi Hilal where the site is situated in.²⁰⁵⁹ This wadi has been noted to be a point of departure for important desert roads, such as the one which connects Luxor and Elkab besides from the road following the Nile.²⁰⁶⁰ However, Hendrickx stresses there is no proof that such a desert road would have existed as far back in times of antiquity.²⁰⁶¹

The Belgium archaeological missions have been active at the site since the 1940s, revealing the extent of the settlement and cemetery areas within the walled enclosure.²⁰⁶² Since 2009, the Belgian archaeological mission shifted their attention from the rock necropolis to the settlement area of Elkab in and around the site's great walled enclosure.²⁰⁶³ Evidence from their 2009 and 2010 excavations of the site revealed intact occupation levels exhibiting a number of ceramic sherd remains dating to the Early Predynastic period, such as sherds indicating storage jars made from Nile C fabric (Naqada IIC-D), black-topped and polished red sherds (Naqada I) and rippled ceramic sherds (Badarian).²⁰⁶⁴ The presence of these artefacts suggest that Elkab was continuously inhabited from either the early Naqada I or Badarian period straight through to the Old Kingdom.²⁰⁶⁵ Thus, the presence of a settlement near the rock necropolis indicates that the surrounding site was significant before the onset of the Old Kingdom period thus justifying the number of Predynastic and Early Dynastic mortuary remains that have been recorded at the site.²⁰⁶⁶

²⁰⁵⁶ Schott (1961: 125); Hendrickx (1994: 9); Midant-Reynes (2000: 205).

²⁰⁵⁷ Vermeersch (1970: 46-47); Hendrickx (1994: 9).

²⁰⁵⁸ Hendrickx (1994: 9).

²⁰⁵⁹ Hendrickx (1994: 9-10).

²⁰⁶⁰ Schott (1961: 125-128) *cf.* Hendrickx (1994: 10, fn. 4).

²⁰⁶¹ Kessler (1980: 331.6) *cf.* Hendrickx (1994: 10, fn. 4).

²⁰⁶² Wilkinson (1999: 331).

²⁰⁶³ Claes *et al* (2014: 73).

²⁰⁶⁴ Claes *et al* (2014: 75-77).

²⁰⁶⁵ Claes *et al* (2014: 77).

²⁰⁶⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 332).

Firstly, there is the Naqada III cemetery located within the great walled enclosure, which is dated to the period of state formation.²⁰⁶⁷ Secondly, there are recorded Early Dynastic tombs, especially the presence of ‘high-status burials’ which allude to the town’s importance.²⁰⁶⁸ A number of small Early Dynastic mastabas are also recorded near where the granite blocks inscribed with the name of Khasekhemwy were located, inside the north-western edge of the temenos of the local temple.²⁰⁶⁹ These tombs have been thoroughly plundered and may have potentially been attached to a larger cemetery comprising of Old Kingdom dated mastaba tombs.²⁰⁷⁰

8.2.1.1 THIRD DYNASTY ROCK CUT MASTABA

Despite the majority of Old Kingdom tombs found on the rock necropolis, not far from the walled Late Period enclosure at Elkab, a brick construction was examined in 1987, which revealed the presence of another mastaba tomb that was cut into the rock with its perimeter measuring 20 m long x 10m wide and potentially 1.5 m high.²⁰⁷¹ The Belgian excavations began work on investigating this ‘enigmatic mud brick mastaba’ in 1996 which is located 50 m above the surrounding plain on top of the rock necropolis.²⁰⁷² Initially this tomb was thought to be dated to the Sixth Dynasty based on the corresponding Old Kingdom tombs that are built on the Elkab rock necropolis.²⁰⁷³ However, the tomb’s architectural features indicated it to be an earlier tomb, with palace façade exterior panelling on its exposed superstructural faces, not to mention an offering niche located near the mastaba tomb’s north-western corner (Fig. 186).²⁰⁷⁴ Within this offering niche space, two offering stands and some jars were found in situ.

The superstructure of this tomb was carved into the rock of this necropolis, in the form of an ‘L-shaped stairway’ that was partly obstructed by a large quartzite boulder.²⁰⁷⁵ The stairway descends for about 10 m underground before it joins a vertical shaft which drops another 11 m in depth (Fig. 186).²⁰⁷⁶ The architectural features of this tomb are typical for the Second and Third Dynasties, especially the tomb of Hesyre (2405) in North Saqqara, which have the substructural designs incorporating the conjunction of the stairway and vertical

²⁰⁶⁷ Hendrickx (1994); Wilkinson (1999: 333).

²⁰⁶⁸ Wilkinson (1999: 333).

²⁰⁶⁹ Sayce & Clarke (1905: 239); Hendrickx & Huyge (1989: 12) *cf.* Wilkinson (1999: 333).

²⁰⁷⁰ Sayce & Clarke (1905: 242); Wilkinson (1999: 333).

²⁰⁷¹ Huyge & Limme (2012: 53)

²⁰⁷² Limme *et al* (1997: 5).

²⁰⁷³ Limme *et al* (1997: 5).

²⁰⁷⁴ Limme *et al* (1997: 5-6).

²⁰⁷⁵ Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁷⁶ Limme *et al* (1997: 6).

shaft.²⁰⁷⁷ The mortuary provisions collected from the tomb consist of stone vessels, rough pottery and a few sherds of medium bowls, which help support a Third Dynasty date.²⁰⁷⁸ For example, plenty of stone vessel fragments found in the fill of the tomb shaft and outside of the tomb's superstructure have been stated to date to an Old Kingdom date, 2600 BC more or less.²⁰⁷⁹ Arriving at a depth of 23 m, the main burial chamber of the tomb was located, which was rectangular in shape measuring 3 m long x 1.7 m wide and had been thoroughly looted.²⁰⁸⁰ The stone vessel fragments recovered from the tomb consist of breccia, diorite, gneiss and calcite, mostly recovered from the fill in the lower part of the shaft and the burial chamber.²⁰⁸¹ Some of the original artefacts pertaining to an Early Dynastic date were found in the form of a chisel and an end-scraper made from elaborate flint, two small calcite cylindrical vessels, a few pottery sherds and some coarse-grained sandstone grindstones.²⁰⁸²

Skeletal remains within this tomb were present in a variety of locations within the tomb's substructure. Seven individual bodies were found in a small chamber was discovered in the opposite wall of the shaft near where the L-shaped stairway ended.²⁰⁸³ They consisted of 2 children and 5 adults, with the adult mummies interred within anthropoid coffins, some of which were found to be elaborately decorated with mythological scenes and texts, but they were seriously deteriorated.²⁰⁸⁴ The Belgian archaeologists were able to collect samples from one of the adult mummies for radiocarbon dating purposes and they provided a calibrated date of 1010–820 BC, which is contextually dated to the Third Intermediate period (possibly during the Twenty-First Dynasty).²⁰⁸⁵ Later excavations in 1999 continued the excavations deep into the tomb shaft which was 24.5 m deep within a 1.75m square area.²⁰⁸⁶ At about 21.5 m, two juvenile skeletons were found within the rubble filling, both found to be 9 and 11 years old.²⁰⁸⁷ One of these juvenile individuals was found to have been provided an anklet composed of cowrie shells.²⁰⁸⁸ Radiocarbon dating samples from the deceased remains have suggested a calibrated date of 1130–820 BC, which correlates with the late New Kingdom or early Third

²⁰⁷⁷ Limme *et al* (1997: 6); Huyge (2003: 30). Comparisons have also been made with the 'Mastaba T' tomb excavated by Daressy and Petrie in South Giza.

²⁰⁷⁸ Limme *et al* (1997: 6); Huyge (2003: 30).

²⁰⁷⁹ Huyge (2003: 29); Huyge & Limme (2012: 53).

²⁰⁸⁰ Huyge (2003: 30).

²⁰⁸¹ Huyge (2003: 30).

²⁰⁸² Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁸³ Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁸⁴ Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁸⁵ Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁸⁶ Huyge & Limme (2012: 53).

²⁰⁸⁷ Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁸⁸ Huyge (2003: 29).

Intermediate Period.²⁰⁸⁹ These skeletal remains were found to be near a decayed fragment of a New Kingdom or Third Intermediate period coffin lid, not to mention two small ribbed faience vessels of an unusual type which are dated to the early New Kingdom period.²⁰⁹⁰ More skeletal remains were found in the fill of the tomb shaft, but were found to be disarticulated and their sex could not be determined. However, samples from these deceased remains were radiocarbon dated to a calibrated date of 1410–1010 BC.²⁰⁹¹ These results suggest that this tomb was reused during the New Kingdom period and based on the stone vessel fragments found in and around this tomb, it is assured that the skeletal remains found represent later burials which reused parts of this tomb, not to mention the older funerary equipment.²⁰⁹² While the identity of the tomb occupant remains unknown, it is plausible to suggest that he or she had the resources to build a tomb of this magnitude on a unique geographical position on top of the rock necropolis.²⁰⁹³ Thus, according to the excavators, he or she would have been of a high rank.²⁰⁹⁴

8.2.1.2 SECOND DYNASTY CEMETERY

On the lower part of the southern slope of the main rocky hill crop where the rock necropolis at Elkab is known, a largely intact cemetery was located by the Belgian Archaeological mission.²⁰⁹⁵ This cemetery is made up of three concentrations that are clearly distinct in the surrounding landscape due to the large number of exposed rocks (Fig. 187).²⁰⁹⁶ These rocks are of considerable size and form stone crowns which allowed them to be funerary landmarks for associated tombs built in their vicinity.²⁰⁹⁷ Around 41 tombs have been accounted for from this cemetery and are spread out across its three concentrations of stone crowns.²⁰⁹⁸ From the graves that were excavated, there is a wide variety of tomb types which took advantage of creating tomb pits within the natural fractures and faults within the surrounding blocks of rock. As a result, the graves in this cemetery do not have a preferential orientation for their design largely depended on the surrounding terrain.²⁰⁹⁹ The majority of the deceased were mostly children, but some adolescent and adult skeletons were also accounted

²⁰⁸⁹ Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁹⁰ Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁹¹ Huyge (2003: 30).

²⁰⁹² Huyge (2003: 29).

²⁰⁹³ Limme *et al* (1997: 6).

²⁰⁹⁴ Huyge & Limme (2012: 54).

²⁰⁹⁵ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 47).

²⁰⁹⁶ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 47).

²⁰⁹⁷ Huyge & Limme (2012: 54).

²⁰⁹⁸ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

²⁰⁹⁹ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

for (Fig. 187).²¹⁰⁰ The older children and adults were found lying in contracted positions on both the left and right sides.²¹⁰¹ Most of the deceased were buried together with a limited number of mortuary provisions, but a large variation of them can be observed with most of the children's graves found with large storage jars, some of which were found to not have a neck.²¹⁰² Moreover, other forms of graves goods included a variation of ceramics, stone vessels, bone bracelets, beads made from stone and faience.²¹⁰³

From the ceramics that were recovered from the graves, their relative typology matches with a Naqada IIID date or more prominently a Second Dynasty date, around 2700 BC.²¹⁰⁴ When comparing the three concentrations, the archaeologists dictate that the richest graves were found in concentration I, considering one grave was found to have fragments of a sarcophagus made from terracotta.²¹⁰⁵ The other two concentrations were found to have no other objects in their graves apart from ceramics, however, it should be noted that these graves were found to be largely eroded and that could have had an effect on amount of mortuary provisions found within them.²¹⁰⁶ Based on the age range of the deceased found and the prominence of the mortuary provisions, it is speculated that this cemetery represented a small community or a large family.²¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless they are the oldest graves found nearest to the rock necropolis and older than the Third Dynasty mastaba.²¹⁰⁸

²¹⁰⁰ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

²¹⁰¹ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

²¹⁰² Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

²¹⁰³ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

²¹⁰⁴ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 53); Huyge & Limme (2012: 54).

²¹⁰⁵ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

²¹⁰⁶ Hendrickx *et al* (2002: 48).

²¹⁰⁷ Huyge & Limme (2012: 54).

²¹⁰⁸ Huyge & Limme (2012: 54).

PART III – THEMATIC DISCUSSIONS

CHAPTER 9 – MORTUARY PROVISIONS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE

‘Burials and mortuary provisions are elaborated constructions combining rites, concepts of the afterlife and material objects. In a contextual approach they convey meaning, messages and values which need to be interpreted.’

A. Widura²¹⁰⁹

Based on the archaeological descriptions of Early Dynastic cemeteries within Part II, we can distinguish a variety of archaeological features concerning the tombs to which belong to high ranking members of Early Dynastic society. These archaeological features include the location of the tombs, their structure, prestige goods, palace-façades, subsidiary burials and inscribed objects. This chapter and its subsequent ones aim to group together these various features and discuss whether they assist with attributing the identity of the Early Dynastic elite. Since the archaeological evidence is not wholly present, an inductive approach is required to see whether new theories can be generated from the data that is available, which are the funerary monuments themselves.²¹¹⁰ The proposed inductive approach was discussed in Chapter 1 and it is modelled after Daloz.²¹¹¹ The French sociologist summarises that elites can signal their prominent position in social life through three concrete modalities; external, embodied and vicarious signs of superiority.²¹¹² Correlating Daloz’s three manifestations with Early Dynastic archaeological evidence relating to ‘elites’ may seem artificial, since it is based on analysing modern elites. However, the aspects of external, embodied and vicarious signs of superiority dictated for modern elites by Daloz has similarities to how archaeologists analyse the external features of graves and mortuary provisions.

The mortuary provisions from tombs are often used by archaeologists to highlight the social status of the deceased, for it is argued that they represent the identities of the people who

²¹⁰⁹ Widura (2012: 554).

²¹¹⁰ Petrie (2013 [1877]: 2); Salmon (1976: 377); Smith (1977: 602)

²¹¹¹ Ch. 1.4.2 Theoretical Approach

²¹¹² Daloz (2010: 60; 2013: 29).

created them in the first place.²¹¹³ Even though the burial practices of the Early ancient Egyptians were not fixed, by applying social labels to specific graves, means to also fix them within the assemblages of grave groups to fit within the supposed social hierarchies of their contemporary society. This type of approach does not consider the heterarchical or horizontal differences within grave communities, including their kinship or lifestyle.²¹¹⁴ However, this has not restricted scholars from discussing whether having a large amount or a distinctive assemblage of mortuary provisions symbolised a form of social differentiation.²¹¹⁵

While a wide variety of mortuary provisions have been retrieved from tombs, how do certain mortuary provisions indicate an Early Dynastic elite tomb? To answer this question, some case studies will be evaluated where certain artefacts from Early Dynastic tombs have been emphasised as aesthetic items for the grave and used to accentuate the activities of elites.²¹¹⁶ For example, artefacts relating to culinary purposes, such as Abydos ware and wine jars, are regarded as culinary symbols for elites due to their function for containing possible exotic foreign products.²¹¹⁷ Moreover, semi-precious stones for adornment decoration, such as lapis lazuli;²¹¹⁸ artefacts for residence furnishing purposes, such as bull leg supports and gaming pieces made from ivory.²¹¹⁹ Not to mention artefacts provisioned as modes of transport in the form of funerary boats.²¹²⁰ These examples have been selected because they each represent a broad category that is linked to what sociological studies consider to be external signs of superiority for modern elites, including culinary items, adornment and residence furnishings.²¹²¹ Despite the difference in time and the different preserved levels of information we can gather about elites of the Early Dynastic period, this has not prevented numerous studies from identifying artefacts related to these categories and consider them as symbols of conspicuous consumption for the nourishment of the deceased in the afterlife.²¹²²

Another question to ask is whether the quantity of mortuary provisions found in tombs accentuates the social status of the deceased or does the quality of these items instead be

²¹¹³ Hendrickx (1994: 217); Mullins (2007: 199); Stevenson (2009: 159); Grajetzki (2010: 185).

²¹¹⁴ Seidlmeyer (1988: 45); Stevenson (2009: 184-185).

²¹¹⁵ Davis (1983: 24, fn. 8); Baines (1989: 476-477); Bard (1994: 100-101); Wilkinson (1999: 28-29); van Neer *et al* (2004: 116-117); Richards (2005: 14-15); Jones (2008: 120-121); Köhler (2008c: 533); Friedman *et al* (2011: 160); Anđelković (2011a: 1225); Wodzińska (2011: 1089); Anselin (2011: 1117); Neunert (2014: 172); Hassan *et al* (2017: 117); Dębowska-Ludwin (2018: 25).

²¹¹⁶ Baines & Yoffee (1998: 235-236); Baines (2013: 7-8).

²¹¹⁷ Emery (1961: 243-246); Wilkinson (1999: 41-43); Wenke (2009: 62); Sowada (2009: 52).

²¹¹⁸ Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 66).

²¹¹⁹ Wengrow (2006: 223).

²¹²⁰ Baines (2013: 250); Tristant *et al* (2014: 569); Vanhulle (2018: 175-176).

²¹²¹ Daloz (2010: 61).

²¹²² van Buren & Richards (2000: 9); Baines & Lacovara (2002: 15); Wengrow (2006: 221); Daloz (2010: 38).

counted to be more valued? Answering this question will consider some case studies which are identified to belong to elites based on the amount of wealth being distributed to their tombs. How the deceased acquired these provisions has been a constant debate, whether they have come from highly sought sources which are controlled by the royal administration or through independent means.²¹²³ Nonetheless, these mortuary provisions are considered to represent the ‘prestige’ which the deceased has managed to acquire and reflect their social status while they were alive.

9.1 MEASURING THE VALUE OF PRESTIGIOUS ARTEFACTS

The idea of Prestige comes to mind when discussing how mortuary provisions assist with indicating the presence of an Early Dynastic elite tomb, especially with regards to analysing wealth. This conceptual approach stems from Marxist based studies which have regarded capital gain as an indication of social power, based on the advent of the industrial revolution’s occurrence during the Nineteenth century.²¹²⁴ The social position (whether that be class or status) of an individual or group during that timeframe was determined by economic recognition and the idea of social prestige.²¹²⁵ Therefore, when considering the evidence we have for Early Dynastic Egypt, the idea of ‘prestige’ is often used as a framework to question social inequalities and the establishment of authority, based on evaluating the retrieved funerary objects for their wealth and the actions which led to their creation.²¹²⁶ This is because mortuary evidence from cemeteries are often the better preserved evidence which archaeologists can work with. However, the term ‘prestige’ has nothing to do with objects or actions.

‘Prestige’ is defined as an ideal which socially recognises or appreciates the characteristics given to persons, groups and/or social positions.²¹²⁷ Furthermore, determining ‘prestige’ means to assess social structure, status, role and social rank which are formed by culturally determined perceptions and these perceptions are formed by social patterns.²¹²⁸ Funerary objects and the actions taken to create them do not really testify to the prestige of the deceased person, instead, they can only influence the social assessments of others.²¹²⁹ Using

²¹²³ Moreno García (2016a: 160).

²¹²⁴ Angevin (2014: 222).

²¹²⁵ Richards (2005: 16); Angevin (2014: 222).

²¹²⁶ Angevin (2014: 222).

²¹²⁷ Earle (1997: 150); Lamnek (2002: 413); Neunert (2014: 168).

²¹²⁸ Neunert (2014: 168).

²¹²⁹ Neunert (2014: 168-169).

the ideal of ‘prestige’ means to be aware of the perception and assessment of the objects and actions in question to understand why they can be used to gain prestige. There are numerous studies which identify prestige goods and status symbols from Early Egyptian archaeological materials using absolute and contextual approaches.²¹³⁰

Using absolute approaches to identify prestigious goods means to measure them in terms of their general value, which includes their material cost and the expenditure of labour required.²¹³¹ The result of such an approach aims to provide a quantitative measurement of the social inequality amongst graves, which requires three forms of criteria.²¹³² Firstly, that the grave measurement must be free from distorting outside forces.²¹³³ Secondly, a grave measurement must provide a database complete enough to use statistical assessments of inequality, where the variables must be scale invariant and convertible into relative numbers which can then be compared through time.²¹³⁴ Finally, the total energy used to create and provision the tomb must be measured, which is usually through volume via the depth of the tomb.²¹³⁵ However, there are problems to perform all three points of this quantitative criteria’s approach towards measuring aspects of Early Dynastic mortuary evidence for signs of social inequality. For example, grave robbing between Antiquity and modern times as well as numerous forms of erosion count as outside forces that will distort the grave measurement and its completeness.²¹³⁶ Further to this, we still rely on excavation publications of the late Nineteenth century to the early Twentieth century for most of the Early Dynastic sites being analysed, most of which have incomplete accounts about the state of the cemetery and corresponding tombs at the time of their discovery.²¹³⁷

When using the information from older publication reports it is difficult to reconstruct the original setting of the cemetery, the arrangement of the tombs, not to mention the original assemblage of the artefacts associated with the tombs.²¹³⁸ For example, the site of North Saqqara provides some of the best preserved evidence regarding the wealth of the mastaba tombs found there, despite being ransacked throughout antiquity. Some of this evidence has

²¹³⁰ Griswold (1992); Ellis (1996); Takamiya (2003); Campagno (2004: 695-696); Huyge (2004); Friedman (2008b: 14); Crubezy *et al* (2008: 305); Graff *et al* (2011: 457) Perry (2011: 1278).

²¹³¹ Takamiya (2003: 486).

²¹³² Griswold (1992: 194); Bard (1994: 29-37).

²¹³³ Griswold (1992: 194).

²¹³⁴ Griswold (1992: 194).

²¹³⁵ Griswold (1992: 194).

²¹³⁶ Griswold (1992: 193).

²¹³⁷ Köhler (2014: 157).

²¹³⁸ Bavay (1997: 83).

been regarded to be prestigious goods, especially the large quantity of stone vessels within tomb 3504, due to the variety of stone materials which they derive from (Fig. 92).²¹³⁹ Morris calls to mind Richard's wealth index model to clarify her view that the effort expenditure required to extract the variety of stone material for the tombs at Saqqara should be considered to indicate the deceased's high social status.²¹⁴⁰ However, the present investigator has reservations about Richard's model, which was created to clarify social differentiation amongst Middle Kingdom graves at Haraga and Riqqa.²¹⁴¹

9.1.1 EVALUATING THE WEALTH INDEX MODEL FOR IDENTIFYING PRESTIGIOUS MORTUARY PROVISIONS

Richards also consults evidence from the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods to assess the mortuary evidence for the signs of differential access to labour and material resources.²¹⁴² These signs are defined through three key variables, firstly, 'Effort expenditure', which measures the total volume of the burial that could convey a level of investment by an individual or group to build a tomb.²¹⁴³ Secondly, 'Assemblage diversity', which measures the 'richness' of the funerary assemblage, by accounting for the different types of artefacts that constitute it.²¹⁴⁴ Finally, there is 'Assemblage wealth', which assesses the material assortment to determine what mortuary provisions were more costlier to produce or acquire than ordinary goods, thus defining the wealth of the grave's owner, whether that be an individual or group.²¹⁴⁵ These three variables echo the concept of political economy, by assessing differential access to labour and material resources as measures of social and economic differentiation.²¹⁴⁶ By measuring the varying levels of access to raw materials to create the variety of artefacts within a grave assemblage, Richards hypothesises that the different social and economic levels with complex societies can be determined.²¹⁴⁷

However, for the Early Dynastic period, the means of distributing raw materials is still unresolved and whether it was a state controlled activity or privately operated.²¹⁴⁸ Richards

²¹³⁹ Emery (1954: 81-101); Gould (2003: 43); Morris (2007a: 175, fn. 4).

²¹⁴⁰ Morris (2007a: 175).

²¹⁴¹ Richards (2005: 108).

²¹⁴² Richards (2005: 70-71).

²¹⁴³ Brown (1981); Richards (2005: 108); Morris (2007a: 175).

²¹⁴⁴ Borrowed from ethnobiology and treating the pottery like different sets of species, which is exactly how Petrie formulated his pottery seriation – See for example, Petrie (1904: 16-18) for his discussions on discriminating 'pottery' and 'styles'.

²¹⁴⁵ Richards (2005: 110).

²¹⁴⁶ Wason (1994: 57); Richards (2005: 108).

²¹⁴⁷ Richards (2005: 108).

²¹⁴⁸ Richards (2005: 109); Engel (2013: 37-39).

summarises Kemp's views that due to the sheer volume of semi-precious and precious materials found in a wide variety of Egyptian contexts since the later Predynastic period, it could not have been completely controlled under a tight state system, but more broadly under the principles of private demand.²¹⁴⁹ Richards follows Kemp's lead by stating that an individual's/group's access to a wide range of materials, including semiprecious and precious goods, was not regulated exclusively by connection to the government.²¹⁵⁰ Thus, concluding that the 'range of materials present in each grave is held to represent the wealth of the grave's owner - individual or group - in terms of access to a range of materials'.²¹⁵¹ This approach is based on the assumption that more prestigious goods tend to be "costlier" in terms of the energy expended in producing or acquiring them, than "ordinary" goods.²¹⁵² From this theoretical standpoint, two different indices are then employed to measure the material 'wealth' found in the grave assemblages from the sites of Haraga and Riqqa.²¹⁵³ The first index (hereafter Wealth1) is based on an assessment of the amount of effort necessary to obtain each raw material. The total score for the Wealth1 index were compiled from five factors considered to affect the effort expended in obtaining each material: distance, mode of transport, extraction, processing and hardness.²¹⁵⁴ The second index (hereafter Wealth2) represents an attempt to ascertain the Egyptians' view of these materials, an attitude that would have incorporated cultural, political, and religious factors as well as economic concerns.²¹⁵⁵ The 'Egyptian's views of these materials' is derived from Harris' discussion of the ranking of materials from analysing Middle Kingdom dated texts, which included all the precious and semiprecious materials under consideration.²¹⁵⁶ However, Richards is very vague about how each of the listed materials were assigned a certain value from her understanding of Harris and Aufrère's publications.²¹⁵⁷ She does not clearly explain how these values were assigned to each individual material, such as why Lapis Lazuli and Bronze were given a score of 19.0 while Gold and Silver were scored as 13.0.

Even though Richards utilises several theoretical influences for her methodology, she does not clarify which model fits the 'class system' of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.²¹⁵⁸

²¹⁴⁹ Kemp (1989: 259; 2006: 333); Richards (2005: 109);

²¹⁵⁰ Richards (2005: 109-110).

²¹⁵¹ Richards (2005: 110).

²¹⁵² Wason (1994: 37); Baines & Yoffee (2000: 15-17); Richards (2005: 110).

²¹⁵³ Richards (2005: 110).

²¹⁵⁴ Richards (2005: 110).

²¹⁵⁵ Richards (2005: 110).

²¹⁵⁶ Harris (1961); Richards (2005: 110)

²¹⁵⁷ Harris (1961); Aufrère (1991).

²¹⁵⁸ Bates (2006: 42).

Richards is also very fluid with labelling who is responsible for the redistribution of raw materials using an ‘agrarian model’ approach, where such organisers are classified as managers or producers, according to Johnson and Earle (1987).²¹⁵⁹ This is not dissimilar to some of the thoughts that Wittfogel had with the great and organised ‘masters’ within his Oriental Despotism theory.²¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, there is a great focus on the effort expenditure given to the mortuary provisions and the architectural complexity of the graves themselves is not taken into account. While Richards does criticise that tombs with architectural features have been given too much attention compared to the surface graves she analysed, this aspect should be considered when analysing the effort given to furnishing and protecting the tomb, as portrayed by La Loggia and Clark’s recent studies.²¹⁶¹ Finally, the variation of the mortuary provisions found in her cemetery samples at Haraga and Riqqa were found to be too complex to fit within a two-tiered class system.²¹⁶²

The present investigator tested this wealth model using the best published evidence we have between the Early Dynastic burials and attached subsidiary burials, such as the tomb of Djet (Fig. 8).²¹⁶³ When describing the richness of the royal tombs of Abydos, previous scholars have usually combined the mortuary provisions found within the main burial and subsidiary burials attached to Djet.²¹⁶⁴ Following Richards’ method, the results for Djet’s tomb was a Wealth1 score of 121 and a Wealth2 of 70.²¹⁶⁵ However, the results were very different upon separating the items that were provenanced between Djet’s main burial and the corresponding subsidiary graves 71, 9 and 4, which were found to be the most referenced of the subsidiary burials by Petrie.²¹⁶⁶ Djet’s main burial instead received a Wealth1 score of 61 and a Wealth2 score of 29, grave 71 had a Wealth1 score of 52 and a Wealth2 score of 37; grave 9 had a Wealth1 score of 62 and a Wealth2 score of 31; grave 4 had a Wealth1 score of 33 and a Wealth2 score of 19.²¹⁶⁷

²¹⁵⁹ Johnson & Earle (1987); Richards (2005: 14-15).

²¹⁶⁰ Wittfogel (1957: 29, 50).

²¹⁶¹ Richards (2005: 64-68); La Loggia (2015); Clark (2016).

²¹⁶² Richards (2005: 178).

²¹⁶³ The main sources for this test included the list compiled by Gould (2003: 33) in conjunction with Petrie (1901: 38, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII, XLVI), where artefacts were labelled by Petrie to have come from certain tombs via their grave numbers. Any type of stone made for stone vessels (e.g. Limestone) was counted under ‘Stone’ just once.

²¹⁶⁴ Gould (2003: 33).

²¹⁶⁵ See Appendix 2.

²¹⁶⁶ Petrie (1901: 38, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII, XLVI).

²¹⁶⁷ See Appendix 2.

Another scenario considered Mastaba V from Giza, which also dates to the same period (Fig. 77).²¹⁶⁸ The overall score for this tomb complex had a Wealth1 score of 117 and a Wealth2 score of 62.²¹⁶⁹ Yet, when separating the items between the main burial and the subsidiary burials, the results are again vastly different.²¹⁷⁰ Petrie states that Daressy's excavation account provides a valuable statement about the mortuary provisions retrieved from just the main mastaba burial, so information from his article was used to calculate its wealth scores with the Wealth1 score being 46 and Wealth2 score being 17.²¹⁷¹ All of the subsidiary graves were listed by Petrie, with grave 11 standing out with a Wealth1 score of 83 and a Wealth2 score of 53, making it much wealthier than the main burial.²¹⁷² Mastaba V was excavated by Daressy before Petrie, so the original assemblage of the main burial of Mastaba V was already distorted by robbery. However, Petrie uncovered the surrounding subsidiary burials and despite them being plundered, some of them contained more valuable burial equipment, especially subsidiary grave 11.

These results are not full proof, considering there was some confusion in determining the object's provenance, due to Petrie not completely publishing each grave he excavated and only showing the objects he deemed valuable at the time between the sites of Abydos and Giza. If the main burial was for a king, his burial should be richer, more so as well for the unknown deceased owner of Mastaba V. However, as mentioned above, we are still relying on older publications which are not complete records for these tombs, which is why Richards' model falls short when being applied to Early Dynastic case studies. This is a problem that Seidlmayer discussed in an absolute analysis study about three Early Egyptian sites, Armant, Turah and Tarkhan by counting the number of ceramic vessels per tomb as a measure of funerary expenditure that is distributed amongst the site's tombs using the Pareto distribution.²¹⁷³ Seidlmayer's study was criticised by Richards for using ceramic evidence as the only

²¹⁶⁸ Daressy (1905) and Petrie *et al* (1907: 2-7. Pls. II-VI_A) was used as a foundation for this test.

²¹⁶⁹ See Appendix 3.

²¹⁷⁰ See Appendixes 4-7.

²¹⁷¹ Daressy (1905: 101-106); Petrie *et al* (1907: 2)

²¹⁷² See Appendix 5.

²¹⁷³ Atzler (1981: 70); Seidlmayer (1988: 26). Seidlmayer follows the same approach performed by Atzler in using the number of ceramic vessels to measure social differentiation. The Pareto distribution is named after Vilfredo Pareto, one of the proponents of elite theory, and it is an analytical approach used within economic studies to determine whether the largest proportion of wealth is owned by the smallest percentage of society. See Forbes *et al* (2010: 149-151) for a summary of the mathematical formula and its applications.

differentiating variable for grave samples.²¹⁷⁴ However, it is sometimes more effective to have a single variable than a mass of variables with doubtful value.²¹⁷⁵

Seidlmayer convincingly argues that funerary wealth is not very evident from mortuary material within either a collective or isolated case study and he raises numerous contradictions with performing absolute analyses on mortuary material for social differentiation. Firstly, that such an absolute approach can only consider vertical differences in social inequality, not the horizontal differences.²¹⁷⁶ Secondly, each of the sites have different ratios of disturbed to undisturbed graves. Seidlmayer notes more difficulties with differentiating Turah and Tarkhan's mortuary evidence results, for Tarkhan's original excavator, Petrie, only accounted for the graves which served his chronological purposes, while the empty graves left out by him did not serve his excavation agenda.²¹⁷⁷ Therefore, most of the archaeological information from older fieldwork publications are mostly excavation specific results and not site-specific.²¹⁷⁸ Thirdly, by not including qualitative evidence to support the absolute approach, it makes it difficult to discern the social inequality differences from the mortuary evidence, even if they did exist.²¹⁷⁹ Adding qualitative data means to coordinate several variables, such as symbolism indicated by body position or dress, with the number and type of artefacts, the tomb construction, or the position of the individual in the cemetery, to properly evaluate the social position of the individual.²¹⁸⁰ This viewpoint is based on processual theory from archaeologists who have advocated many variables which can signify status from the mortuary realm.²¹⁸¹ However, even with the added qualitative data, each case study will differ in distinguishing what social roles which certain deceased members occupied while they were alive, not to mention the differing chronological parameters that each site's archaeological data is dated to.²¹⁸² Therefore, any diachronic fluctuations in the position of the class boundaries cannot be detected.²¹⁸³

To designate a restricted number of absolute markers of social inequality from graves is a difficult exercise. However, the contextual approach is also a difficult avenue to take

²¹⁷⁴ Richards (2005: 71).

²¹⁷⁵ Daloz (2013: 108).

²¹⁷⁶ Seidlmayer (1988: 25).

²¹⁷⁷ Petrie *et al* (1913: 4-5); Seidlmayer (1988: 32).

²¹⁷⁸ Seidlmayer (1988: 33).

²¹⁷⁹ Seidlmayer (1988: 35).

²¹⁸⁰ Griswold (1992: 194).

²¹⁸¹ Binford (1971: 22); Chapman & Randsbourg (1981: 9); Griswold (1992: 194).

²¹⁸² Seidlmayer (1988: 35).

²¹⁸³ Seidlmayer (1988: 35).

considering that the social patterns and cultural customs surrounding ancient Egyptian funerary evidence is still relatively unknown due to limited evidence. This is because such evidence varies considerably across different geographic regions and different periods of time. Nonetheless, the contextual approach towards identifying prestigious goods means to distinguish them based on the symbolic systems of people of that time.²¹⁸⁴

A study by Neunert looked to evaluate how funerary objects from the New Kingdom site of Dier el-Medina generated prestige through a contextual approach, by determining a social framework which broke down the prestigious qualities of the funerary evidence in question.²¹⁸⁵ Firstly, noticeability, which implies for an object or action to generate or transfer prestige, it has to be noticeable to communicate its distinct presence. Secondly, cultural competence, where the prestigious meaning of the object or action in question is known by the people who will see it in either a certain place of cultural significance (e.g. cemetery) or a cultural event (e.g. funeral). These meanings imply the attractiveness of the prestigious object or action, its ability to generate respect, not to mention its ability to generate distinction. In the opinion of the present investigator, how a funerary object is deemed to be noticeable usually considers their physical characteristics, in terms of size and the material in which they were crafted from. Moreover, their cultural value also needs to be considered, which may dictate why their presence within the grave is required. This leads to further questions. Firstly, to what extent the mortuary provisions are representative of the social position of the deceased individual at the time of their death?²¹⁸⁶ Secondly, did the person collect the burial assemblage during his/her lifetime or was this done by their living kin (i.e. family, friends or the whole community) in which they were associated with?

Answering these types of questions, however, requires a complete sample of the archaeological evidence at hand which is incomplete in nature, therefore, only the best published cemeteries are consulted which are limited in number.²¹⁸⁷ This is very evident for Early Dynastic studies, considering that the tombs from North Saqqara are still being consulted for how the mortuary provisions retrieved from there indicate the high status of the deceased who were buried there to dictate the workings of the emerging state administration.

²¹⁸⁴ Takamiya (2003: 486-487).

²¹⁸⁵ Neunert (2014: 169).

²¹⁸⁶ Delrue (2001: 26).

²¹⁸⁷ Bavay (1997: 83);

9.2 CONSPICUOUS CASE STUDIES

The tombs of North Saqqara are indeed the template example of an Early Dynastic elite tomb which a lot of archaeologists use for comparative material when discussing the social status of many Early Dynastic tombs found. For example, the tomb of Hemaka from North Saqqara (3035), contains some of the largest accumulations of preserved artefacts for a First Dynasty tomb within some of its 45 storage rooms (Fig. 93).²¹⁸⁸ The quantities of broken stone vessels retrieved from tomb 3035 of Hemaka is regarded as one of the largest concentrations from a First Dynasty tomb making the tomb quite distinctive within the North Saqqara cemetery and the surrounding cemeteries of the Memphite region.²¹⁸⁹ The amount of stone vessels from 3035 also holds similar, if not larger, comparisons to the quantities of stone vessels retrieved from the royal tombs at Abydos.²¹⁹⁰ Therefore, the large accumulation of mortuary provisions from tombs like 3035 has been regarded as evidence for conspicuous consumption, which indicates the richly equipped tombs for elites, not to mention the tombs of ancient Egypt's earliest royal sovereigns.²¹⁹¹ However, what do we mean by conspicuous consumption? 'Conspicuous consumption' is a term that was coined by Thorstein Veblen who defines it as a concept or an ideal where the accumulation of particular items are treated as prestigious status symbols and that they reflect the wealth or power of an individual or group within a society.²¹⁹² These items correspond with what a society regards as luxurious items or items of comfort, which are restricted to the use of superior social groups, who have the means to acquire such costly items, in contrast to social groups who are deemed inferior because they cannot afford them.²¹⁹³ However, Veblen was writing during the time of Nineteenth century America, when economic opportunities were plentiful following the aftermath of the Civil War and that brought with it an endless supply of sought after riches to vie for.²¹⁹⁴ Despite this piece of context, scholars have not referenced Veblen in their discussions regarding conspicuous consumption and why it can be applicable to Early Egyptian studies. Rather, it seems to have been done to conveniently express their analysis of the past archaeological material.²¹⁹⁵ This can be seen in the way certain culinary artefacts are treated as prestigious mortuary provisions

²¹⁸⁸ Emery (1938: 4; 1961: 76); Porter & Moss (1981: 440-442).

²¹⁸⁹ Emery (1938: 55).

²¹⁹⁰ Petrie (1901: 41).

²¹⁹¹ Morris (2007b: 16); Kemp (2018: 75).

²¹⁹² Veblen (1912 [1899]); Mullins (2007: 195).

²¹⁹³ Veblen (1912 [1899]: 70-71).

²¹⁹⁴ Daloz (2013: 23).

²¹⁹⁵ Daloz (2013: 7).

for the dead, including Early Dynastic wine jars, some of which are referred to as Early Bronze Age II (hereafter EB II) pottery, otherwise known as Abydos Ware.

9.2.1 ABYDOS WARE

Abydos Ware, or ‘Metallic Ware’, is one of the most discussed artefacts associated with Early Dynastic elite culture.²¹⁹⁶ These ceramics are noticeable due to their burnished or polished slip, red painted decoration of triangles, arches, concentric semicircles and dots which are limited to these vessel’s shoulder areas, making them an eclectic collection of ceramic forms.²¹⁹⁷ These forms include narrow-necked, oval-shaped, elongated pottery bodies that narrow to flat bases, sometimes accompanied by decorative handles.²¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the clay fabric from which these vessels have been fashioned is not uniform, and consist of many clay groups, mostly a silty shale and calcareous clay mixture, based on recent petrographic analyses of the examples found in the Early Egyptian cemeteries at Abydos.²¹⁹⁹ The term ‘Abydos Ware’ has been applied to these ceramic examples, because they were first found in the royal tombs at Abydos by Amélineau and Petrie in the tomb of Djer.²²⁰⁰ Due to their foreign nature, Petrie initially labelled them to be ‘Aegean’ because he did not have many comparative examples to define what he had found at the time.²²⁰¹ Earlier instances have also been noted from the tomb of Hor-Aha based on the combed surfaces which also characterise these artefacts being dated to the EB II period.²²⁰² The finds from these tombs within Cemetery B may represent a continuum of imported ceramics found within the context of Abydos, especially since earlier examples have been found within the nearby Cemetery U, especially in tomb U-j and U-134.²²⁰³

Numerous discussions have already been made by previous scholars regarding the origin of the ceramics themselves and the constitution of their internal fabric being sourced from Levantine areas, such as Canaan.²²⁰⁴ It has also been suggested that these imported ceramic forms were further distinguished from other Egyptian ceramics due to their containment of exotic contents. Small samples of the hardened residue contents were collected

²¹⁹⁶ Sowada (2009: 39); Müller (2014: 242).

²¹⁹⁷ Hennessey & Millett (1963); Ben-Tor (1992: 107); Braun (2011: 978).

²¹⁹⁸ Sowada (2009: 39); Braun (2011: 978).

²¹⁹⁹ Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 70); Braun (2011: 978, 980); Hartung *et al* (2015: 324).

²²⁰⁰ Amélineau (1899a; 1902; 1904); Petrie (1901: pl. 54); Serpico & White (1996: 128); Sowada (2009: 39).

²²⁰¹ Petrie (1901: 9, pl. LIV); Müller (2014: 242, fn. 20); Hartung *et al* (2015: 295).

²²⁰² Müller (2014: 243, fn. 30).

²²⁰³ Hartung (2001: 60) *cf.* Hartung *et al* (2015: 305).

²²⁰⁴ Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 70); Sowada (2009: 39-44); Hartung *et al* (2015: 297).

from the base area of eight of the retrieved jars from Djer's tomb, two of which were Egyptian made ceramics (Jars 9 & 10) while the rest were considered foreign ones (Jars 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7).²²⁰⁵ Utilising Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy, the foreign jars were found to have residues linked to vegetable oils (i.e. high concentrates of dicarboxylic acids associated with linseed or pine/cedar detections) while the samples from the Egyptian made ceramics indicated traces of animal fats (i.e. high concentrates of carbon and no dicarboxylic acids).²²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, an interesting point from the analysis of the Djer ceramics in question, is that they may have been re-used prior to the interment of the burial.²²⁰⁷ Based on what has been observed from the examples from Tomb U-j, imported jars contained wine while fats and oils were most probably contained within the 'degenerated wavy-handled' jars.²²⁰⁸ While these imported vessels are continually referred to as wine containers, numerous scientific analyses of the residue contents from some parallel vessels have given varied results which are no closer to confirming this proposal.²²⁰⁹ However, minimal samples of grape pips have been retrieved from some jar examples found in the tomb of the Protodynastic ruler, Iry-Hor.²²¹⁰ Moreover, Early Dynastic dated impressions found on clay seals covering their tops have been found to have hieroglyphic designations for vineyard estates, especially those emanating from Khasekhemwy's tomb at Abydos.²²¹¹ Wine and viniculture have been studied intensively with regards to written evidence and depicted images of this commodity within Egyptological studies.²²¹² Because a great amount of effort and expenditure is required to produce wine, it is a product linked to elite individuals and social groups for it is expensive to obtain.²²¹³ The way EB II pottery are referred to as ceramic containers for wine, in line with their exclusive foreign origins, echoes Veblen's 'conspicuous consumption' ideals that certain beverages were strictly reserved for superior social groups.²²¹⁴

²²⁰⁵ Serpico & White (1996: 129-130).

²²⁰⁶ Serpico & White (1996: 138).

²²⁰⁷ Serpico & White (1996: 139).

²²⁰⁸ Dreyer *et al* (1998: 92); Müller (2014: 245).

²²⁰⁹ Hartung (2001: 7, fn. 7); Serpico (2004: 1018); Sowada (2009: 43); Müller (2014: 245); Hartung *et al* (2015: 299).

²²¹⁰ Dreyer *et al* (1996: 52); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 70).

²²¹¹ Morgan (1897: 243, Fig. 818); Kaplony (1963b: 1135; 1963c: Taf. 82.310); Regulski (2010: 143).

²²¹² Guasch Jané *et al* (2004: 1672). For a varied number of published studies on wine and winemaking in ancient Egypt, see McGovern *et al* (1995) and Guasch Jané (2008). Tallet's unpublished Ph.D dissertation, *Le vin en Égypte à l'époque pharaonique* (1998) is also another useful reference.

²²¹³ Tallet (1998: 13).

²²¹⁴ Veblen (1912 [1899]: 70).

A couple of criticisms have been made regarding this ‘Abydos Ware’ ceramic group.²²¹⁵ For example, there is no homogenous form that characterises them apart from being known as just narrow necked shapes.²²¹⁶ Recent designations have been applied by scholars from both Egyptian and Levantine archaeological backgrounds.²²¹⁷ These pottery forms are described as ‘round based shouldered’ jars and are labelled as ‘wine jars’ due to their great capacity, relatively narrow aperture and pronounced shoulders.²²¹⁸ Based on these physical characteristics, these pottery forms are generally interpreted as containers for large amounts of liquids, especially beer and wine.²²¹⁹ Despite the chemical investigations used to confirm the contents in the ‘Syro-Palestinian’ type jars retrieved from the Protodynastic tomb U-j at Abydos and the First Dynasty tomb of Djer the results are not full proof, leaving many questions unanswered.²²²⁰ Regardless, the distribution of these distinctive vessels are not exclusive to the royal tombs, with examples located at other sites where tombs are considered to belong to the Early Dynastic elite, with not many examples coming from non-royal cemeteries in Upper Egypt.²²²¹ For example, tombs from North Saqqara include tombs 3504,²²²² 3036,²²²³ 3035,²²²⁴ 3506,²²²⁵ 3507,²²²⁶ 3500²²²⁷ and 3505.²²²⁸ However, less distinctive tombs have also been found to contain these distinctive artefacts, such as a couple of tombs from the site of Tell Ibrahim Awad in the Nile Delta region.²²²⁹ At the site of Helwan, tomb 40.H.3 (Tomb Op. 1/1) was found to contain fragments of ‘Abydos Ware’, which had a clay fabric characterised by a fine cream colour mixed with inorganic particles making it stand out from local Egyptian fabrics (Fig. 119).²²³⁰ Parallels of these fragments have been retrieved from Djer’s tomb.²²³¹ Moreover, tombs within the M Cemetery at Abu Rawash were found with such examples, such as tomb M19, which was made from a foreign fabric.²²³² Other tombs

²²¹⁵ Ben-Tor (1992: 107); Braun (2011: 977).

²²¹⁶ Braun (2011: 977)

²²¹⁷ Hendrickx & Bavay (2002); Braun (2012).

²²¹⁸ Emery (1961: 207); Hendrickx (1994: 85); Aston (1994: 124).

²²¹⁹ Hendrickx (1994: 85); McGovern (1997: 7).

²²²⁰ Dreyer *et al* (1993: 54); McGovern *et al* (2001).

²²²¹ Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 701-72).

²²²² Emery (1954: 72, 75, Fig. 98.G9-11); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71).

²²²³ Emery (1949: 81); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71). Five G1 types recovered.

²²²⁴ Emery (1938: 50, Pl. 26-7); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71).

²²²⁵ Emery (1958: 54-55); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71). Types G1-16.

²²²⁶ Emery (1958: 87); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71). Type G.

²²²⁷ Emery (1958: 108); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71). Types G2 & G9.

²²²⁸ Emery (1958: 18); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71). Types G1-12.

²²²⁹ van den Brink (1988: 80, Fig. 19, pl. 5b); van Haarlem (1996: 10, pls. 11, 20.3); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71).

²²³⁰ Köhler (1998b: 70; 2005: 25).

²²³¹ Petrie (1901: 46-47, pl. LIV).

²²³² Klasens (1961: 113, Fig. 3.G17); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71).

like M25, M21 and M24 had similar looking ceramics, but were covered with a red slip, possibly to cover the red-brown local fabrics it may have been made from.²²³³ Furthermore, EB II pottery have been retrieved from at least 10 tombs from the Macramallah cemetery at West Saqqara, which are described by Macramallah as imitations of the actual EB II pottery wares.²²³⁴ There are other artefact groups which have been used to discriminate the differences between not just the elite and non-elite tombs, but also differences between royal and elite tombs. This includes the burial of boats and boat pits associated with some Early Dynastic tombs.

9.2.2 FUNERARY BOATS AND BOAT PITS

Boat burials of the Early Dynastic period have been found in funerary contexts of the Memphite area, specifically North Saqqara,²²³⁵ Helwan,²²³⁶ Abu Ghurab,²²³⁷ and Abu Rawash²²³⁸ in association with mastaba covered tombs.²²³⁹ More Early Dynastic boat graves were also confirmed within a royal funerary context with the discovery of 14 mud brick boat like structures found near the north-eastern angle of Khasekhemwy's funerary enclosure at North Abydos by O'Connor.²²⁴⁰ These boats are associated with the 'Western Mastaba', based on stratigraphic analysis and most likely date to the second half of the First Dynasty.²²⁴¹ The discovery of boat burials associated with the elite tombs in the North Saqqara cemetery by Emery was one of the first Early Dynastic examples to be found.²²⁴²

Other examples in the Memphite area include some of the tombs from Helwan, which have been compared to those located at North Saqqara and Abu Rawash, but they do not have any recorded boat remains, only outlines or impressions of wood.²²⁴³ For example, the oldest instance of a boat pit at Helwan includes tomb 762.H.5, which is relatively dated to Naqada

²²³³ Klasens (1961: 113).

²²³⁴ Macramallah (1940: 12-13, 27, 31, 33, 34, 40, 59, 65-66, Pl. XLV, L.2); Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 71).

²²³⁵ Five boat pits were found at North Saqqara, examples include 3357 (Emery 1939: 18, pl. 3, 8; 1949: 75), 3503 (Emery 1954: 129, 138, fig. 203, pl. XLIV-XLV), 3035 (Anonymous 1939: 80; Saad 1969: 74-75), 3506 (Emery 1958: 38-39, 42, 49, pl. 44, 66) and 3036 (Emery 1949: 75, pl. 19A).

²²³⁶ Nineteen boat pits found at Helwan, examples include Tomb 1502.H.2 (Saad 1947: 110-111); Tomb 649 H.5 (Saad 1951: 41-42, pl. LVIII, LIXa); 680 H.5 (Saad 1951: 42, pl. LIXb); 762 H.5 (Saad 1951: 42, pl. LX); 423 H.9 (Saad 1969: 22-23, 87, pl. 108).

²²³⁷ One boat pit found at Abu Ghurab, associated with Mastaba XXVI (Radwan 2008: 561, Lindemann 2008).

²²³⁸ Four boat pits found at Abu Rawash, examples include M06 (Tristant *et al* 2014; 2017a: 473-477), M01 (Tristant 2017a: 479-480), M02 (Tristant 2017a: 483), M03 (Tristant 2017a: 484) and M04 (Tristant 2017a: 487).

²²³⁹ Vanhulle (Personal Communication, 18th September 2017).

²²⁴⁰ O'Connor (1991: 9-10; 1995); Wenke (2009: 247).

²²⁴¹ Bestock (2009: 25-26, n. 7); O'Connor (2009: 166)

²²⁴² Ch. 5.1.6.1 North Saqqara.

²²⁴³ Wilkinson (1996b: 352-353); Tristant *et al* (2014: 569-570); Vanhulle (Personal Communication, 18th September 2017).

IIIC1 and the reign of Djet.²²⁴⁴ Compared to other mid First Dynasty tombs at North Saqqara (3503 – 990 m²) (Fig. 96) and Abu Rawash (M01 – 170 m²) (Fig. 64) that were found to have accompanying buried boat remains²²⁴⁵, 762.H.5's architectural size is not on par (3.84 m²). However, the fact a boat pit is present with this tomb suggests that having such a funerary installation mattered for the deceased individual, whether it is because of emulating such tombs or it was an extra preference to equip the deceased with a mode of transport for the afterlife. There may be no precise reason, unless more substantial evidence is discovered which can provide a significant answer. Some criticisms have been made regarding the differentiation between the reporting of boat pits and boat burials.²²⁴⁶ Most reported boat burials are mostly boat pits and it cannot be proven in many cases whether an actual boat was placed in them. Justifying their absence is mostly attributed to tomb robbing and the decomposition of the wood itself, but one cannot also deny the possibility that these pits were left empty on purpose. For example, boat pits have been reported from the site of Helwan in association with mid to late First Dynasty tombs including 649.H.5 (Den), 1502.H.2 (And-jib), 680.H.5 (Qaa) and 423.H.9 (Qaa).²²⁴⁷ Some traces of wood outlines or impressions have been found from some of these boat pits, including those pertaining to 1502.H.2 & associated boat pits.²²⁴⁸ But, these should not be interpreted as actual signs that a boat actually existed within these pits, since no remains of actual funerary boats have been found from the site.²²⁴⁹ However, it is also impossible to confirm their presence based on the current archaeological evidence accessible from Helwan.

The question of exclusivity has often looked to these boat burials as a feature for royal burials, especially with the funerary boat associated with Khufu's Great Pyramid during the Old Kingdom.²²⁵⁰ However, their distribution amongst elite tombs complicates this view during the Early Dynastic period.²²⁵¹ The attraction of owning a boat in ancient Egypt lies with its functionality as a mode of transport on the river Nile and other water sources.²²⁵² The functional importance of boats is also comparably important for other societies who depended on large bodies of water for their necessary needs, such as Mesopotamian societies living on the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, not to mention societies living in South-East Asia and the

²²⁴⁴ Saad (1951: 42, pl. LX); La Loggia (2015: 76).

²²⁴⁵ Emery (1954: 129, 138, fig. 203); Tristant (2017a: 478-479, Fig. 17).

²²⁴⁶ Vanhulle (Personal Communication, 18th September 2017).

²²⁴⁷ Saad (1947: 111, pl. LIX; 1951: 41-42); Wilkinson (1996b: 352-353).

²²⁴⁸ Saad (1947: 111; 1951: 41-42); Vanhulle (Personal Communication, 18th September 2017).

²²⁴⁹ Vanhulle (Personal Communication, 18th September 2017).

²²⁵⁰ Jenkins (1980: 22-23); Cervelló Autuori (2002: 33).

²²⁵¹ Helck (1986: 693); Wilkinson (1996b: 352); Radwan (2008: 566); Vinson (2013: 7).

²²⁵² Vinson (2013: 1).

Western Pacific.²²⁵³ Based on the functional use of boats, there is also the symbolic importance to consider with suggestions that the boat provided freedom of movement to the owner or user of the boat, a trait which is linked to the identity of ancient Egyptian elite social groups.²²⁵⁴ This can be traced back to Predynastic Egypt, where the symbolism of the boat is prevalent on various forms of iconography.²²⁵⁵ For example, White Cross lined pottery during the Naqada I period, painted depictions from Tomb 100 dating to the Naqada II period and rock art depictions from Nag el-Hamdulab.²²⁵⁶ In amongst these images we see multiple oars being depicted on some of the boats which would represent a multitude of people working together to contribute to the boat's movement, while they are directed by either a caste of leaders or a solitary captain, who are distinguishable due to one image depicting one wearing a crown.²²⁵⁷

Vanhulle interprets the use of the boat as symbolic tool of order used to combat against the unknown forces of chaos.²²⁵⁸ This is agreeable, since the 'Order over Chaos' is a prevalent theme in later doctrines of ancient Egyptian mythology.²²⁵⁹ Therefore, it makes sense for depictions of the boat to be found as inscriptions, models and as actual constructions in association with funerary culture, where most of the provisions provided for the deceased represented the necessary tools of order required to prepare for the unknown forces which the realm of the dead will bring forth. Despite the sovereign becoming the new point of focus for ancient Egyptian ideology at the apex of the Early Dynastic period, the usage of the boat is still being used. Based on the boat burial discovered at Abu Ghurab (Fig. 84), Radwan also suggests that the inclusion of a funerary boat within a non-royal tomb assemblage may be considered an imitation of royal funerary practices in owning an actual boat itself and not a substitute model.²²⁶⁰ Therefore, by emulating the practice of the royal burials, people who could afford to have a boat may have done so not just to socially distinguish themselves from other social groups, but also as a form of protection to transport their deceased selves and possibly their entourage into the unknown world beyond death.

²²⁵³ Vanhulle (2018: 177).

²²⁵⁴ Radwan (2008: 561); Baines (2009: 127-128; 2013: 20, 255).

²²⁵⁵ Vanhulle (2018: 174-175).

²²⁵⁶ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 43-44, pl. LI.27); Quibell & Green (1902: 20-21, pls. LXXV-LXXIX); Hendrickx *et al* (2012: 1078).

²²⁵⁷ Hendrickx *et al* (2012: 1074, 1076).

²²⁵⁸ Vanhulle (2018: 174).

²²⁵⁹ Kemboly (2013: 234-235).

²²⁶⁰ Radwan (2008: 566).

9.2.3 IVORY FURNITURE PARTS, BULL AND BOVINE SHAPED LEGS

Amongst the artefacts found within Early Dynastic Tombs, the ivory bull/bovine legs are also included which are designated as either furniture support parts or gaming pieces.²²⁶¹ Prominent examples come from the royal tombs at Abydos, especially the tombs of Djer,²²⁶² Djet,²²⁶³ Meretneith²²⁶⁴ and Den.²²⁶⁵ Towards the end of the First Dynasty, these types of artefacts appear less frequently within royal tomb contexts.²²⁶⁶ However, these artefacts were not exclusive to the royal sphere and have been found in other tomb contexts, which are considered high status graves.²²⁶⁷ For example, the ‘royal tomb’ from Naqada, where Morgan found some ivory caskets that were supported by these enigmatic features within the back chambers of the mastaba tomb’s substructure.²²⁶⁸ The North Saqqara mastabas are found with these bull/bovine leg artefacts, such as tombs 3357,²²⁶⁹ 3035,²²⁷⁰ 3471,²²⁷¹ 3504,²²⁷² and 3507 (Fig. 91).²²⁷³ In the burial chamber of Hemaka (chamber 1), fragments of a gaming board with bull’s legs were found (Fig. 188).²²⁷⁴

Due to the small size of the shaped bull/bovine legs, Emery believes that these artefacts were used as supports for the gaming board itself.²²⁷⁵ Tomb 3357 was found to contain these objects made from ivory as well, possibly made as leg supports for either a casket, a gaming board or a bed based on Emery’s hypothesis about their possible attachment to such items using a separate dowel tied with leather straps.²²⁷⁶ Four ivory legs measured at a height of 11.6 cm were found in Room K, while in the burial chamber, foreleg versions measuring 29 cm in height were found but with the feet sheathed in beaten copper. The latter versions of the artefacts have parallels with similar looking bull foreleg depictions on wall decorations observed from tomb 2405, the Third Dynasty tomb of Hesyre, which support a ‘two-legged bed’ or ‘bedstead’ (Fig.

²²⁶¹ Emery (1949: 57; 1961: 242); Teeter (2011: 244-245, Cat. 108-109).

²²⁶² Petrie (1901: pl. XXXIV).

²²⁶³ Petrie (1901: pl. XXXVIII).

²²⁶⁴ Petrie (1901: pl. XXXIX).

²²⁶⁵ Petrie (1901: pl. XL).

²²⁶⁶ Petrie (1901: 34).

²²⁶⁷ Hendrickx (2002: 282); Wengrow (2006: 169); Ejsmond (2015: 44).

²²⁶⁸ Morgan (1897: 188-189, figs. 685, 686); Quibell (1905: 206-207, CG 14045-14051); Kahl (2001: 22, Abb. 17).

²²⁶⁹ Emery (1939: 63-64).

²²⁷⁰ Emery (1938: 40, pl. 19).

²²⁷¹ Emery (1949: 57-59, Fig. 28).

²²⁷² Emery (1954: 38-55, pl. XXVI-XXVII, XXIX).

²²⁷³ Emery (1958: 84, pl. 102).

²²⁷⁴ Emery (1939: 1, pl. 19).

²²⁷⁵ Emery (1939: 40). See Cat. No. 430. Emery does not provide any measurements for these artefacts.

²²⁷⁶ Emery (1939: 63, Fig. 46).

188).²²⁷⁷ Numerous bull/bovine leg representations were also found in tomb 3471, including four preserved examples, measuring 24 cm high x 66 cm wide and may have supported a large wooden bed, according to the accompanying fragments of copped encased knobs that were found in the same context.²²⁷⁸ Other examples were used as leg supports for a small gaming table from Room H of the tomb.²²⁷⁹ From the debris above the burial chamber of tomb 3504, and the context of the tomb's substructural levels revealed more instances of these artefacts.²²⁸⁰ Some were found in the storage chambers, such as sub-room D, measuring 4.8 cm in height and exhibited charring marks.²²⁸¹ Finally, in tomb 3507, pieces and fragments of smaller bull leg pieces were found and interpreted to be components for a gaming board.²²⁸² At the site of Helwan, two ivory pieces depicting the front and hind hoofs of a bull were also found within tomb 8.H.8 (Fig. 188).²²⁸³ These artefacts were carved with skill, complementing the insight of the craftsmen who probably knew the anatomy of the bull animal to be able to detail its muscular features.²²⁸⁴

At least 85% of the known published stelae from Helwan show both male and female tomb owners sitting on straw padded or cushioned chairs featuring the bovine-shaped legs for weight support.²²⁸⁵ Sadly, no physical evidence of these chairs have been found at Helwan.²²⁸⁶ Nonetheless, such depictions are similar to the chair depicted on the stela of Merka from tomb 3505 from North Saqqara, where the mentioned individual is also seated on a cushioned stool with its back leg shaped as the hind leg of a bull (Fig. 191).²²⁸⁷ At Abu Rawash, some bovine shaped legs were found within tomb 400, a rectangular mud bricked grave from the now lost Cemetery 400 area that was below the knoll where the 'M' cemetery resides today.²²⁸⁸ Klasens describes that these ivory pieces came from 'a small table or box, with a dowel pierced hole for a retaining peg'.²²⁸⁹ Yet, he does not describe where these ivory legs were found in relation

²²⁷⁷ Quibell (1913: 29, pl. XIX & XX); Emery (1939: 64).

²²⁷⁸ Emery (1949: 57, pl. 11).

²²⁷⁹ Emery (1949: 18, 61-62).

²²⁸⁰ Emery (1954: 38, pl. XXVII).

²²⁸¹ Emery (1954: 55, Fig. 58).

²²⁸² Emery (1958: 84, pl. 102 - Cat. No. 73).

²²⁸³ Saad (1969: pl. 45).

²²⁸⁴ Saad (1969: 44).

²²⁸⁵ Saad (1969: 61-62, Fig. 10-13); Köhler & Jones (2009: 33). Except for EM99-15, EM99-16, EM99-21, EM99-23, EM99-25 that were shown as plain chairs. Stelae EM99-29 and EM05-100 were some examples that either did not display a seat or are too damaged to have depicted one at all.

²²⁸⁶ Saad (1969: 62).

²²⁸⁷ Emery (1958: 30, pl. 23 & 39).

²²⁸⁸ Klasens (1959: 59); Tristant (2008a: 341).

²²⁸⁹ Klasens (1959: Fig 10. 1-2).

to the body, which is a common theme in his publications.²²⁹⁰ However, it is interesting that such items have been found in a cemetery where ‘poorer classes’ of tombs have been reported.²²⁹¹ However, this Cemetery 400 seems to have had a mixed social complexity considering other tombs of the rectangular mud bricked type were noted by Klasens to have exhibited inscribed material.²²⁹² For example, a pottery fragment conveying the name of Hor-Aha was found in tomb 402, while tomb 469 featured a ‘royal jar sealing’ which exhibited a double row of serekhs, possibly depicting the name of Djer or Djet, but such evidence is not visible.²²⁹³ In the south-west corner of the grave within Tomb 175 at Tarkhan, three large wooden bull legs, measuring at least 23 cm in height, were retrieved (Fig. 188).²²⁹⁴ The detail of the muscles on these legs are well defined and were probably used as supports for seats and bed-frames.²²⁹⁵

There have been examples which date to preceding Predynastic contexts, suggesting that these bull/bovine legs had a long history of symbolic importance even before being used in Early Dynastic contexts.²²⁹⁶ This includes a ‘couch’ being found in grave no. 3 in Naqada’s T Cemetery, where the body of the deceased may have rested on a bed frame with carved bull legs as its supports, which were found close to the head of the deceased.²²⁹⁷ Other examples have come from the site of Gebelein and given a Protodynastic date, however, their context has not been properly recorded, even though it has been stated they would have come from tombs.²²⁹⁸ Finally, at the site of Hierakonpolis, the Protodynastic tomb 11 (Naqada IIIA1–IIIA2) in the HK6 cemetery was found to have pieces of a wooden bed with carved bull’s feet that had been fragmented due to tomb robber activities.²²⁹⁹ Not to mention some bull legs were found in association with the Main Deposit at the temple area near the Hierakonpolis cemetery.²³⁰⁰

While the practical function of these bull/bovine legs are described as aesthetic foot supports for furniture or gaming pieces, the symbolic function of these artefacts remains

²²⁹⁰ Tristant (2008a: 339).

²²⁹¹ Klasens (1959: 41).

²²⁹² Klasens (1959: 41).

²²⁹³ Klasens (1959: 57-58, Fig. 8).

²²⁹⁴ Petrie (1913: 10).

²²⁹⁵ Petrie (1913: 25, pl. XIV).

²²⁹⁶ Petrie (1901: 34); Ejsmond (2015: 44).

²²⁹⁷ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 24); Petrie (1901: 34).

²²⁹⁸ Quibell (1901: 131); Donadoni Roveri *et al* (1994: 67); Ejsmond (2015: 44).

²²⁹⁹ Adams (1996: 13; 2000: 109-111, pl. XXXIII.b, XXXIV.a-b); Hendrickx (2002: 281).

²³⁰⁰ Quibell (1900: 7, pl. XVI.6-8).

relatively unknown.²³⁰¹ Hendrickx dictates that the symbolism of the bull represented courage, strength and fertility – qualities that are associated with the king.²³⁰² This idea is reinforced by its depictions as a victorious element on decorated iconographic evidence, such as the Narmer palette, the Louvre palette, the Hunter's palette, not to mention the Koptos colossi (Fig. 198).²³⁰³ Aside from its horns, the hoof or foot of the bull has been stylistically detailed on these palettes which further represents another bodily instrument by the bull to use its strength.²³⁰⁴ For example, on the bottom scene of the obverse side of the Narmer Palette, a bull is depicted seen trampling a personified antagonist, who may have represented the community which resided in the walled settlement that is also being decimated by the same bull's horns.²³⁰⁵ Moreover, the depiction on the obverse and reverse sides of the Louvre palette fragment shows extra detail where the depicted bull's hoof applies pressure when trampling the right calf of another personified antagonist.²³⁰⁶ Therefore, it is arguable that the noticeable presence of these bull/bovine legs are aesthetic symbols of elite status due to their representation of the bull animal during the initial part of the Early Dynastic period.²³⁰⁷

9.2.4 LAPIS LAZULI

The mortuary provisions being discussed here include jewellery made from sought after materials, especially non-naturally occurring materials which requires access to a trade network to obtain. For Early Dynastic studies, these include foreign precious stones such as lapis lazuli. Lapis lazuli is described as a metamorphic rock that consists of sulphide and sodium silicate, with a colouring of either a deep opaque blue to a turquoise blue colour, making it very noticeable when being used for jewellery, seals and vessel decoration.²³⁰⁸ It is considered to be the Fourth most valuable commodity after silver, electrum and gold according to Richards' 2nd wealth index model, which is based on the cultural viewpoint given by Egyptian written texts from Harris' lexicographical studies.²³⁰⁹ This is not surprising considering that Lapis Lazuli is not naturally found in Egypt and is sourced from a number of quarries located about 4000 km away in the region of Badakshan, north east of Afghanistan.²³¹⁰ Furthermore, because of its

²³⁰¹ Emery (1958: 84); Saad (1969: 61); Hendrickx (2002: 281).

²³⁰² Hendrickx (2002: 298).

²³⁰³ Hendrickx (2002: 278).

²³⁰⁴ Emery (1961: 166).

²³⁰⁵ O'Connor (2011: 148); Hendrickx *et al* (2016: 542, fig. 4a).

²³⁰⁶ Emery (1961: 166, pl. 3b); Spencer (1993: 57-58, fig. 37). See E11255.

²³⁰⁷ Hendrickx (2002: 282); Ejsmond (2015: 44).

²³⁰⁸ Bavay (1997: 79); Aston *et al* (2000: 39).

²³⁰⁹ Richards (2005: 111).

²³¹⁰ Herrmann (1968: 21-29); Bavay (1997: 80); Ohshiro (2000: 68-69); Aston *et al* (2000: 39). These quarries include Sar-i-Sang, Chilmak, Shaga-Darra-i-Robat-i-Paskaran and Stromby.

foreign origins and the difficulty to obtain it via long distance trade, lapis lazuli is considered to be a highly valued stone.²³¹¹ Subjectively, lapis lazuli is regarded as one of the material emblems of the immense cosmos, the image of the night and the aspect of regeneration.²³¹² This is apparent when considering the stone's dark blue hue, which is reminiscent of the constellated night sky, against the diffused presence of the moon and stars.²³¹³

There are a number of Early Dynastic tombs where lapis lazuli has been found and they are considered as prestigious items to mark the high social status of the deceased, especially the royal sovereigns and the elite.²³¹⁴ Examples from the royal tombs of Abydos, includes loose lazuli pieces shaped in the form of a hawk sitting atop a façade, possibly containing the name of Djer.²³¹⁵ It is speculated by Petrie that these lapis lazuli pieces may have been part of a similar bracelet design, consisting of gold and turquoise shaped pieces, that were found on the remains of a human arm from Djer's tomb.²³¹⁶ A bracelet consisting of faience made pieces of a similar hawk design was found in subsidiary grave 23 of Mastaba V from South Giza and is considered to be a 'cheap imitation' of the one found in Djer's tomb (Fig. 77).²³¹⁷ In terms of elite tombs, small jewellery beads made from lapis lazuli have been found inside the ravaged remains of a wooden sarcophagus alongside human remains within tomb 3507 from North Saqqara.²³¹⁸ Whether they were part of a bracelet piece for the deceased to wear is not certain, but its proximity near the human remains can emphasise its importance as a personal item, despite the disturbed archaeological context of the burial. Lapis lazuli beads have been recorded to have also come from smaller Early Dynastic mud brick tombs, such as grave 15. i. 4 from the site of Turah and tomb M19 from Abu Rawash, possibly what are left of necklaces.²³¹⁹ There are some lapis lazuli examples which have been retrieved from tombs within cemeteries which are regarded to house people of lesser status. For example, Tomb 40, located within cemetery 1957 at Abu Rawash, was found to have 5 rings made from lapis lazuli,

²³¹¹ Aston (1994: 72-73); Bavay (2000: 65).

²³¹² Aufrère (1997: 133). Aufrère also attributes Lapis Lazuli's divine importance in association with the goddess Hathor, who does not have any explicit reference before the Fourth Dynasty, despite previous speculation by Wilkinson (1999: 282-283), who links this goddess with the Predynastic/Early Dynastic goddess, Bat. Other authors, like Hendrickx (2005: 15) and Rashed (2009: 418-419) have dispelled this connection by emphasising that Bat and Hathor were separate deities with different iconographic representations, until Bat's characteristics were absorbed by Hathor during the New Kingdom period.

²³¹³ Bavay (1997: 83).

²³¹⁴ Bavay (1997: 93); Campagno (2004: 695).

²³¹⁵ Petrie (1901: 17, pl. xxxv.81).

²³¹⁶ Petrie (1901: pl. i, I).

²³¹⁷ Petrie *et al* (1907: 6, pl. III).

²³¹⁸ Emery (1958: 80-81). The lapis lazuli beads were found within the remains of a wooden sarcophagus, which contained the fragments of human remains, which Emery believes they belonged to the tomb owner.

²³¹⁹ Junker (1912: 60-61, Abb. 86); Klasens (1961: 109, 126).

indicating that even a smaller tomb from a lower cemetery could contain the remains of a quality item.²³²⁰ A tiny vase made from Lapis Lazuli, measuring 2.35 cm in height, was recorded to have been retrieved from subsidiary burial no. 11, located to the south of the Mastaba V tomb at South Giza.²³²¹ The presence of this item represents an innovation into using lapis lazuli as a medium for the creation of stone vessels from the Naqada III period.²³²²

Other uses for lapis lazuli are observed from non-mortuary contexts from dated to the Protodynastic period. For example, the recent discovery of the golden plated figurines from the poor settlement of the Eastern Kom at Tell el-Farkha was found to have inlaid lapis lazuli beads installed as its eyes.²³²³ These golden figurines are dated to the Protodynastic period (i.e. Naqada IIIB) based on the accompanying ceramic sherds discovered in the same deposit.²³²⁴ The inclusion of the lapis lazuli, not to mention the speculated bitumen and ivory material used for the eyebrows, adds to the prestigious nature of these golden figurines.²³²⁵ Further analysis of the materials used to make these golden figurines, in conjunction with comparisons with other parallel examples, has accentuated that trade exchange was an important component for the ruling elite's influence at Tell el-Farkha.²³²⁶ However, since these figurines were found in a poorer part of the settlement, it has also prompted an alternative opinion that not only local elites inhabited this site.²³²⁷

Overall, lapis lazuli has been reported to have been used within mortuary contexts during the Predynastic period, but an increase in imported lapis lazuli is detected from the Middle Predynastic period (Naqada IIC) onwards.²³²⁸ However, from the onset of the Early Dynastic period, not many tombs are found with this particular item during the First Dynasty and there are no tombs, dating to the Second and Third Dynasties, that are recorded with this item.²³²⁹ In response to this decline, several authors have considered it to be a sign of declining trade relations between Egypt and Mesopotamian contacts.²³³⁰ However, considering where lapis lazuli is sourced, which may contribute to its cultural value, their declining absence from Early Dynastic mortuary sources may be because of the increased tomb looting activities during

²³²⁰ Klasens (1957: pl. XVI; 1958a: 30).

²³²¹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 4, pl. V.3); Aston (1994: 73); Eaton-Krauss (2011: 187, fn. 30, 239).

²³²² Aston *et al* (2000: 39).

²³²³ Chłodnicki & Ciałowicz (2007: 2).

²³²⁴ Chłodnicki & Ciałowicz (2007: 6).

²³²⁵ Chłodnicki & Ciałowicz (2007: 12).

²³²⁶ Chłodnicki & Ciałowicz (2007: 12); Ciałowicz (2011: 61).

²³²⁷ Czarnowicz (2012: 355).

²³²⁸ Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 61, 66); Takamiya (2004: 1034); McNamara (2016: 18).

²³²⁹ Payne (1968: 58).

²³³⁰ Hermann (1968: 37); Aston *et al* (2000: 39); Ohshiro (2000: 70-71).

that time rather than as a sign of degrading trading relations.²³³¹ This is emphasised further with several authors mentioning the issues of tomb robberies, despite the increasing number of Early Dynastic tombs exhibiting numerous architectural features as security counter measures to protect the deceased and their accompanying mortuary provisions.²³³²

²³³¹ Hendrickx & Bavay (2002: 66) ; Sowada (2009: 184).

²³³² Emery (1954: 7); Birrell (2000: 19); Dębowska-Ludwin (2011b: 29-30); Clark (2016: 310).

CHAPTER 10 – TOMB DISTINCTIONS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE

‘Considerably more can be said about the external appearance of mastaba superstructures than about their internal decoration.’

D. Wengrow²³³³

The archaeological descriptions of Early Dynastic cemeteries within Part II have provided the descriptions of the cemetery sites where burials have been suggested to belong to elites of the Early Dynastic period. Some of these tombs were built in such a way that they are considered as monumental landmarks across cemetery sites such as Giza, Tarkhan, Naqada and Elkab.²³³⁴ Therefore, the monumentality of these tombs is considered because they can be measured as evidence for the implementation of political power, whereby their scale and elaboration exceed their initial practical function.²³³⁵ In other words, the size of a monumental building can be considered as a reflection of the builder’s powerful capability to create such a large structure.²³³⁶

Monumentality is a concept related to the meanings of the word monument, which is defined as a structure, building, space, text, or objects related to remembrance and memories.²³³⁷ A monument and the concept of monumentality may be closely related, but are definitely two distinct phenomena as well, similar to how form (monument) and meaning (monumentality) are distinguished by art historians.²³³⁸ Secondly, the meaning behind the form of a monument, should be seen as a dynamic relationship between the monument(s) and the person experiencing the monument.²³³⁹

²³³³ Wengrow (2006: 239).

²³³⁴ Moreno García (2016a: 160).

²³³⁵ Trigger (1990: 119).

²³³⁶ Marcus (2003: 115).

²³³⁷ Wendrich (2014: 412).

²³³⁸ Osborne (2014: 3).

²³³⁹ Osborne (2014: 3).

It is advocated that the monumentality concept can be used to interpret artefacts and features which are made to memorialise someone or something. Bárta argues that the idea of monumentality acts as one type of evidence that reflects the dynamics of the changing relationship between the king and the elites.²³⁴⁰ Compared to the limited literacy, limited access to the king, or the limited communication impact of intricate iconographic motifs, the concept of monumentality has several advantages over other trademarks of power.²³⁴¹ This is because monumental architecture can be applied in different forms across different social groups, it is visible from a distance, everybody can experience it, it can be emulated by some as a means of desired identity, and it can also consider the importance of limited access and the concept of exclusivity.²³⁴² By using the lens of monumentality, analysing the differences between the designs of the royal and Early Dynastic tombs can be made apparent, not just in the physical form of these tombs, but also the embodied meaning behind their form.

10.1 TOMB DESIGN AND CEMETERY LOCATION

Egyptian tombs are archaeological features themselves which embody funerary and ritual symbols.²³⁴³ These symbols represent the fossilised manifestations of man's relationship with an attitude towards the concept of death.²³⁴⁴ Based on his study of the Pyramid Texts, Cervelló Autuori proposes that two basic and originally opposite patterns governed how the ancient Egyptians constructed Early Dynastic funerary monuments as extensions of, not just the landscape of the living, but also the unknown depths of the Duat or netherworld beyond death.²³⁴⁵ Firstly, a 'chthonic' pattern, where tombs were built to be hidden from any visible line of sight within a landscape, such as a desert. Secondly, an 'aerial' pattern, where tombs were constructed to be marked from any visible line of sight within the landscape, such as being atop an elevated escarpment.

The royal tombs located at Abydos are indeed hidden within the Umm el-Qaab cemetery, which is deemed an exclusive space since there are no encroaching tombs from other cemetery areas, save for the older Cemetery U.²³⁴⁶ Their use of the cemetery area at Abydos provides a realm of sanctity and exhibits the Early Dynastic sovereign's independence of

²³⁴⁰ Bárta (2017: 289).

²³⁴¹ Bárta (2017: 289).

²³⁴² Bárta (2017: 289).

²³⁴³ Cervelló Autuori (2006: 1140-1141).

²³⁴⁴ van Walsem (2005: 33)

²³⁴⁵ Cervelló Autuori (2017: 213-14).

²³⁴⁶ Baines (1995: 137).

power, which may reflect the burial customs of the time.²³⁴⁷ Moreover, no signs of a visible superstructure covered the royal tombs at the Umm el-Qaab, despite the arguments for a tumulus covering.²³⁴⁸ With regards to the Second Dynasty royal tombs at Saqqara, the absence of a superstructure above both the Second Dynasty royal tombs of Ninetjer and Hetepsekhemwy is also telling, with test excavations by Lacher-Raschdorff providing no conclusive evidence (Figs. 2-3).²³⁴⁹ It could be that these two royal tombs at Saqqara may have intended to follow the ‘chthonic’ design of their predecessors buried in the Umm el-Qa’ab cemetery, thus, this is why they had no superstructure covering them both, despite the subsequent constructions built on top of them from later periods. Due to these factors, one could indeed classify the royal tombs at Abydos to be largely ‘chthonic’ in nature and this perspective can help differentiate them from elite tombs in other cemeteries across Egypt. While the presence of the funerary enclosures at North Abydos were built to be visible, as if they are bringing an ‘aerial’ aspect towards royal funerary construction, they are not tombs, but represent ‘ritual’ monuments (Fig. 16).²³⁵⁰ It is speculated that the Gisir el Mudir and ‘L-shaped’ enclosures were associated with the Second Dynasty royal tombs at Saqqara (Fig. 1).²³⁵¹ If this were true it would certainly help confirm why no superstructures were built for Second Dynasty royal tombs at Saqqara; however, no evidence has confirmed this theory and probably more archaeological excavations are required.

The ‘aerial’ type tombs are the mastaba tombs at North Saqqara and emulated by other Early Dynastic tombs within other regional cemeteries across Egypt.²³⁵² Early Dynastic tombs located from the Nile Delta to Upper Egypt are suggested to belong to elites because they are observed as monumental landmarks which reflects a wide distribution of authority across a variety of Egyptian sites covering a vast territory.²³⁵³ The choice in location also made them distinctive by being visible from higher ground. The Early Dynastic tombs atop the northern escarpment at Saqqara are about 30 m above the floodplain of the Nile and are directly opposite the Helwan cemetery itself.²³⁵⁴ Due to their location and distinctive mortuary features built above ground, these mastaba tombs at North Saqqara are described as ‘imposing’.²³⁵⁵

²³⁴⁷ Trigger (1983: 56).

²³⁴⁸ Dreyer (1992: 61); Engel (2003a: 46); Stadelmann (2005: 365).

²³⁴⁹ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 53). See Ch. 3.1.2 Ninetjer for information regarding the proposed five superstructures by Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 167-197).

²³⁵⁰ Cervelló Autuori (2017: 213-214).

²³⁵¹ Ch. 3.1.1 Hetepsekhemwy; Ch. 3.1.2 Ninetjer.

²³⁵² Cervelló Autuori (2017: 214-215).

²³⁵³ Moreno García (2016a: 160); Wilkinson (2016: 545-546).

²³⁵⁴ Köhler *et al* (2005: 16); Hendrickx (2008: 61)

²³⁵⁵ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 151).

Elsewhere, the rocky knoll upon which the ‘M cemetery’ of Abu Rawash is built, allowed the tombs to be nearly 60 m above sea level.²³⁵⁶ Mastaba V was located on the highest point of the extending rocky knoll, extending from the south of Giza.²³⁵⁷ At Old Cairo (Batn al Baqara), a single Early Dynastic tomb chamber was discovered containing stone and copper vessels, dating this tomb to the reign of Den based on the inscribed finds.²³⁵⁸ The construction of this tomb was rock cut and its location on a naturally high eminence of about 50 m made it distinctive compared to other east-bank sites like Ma’asara, Helwan and Ma’adi which are on lower plateaus.²³⁵⁹ Tombs at Tell el-Farkha and Minshat Abu Omar in the Nile Delta are found upon geziras alongside settlements which are high in elevation as well, but these locations were chosen to avoid the unpredictable flooding of the Nile waters in that part of Egypt.

Many of the mastaba ‘aerial’ tombs could be identified as elite tombs within their respective cemeteries due to their mastaba form which accentuate that political power was the reason behind the creation of these monuments. The elite who were connected to the initial State organisation must have had access to the monumental tombs found at North Saqqara, Abu Rawash and Giza.²³⁶⁰ Recent suggestions advocate that political power is a resulting outcome of the creation of monumental buildings, not a creating catalyst.²³⁶¹ Cervelló Autuori dictates that the mastaba signifies an important characteristic for ascensional qualities which were adopted by the royal Kingship, based on his search for hieroglyphic terms within the Pyramid Texts, related to the resurrection of the king by ascension.²³⁶² The incorporation of the mastaba element may have been emulated by the Early Dynastic elites to distinguish themselves, since they could not build both a tomb, a funerary enclosure and/or other additional funerary monuments because it may have been deemed a royal privilege for the king’s cult to continue carrying out rituals beyond death.²³⁶³ Hence it may be that some elite tombs were distinctive because they combined both aspects from royal funerary monuments as a means of attaining eternal life through their own non-royal tradition, which seems to have then been adopted more

²³⁵⁶ Ch. 5.1.1 Abu Rawash

²³⁵⁷ Ch. 5.1.3 South Giza/Nazlet Batran

²³⁵⁸ Boghdady (1932: 157); Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 145).

²³⁵⁹ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 145).

²³⁶⁰ Campagno (2003: 23).

²³⁶¹ Osborne (2014: 9).

²³⁶² Cervelló Autuori (2011: 1145; 2017: 214-215).

²³⁶³ Campagno (2003: 19); Jiménez Serrano (2007: 30).

prominently for the Old Kingdom period.²³⁶⁴ This is how the Early Dynastic elite tombs at North Saqqara have been considered when in comparison with the royal tombs of Abydos.²³⁶⁵

In turn, the characteristics of the North Saqqara tombs are then compared to other Early Dynastic tombs considered to belong to the elite. This includes the aspect of cultic spaces where offerings were placed for the deceased to consume, whether it be via a niched recess or where the evidence of a statue of the deceased may have been installed. For example, the feet of two wooden statues were found in a niche within the main chamber of the cultic area associated with tomb 3505 at North Saqqara.²³⁶⁶ The presence of this features suggests a possible precursor to the serdab where a statue of the deceased is placed near a chapel or cultic space for offerings, such as the one recorded within Netjerikhet's funerary complex. However, the architectural layout of the chapel space beside 3505 also suggests that these statues may have been free standing and visible by passing visitors (Fig. 95).²³⁶⁷ Another First Dynasty example, includes the reported serdab room from Tomb V from Abu Ghurab (Fig. 83).²³⁶⁸ The interpretation of this tomb's serdab is given due to it being divided from the corridor space by a 'screening wall'.²³⁶⁹ However, there is no indication about whether a slit was noted in the wall to indicate where offerings for the deceased could be placed, plus no statue for the deceased was found in the closed off room.²³⁷⁰

Examples from the Third Dynasty is where the majority of precursor serdab examples are noted from both royal and elite tombs of the Third Dynasty, such as tomb 2304 from the North Saqqara cemetery.²³⁷¹ Other distinctive Early Dynastic tombs have been attributed to have installed an offering space near a niched recess or within a corridor space.²³⁷² Despite no spaces being found, tombs dated to the Second and Third Dynasties have been found with chapel corridors with niched recesses, such as tomb 2307 from North Saqqara, where an interpreted corridor on its eastern side may have been reserved for the living to place offerings by the niched wall (Fig. 102).²³⁷³ Moreover, Mastaba Z500 from Zawiyet el-Aryan encompassed a niched façade, including a niched recess where a sunken pot was placed in front

²³⁶⁴ Jiménez Serrano (2007: 30).

²³⁶⁵ Ch. 2.1 The Predicament of Identifying Early Dynastic Tombs.

²³⁶⁶ Emery (1958: 6, Pl. 27)

²³⁶⁷ Bárta (1998: 66).

²³⁶⁸ Ch. 5.1.4 Abu Ghurab/Abusir

²³⁶⁹ Bárta (1998: 67).

²³⁷⁰ Radwan (2003: 378).

²³⁷¹ Quibell (1923: 30); Bárta (1998: 67).

²³⁷² Baud (2009: 209-210).

²³⁷³ Quibell (1923: Pl. XXX).

of it (Fig. 89).²³⁷⁴ By considering these features amongst Early Dynastic tombs, this perspective helps to emphasise that ‘chthonic’ and ‘aerial’ funerary features first exhibited by the royal tombs were not just emulated by the tomb owners buried at Saqqara, this was also emulated by tomb owners buried at other cemetery locations around Egypt.

Since the North Saqqara tombs were first excavated, archaeologists have compared the external signs of monumentality between North Saqqara and Abydos to discuss their ownership, whether it be to royal sovereigns, elites or other social members. However, too much has been made about the form and size of the North Saqqara tombs rather than the meaning of the different features of the funerary monuments themselves. It is difficult to confirm these meanings when studying Early Dynastic mortuary evidence because of the lack of complementary written sources; but there have been attempts at deriving meaning from the variety of funerary features that are exhibited from these monumental tombs. While the majority of scholars dictate that the North Saqqara tombs did not belong to the Early Dynastic sovereigns, Cervelló Autuori has expressed alternate views based on a sociological and historical perspective across a number of articles.²³⁷⁵ While he eventually concludes that the tombs of Saqqara were not the burial places of the royal sovereigns, he selects a number of funerary elements from these tombs to argue that they convey royal associations.²³⁷⁶ This includes the ‘palace façade’ and painted decoration conveyed upon the superstructures of the Early Dynastic tombs at North Saqqara.

10.2 PALACE FAÇADE AND PAINTED DECORATION

The palace façade is one of the most discussed Early Egyptian architectural features for tombs given the amount of literature that has paid attention to documenting its appearances from the archaeological evidence,²³⁷⁷ interpreting its social significance,²³⁷⁸ and its similarities to foreign archaeological contexts.²³⁷⁹ The façade feature plays a paramount role in magnifying the status of the owner of a house or residence within a given location in some modern cultures, thus becoming a major source of pride and distinction.²³⁸⁰ Therefore, the presence of the niched façade recessing found on tomb superstructures has been used as an iconic marker to identify

²³⁷⁴ Lehner (1996: 521, Fig. 7).

²³⁷⁵ Cervelló Autuori (2002; 2006; 2011; 2017).

²³⁷⁶ Cervelló Autuori (2002: 29).

²³⁷⁷ Reisner (1936: 352-353); Spencer (1979: 15-21); Clark (2016: 274-302).

²³⁷⁸ Emery (1961: 178); Jiménez Serrano (2001; 2003; 2007); van den Brink (2001); Hendrickx (2001; 2008: 71); Cervelló Autuori (2002: 31); Stadelmann (2005: 370); Kemp (2006: 101); Wilkinson (2016: 545).

²³⁷⁹ Frankfort (1941: 338); Kemp (1975: 103); Sieversten (2008: 798-800).

²³⁸⁰ Daloz (2010: 71; 2013: 45).

the royal and elite tombs.²³⁸¹ This distinct niched architecture is linked to royal iconography due to comparisons with serekhs and other pictorial forms of evidence, such as the niched cities depicted on the Tehenu/Libyan palette.²³⁸²

Jiménez Serrano suggests that the palace façade form originated during the Naqada IID period, using the evidence of inscribed potmarks on pottery from the site of Maadi, which resemble serekhs.²³⁸³ He expands his argument to suggest that the palace façade motif was a consequence of Mesopotamian influence via the Delta region.²³⁸⁴ While the niched façade feature is not prominent on the royal tombs of the First and Second Dynasties, it is found prominently within the design of the Early Dynastic serekh sign which consists of a falcon perched atop a rectangle containing the king's Horus name in its upper part accompanied by vertical lines imitating niched walls below it (Fig. 87).²³⁸⁵ Moreover, physical evidence of this niched feature is also found on the large inner walls of the funerary enclosures found at North Abydos, indicating that its presence is related to ritual purposes based on the belief that these enclosures were the locations for funerary ceremonies performed by the king's cult.²³⁸⁶ The term 'palace façade' has also been used to indicate the royal connotations which are associated with this feature.²³⁸⁷ Therefore, it is considered a royal symbol, which indicates that the presence of this feature on a monument represents the royal palace by portraying a symbolic connection with the king and the transfer of power through physical proximity to him.²³⁸⁸ However, it remains unsubstantiated that the distinctive palace façade motif is connected to ancient palaces.²³⁸⁹

There has been very little discussion about what funerary practice these facade features would have been related to and instead the development of its form has continued to be a topic. A variety of other Early Dynastic tombs with the mastaba feature around Egypt have exhibited this niched feature externally on their superstructures throughout the Early Dynastic period, such as First Dynasty tombs at Minshat Abu Omar (Fig. 51), Abu Rawash (Fig. 64), Giza (Fig. 77), Tarkhan (Fig. 132), Naqada (Fig. 176), Second Dynasty Tombs at Helwan, not to mention

²³⁸¹ Wilkinson (1999: 225); Jiménez Serrano (2001: 78); Stadelmann (2005: 370).

²³⁸² Hendrickx (2001: 87-88, 104); Trafford (2007: 275-276).

²³⁸³ Jiménez Serrano (2001: 78).

²³⁸⁴ von der Way (1992: 223).

²³⁸⁵ Sharp (2001: 62); Campagno (2003: 22).

²³⁸⁶ Alexanian (1999b: 15); Sharp (2001: 62); Jiménez Serrano (2007: 29).

²³⁸⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 224); Sharp (2001: 62).

²³⁸⁸ Arnold (1997: 32); Baines (2003: 46); Jánosi (2006: 10).

²³⁸⁹ Reisner (1936: 244); Wengrow (2006: 240).

Third Dynasty tombs at Giza, Beit Khallaf and Elkab. Therefore, it shows that this feature was not an exclusive royal motif.

Since there is a connection between the inscribed potmark design and the palace façade motif, Jiménez Serrano states that the latter signifies an icon for elite groups within Lower Egypt and was then adopted as a national icon by the first kings of Egypt.²³⁹⁰ However, van den Brink questions Jiménez Serrano's hypothesis that niched architecture has a connection with elite groups.²³⁹¹ It is alluded to that the existence of an elite group within the Delta region is only given through the funerary evidence from a variety of sites, such as Minshat Abu Omar, Tell Ibrahim Awad and Minshat Ezzat, which all predate the Naqada IIIC phase.²³⁹² Hendrickx summarises that for the palace façade motif to have had so many forms across a variety of archaeological mediums, conveys its prestige and importance.²³⁹³ There have been instances where this façade form has been found within settlement contexts, but there are not many preserved examples which can be interpreted to make a deductive idea. A more recent article by Jiménez Serrano attempted to evaluate the meaning behind the palace façade form and what it meant for the mortuary structure of the tomb that incorporated it.²³⁹⁴ His conclusions lean towards the niched walls to be an indicator or marker of eternal life and that their presence on any form or architecture was a social or religious necessity.²³⁹⁵ Moreover, smaller artefacts were found with niched designs, especially ivory boxes from Minshat Abu Omar and Helwan, indicating that even at smaller scales, the niched façade was incorporated to possibly preserve what they contained (Fig. 52).²³⁹⁶

Since the niched architecture is prominent in the design of the preserved funerary enclosures of Hor-Aha and Khasekhemwy at North Abydos, it is suggested that these enclosures were a place where mortuary rituals occurred, based on the presence of offering remains near and around the smaller rectangular buildings found within the south-western corners of the enclosures of Hor-Aha, Djer, Peribsen and Khasekhemwy (Fig. 16).²³⁹⁷ Jiménez Serrano suggests that the sed-festival ritual, to celebrate the life cycle of the king, may have occurred in these enclosures, but the limited evidence does not confirm such a theory.²³⁹⁸ The

²³⁹⁰ Jiménez Serrano (2001: 78; 2007: 28).

²³⁹¹ van den Brink (2001: 107).

²³⁹² van den Brink (2001: 107).

²³⁹³ Hendrickx (2001: 105).

²³⁹⁴ Jiménez Serrano (2007).

²³⁹⁵ Jiménez Serrano (2007: 34-35).

²³⁹⁶ Saad (1969: 46, pls. 60-61); Kroeper & Krzyżaniak (1992: 211-212).

²³⁹⁷ Bestock (2008b: 60).

²³⁹⁸ Jiménez Serrano (2007: 29).

niched walls of these enclosures acted in a way as a safe and bounded location for such ritual activities to take place.²³⁹⁹ The fact that these niched facades are also found on the walls of the superstructures of some prominent Early Dynastic tombs of the elite indicates a desire to emulate these symbolic boundaries to achieve a similar path to eternal life.²⁴⁰⁰ After all, the practical function of the ancient Egyptian tomb was to house and protect the deceased's body, hence the 'house of eternity' phrase.²⁴⁰¹ Thus, they are likened to houses or residences which protected the body of the deceased within a bounded space from the outside forces of chaos which would eventually decompose it.²⁴⁰² Boundaries in Egyptian thought are linked to a variety of ideas, not just to the notion of order over chaos, but, also to wholeness.²⁴⁰³ The tomb represented a space for the wholeness of the deceased's body to be protected, thus the niched walls acted as another layer for the tomb's structure to promote the deceased's chances of being preserved for eternity.

Despite the bounded walls observed from both the tombs and the funerary enclosures, gaps are noted in their design. Until the reign of Den, the staircase was implemented in the design of the tomb, allowing a practical entrance for the simultaneous construction for both the substructure and the superstructure to take place, even though this is unfounded.²⁴⁰⁴ However, the introduction of the staircase may have coincided with the development of deeper subterranean burials for added security from being detected aboveground.²⁴⁰⁵ The staircase can also be interpreted to allow an exit for the deceased from the bounded walls of the tomb, especially with what has been observed with the design of the royal tombs where the tomb of Den was found with another staircase leading out from the substructures's south-western corner, which points towards the large wadi leading to the cliffs and to the Western horizon beyond the Umm el-Qaab (Fig. 10).²⁴⁰⁶ The other royal tombs at the Umm el-Qa'ab (e.g. the tombs of Djer, Djet and Meretneith) also have gaps in their south western corners and subsidiary graves which have been interpreted to be an exit for the resurrected king to then access the entrance to the Underworld (Figs. 7-9).²⁴⁰⁷ All the funerary enclosures at North

²³⁹⁹ Jiménez Serrano (2007: 29, fn. 23).

²⁴⁰⁰ Jiménez Serrano (2007: 30).

²⁴⁰¹ Campagno (2003: 21); Ockinga (2017: 23).

²⁴⁰² Dreyer (1998: 6-9); Jánosi (1999: 27); Lacher (2011: 222-223).

²⁴⁰³ Trafford (2007: 281).

²⁴⁰⁴ Vanhulle (2013: 220); La Loggia (2015: 101).

²⁴⁰⁵ Clark (2016: 207).

²⁴⁰⁶ Petrie (1901: 9); Dreyer (1992: 59-60; 2007b: 200-201).

²⁴⁰⁷ Richards (1999: 92-93); Effland *et al* (2010: 79). Dreyer *et al* (2006: 111) observes this for Khasekhemwy's tomb.

Abydos are also noted to have gaps in the eastern corner of their walled designs, with an accompanying gap in the line of subsidiary burials as well.²⁴⁰⁸

Some non-royal tombs have been noted to have gaps within their structural design since the Protodynastic period, in order to receive offerings or possibly allow movement within the tomb's space itself. Graves like Tomb U-j comes to mind, where slits have been noted in their walls (Fig. 164).²⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, a subsequent example from Tarkhan, tomb 1845, was found to have pierced holes in the side of the wall near the skull of the deceased.²⁴¹⁰ Even subsidiary burials have been found to have an accompanying chapel space for offerings with offering niches, possibly emulating the design of larger mastabas at North Saqqara.²⁴¹¹ For example, tomb 57 S XVII, associated with the First Dynasty dated Mastaba XVII from Abu Ghurab, exhibits two offering niches at its southern and northern ends of its eastern side (Fig. 81).²⁴¹² The southern niche was the larger of the two and was found with an earthenware pot that was sunk into the ground quite easily due to having a hole where the vessel's base would have been to possibly indicate a place of offering for the deceased.²⁴¹³ While most of these niched gaps are found orientated in different ways, predominantly, they are located on the eastern sides of the tomb. However, over at Helwan, the cult niches of most of the Early Dynastic tombs there are orientated in reverse with most tombs having their niched facades found on the western sides of the tombs instead.²⁴¹⁴ For example, tomb 785 H.5 from the site of Helwan where a 'chapel' space is located on its west side exhibiting niches where sunken pottery were found in situ (Fig. 190).²⁴¹⁵ However, over time the niched facades location do switch to the eastern side, mostly with tombs dated to the Second Dynasty, such as Tomb 68.H.5, possibly orientating to where most of the mourners would have come from the Nile valley.²⁴¹⁶

Where tombs have not been found with gaps in their design, some parts were painted to indicate the gaps within the boundaries of these tombs. It has been noted that some parts of the burial chambers of the royal tombs were painted red, such as the tomb of Djer, but the purpose for that has been suggested as an offering spot even though it is not confirmed.²⁴¹⁷

²⁴⁰⁸ Bestock (2008b: 47)

²⁴⁰⁹ Dreyer (1998).

²⁴¹⁰ Snape (2011: 13).

²⁴¹¹ Radwan (2003: 378).

²⁴¹² Radwan (2000: 514, pl. 85).

²⁴¹³ Radwan (2000: 514).

²⁴¹⁴ Köhler (2012: 285-286).

²⁴¹⁵ Saad (1969: 21, pl. 10) *cf.* Radwan (2000: 514, fn. 22).

²⁴¹⁶ Saad (1951: 27, Plan 14); Köhler (2012: 286).

²⁴¹⁷ Petrie (1900: 10, pls. lxi, lxiii; 1901: 8, pl. lx) *cf.* Adams (1994: 183).

However, there are instances amongst some non-royal tombs where painted niched recesses are suggested as offerings places, such as tomb N1514 from Naga ed-Der.²⁴¹⁸ Moreover, T1060 at Tarkhan was found to have traces of red painted on the inside recesses of the niched façade on the tomb's superstructure, except for one which was found to only have white painted instead.²⁴¹⁹ The white painted niche has been suggested to be a location where the dead may receive offerings since the red painted niche may have indicated a portal or gap in the boundary set by the walls of the tomb.²⁴²⁰

Painted decorated walls and other features are noted extensively with some of the tombs from North Saqqara. For example, with Tombs 3504 and 3507, the mud packed pavement separating the bench on which the clay bull heads are placed and the enclosure walls, was found to be painted green.²⁴²¹ Some of tomb 3503 and 2405's niched walls were found with yellow and red paint, not to mention green and black colours as well.²⁴²² The latter colour combination has been indicated to visually represent the deity of Osiris in later times, who is associated with the ideas of re-birth and regeneration according to the myth of his resurrection where black represents the chthonic deities and of the dark Nile alluvium; whereas green represents vegetation and fertility.²⁴²³ This is apparent within some subsequent funerary chambers of the Old Kingdom, such as the tombs of King Unas where decorations of niched façade motifs are painted in such colours on the walls surrounding the sovereign's sarcophagus is located.²⁴²⁴ Because of the similarities in design of the painted false doors of the Old Kingdom, some of the painted decorations from the North Saqqara tombs are interpreted to represent reeds or indicate the possible rendering of the earliest 'false doors', such as the Third Dynasty tomb of Hesyre.²⁴²⁵ The connection with the false door is also suggested because a lot of tombs with niched areas have been found with ceramic offerings being placed in front of some niched areas indicating the location for the mortuary cult of the deceased.²⁴²⁶

²⁴¹⁸ Reisner (1936: 248, 258); Podzorski (2008: 94).

²⁴¹⁹ Petrie *et al* (1913: 13, pl. XV.2).

²⁴²⁰ Jiménez Serrano (2007: 30); Grajetzki (2008: 109); Baud (2009: 212).

²⁴²¹ Emery (1954: 8, pl. VIII; 1958: 75).

²⁴²² Quibell (1913: 2); Emery (1954: 129).

²⁴²³ Wilkinson (2003: 120); Mojsov (2005: 8); Jiménez Serrano (2007: 30).

²⁴²⁴ Jiménez Serrano (2007: 30); Trafford (2007: 272).

²⁴²⁵ Quibell (1913: 16, pl. VIII); Wengrow (2006: 255).

²⁴²⁶ Saad (1969, 21, Pl. 10). Köhler (2012: 285) notes this practice at Helwan for Early Dynastic tombs at Helwan. This is continued in the Third Dynasty with Lehner (1996: 521, Fig. 7) documenting a photo from Mastaba Z500 at Giza.

10.3 BULL HORNS, CULTS AND TUMULUSES

Other funerary features indicating royal connotations amongst the North Saqqara tombs includes the presence of bulls or bull horns such as Tomb 3504, that was found to be surrounded by clay substitutes of bull heads, supplanted with real horns (Fig. 92). The bull animal is considered an external sign of royal iconography, therefore, indicating a possible relationship between the royal family and the deceased.²⁴²⁷ However, the presence of a miniature bull head with horns has also been reported at Abu Ghurab in association with Mastaba XVII, leading speculation that the deceased owner had a desire to emulate the elite of North Saqqara (Fig. 81).²⁴²⁸ At Abu Rawash, clay bull heads were not recorded from the tombs there, but ox horns have been recovered from the foundational deposits of the tombs, including Tombs M06 and M07 (Fig. 69).²⁴²⁹ Their inclusion may have been for protective purposes, since the horns of the bull are associated with power and authority.²⁴³⁰

Tomb 3505 was found to have an adjoining cult area construction built to its north, where the feet of two wooden statues were found in a niche within the main chamber and is considered an innovation for private tomb building at the site (Fig. 95).²⁴³¹ However, this particular feature has also been used to advocate the deceased being a king rather than a private person.²⁴³²

Other external features proposed to signify the North Saqqara tomb's royal connections, include the interpreted tumulus coverings, based on the presence of sand and rubble fillings and coverings within the superstructures of Tombs 3471, 3038 and 3507, which may have covered the royal tombs of Abydos.²⁴³³ The tumulus itself has connotations with the pan-Egyptian motif of the Primeval Hill, which according to the Heliopolitan version of the Egyptian myth, is the place from where Atum emerged to create new life and existence into the known Egyptian world.²⁴³⁴ The tumulus idea has gained further support from the stepped design built into the superstructure of Tomb 3038 dated to the reign of Andjib in the second

²⁴²⁷ Hendrickx (2002: 278-279).

²⁴²⁸ Ch. 5.1.4 Abu Ghurab/Abusir.

²⁴²⁹ Tristant (Personal Communication, 18th March 2018).


²⁴³⁰ Hendrickx (2002: 288).

²⁴³¹ Emery (1958: 6, Pl. 27); Kemp (1967: 26); La Loggia (2015: 66).

²⁴³² Lauer (1980: 64-65); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 223).

²⁴³³ Ch. 5.1.6.1 North Saqqara. Tombs 3038 and 3507 which are described by Emery (1958: 73) to resemble tumulus features above the burial chamber despite being covered by niched superstructure. Tomb 3471 is included, however, the report about a tumulus with this tomb is not clearly written by Emery (1949: 13-19), but, reasons for its inclusion by some scholars, including Emery (1949: 13); Dreyer (1991: 93) and Tavares (1999: 703), is possibly due to the presence of a false floor consisting of gravel (rubble) over each magazine.

²⁴³⁴ Saleh (1969: 110); Pinch (2002: 180-181); Cervelló Autuori (2002: 47).

half of the First Dynasty.²⁴³⁵ This stepped design has been likened to a ‘trunk pyramid sign’  found within the Pyramid Texts and could be a prototype to the later stepped pyramid of Netjerikhet in the Third Dynasty.²⁴³⁶ Still, it is not properly observed whether all the tombs at North Saqqara had a recognised tumulus built into their design, since most of the tombs were originally found in a ruined state.²⁴³⁷

Based on these external features it is argued that these mastaba tombs at Saqqara should be considered royal structures since they shared similar features that the Abydos tombs and funerary enclosures exhibited.²⁴³⁸ However, contemporary criticism from Hendrickx claims that the archaeological data that is observed from North Saqqara is being forced to fit within the dual monarchy theoretical model proposed by Lauer.²⁴³⁹ Cervelló Autuori then comments that the archaeological, material and quantitative evidence from these tombs should be complimented by the symbolic, religious and textual aspects that they may portray.²⁴⁴⁰ Even though there is a great difficulty in understanding these latter aspects, it cannot be ignored that such aspects did not exist.

Since there is minimal written evidence to consult about the religious symbolism behind Early Dynastic tombs, Cervelló Autuori consults the Pyramid Texts of the subsequent Old Kingdom period.²⁴⁴¹ The main subject of these texts is the transformation of the king from a deceased being in the world of the living into a powerful and active companion of the gods in the world of the dead.²⁴⁴² Part of this transformation relied on the transference of the Ka and Ba of the deceased, two embodied personalities which encompassed the deceased’s living senses i.e. taste, touch, emotion, movement, intelligence etc.²⁴⁴³ The Ka and Ba would be combined to create another state of personality, the Akh, which the deceased could achieve.²⁴⁴⁴ It was considered a state of blessedness which was not only achieved through just dying, but only after a certain amount of physical and ritual tasks were completed, so that the deceased was rewarded with immortality.²⁴⁴⁵ This ascension to immortality has been deemed to be an

²⁴³⁵ Emery (1949 :82-83).

²⁴³⁶ Sethe (1908: 348.641a^T); Stadelmann (2005: 366); Cervelló Autuori (2006: 8-9; 2011: 1141).

²⁴³⁷ Emery (1958: 73); Stadelmann (2005: 365).

²⁴³⁸ Cervelló Autuori (2002: 48; 2006: 10; 2011: 1139).

²⁴³⁹ Lauer (1955); Cervelló Autuori (2002: 27; 2011: 1140); Hendrickx (2008: 67).

²⁴⁴⁰ Cervelló Autuori (2011: 1140; 2017: 213).

²⁴⁴¹ Cervelló Autuori (2006; 2007; 2011: 1141).




²⁴⁴² Žabkar (1968: 58); Cervelló Autuori (2006: 1).

²⁴⁴³ Morenz (1973: 189).

²⁴⁴⁴ Hornung (1982: 173).

²⁴⁴⁵ Kanawati (2010: 7)

exclusive transformation for the king, based on an Old Kingdom context.²⁴⁴⁶ However, this transformation may have also been predominant for the sovereigns of the Early Dynastic period and that the elite may have aspired to emulate this transformation through their own means via the construction of their tombs.²⁴⁴⁷ This is prevalent when considering the ancient Egyptian

verb  *i(r)* 'ascend'.²⁴⁴⁸ The following determinatives associated with this word including the trunk pyramid sign  and the trapezoidal mastaba sign (O24A)  which Cervelló Autuori likens to the stepped superstructural design of Tomb 3038 at North Saqqara mentioned above.²⁴⁴⁹ Since these signs are referenced in these texts, Cervelló Autuori considers the mastaba tomb to be a representation of the royal sphere.²⁴⁵⁰

However, the presence of the 'trunk pyramid' determinative that has come from these texts makes the problem more complicated and further questions are asked as to why Tomb 3038 portrays the notion of a stepped tumulus being built within a private funerary context before it is utilised within a royal funerary context royal sphere from Netjerikhet onwards.²⁴⁵¹ While the subject of the Pyramid Texts details the transformation of the King's body from suspended animation to being an active companion of the god, Re, who is to say the Pyramid Texts were completely exclusive for the royal social group?²⁴⁵² These texts were inscribed officially on the funerary walls from the reign of Unas (2321–2306 BC) of the Fifth Dynasty, which is at least 400 years after the creation of Tomb 3038 during the reign of Andjib of the First Dynasty (2771–2764 BC) and that is a huge amount of time for changes to have occurred towards the burial customs for every Egyptian social group.²⁴⁵³ The emulation of distinctive funerary features may not have just been sourced completely from the royal funerary sphere and trickled down to other social groups. It could have been that the royal funerary sphere may have copied certain funerary features from other social groups, since there is such a great emphasis on the distinction of one's tomb.

While these features certainly help to distinguish these tombs compared to other contemporary examples within other cemeteries, they do not assist with clarifying the identity

²⁴⁴⁶ Bolshakov (1997: 284-285); Cervelló Autuori (2006: 1).

²⁴⁴⁷ Cervelló Autuori (2006: 6).

²⁴⁴⁸ Erman & Grapow (1971a : 41.15-18; 1971d: 32.9-10); Faulkner (1962: 10); Cervelló Autuori (2006: 2, fn. 2).

²⁴⁴⁹ Sethe (1908: 310.586a^T); Cervelló Autuori (2006: 14, Fig. 1; 2011: 1141).

²⁴⁵⁰ Cervelló Autuori (2011: 1141).

²⁴⁵¹ Cervelló Autuori (2006: 10); Regulski (2010: 165 [o12]).

²⁴⁵² Cervelló Autuori (2006: 1).

²⁴⁵³ Regulski (2010: 71); Bárta (2017: 286).

of the tomb owner for whom they were built for. Firstly, the reliance on the architectural features of these tombs is flawed, especially since most of the discussed tombs were initially found in a ruined state preventing an understanding about their original design. Moreover, the presence of the tumuli or any other single architectural feature does not completely justify the royal nature of these burials.²⁴⁵⁴ Additionally, as Cervelló Autuori has pointed out, we have a faint understanding about the symbolic principles which governed the construction of these tombs to be built with such architectural features.²⁴⁵⁵ Hendrickx makes a fair point that the mobility of the elite should not be underestimated, especially since parallel textual sources regarding the names of officials on seal impressions have been found in both Abydos and Saqqara.²⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, that comparisons between the two sites should not dictate which site is more important, rather how they both represent the royal power of the king in terms of the resources that were allocated for these tomb's constructions.²⁴⁵⁷

10.5 GARDENS

Gardens, orchards and crops in Egypt are generally planted beyond the flood zone of the River Nile in the valley area so that they do not suffocate. Thus, the control and provision of water was monitored by the creation of canals connecting the water from the Nile to pools within the temple or tomb area.²⁴⁵⁸ Because of the required installations of canals and pools, this made the practice of plantations an important aspect of the Egyptian economy by converting unproductive lands to be connected to the cultivation of the Nile Valley, or other areas of Egypt where abundant sources of water was available, such as the Faiyum and the Delta regions.²⁴⁵⁹ Since Egypt was an agrarian based society, agricultural produce was considered a societal and private source of prestige and wealth.²⁴⁶⁰ This is because the building and maintenance of these gardens usually involved intense labour, which is why they are established on the estates of high officials and temple institutions.²⁴⁶¹ Evidence of gardens have been found as part of the topographical features of ancient Egyptian tombs as a way of inserting life within the unproductive mortuary landscape, where they were intended to be places where the soul of the dead, in the form of the Ba-bird, could find rest and refreshment with cool water

²⁴⁵⁴ János (1995: 154); Tavares (1999: 703); Engel (2003a: 46); Hendrickx (2008: 66).

²⁴⁵⁵ Cervelló Autuori (2011: 1140-1141).

²⁴⁵⁶ Hendrickx (2008: 66); Regulski (2010: 60).

²⁴⁵⁷ Hendrickx (2008: 83).

²⁴⁵⁸ Wilkinson (1994: 14).

²⁴⁵⁹ Wilkinson (1998: 37-38); Wetterstrom & Murray (2001: 42).

²⁴⁶⁰ Wetterstrom & Murray (2001: 44).

²⁴⁶¹ Wetterstrom & Murray (2001: 42).

in the shade of a tree.²⁴⁶² Most examples of tomb gardens have been discussed from Pharaonic contexts, but not many physical examples have been unearthed. That is, until, a recent discovery by a Spanish archaeological team in 2017, who found a rectangular garden construct associated with a Middle Kingdom tomb, at the site of Dra Abu el-Naga near Luxor, Egypt.²⁴⁶³

Examples of physical tomb gardens dating to an Early Dynastic context have been reported. At North Saqqara, about 1.25 m from the outside of tomb 3036's eastern enclosure wall, planted trees were reported by Emery to be located within a trench that was 1.5 m wide x 0.70 m deep.²⁴⁶⁴ The remains of the trees were found to have been regularly planted at intervals of 1.6 m within the trench, but their species type could not be identified for the roots were not well preserved.²⁴⁶⁵ Emery believed that this trench filled with trees may have surrounded the tomb's entire enclosure, but the definite existence of this trench was only found on the eastern side of the tomb.²⁴⁶⁶ Quibell has reported the presence of an open area to the north east of Tomb 2185 at North Saqqara where there were two holes found and were possibly 'intended to hold lamps stands or basins for offerings and the like'.²⁴⁶⁷ Looking at the photo taken, the holes are massive but there is no indication as to where these holes are on the actual tomb plan.²⁴⁶⁸ Alix Wilkinson has suggested that these holes could have been used for trees, even though Quibell does not mention any plant remains.²⁴⁶⁹ These holes would most likely have held posts to support a cover for the area, considering they are perpendicular to a niched wall. Parallel examples have been accounted for within the North Saqqara cemetery, such as Tomb 3357, where at least four 10 cm wide holes, containing stumps of wood, were found in front of each of the tomb's large niches within the space between the niches and the inner enclosure wall, which Emery considered to be too narrow for a canopy to cover over these areas.²⁴⁷⁰ Instead, Emery believes that these holes may have been used to hold standards in comparison to Tomb 2185.²⁴⁷¹

²⁴⁶² Wilkinson (1994: 2); Germer (2001: 4).

²⁴⁶³ A first-ever find in Egypt: 4,000-year-old funerary garden at tomb entrance, Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), *Science Daily*, <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2017/05/170504093225.htm>, accessed 10/12/2017. This discovery was made by the Djehuty Project, under Professor Jose Manuel Galan (CSIC).

²⁴⁶⁴ Emery (1949: 73).

²⁴⁶⁵ Emery (1949: 73).

²⁴⁶⁶ Emery (1949: 73).

²⁴⁶⁷ Quibell (1923: 5).

²⁴⁶⁸ Quibell (1923: pl. V, VII.1).

²⁴⁶⁹ Wilkinson (1998: 111).

²⁴⁷⁰ Emery (1939: 13-14, pl. 1 & 7),

²⁴⁷¹ Quibell (1923: pl VII.1); Emery (1939: 13-14).

Underneath a paving combination of mud and white gypsum plaster in the corridor space bordered by the walls of Tomb 3505's superstructure and the enclosure wall, another series of small holes were revealed which contained some traces of decayed wood that are considered the remains of posts.²⁴⁷² It is interesting to note that these hole features were only present on the eastern side of Tomb 3505.²⁴⁷³ At Helwan, Saad would find similar postholes associated with a First Dynasty tomb, 1.H.3, where holes lined the east side of the tomb from North to South and another set lined the west side in a similar fashion.²⁴⁷⁴ Since they were filled with Nile river mud, Saad's only explanation is that these holes were used for the planting of trees, even though no plant remains were found.²⁴⁷⁵ However, evidence of these holes are only determined by Saad's drawn tomb plan. He refers to plate LXVII in his 1947 publication; but, it does not show the mentioned holes; instead, it portrays the substructure of 1.H.3 featuring the burial chamber with a staircase and an installed portcullis, with carved 'holes' inside it.²⁴⁷⁶ Wilkinson has referred to this tomb as to having two rows of trees planted on either side of the tomb.²⁴⁷⁷ In referencing these gardens being associated with these tombs, archaeologists and historians have attempted to demonstrate how the presence of a garden near the tomb is considered a significant marker for status purposes. From a social distinction standpoint, the presence of a garden acts as an aesthetic accessory to convey one's wealth and taste from a Eurocentric standpoint.²⁴⁷⁸ However, the published primary evidence is not convincing enough to support such claims for Early Dynastic elite tombs.

²⁴⁷² Emery (1958: 6-7).

²⁴⁷³ Emery (1958: 7).

²⁴⁷⁴ Saad (1947: 164, pl. LXI; 1969: 25-26).

²⁴⁷⁵ Saad (1947: 164), (1969: 26).

²⁴⁷⁶ Saad (1947: 164, pl. LXVII). A better version of this picture is also found in Saad (1969: Plate 14), but the holes on the outside of the tomb cannot be determined from this photo either. It may well be a printing error by Saad.

²⁴⁷⁷ Wilkinson (1998: 111).

²⁴⁷⁸ Daloz (2010: 72).

CHAPTER 11 – EMBODIED SIGNS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE

As evidenced in Chapter 10 a lot of our information about the Early Dynastic elite comes from external forms based on their outward funerary remains and mortuary architecture. However, there are other forms of archaeological evidence which have been used to emphasise the personal characteristics of Early Dynastic elites, apart from conspicuous display and that social distinction can also take in the forms of a distinctive naturalness as well as self-confidence.²⁴⁷⁹ In line with assessing the archaeological evidence for the presence of elites, Daloz uses an analytical framework to emphasise the ‘Embodied Signs of superiority’ which modern elites can also distinguish themselves by.²⁴⁸⁰ These types of signs are revealed principally in posture and gesture, behavioural standards, good grooming and cultural background. However, what Early Dynastic mortuary evidence can be evaluated with these explanatory schemes? The forms of evidence chosen for this chapter include grooming items, statues and clothing which can be counted as physical forms of such explanatory schemes.²⁴⁸¹ Moreover, some of these tombs were found to have inscriptional evidence on stelae, ceramic/stone vessels and seal impressions that were retrieved from them. The interpretations of the inscriptional evidence are seen in three ways and these will be evaluated within this chapter.

Firstly, the names upon these inscribed artefacts are considered to be a marker of tomb ownership.²⁴⁸² Secondly, they are considered symbols of the royal administration of the Early Dynastic period, especially since some of the inscriptions bear the names of occupational titles related to administrative activities for furnishing the tombs of elites.²⁴⁸³ Finally, they convey the educational competence of the deceased since the ability to read and write was confined as an elite activity.²⁴⁸⁴ The idea of competence objectively confirms merit and indicates efficiency

²⁴⁷⁹ Daloz (2010: 82).

²⁴⁸⁰ Daloz (2010: 1).

²⁴⁸¹ Daloz (2010: 81).


²⁴⁸² Wilkinson (2016: 550).

²⁴⁸³ Campagno (2013: 217).

²⁴⁸⁴ Baines (1983: 573-574); Wengrow (2011: 102); Moreno García (2016b: 492).

which is important in a context where politics have become largely professionalised.²⁴⁸⁵ Despite the limited hieroglyphic evidence dated to the Early Dynastic period it has been used to emphasise the existence of a structured administrative hierarchy with defined institutions and specifically allocated personnel.²⁴⁸⁶ This includes people having titles identifying themselves as princes, priests, palace workers and sealers. When titles have been found in relation to a tomb, they are considered as evidence for the deceased owner's high social status due to their professional competence in carrying out their responsibilities, which may have required a linguistic competence learned via a privileged education to learn their occupation.²⁴⁸⁷

11.1 LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

Linguistic competence or the ability to read and write is considered an important characteristic when designating people within a social hierarchy.²⁴⁸⁸ Even the ancient Egyptians have alluded to the skill of reading and writing as an invaluable asset to have in order to gain a well-paid occupation, as stated within the Middle Kingdom text of the Instruction of Duakhety to his son Pepy (colloquially known as the 'The Satire of the Trades').²⁴⁸⁹ Therefore, the ability to read and write has also been used as a status marker to divide those who were part of the elite and those who were not within the society of Early Dynastic Egypt.²⁴⁹⁰ Evidence of the Third Dynasty official, Hesyre, is depicted carrying scribal equipment on his right shoulder upon three of the wooden stelae retrieved from his tomb and has been interpreted to emphasise his writing skills as a distinctive characteristic for his social importance.²⁴⁹¹ This also complements the title he has on one of his wooden stela,  *mdh shw nswt* 'Master of the Scribes of the King', which is probably a role supervising the scribes assigned to Netjerikhet.²⁴⁹² However, it is not confirmed whether literacy skills were completely confined to the king and his immediate entourage.²⁴⁹³ Nonetheless, while titles are an important source of written evidence for ancient Egyptian studies, the names of people may also give importance as well. Not just because they provide an idea about the cultural importance that

²⁴⁸⁵ Daloz (2013: 54); Moreno García (2013d: 1041).

²⁴⁸⁶ Köhler (2010: 42).

²⁴⁸⁷ Laziridis (2010: 5).

²⁴⁸⁸ Daloz (2010: 92).

²⁴⁸⁹ Lichtheim (1973: 184-192); Simpson (2003: 431-437); Snape (2014: 108).

²⁴⁹⁰ Baines (1983: 573-574); Baines & Eyre (2007: 64).

²⁴⁹¹ Quibell (1913: pls. XXIX.1, XXX.3-4, XXXI.5); Piacentini (2002: 54-56); Baines (2007: 131).

²⁴⁹² Quibell (1913: pl. XXXI); Kahl *et al* (1995: 110-111); Piacentini (2002: 54-55) Warnemünde (2012: 18).

²⁴⁹³ Regulski (2008: 581)

the ancient Egyptians give towards names, but they also provide human identities for the archaeologist and historian to understand. For the Early Dynastic period, elite tombs have been found with names, especially upon stelae, stone vessels and seal impressions, but do they assist with identifying the elite?

11.1.1 NAMES ON STELAE

It is accredited that the name was an important part of the ancient Egyptian's self-identity for it represented their reputation, social contribution and personal fulfilment while they were alive.²⁴⁹⁴ Based on such qualities, it was imperative that the name was preserved after death, for there is the risk of it being deleted or annihilated and such acts will cause harm to the deceased while they exist in the netherworld.²⁴⁹⁵ Therefore, since the names of royal sovereigns, officials and other members of society have been found on stela mediums, they are often referred to as a marker of tomb ownership.²⁴⁹⁶ However, the context as to where most of the stelae found at Abydos and Saqqara would have originally fitted into the tomb's structure is not clear. Many scholars suggest that they were placed upright in front of the tombs as if they were gravestones.²⁴⁹⁷ However, considering the amount of erosion which these tombs have tolerated at both Abydos and North Saqqara, it is remarkable that some of the recovered stelae have been preserved, especially when considering the artistic value that is given to their design, such as Djed's stela.²⁴⁹⁸ It could be that some of the stelae were within walled up areas in connection to the cult area of the tomb, though this is not confirmed.²⁴⁹⁹ While the stela of Merka is a noted example from North Saqqara, there were funerary relief slabs that were recovered including those from Tombs 3477 and 2146 and they both feature seated women with food offerings in front of their silhouettes, making them funerary slabs instead.²⁵⁰⁰

Stelae of the Early Dynastic period are not restricted to both these sites though, with another larger collection found at the site of Helwan which are dated to the Second and Third Dynasties.²⁵⁰¹ The placement of where these Helwan stelae were placed as part of the tomb's architecture has been discussed where Saad dictates that they were placed on the ceiling above

²⁴⁹⁴ David (2014: 57); Cooper (2017: 110). According to Erman & Grapow (1971b: 425) and Faulkner (1962: 150) the Egyptian term *rn* has been translated as either 'name' or 'reputation'

²⁴⁹⁵ David (2014: 57-58).

²⁴⁹⁶ O'Connor (2005: 227); Wengrow (2006: 252).

²⁴⁹⁷ Petrie (1900: 6); Lauer (1955: 160, pl. IV); Dreyer (1991: 96-97); Köhler & Jones (2009: 88).


²⁴⁹⁸ Wengrow (2006: 253); Eaton-Krauss (2018).

²⁴⁹⁹ Reisner (1942: 64-65); Baines (1994: 78).

²⁵⁰⁰ Quibell (1923: 10, pl. XXVI-XXVII); Emery (1962: 2, pl. 3A); Cordon Solà-Sagales (2015: 1551-1554).

²⁵⁰¹ Wengrow (2006: 221); Köhler & Jones (2009: 122-203); Regulski (2010: 77).

the burial chamber.²⁵⁰² However, Köhler's recent analysis of the ceiling stelae of Helwan has pointed out that this is a misgiving in terms of interpretation.²⁵⁰³ Initially Köhler questions the 'ceiling stelae' given to these slabs based on their supposed placement within the tomb and how they would have been found on the ceiling of the tomb, especially since the superstructures of the tombs at Helwan were not well preserved, even when Saad excavated at the site.²⁵⁰⁴ Most of these stelae feature a centred image of a seated silhouette of an individual facing both an offering scene and titles. Due to these features, they most likely would have been designated as a 'neutral commemorative monuments' and were more likely designed to be integrated within the superstructure of the tomb as part of walled-in niched areas.²⁵⁰⁵

Stelae also emanates from Abu Rawash, where at least 5 of these artefacts were recovered by Montet.²⁵⁰⁶ One of these stelae features the inscribed name of Medjedka  and was sourced from Tomb M06 at Abu Rawash, leading suggestions to propose that this tomb belonged to this individual.²⁵⁰⁷ It could be the same Medjedka whose name is found amongst the names impressed on seals from Tomb 3506 and from Den's tomb.²⁵⁰⁸ While the stela's context is provenanced from M06, its actual placement within the tomb is not reported amongst the finds in the tomb's description, so it is not conclusive.²⁵⁰⁹ Moreover, no seals or artefacts were found with Den's name from M06, but it is dated to the sovereign's time due to the presence of a portcullis, which is an iconic development during this time of the First Dynasty.²⁵¹⁰

Other small stelae from Abu Rawash were found in-situ within carved niches on the covering of some of the subsidiary burials associated with Tomb M01.²⁵¹¹ One of the retrieved stela features the determinative of a woman below the name of Oukhet, indicating that this subsidiary tomb probably belonged to her.²⁵¹² Similar subsidiary burials associated with Mastaba 2038 at Tarkhan were found to have empty recesses and may have held similar sized inscribed stelae depicting the name of the deceased.²⁵¹³ The presence of these stelae inscribed

²⁵⁰² Saad (1957); Kaplony (1963a: 360).

²⁵⁰³ Köhler & Jones (2009: 86-87).

²⁵⁰⁴ Köhler & Jones (2009: 92).

²⁵⁰⁵ Köhler & Jones (2009: 88).

²⁵⁰⁶ Montet (1946: 180-182).

²⁵⁰⁷ Montet (1946: 180, pl. VI); Kaplony (1963a: 203. IV.1); Wilkinson (1996: 351).

²⁵⁰⁸ Petrie (1901: pl. XX.158-159); Emery (1958: 70-71 [Cat. 33-35], pl. 81).

²⁵⁰⁹ Montet (1938: 38-39).

²⁵¹⁰ Tristant (2008a: 345).

²⁵¹¹ Montet (1938: 23-24); Tristant (2008a: 367, Fig. 24)

²⁵¹² Tristant (2008a: 333); Tristant & Smythe (2011: 320).

²⁵¹³ Petrie (1914: 5, pl. 15)

with a name probably indicates the ownership of the tomb from which it is associated.²⁵¹⁴ However, the incomplete records about their original findspots does not assist investigating this question further, especially when compared to the stelae found with the subsidiary burials associated with the royal tombs at Abydos, where a lot of stelae have been recovered.²⁵¹⁵ It is also not out of the question they were also created to identify the tomb owner of these subsidiary burials.

Tomb ownership is one of the questions which archaeologists continually ask to determine the human agency behind the construction of the tomb. For the Early Dynastic period, this is no exception, especially when the written evidence from stelae is too limited to determine the identity of the deceased. However, ancient Egyptian names have been found on other types of artefacts though and have been consulted for understanding tomb ownership. Of course, evidence emanating from the royal cemetery of Abydos and the stone vessel deposit below the Step Pyramid of Netjerikhet is considered to be the largest sources of inscriptional material we have.²⁵¹⁶ Moreover, the inscriptional evidence from North Saqqara is also highly regarded, thus the deceased buried there are believed to have had a hand with the operating political dynamics at the dawn of the Egyptian state.²⁵¹⁷

11.1.2 NAMES ON SEAL IMPRESSIONS

Despite a majority opinion today that the tombs belonged to the highest officials of the Early Dynastic sovereigns, Morris states that the ‘Saqqara mastabas do not belong to the officials to whom Egyptologists have long handed over their deeds’.²⁵¹⁸ The reasons behind her opinion lies with the very few mastabas that have been found with inscribed materials compared with the number of tombs in North Saqqara that have been found to not have inscribed material.²⁵¹⁹ For example, Tomb 3504 is ascribed to be owned by an individual named Seshemka, based on the numerous times that this name appears on labels, mud seal impressions, an ivory wand, and the 69 ink inscriptions on pottery jars that are stored within Magazine S in the tomb’s superstructure.²⁵²⁰ It is these types of inscribed evidence that has

²⁵¹⁴ Reisner (1932b: 324); O’Connor (2005: 226); Wengrow (2006: 252);

²⁵¹⁵ Martin (2011).

²⁵¹⁶ Regulski (2010: 68).

²⁵¹⁷ Morris (2007a: 171); Moreno García (2009: 14).

²⁵¹⁸ O’Connor (2005: 229-230); Morris (2007a: 171); Hendrickx (2008: 69). O’Connor (2005: 223, fn. 5) does not agree with Morris and Cervelló Autuori’s views that the North Saqqara tombs are royal types in anyway.

²⁵¹⁹ Morris (2007a: 179); Regulski (2010: 68).

²⁵²⁰ Emery (1954: 16, 110); Kaplony (1963a: 89, 634-636); Wilkinson (1999: 146); Morris (2007a: 178, fn. 5). Emery is not consistent in the number of ink inscribed pottery vessels, going from 67 (Pg. 16) to 68 (pg. 110). Morris settles on 69 examples.

been used to support the notions of agency behind other tombs within North Saqqara, such as Tomb 3035 being ascribed to Hemaka,²⁵²¹ Tomb 3036 to Ankhka,²⁵²² Tomb 3503 to Seshemka,²⁵²³ Tomb 'X' to Neska,²⁵²⁴ Tomb 3111 to Sabu,²⁵²⁵ and Tomb 3505 to Merka.²⁵²⁶ However, this approach is questionable since the name of Seshemka has been found to have been inscribed alongside the name of Djer on a wooden label from the king's tomb at Abydos.²⁵²⁷ Despite initially putting a great emphasis on these inscribed sources from North Saqqara, Emery acknowledges that the names of these officials appear on the jar sealings in their official capacity and certainly not as an indication of ownership of the object, much less the tomb in which they are found.²⁵²⁸ But, what do the presence of these names indicate?

Common denominators have been analysed amongst these names to make further sense of them, especially the examples found in the tombs of North Saqqara and they all have the Ka logogram in their nomen structure.²⁵²⁹ Ka comes from the root of the word 'kꜣ', which translates to the life force of a person; it is the energy or power that makes the difference between a living being and a corpse.²⁵³⁰ Upon death, the Ka was separated from the body, but it was reunited with it thanks to the rituals of Mummification and the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.²⁵³¹ The Ka was a kind of energy that needed constant nourishment, therefore it required food and drink which was presented to the deceased in the chapel probably that which cult worshippers or family relatives brought as offerings for the deceased.²⁵³² Since this is the case, the food and drink required for the tombs at North Saqqara would have required large volumes due to their size, requiring some individuals to coordinate sub groups of people to retrieve mortuary provisions from a variety of locations across Egypt. It may well be that the presence of the names with the lexical component of 'Ka' indicated the people who were responsible for furnishing the tomb and hence the 'Ka' of the deceased tomb owner.²⁵³³ For example, the name of Sekhemka was both found on seal impressions in both Djet's tomb at

²⁵²¹ Emery (1938: 1, 10).

²⁵²² Emery (1949: 71).

²⁵²³ Emery (1954: 170); Morris (2007a: 178); Regulski (2010: 69).

²⁵²⁴ Emery (1949: 109); Morris (2007a: 185); Regulski (2010: 71).

²⁵²⁵ Emery (1949: 95); Regulski (2010: 72).

²⁵²⁶ Emery (1958: 30); Kemp (1967: 28).

²⁵²⁷ Petrie (1901: pl. XXII.3).

²⁵²⁸ Emery (1958: 3).

²⁵²⁹ Cervelló Autuori (2002: 43-44); Snape (2011: 20).


²⁵³⁰ Ockinga (2017: 24).

²⁵³¹ Kanawati (2010: 6).

²⁵³² Kanawati (2001: 20).

²⁵³³ Morris (2007a: 179).

Abydos and in Tomb 3504.²⁵³⁴ Not to mention, there is evidence of this name being found within Tomb 2185, suggesting that Sekhemka possibly assisted with furnishing that tomb as well.²⁵³⁵ The name of Sekhemka has also been found impressed on a mud seal that is ‘crossed’ by another alternating sealing pattern that features the serekh of Den.²⁵³⁶ This evidence suggests that Sekhemka would have also served in the same role during Den’s reign.²⁵³⁷ Tomb 3506 also provides a complicated case study for tomb ownership. Numerous seal impressions retrieved from the tomb conveyed at least four names of potential officials, including Medjedka, Hemaka, Ankhka and Setka.²⁵³⁸ These names have also been found within the tomb of Den.²⁵³⁹

Despite some of these names having more occurrences than others, it is not practical to attribute a single tomb owner from this group of names. Instead, the supposed names inscribed or impressed on these artefacts were to signify the donor of the tomb equipment within the tomb and not the recipient owner of the tomb.²⁵⁴⁰ This may help to clarify why there are numerous names found amongst the royal tombs at Abydos, several tombs in North Saqqara and within other tombs at other cemeteries in the Memphite region, which may suggest that certain members of the king’s elite entourage were responsible for particular tasks, including the furnishing of tombs for certain deceased members.²⁵⁴¹ Brief discussions have talked about the possibility of people who were employed to oversee the furnishing of tombs by giving attention to the title  *hry tp nswt is-df3* which has been translated as the ‘King’s Liegeman’, which designated the responsibility to supply the royal tombs.²⁵⁴² This title has been linked with the *wn.t* institution, which has been theorised to be the special authority behind the distribution of funerary offerings for the tombs of the kings and some high dignitaries during the Early Dynastic period.²⁵⁴³ However, the lack of settlement evidence from the Memphite region does not help to completely confirm this theory.²⁵⁴⁴

²⁵³⁴ Petrie (1900: pl. XXVIII.5); Emery (1954: 116, fig. 150, 151); Morris (2007a: 179).

²⁵³⁵ Quibell (1923: pl. IX); Kaplony (1963a: 80, fn. 388; 1963b: 741).

²⁵³⁶ Emery (1954: 116, 119, fig. 150, 151, 161, 162).

²⁵³⁷ Morris (2007a: 179).

²⁵³⁸ Emery (1958: 70-71 [Cat. 33-35], pl. 81).

²⁵³⁹ Petrie (1901: pl. XX.158-159).

²⁵⁴⁰ Kees (1957: 14-15); Kahl *et al* (2001: 184, fn. 84); Wengrow (2006: 235-236); Regulski (2010: 27-28).

²⁵⁴¹ Wilkinson (2016: 550).

²⁵⁴² Endesfelder (1991: 29); Jones (2000: 789 [2877]); Jiménez-Serrano (2016: 25).

²⁵⁴³ Endesfelder (1991: 29).

²⁵⁴⁴ Endesfelder (1991: 29).

Other provisioning institutions also include the *is-df3* which has been dubbed ‘Lebenmittelmagazin’ (Food Magazine) by Helck or ‘Lebensmittelamt’ (Food Administration) by Kaplony.²⁵⁴⁵ Engel deems it to be a subordinate agency, similar to the references regarding the vineyard and has been noted from several Second Dynasty contexts, such as a diorite bowl inscribed with the *is-df3* inscription alongside the name of Ninetjer.²⁵⁴⁶ Moreover, another example with the deceased being an ‘official sealer of good things’ in association with the *pr-nsw* and *is-df3* during the reign of Khasekhemwy.²⁵⁴⁷ There is also another official named Iyni-Khnum, whose name has been found upon ink inscribed stone vessels within Tombs 2429 and 3009 at Saqqara, which are dated to the Second and Third Dynasties respectively.²⁵⁴⁸ Moreover, the name of Iyni-Khnum has been found to be ink inscribed upon some stone vessels from Netjerikhet’s galleries in the Step Pyramid.²⁵⁴⁹ His name is accompanied by the title, *hry tp nswt*, which could also indicate his role in supplying those tombs as well.²⁵⁵⁰ These examples have been inscribed on stone vessels which are also considered to be a rare feature for most funerary assemblages dated across the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods.²⁵⁵¹

11.1.3 NAMES ON STONE VESSELS

From the Protodynastic to the Early Dynastic period, there is an increased use of stone vessels observed within funerary assemblages, even being found in what most archaeologists would consider ‘poor tombs’.²⁵⁵² The variety of stone material used for these vessels is plentiful ranging from volcanic based igneous rocks like Granite and Basalt, which are rarer to find and harder to manufacture.²⁵⁵³ Furthermore, Sedimentary rocks including Limestone, which are more commonly found across Egypt at a number of quarry areas and are easier to alter.²⁵⁵⁴ Finally, there are metamorphic rocks like Marble and Diorite, which were originally igneous and sedimentary rocks, but formed as such due to high heat and/or earthly pressure.²⁵⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the effort and expenditure required to extract the stone and skilfully craft it as a vessel is more expensive than the production of a ceramic vessel, hence why they are highly valued by Egyptian archaeologists and must have been treated as such by the ancient Egyptians

²⁵⁴⁵ Helck (1954: 59), Kaplony (1963a: 158); Endesfelder (1991: 29).

²⁵⁴⁶ Kaplony (1963b: 1196, Fig. 862) *cf.* Engel (2013: 30).

²⁵⁴⁷ Kaplony (1963b: 1121, Fig. 214) *cf.* Engel (2013: 30).

²⁵⁴⁸ Reisner (1936: 170); Clark (2016: 202, fn. 1412, 289, fn. 2300, 419).

²⁵⁴⁹ Quibell (1923: pl. 23.4); Lacau & Lauer (1965: 5, Figs. 10-11).

²⁵⁵⁰ Regulski (2010: 22).

²⁵⁵¹ Reisner (1908: 129); Emery (1962: 1-2); Raffaele (2005: 47); Mazé (2014: 124).

²⁵⁵² Reisner (1908: 129).

²⁵⁵³ Aston (1994: 11); Mallory-Greenough (2002: 68); Mazé (2014: 123).

²⁵⁵⁴ El-Khouli (1978: 793); Aston (1994: 37); Mazé (2014: 123)

²⁵⁵⁵ Aston (1994: 54).

themselves.²⁵⁵⁶ Mining expeditions sent out to exploit and obtain stone materials, or other mined items like copper, would have been a carefully planned exercise since some quarry sources were located outside of Egypt's borders, such as the Sinai and the Eastern Desert areas.²⁵⁵⁷ Therefore, military grade preparations would have been required and the Egyptian crown would have the financial means for that to happen, since there are not many known cases in which private expeditions would have taken place.²⁵⁵⁸

As a result, Early Dynastic stone vessels are considered to have been exclusively crafted within skilled workshops underneath the king and distributed by his royal administration.²⁵⁵⁹ It is no surprise that most of the royal tombs have been found with a variety of stone vessels within their coffers, notably the 40 000 stone vessels located underneath Netjerikhet's Step Pyramid, featuring the names of his predecessors of the First and Second Dynasties.²⁵⁶⁰ However, throughout the Early Dynastic period, non-royal tombs have also been found with stone vessels. For example, at Tell el-Farkha, cylindrical and squat barrel shaped stone jars, made from either travertine or basalt, were retrieved from some of the Early Dynastic tombs located within the Eastern Kom's cemetery.²⁵⁶¹ This is interesting that such tombs have been found with such stone vessels considering that the nearest mining areas for basalt are located between Cairo and the Fayum, such as Abu Zabaal and outcrop sites near Abu Rawash and Gebel Qatrani.²⁵⁶² Moreover, quarrying sites for travertine are located within the Eastern Desert at Wadi Gerrawi.²⁵⁶³ It suggests that some people buried within this Eastern Kom cemetery had connections to acquire these highly sought stone vessels. At Kafr Ghattati, tomb KG2 was also found to contain a basalt vessel near the pelvis of the deceased adult female (Fig. 76).²⁵⁶⁴ The prestigious value of stone vessels within these tombs are deemed to be very valuable because of the effort required to obtain the stone for vessel creations was usually through royal expeditions and that they were manufactured via the king's administrative facilities.²⁵⁶⁵

²⁵⁵⁶ El-Khouli (1978: viii); Mazé (2014: 122-123).

²⁵⁵⁷ Hamilton (2016a: 194-195).

²⁵⁵⁸ Mazé (2014: 125).

²⁵⁵⁹ Mazé (2014: 127).

²⁵⁶⁰ Hendrickx *et al* (2001: 86-87); Gould (2003: 34); Regulski (2010: 20).

²⁵⁶¹ Bąk-Pryc (2016: 13).

²⁵⁶² Klemm & Klemm (2001: 640); Mallory-Greenough (2002: 68); Bąk-Pryc (2016: 4).

²⁵⁶³ Klemm & Klemm (2008: 148); Bąk-Pryc (2016: 4).

²⁵⁶⁴ Engles (1990: 77, Fig. 8c); Mallory-Greenough (2002: 91)

²⁵⁶⁵ Mazé (2014: 126).

Apart from their material mediums though, stone vessels have also been found to portray inscriptions upon them which were either incised, inked or rarely executed in low relief.²⁵⁶⁶ Some of them convey the name of royal sovereigns within certain elite tombs, possibly indicating that these artefacts were provided for the tomb on behalf of the royal sovereign.²⁵⁶⁷ At North Saqqara, Tomb 3035 was found with vessels incised with Den's name.²⁵⁶⁸ Not to mention, Meretneith's name is conveyed by stone vessels from Tomb 3503.²⁵⁶⁹ At Helwan, a number of tombs were found with incised stone vessels featuring royal names, such as tomb 185.H.4 with a stone vessel exhibiting Semerkhet's name.²⁵⁷⁰ Second Dynasty tombs still followed with the same practice with tomb 3014 reported to have contained siltstone vessels exhibiting the name of Weneg, a lesser known royal sovereign of the Second Dynasty.²⁵⁷¹ The name of Hetepsekhemwy was found incised on a stone vessel recovered from Tomb 3112 at Badari (Fig. 145).²⁵⁷² Finally, Third Dynasty mastaba tombs constitute examples such as the eight dolomite stone vessel bowls featuring the name of Khaba that were retrieved from Tomb Z500 at Zawiyet el-Aryan (Fig. 89),²⁵⁷³ a magnesite stone vessel fragment interpreted to convey the name of Huni discovered within tomb AS54 from South Abusir (Fig. 85),²⁵⁷⁴ and tomb K1 at Beit Khallaf, where numerous stone vessels inked with the name of Netjerikhet have been found.²⁵⁷⁵

Some tombs with numerous royal names should also be accounted for, such as Tomb 3036, which is generally dated to the reign of Den, but was also found with Hor-Aha's name incised on a calcite cylindrical vessel.²⁵⁷⁶ Why this is the case maybe either the Hor-Aha incised artefact was an intrusive element due to subsequent robbing activities or it was placed in Tomb 3036 as an heirloom for the deceased. This is an interpretation used for other instances where tombs found to be dated to a certain period have been found with an artefact illustrating an alternative date altogether. This was the case with tomb 150.H.5 at Helwan, where a slate vessel

²⁵⁶⁶ Regulski (2010: 16, 26-28); Piquette (2014: 242).

²⁵⁶⁷ Raffaele (2005: 51-52).

²⁵⁶⁸ Emery (1938: 61, Fig. 18 [1720], pl. 28).

²⁵⁶⁹ Emery (1954: 142, Fig. 206).

²⁵⁷⁰ Initially the original photograph from Saad (1951: pl. XXXII) does not show the royal name; however, thanks to a subsequent digital tracing of its original photograph by Köhler for Regulski (2010: 120, fn. 1246), Semerkhet's name was revealed.

²⁵⁷¹ Lacau & Lauer (1961: 53, Figs 5a-c); Hamilton (2016a: 188).

²⁵⁷² Brunton (1927: 13, pl. XIX.25).

²⁵⁷³ Reisner & Fisher (1911: 59); Arkell (1956: 116); Porter & Moss (1974: 314).

²⁵⁷⁴ Bárta (2011: 47); Jirásková (2011: 454).

²⁵⁷⁵ Garstang (1903: pl. XXVIII.7); Regulski (2010: 75).

²⁵⁷⁶ Emery (1949: 78, Figs. 38-39).

featuring Qa'a's name was found in the main fill of the tomb.²⁵⁷⁷ However, a secondary burial, located outside of tomb 150.H.5 was found to contain cylindrical vessels dated to the Mid-First Dynasty (Naqada IIIC) and were not in use during Qa'a's reign.²⁵⁷⁸ Köhler postulates that if the secondary burial is actually dated to the reign of Qa'a like Tomb 150.H.5, then the cylindrical jars may be interpreted as heirlooms.²⁵⁷⁹ Or, it could be that Tomb 150.H.5 is originally dated to the Mid-First Dynasty as well, making the stone vessel fragment featuring Qa'a's name useless for the purposes dating it and hence ruling out the interpretation that Tomb 150.H.5's owner had a connection with the king at all. Regardless, the disturbed nature of the archaeological evidence at hand does not help with making deductive conclusions about the role of certain artefacts within the burial assemblage.

Based on this evidence it is suggested that the names found on ceramics, stone vessels and seal impressions, must relate to the people who helped facilitate the tomb - not those who owned it. If it is interpreted that the names found in the North Saqqara tombs belonged to such facilitators, then that makes it even more intriguing about who the deceased owners of these tombs were, especially since they were provided with nearly the same funerary resources usually reserved for the Early Dynastic sovereigns and their tombs. How could the royal sovereigns allow other individuals to obtain a vast quantity of provisions and prestigious goods and store them within just as impressive mortuary monuments? These members may have had favour with the king and in return for their service were granted burial plots at North Saqqara. Not to mention having their tomb built and provisioned by the king's best professionals. However, who would have qualified for such a privilege? This is where we need to consider some of the titles which have been recovered from these Early Dynastic tombs and have been analysed in terms of their rank.

11.2 TITLES

The term 'title' has been constantly used by Egyptologists to designate an occupation relating to officialdom or administrative authority, based on the written evidence that the deceased has left behind, whether it be found on wall inscriptions, impressed on seals or inked on ceramic or stone vessels etc.²⁵⁸⁰ However, the word 'title' is a modern appellation attached to either an individual/family which distinguishes either their functional rank or honorary

²⁵⁷⁷ Saad (1951: 29-30, fig. 11, pl. XXIX).

²⁵⁷⁸ Saad (1951: 29, pl. XXVIIIa).

²⁵⁷⁹ Köhler (2005: 26-27).

²⁵⁸⁰ Wilkinson (1999: 115).

distinction.²⁵⁸¹ Separating between these two categories is a difficult task, making it a very arbitrary classification to use, especially with ancient hieroglyphic evidence that is already very poorly understood.²⁵⁸² What are classified as titles within an Early Dynastic context are more or less descriptive terms which indicate group membership labels, either for the elite or an administrative branch.²⁵⁸³ The occupational nature of such labels is still very debatable, especially when discerning ‘ranking titles’ for it is unclear whether they were used to distinguish the honorific status of an individual within the administrative hierarchy or the occupational rank of the individual employed within a domain office.²⁵⁸⁴ Even before the onset of the Early Dynastic period, the previous form of titles took the form of a symbolic device known as a *serekh*, which have been found to be incised or painted on pottery or stone vessels within high-status and royal burials.²⁵⁸⁵ Nonetheless, ‘title’ has been used for there is no alternative, but it has allowed some scholars to classify the various written labels that have been found with some of the identified individuals from the Early Dynastic mortuary record.

Two principal groups of titles have been designated.²⁵⁸⁶ Firstly, there are ‘ranking titles’, which were used to denote membership in a certain social group, especially the *ḥ3ty*-‘ (mayor), *iri-p’t* (ruling elite) and *s3 nsw/s3.t nsw* (son/daughter of the king) titles.²⁵⁸⁷ Secondly, there are the ‘functional titles’ which indicated a certain duty (or group of duties) and would have included titles such as *‘d-mr* (administrator), *ḥk3* (ruler) and titles which have links to a so-called institution, such as ‘overseer of the treasury’.²⁵⁸⁸ The roles behind these titles would have been a formalised office executed by a specific functionary, who was in charge of a number of subordinates within certain regions of the country.²⁵⁸⁹ Some subordinate titles would have also included the *mjtr* (Palace Worker),²⁵⁹⁰ *smr* (Companion, Courtier – Priest Title)²⁵⁹¹ and *ḥtm(w)*

²⁵⁸¹ Moreno García (2013b: 8); ‘Title’, Oxford English Dictionary Online <<http://www.oed.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/view/Entry/202602?rskey=NhFe0i&result=1#eid>>, accessed 29th January 2018.

²⁵⁸² Wilkinson (1999: 115); Moreno García (2013b: 8).

²⁵⁸³ Wilkinson (1999: 115).

²⁵⁸⁴ Moreno García (2013b: 8); Wilkinson (2016: 550-551).

²⁵⁸⁵ Wengrow (2006: 209); Bestock (2013a: 107)

²⁵⁸⁶ Helck (1986: 596); Bárta (2013b: 156).

²⁵⁸⁷ Strudwick (1985: 175); Bárta (2013b: 156-157).

²⁵⁸⁸ Bárta (2013b: 157-158).


²⁵⁸⁹ Helck (1986: 596); Bárta (2013b: 157).


²⁵⁹⁰ Erman & Grapow (1971b: 45 [4-5]); Helck (1954: 102); Kahl (1994: 598, fn. 1310; 801, fn. 2808); Jones (2000: 424 [1571]). The actual translation of Palace Worker (ein Arbeiter im Palast) came from a search page on the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiaca ‘mjtr’, Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiaca <<http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/BwlBrowser?f=0&l=0&off=0&csz=-1&lcd=mjtr&tcd=&scd=&pn0=1&db=Egyptian&bc=Start>>, accessed 25th, January 2018.

²⁵⁹¹ Erman & Grapow (1971d: 138 [6]); Kahl (1994: 751, fn. 2420); Jones (2000: 891 [3263]).

bity (Sealer of Lower Egypt).²⁵⁹² For each functionary title implied a certain economic income stream, which is why ancient Egyptian officials tended to accumulate as many state titles/functions as possible.²⁵⁹³ The following title designations of *h3ty-*, *p't/iri-p't*, *ḏ-mr* and *s3 nsw/s3.t nsw* will be discussed below for they are sourced from confirmed tombs located within the cemetery sites that are referred to within Part II of this dissertation.

11.2.1 COUNT, GOVERNOR, MAYOR – *h3ty-*

The title of *h3ty-*  was given to high dignitaries during the Old Kingdom who had the authority over a local area towards the end of the Third millennium BC.²⁵⁹⁴ During the Second millennium BC, this title became synonymous with the translations of ‘mayor’, ‘governor’, ‘local prince’ and ‘nomarch’, more or less as a collective term.²⁵⁹⁵ The role of the *h3ty-* involved the administering of a local milieu and territory, which would could have been allocated to someone who is originally from the area or based on a criteria of merit.²⁵⁹⁶ It has also suggested that the role of the *h3ty-* also included military duties, but that is based on Middle Kingdom inscriptional sources.²⁵⁹⁷

The earliest attestation of this title was found alongside the name of *Shm-k3* on a seal impression from the tomb of Meretneith at Abydos.²⁵⁹⁸ Moreover, a door lintel from Tomb 3506 at North Saqqara that was transcribed with the transliteration *iri-p't nsw ḏs h3.ty* (Prince (of ?) the King of Upper Egypt, himself (?), the first (?)).²⁵⁹⁹ Due to the presence of  on the seal impression, the term *h3.ty* has been compared to *h3ty-*, which Emery translated as ‘prince’ at the time since *iri-p't* was found in the same sentence.²⁶⁰⁰ However, no name of any sort was found associated with this transcription. Other attestations also include a relief dated to the reign of Sekhemkhet of the Third Dynasty, where a relief in the Sinai region of Wadi Maghara depicted a standing figure with inscriptional titles surrounding the top half his body,

²⁵⁹² Emery (1938: 64 [6]); Jones (2000: 763 [2775]).

²⁵⁹³ Bárta (2013b: 157).

²⁵⁹⁴ Moreno García (2013b: 8).

²⁵⁹⁵ Erman & Grapow (1971c: 25.7-24); Faulkner (1962: 162); Helck (1958: 207-208); Jones (2000: 496 [1858]); Moreno García (2013b: 8); Auenmüller (2014: 179).


²⁵⁹⁶ Auenmüller (2014: 179).

²⁵⁹⁷ Helck (1958: 208-209); Willems (2013: 365).

²⁵⁹⁸ Petrie (1900: pl. XXII.32); Kaplony (1963b: 1107, Abb. 105); Helck (1987: 265); Jones (2000: 496 [1858]); Kahl (2004: 284-285); Regulski (2010: 100 [D36]). Petrie (1900: 25) originally found this seal, but he gives no commentary about its design compared to the other examples.







²⁵⁹⁹ Emery (1958: 60, pl. 83.1).

²⁶⁰⁰ Emery (1958: 60, pl. 83.1).

including *h3ty*-‘ due to the presence of  as well (Fig. 193).²⁶⁰¹ Finally, another inscription was found on a seal impression from the K5 mastaba tomb in the Beit Khallaf cemetery that read *ndm* ‘*nh*, *hry hbt mdh zms*[?], *ndm*-‘*nh*, *h3ty*-‘ *iri Nhn*, *ndm*-‘*nh sm iri-p*‘*t* (Nedjemankh, lector priest, [...?], Nedjemankh, Prince and Guardian of Hierakonpolis, Nedjemankh, sem priest and noble, Nedjemankh).²⁶⁰² The presence of both *h3ty*-‘ and *iri-p*‘*t* have prompted further suggestions that the mentioned name, ‘Nedjemankh’, was a *h3ty*-‘ prince of the local region in relation to Hierakonpolis and its surrounds.²⁶⁰³

It is still very much unknown as to what the associated duties are with this occupation even though it is suggested by Willems that this title had more of a practical purpose than an honorific one during the Early Dynastic period.²⁶⁰⁴ However, the problem with earlier attestations of the title is that they are constantly compared to Old Kingdom title examples where if *h3ty*-‘ is written as the last title after other titles, such as *iri-p*‘*t*, but written before the name of the deceased, then it can be considered an honorific title.²⁶⁰⁵ Even so, there are still some unresolved issues with regards to the Old Kingdom translations of *h3ty*-‘ especially whether this title is used as a functional or an honorific title, before it becomes a more attested and restricted title during the Middle Kingdom period.²⁶⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the *h3ty*-‘ title is deemed a rare attestation during the Early Dynastic period and it has been alluded to as a ‘ranking title’ to designate an individual’s membership as part of the highly privileged elite within that past society.²⁶⁰⁷

11.2.2 PATRICIAN – *p*‘*t*/*iri-p*‘*t*

Egyptologists have used the ancient Egyptian term *p*‘*t*   as a social label to distinguish the ‘ruling class’, translating it as ‘the small, ruling elite of royal kinsmen’.²⁶⁰⁸ However, for this superior elite group to exist, there must be an inferior group to be compared to, hence why historians have labelled the *rhy.t*     term to be the ‘mass of the

²⁶⁰¹ Giveon (1974: 19, Fig. 2).

²⁶⁰² Garstang (1903: pl. XXVI.K.5,7); Incordino (2008: 127).

²⁶⁰³ Garstang (1903: 16); Kaplony (1963b: 1137; 1963c: Abb. 324); Wilkinson (1999: 136); Incordino (2008: 86, 127). This seal is currently in the Petrie Museum (UC57797).






²⁶⁰⁴ Willems (2013: 373).


²⁶⁰⁵ Auenmüller (Personal Communication, 30th January 2018).

²⁶⁰⁶ Ward (1982: 104-105 [864]); Strudwick (1985: 175); Grajetzki (2013: 224); Willems (2013: 361); Auenmüller (Personal Communication, 30th January 2018).

²⁶⁰⁷ Kahl (2004: 284); Engel (2013: 37); Bárta (2013b: 156-157).

²⁶⁰⁸ Pirenne (1934); Helck (1959: 10); Allam (1975: 768). Translated as ‘Patrician’ by Gardiner (1947: 98, 110), Faulkner (1962: 88) and Takács (2001: 421-423).

populace, the ‘defeated’ or ‘subjected’ people.²⁶⁰⁹ In comparing the hieroglyphic words of both terms, Helck mentions that *rhy.t* has the sign  conveying the Lapwing bird and labels it to be a powerless animal.²⁶¹⁰ Based on this statement, it is assumed that the symbolism behind the hieroglyphic word *p’t* appears to have been thought as a kind of dangerous bird, in contrast to the weaker Lapwing symbolism representing the *rhy.t* term.²⁶¹¹ This assumption is based on statements of animal symbolism, which is prevalent during Egyptian Predynastic times, where human aspects are manifested as animal forms as signs of power, particularly in hunting and victory scenes.²⁶¹² However, the only bird sign that is attributed with the *p’t* term is a flying duck  that forms part of the hieroglyphic designation    which translates to ‘cake or loaf’, which raises some questions about its ‘dangerous’ qualities.²⁶¹³ However, Helck does not clarify his definitions.

Wilkinson has collated inscribed information about the identities and careers of some elite individuals who may have served the king during the first three dynasties, such as Amka, Merka, Hesyre and Metjen, to provide human agency to his administration models and cultural narratives for the Early Dynastic period.²⁶¹⁴ The majority of these mentioned deceased individuals hold the title of *‘d-mr* which distinguishes their role in being an administrator or a district border official.²⁶¹⁵ Wilkinson refers to  *iri-p’t* as a title indicating membership for the elite social group of the Early Dynastic period and has been associated with the individual Merka.²⁶¹⁶ This title has been used by Wilkinson to distinguish the elite between the king and the general population in several of his publications and articles.²⁶¹⁷ However, upon analysing the titles of Merka, the word being used to indicate the *iri-p’t* term is not secure and is based on similar looking titles found on the lintel of Tomb 3506 from the time of Den and another seal impression associated with the individual, Sekhemka from the time of Djet.²⁶¹⁸ Wilkinson recently admits he is not sure whether the transliteration of the term, *iri-p’t*, is secure for its

²⁶⁰⁹ Gardiner (1947: 108); Faulkner (1962: 88, 152); Malek & Forman (1986: 34); Baines (1995: 133); Baines & Yoffee (1998: 218); Wilkinson (1999: 135, 185; 2001: 302).

²⁶¹⁰ Helck (1959: 10); Ockinga (1998: 100).

²⁶¹¹ Helck (1959: 10; 1987: 206).

²⁶¹² Helck (1959: 10); Baines (1995: 111-114); Wilkinson (2000c: 25); Hendrickx (2013: 239-245).

²⁶¹³ Erman & Grapow (1971: 503); Ockinga (1998: 101); Takács (2001: 423).

²⁶¹⁴ Wilkinson (1999: 144-149; 2007: 30-39; 2010: 54-55; 2014: 6; 2016: 550).


²⁶¹⁵ Wilkinson (1999: 122, 146-149); Jones (2000: 354 [1316]); Engel (2013: 29).

²⁶¹⁶ Doxey (1998: 195) *cf.* Nibbi (2000: 45); Cervelló Autuori (2002: 43); Wilkinson (2016: 551).

²⁶¹⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 135, 185; 2010: 53; 2014: 6; 2016: 551).

²⁶¹⁸ Helck (1987: 233).

translation and is suitable in referring to the elite from the time of the Early Dynastic period.²⁶¹⁹

This is because the etymology of the hieroglyphic term,  *p't* is not secure, since it has been referred to either as 'mankind' or the more popular translation of 'patrician'.²⁶²⁰ 'Patrician' is derived from Latin *patricius* (adj.) / *patricii* (pl. name) to constitute the 'ruling caste' within ancient Roman society, making its application to the Egyptian hieroglyphic script quite questionable.²⁶²¹

Due to these ambiguities surrounding the *p't* term, it has led to other suggestions that the word *rhy.t* may not refer to a social grouping of people in the context of the Early Dynastic period and instead represent a locality within the Delta region.²⁶²² In studying the depictions of foreigners on ancient Egyptian monuments, Nibbi defined the terms *rhy.t* and *p't* as 'geographical terms with possible ethnic implications'.²⁶²³ She also proposed that *p't* of the Middle Kingdom related to the later *pjyt* and *pwt* terms, which are linked to regions within the western Delta.²⁶²⁴ Despite the translation of 'patrician' by Faulkner and Gardiner, Nibbi suggests that the designations of *rhy.t* and *p't* may also refer to the inhabitants of two adjacent branches within the Nile Delta region, *rhy.t* for the northern region of the Delta and *p't* for the south-western region.²⁶²⁵ Even when these terms are applied to distinguish the social differences amongst the mortuary evidence, more questions and problems do persist. For example, Niwinski questions whether the notable differences that archaeologists are using to distinguish who belonged to the *rhy.t* and *p't* groups may not be as clear cut and instead the Egyptian mortuary evidence that is available to archaeologists may just represent the entire *p't* group instead.²⁶²⁶ Even the poorest tomb with the worst coffin and lowest number of mortuary

²⁶¹⁹ Wilkinson (2016: 551, fn. 54).

²⁶²⁰ Gardiner (1947: 108); Faulkner (1962: 88); Erman & Grapow (1971a: 503); Takács (2001: 421-423).

²⁶²¹ Livy, 1.8.7 « *Centum creat senatores, siue quia is numerus satis erat, siue quia soli centum erant qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore patricii (my emphasis) que progenies eorum appellati.* » Latin text from Ogilvie (1974: 13), the manuscripts are in agreement in 1.8.7 with the exception of 'is' *MOECPU*: 'his' *HE*, so the passage is secure. According to the Loeb Translation of Livy by Foster (1919), "He appointed a hundred senators, whether because this number seemed to him sufficient, or because there were no more than a hundred who could be designated Fathers. At all events, they received the designation Fathers from their rank, and their descendants were called patricians."

²⁶²² Nibbi (1986: 91); Matthews (1996: 27); Zayed (2013: 47).

²⁶²³ Nibbi (1986: 91-2).


²⁶²⁴ Nibbi (1986: 91).

²⁶²⁵ Nibbi (1986: 91-2; 2000: 45); Matthews (1996: 27). On the Oxford fragment of the Palermo Stone it records in the 31st year of Den's reign that the construction of canals were being planned through the districts of the rehyts; Nibbi references Schäfer (1902: vignettes 16 & 19). The most up to date study on the earliest annals comes from Wilkinson (2000: 110), who also has trouble interpreting this very line (PS r.III.4) and gives a tentative translation of 'organising the agricultural holdings of the north-west and all the people of the east'.

²⁶²⁶ Niwinski (2014: 254).

provisions may represent ‘the funeral tradition of the elite people’.²⁶²⁷ It is also asked whether the funeral processions associated with the *p’t* and *rhy.t* were two different rituals and that anyone who could afford to build a tomb for themselves and have an associated funeral ritual to send them off, may all have been part of the elite group.²⁶²⁸ The thought that these two terms refer to distinct strata of ancient Egyptian society should be reconsidered, however there is not a lot of earlier sources which can confirm Nibbi’s suspicions.²⁶²⁹

11.2.3 DISTRICT/BORDER OFFICIAL, ADMINISTRATOR – ‘*d-mr*

Translated as ‘Administrator’ or ‘District Border Official’, the title of ‘*d-mr* ’ is one of the most attested administrative titles during the Early Dynastic period.²⁶³⁰ Numerous attestations of ‘*d-mr*’ have been found on seal impressions from a variety of geographic locations linked with elite activity, dating from the reigns of Djet to Netjerikhet.²⁶³¹ This role describes the head of an institution which supports the royal court by overseeing the distribution of certain resources (e.g. cattle) and services (e.g. Scribes) from a specified district to provide for the King’s residence and possibly other district areas.²⁶³² The ‘*d-mr*’ title is used only with the name of a domain itself and correlates with an occupation which manages the land within a border, district, estate or territory that is owned or contained within certain limits, whether that be a realm or dominion.²⁶³³

This title was first attested on some seal impressions found in Tomb Z of King Djet alongside the names of *Shm-k3-sd/Shm-k3* (Sekhemka) and has been found in association with Lower Egyptian district areas.²⁶³⁴ Other seal impressions were found with this title from the some of the royal tombs within the Umm el-Qa’ab, such as the tombs of Meretneith, Den, Qa’a, Peribsen and Khasekhemwy.²⁶³⁵ Not to mention, Tombs 3504, 3035 and 3506 at North Saqqara were found to have this inscribed on the seal impressions retrieved from them.²⁶³⁶ Further to

²⁶²⁷ Niwinski (2014: 254).

²⁶²⁸ Niwinski (2014: 254).

²⁶²⁹ Campagno (2013: 215, fn. 3).

²⁶³⁰ Faulkner (1962: 51); Erman & Grapow (1971a: 240.7); Wilkinson (1999: 122); Jones (2000: 354 [1316]).

²⁶³¹ Kahl (1994: 552 [K3]; 2002: 100).

²⁶³² Helck (1958: 196; 1987: 244-245); Wilkinson (1999: 123); Engel (2013: 29).

²⁶³³ Wilkinson (1999: 122); Jones (2000: 354 [1316]); Engel (2013: 29); ‘Domain’,

<http://www.oed.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/view/Entry/56649?rskey=T5ElJz&result=1#eid>, accessed January 27th, 2018.

²⁶³⁴ Petrie (1900: pls. XVIII.6, XIX.8); Kaplony (1963b: 1099; 1963c: Fig. 45A); Martin-Pardey (1976: 46); Wilkinson (1999: 122); Jones (2000: 354 [1316]); Engel (2013: 29).





²⁶³⁵ Tomb Y of Meretneith – Kaplony (1963c: Abb. 127 & 320), Tomb T of Den – Kaplony (1963c: Abb. 731), Tomb Q of Qa’a – Kaplony (1963c: Abb. 228), Tomb P of Peribsen – Kaplony (1963c: Abb. 283), Tomb V of Khasekhemwy – Kaplony (1963c: Abb. 291) cf. Kahl (1994: 552 [K3]).

²⁶³⁶ Kaplony (1963c: Abbs. 189, 233); Kahl (1994: 552 [K3]).

this, Tomb M03 was found to have an ‘*d-mr*’ title in correlation with Den’s name on a seal impression.²⁶³⁷ Judging by the attestations of the ‘*d-mr*’ title upon seal impressions within the tombs of North Saqqara and Abu Rawash, this dictates that the deceased of those tombs were beneficiaries of the mortuary provisions coming from distant districts, through the King of course. Finally, the ‘*d-mr*’ title is also conveyed on a Third Dynasty Inscription from Wadi Maghara dated to the reign of Netjerikhet.²⁶³⁸

While these attestations of the ‘*d-mr*’ are known from varied locations, there are very few examples in which some individuals have this title as part of their title chain. The earliest example is of course Merka, who holds the title ‘*d-mr h3s.t(i) (zm.t[i])*’, which is translated as ‘Head of the Two Deserts’ in comparison to the titles of Metjen from the Fourth Dynasty.²⁶³⁹ It is not known exactly what area Merka would have been in charge of, but according to some authors, the title of ‘*d-mr*’ represented the districts and other areas amongst the Lower Egyptian nomes; at least from an Old Kingdom perspective.²⁶⁴⁰ Regardless, whether Merka was the actual owner of tomb 3505 or the subsidiary burial, he may have been buried near the district he was in charge of at North Saqqara.

11.2.4 KING’S SON AND KING’S DAUGHTER – *s3 nsw/s3.t nsw*

The title of *s3 nsw*  /  (King’s Son) and *s3.t nsw*  /  (King’s Daughter) has not been found at the site of Umm el-Qaab in Abydos.²⁶⁴¹ However, some scholars have been interpreting some of the deceased names from amongst the subsidiary burials at Abydos to indicate familial relations to the king where titles are not helpful.²⁶⁴² For example, a name found inscribed on a comb and a box within the subsidiary burial B14 of Hor-Aha’s complex has been loosely translated as *Bnr-ib* and possibly designated for either for the wife or daughter of the king due to the items this name was inscribed upon.²⁶⁴³ Instead the name has been recently corrected as *Im3-ib* meaning ‘pleasant or friendly, of heart’ a similar

²⁶³⁷ Montet (1946: 200, pl. XIII); Kaplony (1963c: Abb. 276B); Kahl (1994: 264).

²⁶³⁸ Gardiner *et al* (1952: Taf. 1 [2]) *cf.* Kahl (1994: 552 [K3]).

²⁶³⁹ Goedicke (1966); Helck (1987: 231); Wilkinson (1999: 149); Bárta (2013b: 170).



²⁶⁴⁰ Fischer (1968: 9-10); Moreno García (2013c: 106); Bárta (2013b: 157-158).

²⁶⁴¹ According to Kahl (1994: 530), the known sources of the *s3 nsw* have been mostly known from the stone vessel inscriptions underneath Netjerikhet’s Step Pyramid. The same can be said for *s3.t nsw*; however, sources for this title are also found from Early Dynastic tombs, such as tombs 2146 and 3477 at North Saqqara (Quibell 1923: pl. 27; Smith [1958] 1990: Pl. 14) as well as tomb 175.H.8 at Helwan (Saad 1957: pl. 2; Köhler & Jones 2009: 152).

²⁶⁴² Petrie (1901: 5); Bestock (2007: 104); Vaudou (2008: 154); Morris (2013: 77).

²⁶⁴³ Wilkinson (1999: 235).

translation to what was originally determined by Griffith as ‘Grace of Heart’, who looked at the excavated inscriptions on behalf of Petrie.²⁶⁴⁴ Nonetheless, these interpretations do not really indicate whether *Im3-ib* was a kin relation to Hor-Aha.

In the sites of North Saqqara and Helwan in Lower Egypt, some tombs were found with funerary slabs exhibiting the *s3.t nsw*  title and date to the Second Dynasty, which is the first time such a title has come into existence.²⁶⁴⁵ For example, the meticulously carved funerary slab recovered from Tomb 2146 at North Saqqara, belonged to a woman named Sehefner, was found with the title of *s3.t nsw* .²⁶⁴⁶ Sehefner is portrayed to be seated upon a low back throne, which is reserved for royalty. In front of her lies an offering table laden with slices of bread, not to mention the names of more offerings underneath her name and title, which constitutes of the highest quality of bread, wine, beef, stone vessels, linen and oil.²⁶⁴⁷ The other funerary slab from Tomb 3477, features Shepsetipet, who is similarly portrayed as Sehefner, being seated upright upon a bull legged chair, indicating royalty, and facing an offering table along with the hieroglyphic signs of high quality offerings, such as beer, wine, bread, cakes, goose, pigeon and bull meats.²⁶⁴⁸ The portrayal of her facial features, hair, and dress are quite distinct, despite being smaller than Sehefner’s funerary slab.²⁶⁴⁹

Over at Helwan, a female individual named *S3.t-b3* (Satba) who was given the title of *s3.t nsw* King’s Daughter inscribed on a funerary slab from the debris of Tomb 1241.H.9 at Helwan dated from the early-mid Second Dynasty (Fig. 192).²⁶⁵⁰ Not to mention Tomb 175.H.8, where in a tunnel made by robbers to enter the tomb, a stela was found inscribed belonging to an individual named *Hpt-h(n)nt* (Hepetkhenmet) of the Mid-Second Dynasty was found to have the title of *s3.t nsw* as a daughter of the king (Fig. 192).²⁶⁵¹ These two funerary slabs are crudely carved in their design compared to their North Saqqara counterparts, which indicates a possible difference in manufacturing effort and quality. However, since *s3.t nsw* is conveyed on these Helwan funerary slabs, it implies a familial connection to the king which cannot be denied. So, it is quite perplexing that the owners of these funerary slabs are buried

²⁶⁴⁴ Petrie (1901: 49, pl. ii.15); Kahl (2002: 32); Bestock (2007: 104).

²⁶⁴⁵ Cordon Solà-Sagalés (2015: 1556).

²⁶⁴⁶ Quibell (1923: 10, pl. XXVII); Porter & Moss (1981: 436). The stela is in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE44135).

²⁶⁴⁷ Cordon Solà-Sagalés (2015: 1554-1555).



²⁶⁴⁸ Smith ([1958] 1998: Pl. 14); Cordon Solà-Sagalés (2015: 1552-1553).

²⁶⁴⁹ Emery (1962: pl. 3A).

²⁶⁵⁰ Saad (1957: 41-42, pl. XXIV); Köhler & Jones (2009: 142); Cordon Solà-Sagalés (2015: 1550).

²⁶⁵¹ Saad (1957: 5-7, pl. II); Köhler & Jones (2009: 152); Cordon Solà-Sagalés (2015: 1548-1549).

in Helwan and not at North Saqqara, especially since Helwan is regarded by Wilkinson as a lower tier cemetery in comparison.²⁶⁵² So, who were Satba and Hepetkhenmet? It may be that these two women who have the title as part of their funerary slab were not immediate physical daughters of the king, but may have been his descendants either as secondary daughters of the king or second grade descendants.²⁶⁵³ It also cannot be denied that *s3.t nsw* may have been conferred on these two women from Helwan as an honorific title.²⁶⁵⁴

This way of thinking can also be applied to some of the references we have for individuals who hold the ‘Son of the King’ title, *s3 nsw* , which are less numerous.²⁶⁵⁵ From the debris of Tomb 964.H.8 at Helwan, a funerary slab belonging to *ini-sw-ḥk.t* was retrieved, where the individual is seated on a chair with a high back post and wearing along garment that covers his left shoulder and arm from the top all the way down to above his ankles.²⁶⁵⁶ The *s3 nsw* title has also been found in non-mortuary contexts, such as an inscription found in Wadi Maghara within the southern Sinai, pertaining to the Third Dynasty king, Sekhemkhet (Fig. 193).²⁶⁵⁷ Part of this inscription features Sekhemket smiting a foreign enemy, who is accompanied by another figure who has amongst his chain of titles, *s3 nsw* , which is crudely formed.²⁶⁵⁸ It is not certain whether this man was an actual physical son of the king, but since this title is presented alongside this figure, he could well be one.²⁶⁵⁹

These examples convey that the title of *s3 nsw* and *s3.t nsw* were held with high regard, dictating that people conferred with such titles were part of the king’s family and part of the elite group as well.

11.3 PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND GROOMING ITEMS

From a modern point of view, it is considered an elite activity to maintain a good physical appearance which requires a lot of time and attention to make-up, hairdressing and other beauty techniques.²⁶⁶⁰ Moreover, other stereotyped representations would associate ugliness with low birth, social inferiority or wickedness.²⁶⁶¹ The maintenance of hair and

²⁶⁵² Wilkinson (1996b: 345).

²⁶⁵³ Cordon Solà-Sagales (2015: 1558).

²⁶⁵⁴ Cordon Solà-Sagales (2015: 1558).

²⁶⁵⁵ Jones (2000: 799 [2911]); Baud (2005: 311-312).

²⁶⁵⁶ Saad (1957: 8-10, Pl. IV); Köhler & Jones (2009: 168).

²⁶⁵⁷ Gardiner *et al* (1952: Pl. I).

²⁶⁵⁸ Černý (1955: 52-53).

²⁶⁵⁹ Wilkinson (1999: 167).

²⁶⁶⁰ Daloz (2010: 89).

²⁶⁶¹ Daloz (2010: 88).

physical appearance was also an important aspect for the ancient Egyptians, where considerable efforts were made to stylise either hair, or wigs, especially for people who did so to socially distinguish themselves.²⁶⁶² For the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods, elements of hair depictions are quite plentiful in evidence and can be considered as distinctive indicators for social status.²⁶⁶³ Cropped hairstyles are commonly conveyed between the stela depictions of Merka and Sabef during the late First Dynasty (Figs. 191 & 195).²⁶⁶⁴ Not to mention, the high official, Imrit, from Helwan, whose funerary slab depicts him with a jaw-length bob.²⁶⁶⁵ Women on the other hand would tend to portray more elaborate hairstyles, with longer length and sometimes dressed with beads, hairpins and combs.²⁶⁶⁶ Thus, grooming items are prestigious since they allow the maintenance of one's physical appearance to be done with ease, which is either considered the preserve of the wealthy or appreciated in terms of mere 'convenience' and potentially shared by everyone.²⁶⁶⁷ Predynastic examples showcase the importance of including combs within distinctive tombs.²⁶⁶⁸ For example, at the site of Abadiya, a deceased woman was found having two animal headed ivory pins in what was left of her hair.²⁶⁶⁹ Moreover, Tomb 72 from the HK6 cemetery was recently found to contain hippo shaped combs made from Hippopotamus ivory.²⁶⁷⁰

Excavations at the Early Dynastic site of Abydos retrieved some items interpreted to be hair combs²⁶⁷¹ and copper tweezers²⁶⁷². The inclusion of such items was not restricted to the royal tombs though, with similar looking artefacts found within the subsidiary burials at Abydos, such as an ivory 'hair-pin' from Tomb 71 amongst Djeter's subsidiary burials²⁶⁷³ and Grave 660 from Djeter's funerary enclosure²⁶⁷⁴. Moreover, from Tomb 3507 at North Saqqara, palettes, small ivory vases and cosmetic sticks were retrieved and have been classified as 'toilet' items, although this is speculative.²⁶⁷⁵ However, the presence of such items were also found within other tomb locations, such as the First Dynasty tomb from Area B 210/160 at Tell

²⁶⁶² Baud (2005: 196); Ashton (2011: 20).

²⁶⁶³ Tassie (2011: 622).

²⁶⁶⁴ Petrie (1900: pls. XXX, XXXVI); Emery (1958: 30-31, pl. 23)

²⁶⁶⁵ Köhler & Jones (2009: 155); Tassie (2011: 617).

²⁶⁶⁶ Tassie (2011: 636).

²⁶⁶⁷ Daloz (2013: 124).

²⁶⁶⁸ Patch (2011b: 58-59).

²⁶⁶⁹ Petrie & Mace (1901: 21, pl. 6.B378).

²⁶⁷⁰ Martín Del Río Álvarez (2014: 10).

²⁶⁷¹ Petrie (1901: 21, 36, pls. III.20, XXXII.10).

²⁶⁷² Petrie (1900: 28, pl. XXXVII.37; 1901: 36, pl. XLIII.15).

²⁶⁷³ Petrie (1900: 28, pl. XXXVII.2; 1901: 38, pl. XXXVIII.8).

²⁶⁷⁴ Petrie (1925: 6, pl. V.17).

²⁶⁷⁵ Emery (1954: x, pl. XXXI.d; 1958: 83, pl. 103).

Ibrahim Awad, where a pot used for containing kohl paint was retrieved near the deceased's body.²⁶⁷⁶ Artefacts deemed for cosmetic usage have also been recovered from Helwan, where toothed combs made from ivory and slate were retrieved from Tombs 621.H.5 and 17.H.8.²⁶⁷⁷ Moreover, ivory sticks were retrieved from Tomb 788.H.3 and were interpreted to be cosmetic tools to apply kohl paint to the user's eye.²⁶⁷⁸ Furthermore, Samples of kohl paint were discovered from several tombs at Helwan within small vessels which have been interpreted for make-up usage.²⁶⁷⁹

Artefacts interpreted as mirrors have been discovered from Early Dynastic tombs, which would have assisted the grooming process.²⁶⁸⁰ Examples have been found from Helwan made from copper, but no reflective material was found in association with it.²⁶⁸¹ More remote examples have been referred to from other tombs locations, such as Kafr Hassan Dawoud and another from Sedment; however, the latter example's date is questionable and may have been part of a new burial from the Middle Kingdom period reusing an Early Dynastic grave (Fig. 141).²⁶⁸² While cosmetic usage has been touted to be the main purpose for these mentioned artefacts, in fact, we know very little about their cultural or spiritual significance. Nonetheless, their inclusion within the burial assemblage suggests a ritualistic or practical importance for daily living.²⁶⁸³ Nonetheless, what is clear to see is that it was spread out amongst different Early Dynastic sites, including Tomb KG2 from Kafr Ghattati, where ivory hairpins have been sourced.²⁶⁸⁴ Despite the limited sample, the distribution of grooming items across different geographical locations conveys their importance. Moreover, the tombs from which they have been retrieved from also vary in their size and design.

It is not just the presence of these items which reflects the importance of taking care of one's bodily appearance for Early Dynastic Egyptians, the assistance from skilled people should also be considered, such as designated hairdressers and make-up personnel.²⁶⁸⁵ Pictorial representations from tomb decoration of the First Intermediate period attest to this, such as the reliefs depicting Inu of the Eleventh Dynasty, whose associated title dictated her to be a

²⁶⁷⁶ van den Brink (1988: 82, Fig. 23.45, 50 & 78).

²⁶⁷⁷ Saad (1969: 51-53).

²⁶⁷⁸ Saad (1947: 174-175, pl. XC).

²⁶⁷⁹ Saad (1969: 53).

²⁶⁸⁰ Tassie (2011: 609).


²⁶⁸¹ Saad (1969: 55, pl. 74); Lilyquist (1979: 4-5).

²⁶⁸² Petrie & Brunton (1924: 2, pl. XXII.3); Lilyquist (1979: 5); Tassie (2011: 609).

²⁶⁸³ Ashton (2011: 20).

²⁶⁸⁴ Engles (1990: 76-80).

²⁶⁸⁵ Daloz (2010: 90).

‘hairstresser’.²⁶⁸⁶ Another title, *imy-r3 ir(w)-šn nswt*, ‘Overseer of Royal Hairdressers’, was regarded as one of the highest titles of the during the Old Kingdom period.²⁶⁸⁷ Based on these younger Old Kingdom references, Tassie refers to the functional title of *Hnmš ir(w)-šn*, ‘Friend/*hnmš*-functionary of hairdressing’, and argues this to represent the earliest instance of the hairdresser title.²⁶⁸⁸ Still, the title itself also translates as an *hnmš* functionary and is not concrete enough to suggest a hairdressing occupation.²⁶⁸⁹ Despite a minimal sample, there are some titles which do relate to occupations relied upon for dressing up or ornamenting people or statues during the Early Dynastic period. One of the titles located towards the top left of Merka’s stela is speculated to be ‘*sm3*’  and is connected to a priestly title who was responsible for clothing the God, which in turn could also be related to clothing the king.²⁶⁹⁰ This title has also been speculated to have been part of the title chain on a seal impression pertaining to Nedjemankh from Tomb K5 at Beit Khallaf.²⁶⁹¹ However, from these Early Dynastic examples, this title remains obscure, despite arguments relating it to the Middle Kingdom title equivalent in relation to the *sm*-Priest role.²⁶⁹² A better example includes the title of *htm (t) Hr H3sty* ‘she who ornaments the Horus, *H3sty*’ was found inscribed on a couple of stelae retrieved from the area of Den’s tomb at Abydos; possibly indicating an important occupation for that female individual who assisted with dressing either a statue or the sovereign.²⁶⁹³ It shows that being allowed to touch the personage of the king or other royal sovereigns was an exclusive honour not permitted to most people.²⁶⁹⁴ This is because anyone in close proximity to the royal sovereigns had to be the most trusted, especially given the importance of the sovereign’s life, hence why they would be some of the highest ranking officials within the king’s elite entourage, even though they are not connected with the royal succession.²⁶⁹⁵

²⁶⁸⁶ Riefstahl (1952: 7-8).

²⁶⁸⁷ Jones (2000: 60 [284]); Tassie (2011: 610).

²⁶⁸⁸ Kahl (1994: 422.15); Jones (2000: 688 [2516]).

²⁶⁸⁹ Jones (2000: 688 [2515]).

²⁶⁹⁰ Faulkner (1962: 227); Helck (1954: 45-46; 1987: 233).

²⁶⁹¹ Garstang (1903: pl. XXVI.K.5,7); Weill (1908: 151); Incordino (2008: 127).

²⁶⁹² Schäfer (1904: 18); Helck (1954: 45).

²⁶⁹³ Petrie (1901: pls XXVII.120, XXX.120); Kahl (2004: 334); Martin (2011: 96 [120-121]).

²⁶⁹⁴ Tassie (2011: 609).

²⁶⁹⁵ Tassie (2011: 610).

11.3.1 POSTURE AND CLOTHES

Posture is regarded as an important embodied sign which conveys the impression that elites are intrinsically superior to ordinary people.²⁶⁹⁶ This is because some elements of posture appear to act as an advertisement of self-esteem and status, such as a lifted-up head, shoulders held back and a steady gaze.²⁶⁹⁷ This is exemplified by the statues and stelae that have been recovered from a variety of elite tombs. For example, the stele of Sabef from Abydos, where the individual is standing upright (Fig. 195).²⁶⁹⁸ The false-door pertaining to the official, Akhetaa, with reconstructions of this Third Dynasty artefact shows the deceased standing upright with a steady gaze.²⁶⁹⁹ Moreover, the famed wooden stelae of Hesyre, with at least three of them showing him in a standing position with shoulders held back and a straight posture to emphasise his social status.²⁷⁰⁰ Seated posture is also exemplified on stelae and funerary slabs where the deceased individual sits upright, with shoulders square and aligned, along with a steady gaze, therefore, emphasising their social importance. Of course, such characteristics are conveyed on the stelae pertaining to Merka and Hesyre.²⁷⁰¹ Not to mention the funerary slabs pertaining to Sehefner and Shepsetipet from Second Dynasty tombs at North Saqqara.²⁷⁰² Despite the archaeological context of these slabs from Helwan being relatively unknown, and not being as polished as the North Saqqara examples, it is likely that these slabs were made for individuals who either had elite status or were emulating one another in order to make sure their tombs were distinct within the Helwan cemetery.²⁷⁰³

Posture and dress are also intrinsically linked since dressing up may give modest people a relative self-confidence or reveals much about their respective status.²⁷⁰⁴ As mentioned before, the stelae of Merka and Hesyre portray these individuals wearing distinct lower dresses. The presence of physical clothing remains dated to the Early Dynastic period is minimal. However there are couple of examples including the v-necked dress retrieved from Tomb 2050 at Tarkhan (Fig. 134).²⁷⁰⁵ This linen garment's date was debated, due to alternative methods being utilised to date the accompanying artefacts from the tomb to avoid destroying part of the

²⁶⁹⁶ Daloz (2010: 81).

²⁶⁹⁷ Daloz (2010: 81).

²⁶⁹⁸ Petrie (1900: 26, pls. XXX, XXXVI, LX); O'Connor (2005: 228).

²⁶⁹⁹ Ziegler (1990: 96); Kahl *et al* (1995: 206).

²⁷⁰⁰ Quibell (1900: pls. XXIX, XXX).

²⁷⁰¹ Emery (1958: 30).

²⁷⁰² Quibell (1923: 10, pl. XXVII); Emery (1962: pl. 3A).

²⁷⁰³ Köhler & Jones (2009: 82).

²⁷⁰⁴ Daloz (2010: 84).

²⁷⁰⁵ Petrie (1914: 6); Grajetzki (2004: 22-23); Johnstone (2015: 36).

garment.²⁷⁰⁶ Subsequent testing then realised that the accompanying artefacts were younger than the burial context it was sourced from possibly dating to the Fifth Dynasty.²⁷⁰⁷ The intrusion of younger items may be due to the robbing activities providing access to the tomb to be used as a dumping ground at some point.²⁷⁰⁸ However, according to Stevenson and Dee, it has been confirmed that this garment is the oldest piece of clothing found in antiquity from the First Dynasty.²⁷⁰⁹ The presence of this garment, or other elements of textile offerings, has been referred to as an essential component for the funerary equipment of the elite of the First Dynasty.²⁷¹⁰

²⁷⁰⁶ Johnstone (2015: 36).

²⁷⁰⁷ Jones (2014: 213-214); Johnstone (2015: 36).

²⁷⁰⁸ Grajetzki (2008: 110).

²⁷⁰⁹ Stevenson & Dee (2016). See also the online article 'UCL Petrie Museum's Tarkhan Dress: world's oldest woven garment', <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/news/news-articles/0216/150216-tarkhan-dress>, accessed 24/05/2018'.

²⁷¹⁰ Köhler & Jones (2009: 53). In analysing the v-necked pleated clothing worn by the deceased on two of the Helwan relief slabs (i.e. EM99-5 & EM99-12), Jones (2014: 213) considers the garment from Tarkhan 2050 to be a significant reference for comparative purposes.

CHAPTER 12 - VICARIOUS DISPLAYS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE

‘The social identity of those an individual is with can be used as a source of information concerning his own social identity’

E. Goffman²⁷¹¹

‘Vicarious display’ is a labelled phenomenon which considers how entourages are used to either increase or show off the social distinction of elites.²⁷¹² This is where people are used as the objects of ‘conspicuous consumption’ as part of a vicarious leisure class or entourage, whose purpose is to perform subsidiary tasks for the benefit of primary or legitimate upper groups, such as elites, who act as patrons.²⁷¹³ This affiliation would reflect well on both the people within the entourage and the patron whom they serve, whereby the former would reside near the patron to perform their tasks under that care and their proximal presence would reflect well on the patron so that it may be clear to everyone from what source they draw their entourage following.²⁷¹⁴ These entourages include a variety of people, whose presence are deemed relevant to the self-definition of upper groups in different ways.²⁷¹⁵ These include relatives, servants, glamorous female company, who are considered markers of vicarious display for modern elites.²⁷¹⁶ Entourages have been discussed within Egyptology, especially entourages of the king, which are used to accentuate their influence upon ancient Egyptian society and relations with other social groups.²⁷¹⁷ However, there are instances where elite members under the king have also been found to have their own entourages. For example, from the tomb of a Twelfth Dynasty governor named Djehuty-nekht, a wooden model was recovered that conveys a man leading three women carrying libation goods on their heads.²⁷¹⁸ Terrace interprets these modelled figures to be part of Djehuty-nekht's entourage, who are bringing

²⁷¹¹ Goffman (1963: 47).

²⁷¹² Daloz (2010: 18-19, 60).

²⁷¹³ Veblen (1912 [1899]: 59-60).

²⁷¹⁴ Veblen (1912 [1899]: 79).

²⁷¹⁵ Daloz (2010: 94)

²⁷¹⁶ Daloz (2010: 94).

²⁷¹⁷ Baines (2013: 208-209, 248)

²⁷¹⁸ Terrace (1968: 8).

these libation goods for the deceased governor and this is supported by the visual depictions of attendants bringing forth water for libation purposes on the deceased governor's coffin.²⁷¹⁹ In terms of Early Dynastic studies, the presence of entourages may be visually depicted based on the arrangement of subsidiary burials surrounding the royal tombs and funerary enclosures at Abydos' Umm el-Qaab and North Abydos cemeteries.²⁷²⁰ Based on these funerary features, the status and identity of the people buried in these subsidiary burials has been a constant source of discussion due to their proximity to the main burial, whether they are closely regarded kin members, courtiers, servants, and harem members. Moreover, the presence of these burials is interpreted to emphasise the influential power that the deceased major burial owners wielded, resulting in the creation of these subsidiary burials to be built around their tombs.²⁷²¹ This is because the deceased who are believed to be buried within these burials are socially defined based on their relationship to the main tomb owner, as exemplified by the proximity of their burial to the major one.²⁷²²

12.1 A SACRIFICE FOR TRANSCENDENCE?

The superiority of the deceased within the major burial has been speculated, with ideas that he/she was 'endowed with some form of transcendence' and that the role of the deceased within these subsidiary burials could have been there to provide assistance to the major burial owner's transcendence to the afterlife.²⁷²³ This has led to discussions regarding the notion of human sacrifice being practiced by the Early Egyptians within a funerary context and has been suggested due to the observations of archaeological evidence from other ancient societies.²⁷²⁴ For example, based on his discussions about the multiple burials he encountered at the cemetery of Kerma in Nubia, Reisner suggests that these reflect earlier instances of sati burial practices from India where the subordinate deceased buried within these multiple graves were either buried alive or put to death intentionally during the funerary ceremony of the chief person.²⁷²⁵ This was something he thought was very unique and he likened them to Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic examples where multiple burials have been noted from Naga ed-Der and Abydos.²⁷²⁶ However, despite these comparisons to other societies, the idea that the people

²⁷¹⁹ Terrace (1968: 8, 18).

²⁷²⁰ Wilkinson (1999: 233).

²⁷²¹ Reisner (1936: 109); Kaplony (1963a: 362); Kemp (1967: 26); Dreyer (1992: 59); Vaudou (2008: 150).

²⁷²² Cervelló Autuori (2002: 38); Vaudou (2008: 150).

²⁷²³ Cervelló Autuori (2002: 38).

²⁷²⁴ Petrie & Quibell (1896: 32); Childe (1945: 17-18); Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005: 59); van Dijk (2007); Morris (2013: 62); Valloggia (2015: 163).

²⁷²⁵ Reisner (1923: 67-68; 1936: 108).

²⁷²⁶ Reisner (1908: 9, pl. 79, Map 1; 1923: 67-68; 1936: 118); Hendrickx (2008: 66).

buried within ancient Egyptian subsidiary burials were sacrificed is questionable.²⁷²⁷ This idea will be evaluated in this chapter, especially since the evidence supporting this idea is very minimal, based on preceding Predynastic funerary evidence such as the sightings of cuts and lesions on bones from Predynastic graves at Adaima and the pink colouration of teeth to suggest strangulation from bodies uncovered within Predynastic graves from Hierakonpolis.²⁷²⁸ Whether these injuries were the result of a sacrificial ritual is not clear at all due to unknown contextual information.

Even if such sacrificial practices did exist, the reasoning for their implementation is a much more difficult avenue to explain. Some scholars previously agreed with Reisner's 'sati burial' theory to rectify the ideological reasoning behind why a lot of subsidiary burials were built at Abydos, but this was (and is) still a difficult theory to prove.²⁷²⁹ Morris argues that retainer sacrifice was a prominent practice for more wealthy members of society or the elites, to showcase the sacrifice of human lives as a reflection of their wealth.²⁷³⁰ Her argument is based around one of Childe's assumptions that archaic civilisations ostentatiously built grand monuments as part of a radical organisation during times of uncertainty and existential crisis which includes the burying of 'human victims'.²⁷³¹ Iconographic evidence from Abydos and North Saqqara is used, including the Tablet of Djer from Tomb 3035 at North Saqqara which depicts a figure who is interpreted to be stabbed in the heart while their blood was being collected (Fig. 193).²⁷³² However, there is no way to identify whether this is the actual activity being portrayed not to mention the identity of these affected people being depicted upon these iconographic forms of evidence. The only recipients of violence within these iconographic scenes have been interpreted to be foreigners because of their depicted long hair and beards, which is not too dissimilar to foreigners that are depicted within smiting scenes dating to Pharaonic times such as the scenes of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel.²⁷³³

Other forms of iconographic evidence show people being presented as if they are offerings such as what is shown on the Naqada Label from the tomb of Neithhotep, dated to the reign of Hor-Aha (Fig. 193).²⁷³⁴ The scene displays a funeral procession and a sacrificial

²⁷²⁷ Hikade & Roy (2015: 41),

²⁷²⁸ Friedman *et al* (1999: 11); Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005: 64); van Dijk (2007: 138).

²⁷²⁹ Reisner (1936: 120); Kaplony (1963a: 362); Hoffman (1979: 277).

²⁷³⁰ Morris (2013: 82).

²⁷³¹ Childe (1945: 17-18); Hoffman (1979: 279); Morris (2013: 62-63).

²⁷³² Petrie (1901: pl. III.4 & 6); Emery (1938: 35-39, pl. 17-18); Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005: 77-78, Figs. 2 & 3); Morris (2007b: 20; 2013: 66-67).

²⁷³³ Hall (1986: 32, Figs. 55-56); Köhler (2002: 504).

²⁷³⁴ Morgan (1897: 167, Fig. 549); Garstang (1905: 61-62, Figs. 1-3).

ceremony is interpreted to be part of this activity due to the presence of three men who are interpreted to be sacrificial victims because of their proximity to the cattle and vases depicted below them on the second row's register.²⁷³⁵ This exemplifies that the victims are considered as offerings in the same way as the depicted cattle and vessels; however, this is questionable since there is no way to identify who these 'victims' are. They could be there to supervise the offerings on display on this ivory label, especially since one of them is depicted to be pouring or releasing the contents of one of the large containers, which could suggest they are priests.²⁷³⁶ Scholars have stated that the Narmer Palette should not be treated as a true reflection of real events or a complete form of historical evidence, therefore these inscribed labels should also be treated with the same scepticism.²⁷³⁷

Regardless, the archaeological evidence is also too minimal to either deny or support whether human sacrifice was performed during the Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods.²⁷³⁸ However, the presence of Early Dynastic subsidiary burials alongside royal and elite tombs still sparks such discussions.²⁷³⁹ If these burials are shown to not be the result of sacrificial practices, why would such groups be buried around either the tombs of the king or elites for that matter? It may be due to patronage relations on top of ideals relating to kinship, which have been developing since the Predynastic period and transitioning into the Early Dynastic period.²⁷⁴⁰

12.2 ASPECTS OF KINSHIP, COERCION AND PATRONAGE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Kinship defines an organisation of individuals and groups of people whose relationships between one another are recognised through descent, blood relations, marriage or ritual.²⁷⁴¹ The leaders within kinship orientated societies would include chiefs and headmen, who distinguished themselves through accumulating prestige.²⁷⁴² Since kinship defined the social complexity of Predynastic Egypt, there has been discussion regarding how this changes

²⁷³⁵ O'Mara (1979: 188); Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005: 78, Fig. 4).

²⁷³⁶ Baud & Étienne (2005: 100).

²⁷³⁷ Shaw & Nicholson (1995: 197); Wilkinson (1999: 49); Köhler (2002: 500); Baines (2007: 122); O'Connor (2011: 148-150); Campagno (2013: 215).

²⁷³⁸ Hikade & Roy (2015: 47).

²⁷³⁹ van Dijk (2007: 139-142); Valloggia (2015: 161-162).

²⁷⁴⁰ Campagno (2017).

²⁷⁴¹ Campagno (2009: 1); 'Kinship', Oxford English Dictionary Online, <http://www.oed.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/view/Entry/103585?redirectedFrom=Kinship#eid>, accessed 24th October 2018.

²⁷⁴² Earle (1997: 14).

once the ancient Egyptian state society was implemented from the First Dynasty. Suggestions include the monopoly of coercion, whereby pre-state leaders, and subsequently the king, gained their authority through forced actions which would have required violent means.²⁷⁴³ This has been a popular notion for state formation discussions due to the numerous smiting scenes portrayed on distinctive iconographic evidence which characterises the Predynastic, Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods.²⁷⁴⁴ For example, some scenes on the Narmer palette convey the act of decapitating the heads off prisoners, leading to suggestions that ritualistic killings of captives occurred after the frenzy of war.²⁷⁴⁵ This evidence, as well as other palette iconography, represents one of the earliest instances of the ideology of the ancient Egyptians, which exemplifies the constant battle to maintain order against the forces of chaos, through the portrayal of not just defeated enemies, but also animal hunts.²⁷⁴⁶ After war, it is also suggested that prisoners of war would be punished through torture or death in order to emphasise a point of authority by the victorious leader, not just to the people who were just defeated, but also to the people whom the leader has led.²⁷⁴⁷ This act adds another layer of justification, by personifying ‘Order’ as the victorious leader along with the accompanying followers in contrast to the defeated enemies who personified ‘Chaos’.²⁷⁴⁸ It cannot be denied that violence and war were factors in procuring the circumstances for the first ancient Egyptian state to emerge. However, they should not be deemed the only catalysts of change, especially since the archaeological evidence does not complement these ideas completely.²⁷⁴⁹ Therefore, other means of negotiation was used by leaders of Protodynastic and Early Dynastic communities which were based on consensus to communicate and connect with other community groups, who were not connected to them through kinship.²⁷⁵⁰

Suggestions of patronage relations have recently become popular thanks to the work of Assmann, who has written about the systems of patronage which has existed during the First Intermediate period.²⁷⁵¹ ‘Patronage’ describes a relationship of social subordination between patrons and clients who are socially bonded through different means of ‘asymmetrical’

²⁷⁴³ Campagno (2004: 691; 2013: 215).

²⁷⁴⁴ Hendrickx & Eyckerman (2012: 63); Hamilton (2016b: 99).

²⁷⁴⁵ Morris (2013: 64-65).

²⁷⁴⁶ Kemp (2006: 92-9); Hendrickx & Förster (2010: 832-833); Hamilton (2016b: 106).

²⁷⁴⁷ Hamblin (2006: 208-209, 327); van Dijk (2007: 3).

²⁷⁴⁸ Campagno (2004: 699-700).

²⁷⁴⁹ Köhler (2010: 37). Of course, there is the burnt ‘destruction layer’ from the Eastern Kom settlement at Tell el-Farkha, which has been recorded to have been intentionally lit according to Ciałowicz (2018: 13, Pl. III.1). However, it is a unique case within the Nile Delta region, and it would be more meaningful if other nearby sites exhibited similar forms of evidence.

²⁷⁵⁰ Campagno (2017: 784).

²⁷⁵¹ Assmann (2002: 91); Campagno (2017: 777)

reciprocity.²⁷⁵² Within this relationship, the patron is labelled as such due to their socio-economic or political position, which grants them greater access to resources and the ability to exert authority over the client, by providing them with protection or benefits in exchange for their loyalty.²⁷⁵³ This concept is different to the logic of kinship and coercion, whereby familial links are not important and instead of violent actions, the patron uses their resources or influence to advance the interests of a person or a number of persons in return for their dependence.²⁷⁵⁴

Aspects of patronage may have existed during the Middle Kingdom period, when the burial of a steward named Heny was discovered at Asyut by Wainwright within the entrance of Tomb I, pertaining to a nomarch named Djefai-Hapi I.²⁷⁵⁵ Based on the location of this burial, Wainwright states ‘that the burial was that of a man of considerable standing, who was either laid there by permission, or else commandeered the site after the owner of the great tomb had ceased to have any interest for the dwellers in the city below’.²⁷⁵⁶ Orthographic data from the inscribed coffin pieces found in Heny’s burial and the accompanying pottery, strongly suggest that Heny may have been a follower of Djefai-Hapi I and was provided a grave near his patron for his services.²⁷⁵⁷

During the First Intermediate period, the inscription of Ankhtifi, a nomarch of Hierakonpolis who lived during the Ninth Dynasty, mentions that he treated his followers, especially his *d3mw n mh-ib* ‘troops of full heart’, with protection in return for their loyalty.²⁷⁵⁸ This text may be complemented by the funerary layout of Ankhtifi’s burial complex, where a number of tomb shafts were recorded to exist near Ankhtifi’s burial and those of his relatives.²⁷⁵⁹ It is suggested that these nearby tomb shafts may belong to the abovementioned ‘troops’ and their creation may reflect their close relationship with Ankhtifi.²⁷⁶⁰ Therefore, this provides evidence that patronage was an important part of Egyptian society during the supposed time of crisis that the First Intermediate period curtailed.²⁷⁶¹

²⁷⁵² Flammini (2010: 161); Campagno (2017: 777-778).

²⁷⁵³ Campagno (2011: 1235, fn. 9; 2017: 778).

²⁷⁵⁴ Assmann (2002: 91); Campagno (2017: 777-778); ‘Patronage’, Oxford English Dictionary Online, [²⁷⁵⁵ Wainwright \(1926: 160\); Kahl \(2012: 91\)](http://www.oed.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/view/Entry/138931?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=xpvAUE&”, accessed 24th October 2018.</p>
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²⁷⁵⁶ Wainwright (1926: 160).

²⁷⁵⁷ Gunn (1926a: 166); Kahl (2012: 91).

²⁷⁵⁸ Assmann (2002: 95); Morenz (2009: 184); Campagno (2014: 6-7; 2017: 778).


²⁷⁵⁹ Morenz (2009: 190).


²⁷⁶⁰ Morenz (2009: 190); Campagno (2017: 779).

²⁷⁶¹ Campagno (2014: 2).

For the Old Kingdom period, Verma looked to determine the extent to which identity, individuality, ideology, memory, and change are expressed within the iconography of Old Kingdom elite tombs from the Fourth-Sixth Dynasties.²⁷⁶² Her definition of the elite within this period, is ‘any Egyptian who was important enough to acquire a monumental tomb building’ for owning one is ‘a privilege reserved for the highest class’.²⁷⁶³ How these tombs were acquired by elite persons during the Old Kingdom period could have been due to a communal system that depended upon ‘family ties and a network of patronage and obligation’.²⁷⁶⁴ In turn the mortuary space organisation of these tombs included the presence of small subsidiary burials.²⁷⁶⁵ For example, Old Kingdom mastaba tombs at Dendera, such as Mastaba 6:171, have been found to be accompanied by smaller bricked burials, possibly reserved for close family members or loyal followers of the main tomb owner.²⁷⁶⁶

Campagno has anticipated that patronage relations existed as far back as the Early Dynastic period, when kinship relations would be superseded because the king would have to procure relationships with people outside of his immediate kin group to gain followers across Egypt in order to monitor different areas of Egypt and substantiate authority in doing so.²⁷⁶⁷ He proposes some title evidence, including the *iri-p’t* title to indicate that honorific titles such as these may have reflected not just a membership title within a group, but that this group was defined as such due to their close relationship with the king.²⁷⁶⁸ Moreover, he points out another

title,  *smr pr-nsw* ‘Companion of the King’s house’, that is featured on the stelae of the official Sabef, who was buried near the tomb of King Qa’a at Abydos (Fig. 195).²⁷⁶⁹ According to Campagno, the inclusion of *smr* within the *smr pr-nsw* title indicates the notion of “friend” or “companion” of the king or his household, therefore suggesting that Sabef may have been a trusted personal assistant for King Qa’a based on patronage relations.²⁷⁷⁰

Moreover, another comparative title includes  *šms Hr w*, which is translated as the ‘following of Horus’ and is interpreted to be allocated to individuals who accompanied the king when he visited the different regions of Egypt under his control to emphasise his

²⁷⁶² Verma (2014: 1).

²⁷⁶³ Verma (2014: 16).

²⁷⁶⁴ Kemp (2006: 282); Verma (2014: 16).

²⁷⁶⁵ Campagno (2017: 779).

²⁷⁶⁶ Tristant (2018a: 83).

²⁷⁶⁷ Campagno (2017).

²⁷⁶⁸ Campagno (2017: 780-781).

²⁷⁶⁹ Petrie (1900: 26-27, 44, pl. 31, 48); Kahl (1994: 751 [2423]); Jones (2000: 896 [3289]); Engel (2017: 88).

²⁷⁷⁰ Kahl (1994: 732 [2279]); Jones (2000: 992 [3671]); Martin (2011: 44-45 [48]); Campagno (2017: 781, fn. 2); Engel (2017: 88, fn. 134).

authoritative presence.²⁷⁷¹ A number of sources for this title have been found inscribed on artefacts retrieved from the royal tombs of Abydos, such as ivory labels near Den's tomb,²⁷⁷² ivory labels featuring the title alongside Semerkhet's serekh,²⁷⁷³ not to mention an ivory label with this title emanating from Qa'a's tomb.²⁷⁷⁴ None of these other examples have been sourced from subsidiary burials. It should be mentioned that the funerary slab of Imriti from Helwan also exhibits this title in the form of *smr-pr.w*, 'Companion of the house, courtier'.²⁷⁷⁵

Regardless, if we take this *smr pr-nsu* title to be what it is interpreted, it helps to explain why Sabef would have been allocated a burial close to that of his patron, Qa'a, and be provided with a stele which preserves his name and in turn his identity. Moreover, his small mud bricked tomb (Q-W3) was supplied with mortuary provisions, which included fragmentary evidence of a ceramic wine jar, bread moulds and a calcite stone vessel.²⁷⁷⁶ Compared to the other subsidiary burials of Qa'a's tomb, not many of them were found with a stela, however, they were laden with similar or larger quantities of mortuary provisions, including more varieties of stone vessels, tools and were found with seal impressions featuring Qa'a's serekh.²⁷⁷⁷ Elsewhere in the Umm el-Qaab cemetery, other stela have been found with the *smr* title as well, however, they are not as distinct.²⁷⁷⁸ Nonetheless, this indicates that there may have been a hierarchy behind the allocation of these subsidiary burials beside the royal tombs, but were furnished for people who were highly valued by the royal sovereigns.²⁷⁷⁹ Campagno's proposal that such titles reflect patronage relations is agreeable, because the action of providing a tomb and having it furnished can count as an act of good will by the patron for their client in return for their loyal services; thus, emphasising the social status of the patron to make that happen.²⁷⁸⁰ This proposal can be further exemplified by the subsidiary burials accompanying the royal tombs at Abydos and various elite tombs around Egypt, which adds an alternative layer to the discussion surrounding the identities of the people buried within these subsidiary sepulchres.²⁷⁸¹

²⁷⁷¹ Baines (1995: 126); Wilkinson (1999: 220); Jones (2000: 993 [3675]); Campagno (2017: 781).

²⁷⁷² Petrie (1900: pl. XVI.22; 1901: pl. VIIA.6; 1902: pl. XI.5).

²⁷⁷³ Petrie (1900: pl. XVII.26; 1901: pl. XVIII.5; 1902: pl. XI.9).

²⁷⁷⁴ Petrie (1900: pl. XVII.29).

²⁷⁷⁵ Köhler & Jones (2009: 154).

²⁷⁷⁶ Engel (2017: 69).

²⁷⁷⁷ Engel (2017: 50-75). Examples include graves Q-S1 and Q-W2.

²⁷⁷⁸ Martin (2011: 38 [40], 40 [43], 140 [197]).

²⁷⁷⁹ Vaudou (2008: 154-155).

²⁷⁸⁰ Leach (1979: 122); Parker Pearson (1999: 84); Alexanian (2006: 1-2).

²⁷⁸¹ Reisner (1936: 115-116); Kemp (1967: 26); Dreyer (1992: 59); Vaudou (2008: 154).

12.3 EARLY DYNASTIC SUBSIDIARY BURIALS

The evidence of subsidiary burials is one of the key features of archaeological evidence that is constantly related to elite burial practices of the Early Dynastic period.²⁷⁸² Over 1400 subsidiary burials have been accounted for at Abydos which are associated with the Umm el-Qaab royal tombs and the Northern Abydos funerary enclosures of the first kings of Egypt.²⁷⁸³ At least 904 examples come from the Umm el-Qaab cemetery and 509 examples from North Abydos.²⁷⁸⁴ However, the numbers associated with the royal tomb of Djet (Tomb Z) and Meretneith's funerary enclosure are not conclusive, with Vaudou recording that there could be more than the number she has given.²⁷⁸⁵ Engel states that Djet's Tomb Z had 204 subsidiary burials, while Bestock alludes Meretneith's funerary enclosure to have 79 graves, despite the heavy disturbance in the area.²⁷⁸⁶ Engel and Bestock have sourced their numbers from published excavation reports and recent fieldwork campaigns with the German and North American archaeological projects at Abydos respectively. Regardless, the common denominator between these subsidiary burials is that their burial reflected their close relationship to the king, by being buried close to either their tomb or the funerary enclosure, possibly indicating the close trust within their relationship and the privilege that comes with it.²⁷⁸⁷ To speculate further, it was not just the protection of the king these people received, but also that of the Gods since they protected the king as their human intermediary, as exemplified by the presence of the perched falcon of Horus above his serekh.²⁷⁸⁸ Therefore, this would bode well for the chances of the deceased of these subsidiary burials to progress to the netherworld.

Based on the number of subsidiary burials recorded at Abydos, several authors are adamant that they are an exclusive royal mortuary feature for the king, who is believed to be the only one endowed with transcendence power and the only one capable of being 'accompanied' to the beyond.²⁷⁸⁹ However, there is a disagreement that this phenomenon only occurred with royal funerals for similar examples have been found at North Saqqara, where at

²⁷⁸² Köhler (2008a: 389-390); Dębowska-Ludwin & Rosinska-Balik (2014: 87).

²⁷⁸³ Reisner (1936: 116-117); Hoffman (1979: 276); Engel (2008: 37-40); Bestock (2008b); Vaudou (2008: 151, Tab. 1).

²⁷⁸⁴ Engel (2008: 37-40); Bestock (2008b); Vaudou (2008: 151, Tab. 1) *cf.* Hikade & Roy (2015: 41).

²⁷⁸⁵ For Djet's tomb, Vaudou (2008: 151, Tab. 1) records '174 and more?' The same also applies to Meretneith's tomb where it is listed as '77 and more?' Considering that new mortuary evidence has been revealed by the German and American archaeological missions at Abydos, on top of the numbers that have been recorded by Petrie and Reisner, the possibilities of more burials remains open.

²⁷⁸⁶ Engel (2008: 38); Bestock (2008b: 54).

²⁷⁸⁷ Hikade & Roy (2015: 46); Bárta (2017: 289).

²⁷⁸⁸ Baines (1995: 115, 123-124); Shalomi-Hen (2008: 1016)

²⁷⁸⁹ Reisner (1936: 121); Kemp (1967: 25-26); Cervelló Autuori (2002: 38); Stadelmann (2005: 362).

least 131 subsidiary burials have been accounted for between eight of the mastaba tombs located there.²⁷⁹⁰ Moreover, other instances have been interpreted at other Protodynastic and Early Dynastic cemeteries, such as Abu Rawash, Giza, Abu Ghurab and Tell el-Farkha.²⁷⁹¹

12.3.1 TELL EL-FARKHA

Tomb 100 from Tell el-Farkha is the oldest known tomb to have associated subsidiary burials in Lower Egypt, being dated to Naqada IIIB-IIIC1/2 bordering between the Protodynastic period and the First Dynasty.²⁷⁹² The subsidiary burials were installed in between the bricks of the tomb's southern wall and they contained the deceased remains of children, who were found in a contracted position, covered with mats and were devoid of any grave goods (Fig. 41).²⁷⁹³ Two of the children were found to be six years old while the other's remains were too disturbed to have their age estimated.²⁷⁹⁴ Since the children's remains were too disturbed, their cause of death could also not be determined.²⁷⁹⁵ It is doubtful whether sacrifice was the cause, but it could also not be denied that these children may have died early and given a burial in proximity to the tomb owner of Tomb 100 due to their close relationship to the tomb owner which remains unclear.

12.3.2 ABU RAWASH

At least 70 subsidiary burials with 15 partially preserved skeletons were found in association with at least 10 of the mastaba tombs built at Abu Rawash.²⁷⁹⁶ Mastabas M02, M03, M04 and M17 were found with the most notable subsidiary burials where human remains were found (Figs. 65, 66 & 67).²⁷⁹⁷ The preservation of the human bodies found in the subsidiary burials from Abu Rawash were mostly too poor to extract much palaeobiological information; however, it can be confirmed that most of the preserved remains within these burials were congruent to elderly, mostly male, individuals who exhibited numerous degenerative

²⁷⁹⁰ Emery (1961: 66, 71, 90, 137); Hendrickx (2008: 66); Vaudou (2008: 150-151, Tab. 1). This includes 3504 (62 subsidiary burials), 3503 (22 subsidiary burials), 3506 (10 subsidiary burials), 3035 (30 subsidiary burials), 3111 (1 subsidiary burial), 3505 (1 subsidiary burial) and 3500 (4 subsidiary burials).

²⁷⁹¹ Kaplony (1963a: 362); Vaudou (2008); Dębowska-Ludwin & Rosinska-Balik (2014: 87-88); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 221-222).

²⁷⁹² Ciałowicz & Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 160).

²⁷⁹³ Dębowska-Ludwin *et al* (2010: 25).

²⁷⁹⁴ Dębowska-Ludwin & Rosinska-Balik (2014: 89).

²⁷⁹⁵ Ciałowicz & Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 159, Fig. 5); Dębowska-Ludwin & Rosinska-Balik (2014: 88).

²⁷⁹⁶ 5.1.1 Abu Rawash. Tombs M01 (7 subsidiary burials), M02 (5 subsidiary burials), M03 (6 subsidiary burials), M04 (5 subsidiary burials), M06 (2 subsidiary burials), M07 (8 subsidiary burials), M11 (2 subsidiary burials), M12 (19 subsidiary burials), M13 (1 known subsidiary burial) and M17 (9 subsidiary burials).

²⁷⁹⁷ Tristant (2017a: 481-483, 487, 490).

conditions such as osteoarthritis, spina bifida and healed metacarpal trauma.²⁷⁹⁸ Also, no traces of trauma that led to a possible sacrificial death could be detected from the preserved osteological evidence.²⁷⁹⁹ Evidence of a wooden coffin enclosed these deceased human beings and they were accompanied with mortuary provisions, such as wine and beer jars, not to mention adorned necklaces with either faience, shell and carnelian beads.²⁸⁰⁰ From what the preserved burials from Abu Rawash convey, they were given care to be preserved and allocated mortuary provisions for their personal and aesthetic needs.

12.3.3 NORTH SAQQARA

Apart from the similarities in architecture, another reason why the First Dynasty mastaba tombs of North Saqqara were comparable to those at Abydos was because some of the tombs were also found to have associated subsidiary burials. This includes the 22 subsidiary burials associated with Tomb 3503,²⁸⁰¹ the single burial of a male adult associated with 3111,²⁸⁰² the 62 subsidiary burials of 3504 (Fig. 92),²⁸⁰³ the single burial of a male adult associated with 3505 (Fig. 95),²⁸⁰⁴ the 10 subsidiary burials associated with 3506 (Fig. 94),²⁸⁰⁵ the 19 subsidiary burials associated with 3035²⁸⁰⁶ and the four subsidiary burials associated with 3500.²⁸⁰⁷ No traces of human subsidiary burials were found with Tomb 3507, but the single subsidiary burial allocated to it contained the remains of a dog (Fig. 97).²⁸⁰⁸ No signs of a violent death from the human skeletal evidence was observed from the deceased examples at North Saqqara.²⁸⁰⁹ Therefore, Emery suggests that they were poisoned before being buried.²⁸¹⁰ This idea of poison being the cause of death stems from Petrie's discoveries of arrows interpreted to be tipped with poison from the royal tombs at Abydos.²⁸¹¹ However, this has been proven wrong and was identified to be 'red ochre'.²⁸¹² It is interesting that some of these

²⁷⁹⁸ Tristant (2016: 168, fn. 12); Tristant *et al* (2017: Origins 6 Presentation, 13th September).

²⁷⁹⁹ Tristant *et al* (2017: Origins 6 Presentation, 13th September).

²⁸⁰⁰ Tristant (2017a: 481-483).

²⁸⁰¹ Emery (1954: 142).

²⁸⁰² Emery (1949: 99).

²⁸⁰³ Emery (1954: 24-37).

²⁸⁰⁴ Emery (1958: 13).

²⁸⁰⁵ Emery (1958: 41-42).

²⁸⁰⁶ Anonymous (1939: 79); Vaudou (2008: 153). Nineteen of these burials contained deceased human remains, fourteen of which were found intact, but no information about their sex or age is given. The other eleven tombs consisted of three bird graves and seven dog burials.

²⁸⁰⁷ Emery (1958: 104).

²⁸⁰⁸ Emery (1958: 78).

²⁸⁰⁹ Hikade & Roy (2015: 36-40).

²⁸¹⁰ Emery (1954: 142).

²⁸¹¹ Petrie (1901: 34-35).

²⁸¹² Emery (1939: 47).

mastaba tombs had subsidiary burials while others were not found with any; therefore, indicating that it was not compulsory for elites to be accompanied by their relatives or other supporting personnel and may have been determined by personal choice.²⁸¹³

12.3.4 SOUTH GIZA

At South Giza, 27 of Mastaba V's subsidiary burials were found to contain mortuary provisions and remnants of the deceased individuals (Fig. 77).²⁸¹⁴ While the quantity in grave size and the allocated artefact assemblage differs immensely, it does not give an impression that there was a major difference of what grave good assemblage was accessible between a 'poor' and a 'royal' grave.²⁸¹⁵ These graves contained artefacts that are comparable to some of the stone vessels found in the contemporary tomb of Djet from Abydos, where a large number of calcite vessels have been recovered.²⁸¹⁶ The cylindrical shape of these calcite vessels seem to imitate what has been found in Djet's tomb, such as the notched cord pattern found on fragments of calcite rims from Grave no. 18.²⁸¹⁷ Non ceramic artefacts also stood out with Grave no. 13 containing two copper adzes found beside the arms and knees of the interred deceased laid on their west side within a wooden coffin.²⁸¹⁸ Parallel adzes were also found in a subsidiary grave associated with the royal tomb of Djer, designated as Grave O31.²⁸¹⁹ The deceased buried within Grave 23 was found to have flint bracelets on its right-forearm, again parallel examples are known from the tombs of Djer and Djet, but made from different materials, such as gold, turquoise and amethyst.²⁸²⁰ Despite the presence of a bracelet with glazed hawk shaped beads being found within the main burial chamber of Mastaba V, the preservation of the subsidiary burials fared much better than what was left in the original main tomb.²⁸²¹ Analysing this group of graves indicates that the people buried within them were treated accordingly and are regarded as a special case, since they are comparable to the subsidiary burials associated with the royal tombs.²⁸²²

²⁸¹³ Hikade & Roy (2015: 40).

²⁸¹⁴ Petrie *et al* (1907: 4-5).

²⁸¹⁵ Petrie *et al* (1907: 5).

²⁸¹⁶ Petrie *et al* (1907: 5).

²⁸¹⁷ Petrie *et al* (1907: 5). UC27442, UC27445.

²⁸¹⁸ Petrie *et al* (1907: 5-6, pl. IIIA).

²⁸¹⁹ Petrie (1901: 24, pl. VI.23).

²⁸²⁰ Petrie (1901: 18-19).

²⁸²¹ Petrie *et al* (1907: 6, pl. III).

²⁸²² Vaudou (2008: 156).

12.3.5 ABUSIR - ABU GHURAB

The Early Dynastic mastabas located in the Abusir designated area of Abu Ghurab have been found with subsidiary burials, providing another case study that this practice was being emulated amongst the chain of Memphite cemeteries along the West bank.²⁸²³ Radwan, claims that all the mastabas excavated in Abu Ghurab were surrounded by smaller burials, which he advocates to be subsidiary in nature. However, he provides very few details about them and refers only to two mastaba tombs, Mastabas IV and XVII, which have reported subsidiary burials.²⁸²⁴ The most central tomb within the Abu Ghurab site, Mastaba IV, was recorded by Radwan to be surrounded by a group of subsidiary burials that were ‘scattered’ around it.²⁸²⁵ Looking at the original site plan, Radwan does not specify whether he is talking about the tombs that are mostly located to the south–south east side of Mastaba IV.²⁸²⁶ While these tombs are in close proximity to Mastaba IV there is not much more information given about these burials that would help to clarify whether they were associated with it, especially stratigraphic information. An interesting assemblage of subsidiary burials were found to be associated with Mastaba XVII, where three mound like burials were found on a low-lying platform, measuring 3.15 m long x 0.90 m wide, situated between the mastaba superstructure and the eastern side of the tomb’s enclosure wall (Fig. 81).²⁸²⁷ Initially, Radwan believed them to be subsidiary burials but these mounds did not have anything below within their 1 metre deep pit below the mud pavement except for mud bricks, with small fragments of limestone.²⁸²⁸ Their possible function has been either another place for the tomb owner’s *Ka* to reside, a dummy tomb for the ancestors of the deceased, a substitute for an actual subsidiary burial or a symbolic representation of bread being offered to the deceased.²⁸²⁹ However, the remains of another similar looking mound, labelled as 66 E XVII, was also found 2.70 m north of the already mentioned three burials, which was actually much smaller in size, measuring 1.48 x 0.93 x 0.21 m.²⁸³⁰ Within this mound a layer of paved mudbricks and limestone was again found, but 30 cm below this layer, the remains of a skeleton were discovered that was accompanied by two

²⁸²³ Radwan (1991: 305-306, Abb. 1; 1995: 311).

²⁸²⁴ Radwan (1995: 313; 2003: 513).

²⁸²⁵ Radwan (1995: 313).

²⁸²⁶ Radwan (1991: 306, Abb. 1).

²⁸²⁷ Radwan (2000: 510).

²⁸²⁸ Radwan (2000: 511).

²⁸²⁹ Radwan (2000: 511).

²⁸³⁰ Radwan (2000: 511).

small cylinder shaped jars which are dated to the early 1st Dynasty, leading speculation by the excavator that the dummy mound structure was built to conceal this older burial.²⁸³¹

There are some subsidiary burials associated with this tomb which emulates the design of a larger mastaba as its superstructural covering over the grave-pit and indicating possible offering niches on their eastern and southern sides.²⁸³² For example, tomb 57 S XVII, which also exhibits two offering niches at its southern and northern ends of its eastern side (Fig. 81).²⁸³³ The southern niche was the larger of the two and was found with an earthenware pot that was sunk into the ground quite easily due to having a hole where the vessel's base would have been to possibly indicate a place of offering for the deceased.²⁸³⁴ A parallel scenario is indicated with a similar feature associated with tomb 785 H.5 from the site of Helwan where a 'chapel' space is located on its west side exhibiting niches where sunken pottery were found in situ.²⁸³⁵ Radwan speculates that these burials may have been allocated for 'common people' who worked as servants or members of the household of the mastaba owners.²⁸³⁶

Another interesting case study is the remains of an 18 year old male found within a trough towards the southern eastern end of the boat pit, located to the north of Mastaba XXVI.²⁸³⁷ The remains of the deceased male's bones are missing, save for a few bones forming the cervical vertebrae that were found in a parallel position to the boat remains in the south-eastern area of the pit within a depression marked with Nile mud.²⁸³⁸ It is theorised that because the vertebrae bones were found more towards the western side of the depression, his head may have laid towards the west side and looking east.²⁸³⁹ However, the discarded mixing of the human remains complicates this view which was probably the work of tomb robbing and may also explain why no grave goods accompanied the deceased.²⁸⁴⁰ Why this deceased teenage boy was placed in this boat burial is also unclear. Lindemann speculates that he may represent the boatman who was required to operate the vessel to transport the wealthier grave owner in the afterlife.²⁸⁴¹ However, there are no published drawings or images of the deceased's remains within the trough, despite this trough being drawn within the published images of the boat

²⁸³¹ Emery (1961: 212, fig. 122) *cf.* Radwan (2000: 511-512).

²⁸³² Radwan (2003: 378).

²⁸³³ Radwan (2000: 514, pl. 85).

²⁸³⁴ Radwan (2000: 514).

²⁸³⁵ Saad (1969: 21, pl. 10) *cf.* Radwan (2000: 514, fn. 22).

²⁸³⁶ Radwan (2003: 378).

²⁸³⁷ Radwan (2008: 560-561); Lindemann (2008: 576).

²⁸³⁸ Lindemann (2008: 576).

²⁸³⁹ Lindemann (2008: 576).

²⁸⁴⁰ Lindemann (2008: 576).

²⁸⁴¹ Lindemann (2008: 576).

pit.²⁸⁴² Moreover, there is not much information about the stratigraphy associated between the boat burial and the depression to even suggest whether both features were made at the same time. This is a crucial piece of evidence that is missing for theories supporting that the deceased boy's remains were buried with the boat.

12.3.6 HELWAN

Only a couple of tombs have been reported to be associated with subsidiary burials at the site of Helwan, which has caused some rethinking about whether this funerary practice was exclusive for royal tombs. According to Vaudou, tombs 721 and/or 680, 612 had 6 and 3 subsidiary burials respectively.²⁸⁴³ But, there are no records from Saad's original excavation reports that provides any published information about these tombs let alone any associated subsidiary burials. However, when excavating Tomb 653.H.4, Saad uncovered the body of a male adult buried in the filling by the tomb's south wall, about 2 m higher than the tomb's floor level.²⁸⁴⁴ Despite the badly preserved state of the bones, the skeletal remains of this deceased male was found intact, lying in a contracted position on its right side with his back upwards and face downwards.²⁸⁴⁵ Two more male adult bodies were also found on the same level by the south wall as the first body, one located to the south-east corner of the mortuary space and another placed to the north of it.²⁸⁴⁶ Both were found in a contracted position on their left side with their heads to the north and looking to the east.²⁸⁴⁷ It was speculated by Saad that these three buried bodies correspond with subsidiary burials, even though they are not arranged in the same manner as found in Abydos and North Saqqara. No grave goods were reported to be accompanying these three male adults. Vaudou references an article by Köhler from 2008 when listing Helwan to have subsidiary burial examples, but even the latter author does not discuss the possibility of subsidiary burials being found at Helwan. Instead the three male bodies from 653.H.4 could have been part of a secondary burial interment which has been observed in other tombs at the site.²⁸⁴⁸ For example, an adult female body was found buried in the filling of Tomb 150.H.5's staircase near the main entrance and was contracted on its left side, head to the south and looking to the west.²⁸⁴⁹ Interestingly, Saad did not consider this example to be a subsidiary

²⁸⁴² Lindemann (2008: Abb 1-2).

²⁸⁴³ Vaudou (2008: 151).

²⁸⁴⁴ Saad (1947: 19, pl. XVII).

²⁸⁴⁵ Saad (1947: 19, pl. XVIIa).

²⁸⁴⁶ Saad (1947: 19).

²⁸⁴⁷ Saad (1947: 19, pl. XVII a & b).

²⁸⁴⁸ Köhler (2008b: 114)

²⁸⁴⁹ Saad (1951: 29, pl. XXVIIIa); Köhler (2005: 26-27).

burial, probably since this was a single mortuary interment.²⁸⁵⁰ Recent excavations under Köhler have unearthed other tombs with associated secondary burials, such as an adult female interred (Burial 4.1) outside the substructure of the Second Dynasty Tomb 4/4 (Naqada IIID4) within the northern fill of the tomb's descent.²⁸⁵¹ No 'clearly associated' grave goods accompanied the deceased female, who is determined to be 40–44 years based on auricular surface changes observed from her sacrum remains.²⁸⁵² Another secondary burial comes from the Second Dynasty Tomb 4/6 (Naqada IIID4), where an 18–24 year old male was placed in a contracted position within a wooden rectangular coffin that was buried in the upper level of the tomb's descent beneath a layer of rocks, mudbricks and pottery debris.²⁸⁵³

12.3.7 TARKHAN

Mastaba 2038 has two associated subsidiary burials in the eastern corridor within its enclosed walled area, labelled Grave 2039 and 2040 (Fig. 133).²⁸⁵⁴ The superstructural coverings for these tomb's subsidiary burials were slightly domed and on their front edge facing away from the mastaba were empty recesses with remnants of a whitewash coat still visible.²⁸⁵⁵ These recesses were interpreted by Petrie to be false doors for the deceased's Ka to access and exit the burial space.²⁸⁵⁶ However, they may have held inscribed stele to depicting the name of the deceased which is similar to what was found with some of the subsidiary burials at Abu Rawash.²⁸⁵⁷ Upon removing the domed structures of both Graves 2039 and 2040, a mat made from papyrus reeds was found underneath with some pottery vessels resting on it, which then covered the actual substructure where the remains of the deceased were found with more accompanying grave goods within an installed wooden coffin.²⁸⁵⁸ Calf bones were found near the body of the deceased in both burials, either in the form of a leg bone (2040) or a handful of ribs (2039).²⁸⁵⁹ No information about the sex and the age of the deceased were disclosed from these burials by Petrie. A combination of cylindrical jars and calcite bowls were located near the remains of the deceased in both subsidiary burials.²⁸⁶⁰ The pottery forms of the cylindrical jars from the subsidiary burials correlate with Petrie's S.D. 80 (Naqada IIIC1), which he

²⁸⁵⁰ Saad (1951 : 29).

²⁸⁵¹ Köhler (2014: 15, 141 Fig. 31).

²⁸⁵² Köhler (2014: 141).

²⁸⁵³ Köhler (2014: 158-161).

²⁸⁵⁴ Petrie (1914: 5, pl. XVIII).

²⁸⁵⁵ Petrie (1914: 5).

²⁸⁵⁶ Petrie (1914: 5).

²⁸⁵⁷ Petrie (1914: 5, pl. 15); Tristant & Smythe (2011: 320, Fig. 6).

²⁸⁵⁸ Petrie (1914: 5, pl. XVI).

²⁸⁵⁹ Petrie (1914: 5).

²⁸⁶⁰ Petrie (1914: 5).

suggests is during the reign of Djet.²⁸⁶¹ It is thanks to these subsidiary burials that a suggested date for the main mastaba was sought, through a comparison of the pottery vessels found in the tomb of Djet.²⁸⁶²

Three subsidiary burials were found underneath the northern wall of Mastaba 2050 which creates a corridor space (Fig. 134).²⁸⁶³ Numbered 2051, 2053 and 2054, these subsidiary burials exhibited superstructural forms resembling raised squares of brickwork which protected a layer of papyrus or grass mats covering the installed wooden coffin within the grave accompanied by grave goods either behind the deceased's head or below its feet.²⁸⁶⁴ Only grave 2051 contained a complete skeleton with its head to the north, facing east, the left hand placed on the forehead and the right on the knees accompanied by pottery vessels behind its head and below its feet; a broken walking stick is also reported to have been placed in front of the deceased.²⁸⁶⁵ Deceased remains were also found within Grave 2053 with its skull slightly shifted forward.²⁸⁶⁶ Upon removing its grass mat covering, Grave 2054 appeared empty except for the appearance of two pottery jars and duck bones were found in the north-west corner of the coffin which was the largest out of the three graves measuring at least 1m long x 0.5m wide x 0.4m deep.²⁸⁶⁷ Not much information is provided by Petrie about the sex and age of the deceased remains that were found in any of these graves. Other animal remains were also found within these graves and are believed to have been part of the offerings for the deceased, such as the leg bone of a calf found below the feet and pelvis of the deceased within Grave 2053.²⁸⁶⁸

12.3.8 NAGA ED-DER

At Naga ed-Der, subsidiary burials are alluded to by Reisner, but not in the same complex fashion as Abydos.²⁸⁶⁹ Instead, he likens what he observes in Cemetery 1500 to the 'family complexes' within the Giza cemetery where the 'subsidiary burials' are designated as such due to their proximity within the funerary space which is enclosed by the partially preserved walls of both Tombs N1506 and N1514.²⁸⁷⁰ Hendrickx notes the presence of these subsidiary burials as an exclusive feature for the royal tombs at Abydos and the North Saqqara

²⁸⁶¹ Petrie (1914: 5).

²⁸⁶² Petrie (1914: 5).

²⁸⁶³ Petrie (1914: 6); Grajetzki (2008: 111).

²⁸⁶⁴ Petrie (1914: 6, pl. XVII 1 & 2).

²⁸⁶⁵ Petrie (1914: 6).

²⁸⁶⁶ Petrie (1914: 6).

²⁸⁶⁷ Petrie (1914: 6).

²⁸⁶⁸ Petrie (1914: 6).

²⁸⁶⁹ Reisner (1908: 9).

²⁸⁷⁰ Reisner (1908: 9, pl. 79, Map 1.); Podzorski (2008: 94, Fig. 5).

mastaba covered graves.²⁸⁷¹ However, this is not clearly attested, even in a contemporary article by Podzorski, there is no mention of subsidiary burials being associated with the Naga ed-Der tombs.²⁸⁷² While these supposed ‘subsidiary tombs’ at Naga ed-Der are not aligned in anyway with these mentioned major burials, however, it might reflect the difference in burial customs that this site had compared to other cemeteries located near Abydos. Nonetheless, re-excavation at the Naga ed-Der cemetery would be required to confirm these questions.

12.4 VARYING SUBSIDIARY BURIAL IDENTITIES

Who would have been buried within these subsidiary burials? There are many identities to consider including sacrificed human victims, which is controversial considering the extremities behind such a practice to deliberately put people to death for the sake of a cause or person. However, Testart argues that by emphasising the presence of these subsidiary burials as examples of human sacrificial practices, it instantly subjects them to be viewed within just a religious perspective, which reduces the strangeness of their situation.²⁸⁷³ Moreover, that the sociological perspective regarding these burial arrangements is neglected and should be considered as part of the discussion.²⁸⁷⁴ This is why he suggests the term ‘accompanying deaths’, to describe the phenomenon associated with subsidiary burials because it is neutral and purely descriptive.²⁸⁷⁵ Testart attempts to distinguish at least four categories of ‘accompanying death’ groups which includes workers, prisoners, women and servants.²⁸⁷⁶

12.4.1 SERVANTS

It is not out of the question that some of the burials represent the graves of servants for the deceased owner of the main tomb which these burials surround. The number of allocated graves for some of the tombs are astonishing, with the highest number of 590 burials associated with Djer’s tomb complex.²⁸⁷⁷ These numbers have been interpreted to be reflections of the amount of people who gave their lives to the king and thus being sacrificed or dying simultaneously upon the king’s death. Regardless of how they died, the number of burials possibly emphasised the volume of followers who were loyal to the king and the influence which he/she had on many people. At least 7 stelae were retrieved from the royal tombs at

²⁸⁷¹ Hendrickx (2008: 66)

²⁸⁷² Podzorski (2008); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 214-215).

²⁸⁷³ Testart (2004: 197; 2005: 40).

²⁸⁷⁴ Testart (2005: 40).

²⁸⁷⁵ Testart (2005: 35).

²⁸⁷⁶ Testart (2005: 39); Valloggia (2015: 164).

²⁸⁷⁷ Vaudou (2008: 151).

Abydos depicting servant titles, such as *ḥm(t)* ‘Servant’,²⁸⁷⁸ *ḥm bity* ‘Servant of the King of Lower Egypt’,²⁸⁷⁹ *ḥm(t) Ššꜣt (?)* ‘Servant of Seshat’,²⁸⁸⁰ and *ḥm ḥnmw* ‘Servant of Khnum’ (Fig. 196).²⁸⁸¹ While such a title may seem subordinate, it was held with high regard amongst other Early Dynastic elites, such as Akhetaa with the *ḥm pr.w* ‘servant of the house’, an official of the Third Dynasty.²⁸⁸² However, we cannot assume that all the burials had the same kind of social relationship with the deceased owner of the main burial.²⁸⁸³ There are other identities which have been discussed including those associated with the dominant number of graves for women, who are considered to have been part of a harem under the king.²⁸⁸⁴

12.4.2 HAREM WOMEN

During the Nineteenth Century, many European painters were drawn to creating depictions of “the East”, especially following a variety of French works including the topographical and archaeological depictions of Egypt by Dominique Vivant Denon within his *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte*.²⁸⁸⁵ The idea of the harem was also included amongst this fanatical trend, especially the ‘Romantic’ *Femmes d’Alger* paintings of Eugène Delacroix, where the subject commonly depicted the eastern harems of the Orient, visually depicted a space of luxury with an atmosphere of (supposed) exceptional virility and constant eroticism, but also to flaunt allegiance and to produce countless descendants.²⁸⁸⁶ Due to Nineteenth Century ideas, the presence of a harem has been regarded as symbol of prestige and as an instrument of power.²⁸⁸⁷ This ‘harem’ concept has been extended to Egyptological studies where the possibility that harem institutions existed in ancient Egypt has been raised, especially with reference to the term *ip.t-nsw*, which was first translated as ‘royal harem’ back in 1865 by Devéria, when he studied the Turin judicial papyrus.²⁸⁸⁸ This document details a long list of officials who were involved in the so-called ‘Harem conspiracy’ against Ramesses III, resulting in the sovereign’s murder.²⁸⁸⁹ Negative connotations concerning the harem institution’s involvement in conspiracy case studies have been a subject of debate, especially during the

²⁸⁷⁸ Martin (2011: 36 [35]). Semerkhet’s Tomb Complex.

²⁸⁷⁹ Martin (2011: 102 [131]). Den’s Tomb Complex.

²⁸⁸⁰ Martin (2011: 30 [25]). Andjib’s Tomb Complex.

²⁸⁸¹ Martin (2011: 38–42 [41 & 47]). Qa’a’s Tomb Complex.

²⁸⁸² Weill (1908: 272); Wilkinson (1999: 133).

²⁸⁸³ Testart (2004: 199); Campagno (2017: 782).

²⁸⁸⁴ Martin (2011); Dodson (2016: 6–7).

²⁸⁸⁵ Ali (2015: 38).

²⁸⁸⁶ Daloz (2010: 142–143); Snape (2014: 48); Ali (2015: 39–40).

²⁸⁸⁷ Daloz (2010: 142).

²⁸⁸⁸ Ward (1983: 69).

²⁸⁸⁹ Devéria (1865); Ward (1982: 81); Koenig (2001); Redford (2002); Kemp (2018: 280).

reigns of Pepy I and Amenemhat I.²⁸⁹⁰ Based on these conspiracy case studies, the role of these harem institutions has been questioned, where comparisons between the harems of ancient Egypt and Oriental-Islam, especially Ottoman Turkey, have been raised due to the harem institution being responsible for raising and educating the future royal ruler and members of the inner elite group.²⁸⁹¹ Another role for this institution also involved economic activities, as depicted by the wall relief scenes from Ay's tomb at Amarna.²⁸⁹² Archaeological attestations of harems within palaces have been interpreted from excavations at Medinet el-Gurob and Tell Amarna.²⁸⁹³

The large number of female names transcribed on the funerary stelae retrieved from the subsidiary burials of Abydos, not to mention the large number of buried women surrounding the royal burials are the main reason as to why harems have been brought into Early Dynastic discussions.²⁸⁹⁴ To explain this phenomenon, Kaplony refers to this group of buried women to belong to the 'harem' of the king.²⁸⁹⁵ As a result, others have adopted this interpretation.²⁸⁹⁶ However, whether they were the wives of the main tomb occupant is still a speculative matter and has not been proven by any means. There are suggestions that the royal harem has been attested from the Third Dynasty based on inscriptional evidence.²⁸⁹⁷ However, no archaeological remains have been found to prove its physical existence so far.²⁸⁹⁸ Based on the preserved titles that are left from Abydos, these women definitely had a role in serving the kings, such as *shn-3h* 'spirit seeker'²⁸⁹⁹ and *Khn(t)/Hn-k3 (i)* who holds the *wr(t) pr* 'great one of the palace' title.²⁹⁰⁰ Other roles associated with female deceased members also included *msnw* 'harpooner',²⁹⁰¹ then there are some women who were buried near the tomb of Den who held the title of *htm (t) Hr* 'she who ornaments Horus'.²⁹⁰² While the role of this latter title is unknown, it may have involved a grooming occupation; therefore, like hairdressers, they had to be trusted since they interacted with the king very closely and personally to attend to his

²⁸⁹⁰ Kanawati (2003); Roth (2012); Moreno García (2013c: 122).

²⁸⁹¹ Roth (2012: 2); Snape (2014: 48).

²⁸⁹² Davies (1908: pl. 28); Snape (2014: 158).

²⁸⁹³ Roth (2012); Shaw (2012); Kemp (2018: 338-339).

²⁸⁹⁴ Martin (2011); Dodson (2016: 6-7).

²⁸⁹⁵ Kaplony (1963a: 372). I thank Susan A. Kelly for referring me to this reference.

²⁸⁹⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 80); Wenke (2009: 243-244).

²⁸⁹⁷ Kahl *et al* (1995: 56-57).

²⁸⁹⁸ Callender (1994: 10).

²⁸⁹⁹ Martin (2011: 28 [20], 38 [39], 106 [137], 106 [139], 110 [144], 120 [161], 120 [162], 130 [179], 136 [193], 142 [202], 144 [204] & 150 [211]). At least 12 stelae with female determinatives were found with this title.

²⁹⁰⁰ Martin (2011: 138-139 [196]).

²⁹⁰¹ Martin (2011: 146 [207]).

²⁹⁰² Martin (2011: 28-29 [21], 96-99 [120-125]).

physical appearance to convey the royal regalia.²⁹⁰³ It is not out of the question that some women had a familial or sexual relationship with the king, as exemplified through some titles like *mry* ‘beloved’,²⁹⁰⁴ and *m33t Hr* ‘she who beholds the Horus (the King)’,²⁹⁰⁵ but to just restrict their roles to just having a sexual relationship with the main tomb occupant within the palace household seems limited because such titles do not specify such connections..

12.4.3 WORKERS

On a different note, the tombs in Macramallah’s cemetery at West Saqqara are distinct due to their form and arrangement in a rectangular layout. The near rectangular arrangement of these burials has led to proposals that these burials were surrounding a structure of some sort, similarly to the organisation of the funerary enclosures in North Abydos. Because these burials are dated to the reign of Den, it has been speculated that maybe a funerary enclosure was built for this mentioned king in this area, but no detection of any structure was found.²⁹⁰⁶ As to who the buried people were, some proposals have been made based on the distinct qualities of this cemetery, with suggestions that they are ‘sacrificed retainers’.²⁹⁰⁷ However, these deceased occupants were provided good quality mortuary provisions including stone bowls, with one being etched with the name of an estate, *hwt kd-htp*, along with the name of ‘hm-servant’ in one of the tombs.²⁹⁰⁸ This estate name has a parallel occurrence on a label from Tomb 3504, where there are some hieroglyphs that spell out *hwt kd-htp*, which is designated as an estate that supplies the king with a specific set of goods, such as cattle or natron and is speculated to be in the Western Delta near Kom el-Hisn.²⁹⁰⁹ This piece of evidence allows the possibility for alternative opinions regarding who these people buried in this location were. However, considering that religious connotations are still linked to the creation of these burials, such as ‘retainer sacrifice’ or ‘embalming stations’, other alternatives must be suggested.²⁹¹⁰

A suggestion could be that some of these tombs belonged to a select number of workers who helped to supervise and construct the Early Dynastic tombs at North Saqqara along with their associated family members, which may explain the variety of tombs, ages and genders

²⁹⁰³ Tassie (2011: 610).

²⁹⁰⁴ Martin (2011: 186 [281]).

²⁹⁰⁵ Martin (2011: 82-83 [96], 100-101 [128-129]).

²⁹⁰⁶ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 150); Wilkinson (1999: 239); van Wetering (2017b: 423).

²⁹⁰⁷ Morris (2007a: 178).

²⁹⁰⁸ Macramallah (1940: 22, 67); Morris (2007a: 178).

²⁹⁰⁹ Wenke & Brewer (1996: 280); Wilkinson (1999: 124).

²⁹¹⁰ Morris (2007b: 28); van Wetering (2017b: 430).

observed from the deceased's remains.²⁹¹¹ The evidence is mute for this proposal, but during Den's reign, at least 5 of the North Saqqara mastaba tombs are dated to this time (3507, 3506, 3035, 3036 & X), which are one of the largest tomb groups built at the site out of any sovereign during the First and Second Dynasties.²⁹¹² As a collective, they required the most amount of mud bricks (7,602,700) and space (2380 m³) out of all the tombs in the North Saqqara cemetery due to the architectural novelties in their design which influenced other tombs constructed during Den's reign.²⁹¹³ This would have required an immense effort from specialist workers and they (and associated kin) may have been granted burial plots on the Saqqara plateau near the Wadi Abusir as a reward and were given access to a variety of exclusive grave goods to be buried with them. The presence of Den's seal amongst these burials could help to support this theory, but it remains speculative. This idea is inspired by Tesart's suggestion regarding 'Worker' graves as one of his 'accompanying death' categories, but this is proposed because there are instances in other cultures, such as the Mongols, where tomb builders or workers were executed in order to ensure secure the secrecy of the tomb they assisted with building.²⁹¹⁴ On the contrary, could there be instances where burial plots have been allocated by the king or elites to curb the potential for tomb robberies to protect the interests of their tombs? Nonetheless, by re-excavating these 'M burials' can these theories be proven or disproven.²⁹¹⁵

²⁹¹¹ Morris (2007b: 26-27); Semble (2012: 125).

²⁹¹² Wilkinson (1999: 76); Hendrickx (2008: 76). Hendrickx states that no less than 5 mastaba tombs are allocated to Den's reign (2008: 76). Van Wetering includes 3041 to be dated to the reign of Den – van Wetering (2017b: 425). However, Hendrickx does not include tomb 3041, most likely because no plan of this tomb has been brought to light and this remains to be treated speculative by the present investigator.

²⁹¹³ Lacher-Raschdorff (2014: 211-212). After La Loggia (2015: 44-45), but are also applicable to tombs 3507, 3506, 3035, 3036 & SX. Numbers for tomb 3041 were not calculated.

²⁹¹⁴ Testart (2004: 25; 2005: 39).

²⁹¹⁵ van Wetering (2017b: 423).

CHAPTER 13 – CONCLUSION

This dissertation aimed to review the mortuary evidence at hand concerning elites during the Early Dynastic period rather than just relying on the limited written evidence concerning their identities and lives. This involved analysing both the literature regarding Early Dynastic tombs from an archaeological perspective, but also considering the sociological and anthropological literature regarding the conceptual background behind studying the activities of elites from a historical point of view in order to distinguish state societies which are distinct due to the further implementation of hierarchies.²⁹¹⁶ The commencement of elite culture in ancient Egypt has been searched for within the archaeological record, with the hope that it will also coincide with indications regarding the commencement of the state. From the perspective of the Early Dynastic period, this is through the creation of tombs from the major cemeteries of the First, Second and Third Dynasties which this dissertation has analysed for available evidence indicating the social status of the deceased buried there and how they fitted within the hierarchy of the Early Dynastic period under the royal sovereigns.

The royal sovereigns from the First and Second Dynasties were sought after since their names were featured on a variety of king lists dated to subsequent ancient Egyptian periods and their tombs had to be found to validate their existence. As part of this process the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery was revealed at Abydos and what was left of these tombs revealed stelae and inscribed objects correlating with these names thus indicating that the cultivation of writing would be the prime marker of royalty together with the amount of mortuary provisions allocated to their tombs and to the burials of their household and entourage. Furthermore, aspects of their architectural design convey that the deceased sovereigns invested a lot of time and resources to preserve and nourish their deceased selves before traversing to the afterlife. However, the royal status of the Abydos tombs would be questioned when the tombs of North Saqqara were properly excavated. A multitude of written inscriptions was also retrieved from these tombs, though more in terms of inscribed seal impressions than stelae, bringing forth the names of the royal sovereigns as found at Abydos and a variety of other individuals, like Hemaka and Ankha, who were deemed to be high officials.²⁹¹⁷ In addition, the better preservation of these tombs gave a better indication of their size, which would then be used to

²⁹¹⁶ Ch. 1.2 Definitions of the word 'elite' and its conceptual background.

²⁹¹⁷ Regulski (2010: 68-73).

question the status of the Abydos tombs and the status of the tombs of North Saqqara to be either the cenotaphs or the actual tombs of the royal sovereigns of the Early Dynastic period. When Kemp used the funerary enclosures at North Abydos as another point of social distinction between Abydos and North Saqqara, this placed further questions as to who was buried at the latter site. The non-royal names would be given more attention and were used as a basis for determining the ownership of these tombs based on counting the largest quantity of recurring names found upon inscribed artefacts for the tombs. However, this deductive process should be reconsidered, and we must interpret the presence of these names in another way. Moreover, since these tombs were robbed in antiquity, written evidence will not always be present, so other forms of differentiating evidence had to be considered.

13.1 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE TOMBS

The royal burial ground debate would overshadow other cemetery discoveries which convey the diverse hierarchy of people who were allocated tombs in certain areas of Egypt. This includes the Nile Delta where a variety of Early Dynastic sites have been revealed in the past 30 years and have provided alternative case studies of elite burials compared to the known evidence coming from more prominent sites within Lower and Upper Egypt.

13.1.1 NILE DELTA SUMMARY

The cemeteries from the Delta have been observed to not show differentiation compared to the more stratified, social groups of Upper Egypt due to the presence of Naqadian ceramic evidence being encountered in stratigraphic levels pertaining to the transition between the Protodynastic period and First Dynasty chronological phases. The most prominent sites are found in the Eastern Nile Delta, where gezira locations were sought for the creation of small settlement communities and accompanying cemeteries. Amongst these sites, elite tombs dating to the First Dynasty have been noted from Minshat Ezzat, Tell el-Samara, Tell el-Farkha, Kom el-Khilgan, Tell el-Iswid, Tell Ibrahim Awad, Minshat Abu Omar, Tell el-Masha'la, Tell Beni Amir and Kafr Hassan Dawoud. Distinctive Early Dynastic graves were characterised as mud brick constructions to house not just the deceased, but also extra room for mortuary provisions.²⁹¹⁸ Others were found to exhibit architectural distinctions, especially niched

²⁹¹⁸ Ch. 4 The Nile Delta Region. This included Tomb 82 (Minshat Ezzat), Grave 50 (Tell el-Farkha), Grave S290 (Kom el-Khilgan), Grave within square B210/160 (Tell Ibrahim Awad), Grave 2897 (Minshat Abu Omar), tomb with Area B (Tell el-Masha'la), Tomb 913 (Kafr Hassan Dawoud).

facades, such as Tomb 100 from Tell el-Farkha, Tomb 2275 from Minshat Abu Omar and the ‘Area B’ tomb at Tell el-Masha’la.²⁹¹⁹ However, other tombs were significant because of distinctive mortuary provisions which accentuated the social connections the deceased may have had with higher administrative networks, such as the seal impressions found from grave S02 at Tell el-Iswid,²⁹²⁰ the inscribed necklace bead from Tomb 61 at Minshat Ezzat,²⁹²¹ calcite stone vessels from Tell Beni Amir,²⁹²² and artefacts with inscribed serekhs of early sovereigns such as Tomb 1008 from Kafr Hassan Dawoud.²⁹²³ Less archaeological evidence for Early Dynastic cemeteries have been sought from the Western Nile Delta, but they provide evidence regarding the introduction of Second and Third Dynasty tombs in the area possibly for elites. For example, Second Dynasty tombs from Abu Ghalib feature diorite stone vessels which may have been sourced from foreign quarries through royal expeditions.²⁹²⁴ While Eastern Nile Delta sites like these have been given attention because of the better preserved combination of mortuary and settlement evidence they provide compared to their Western Nile Delta counterparts, the archaeological record is still incomplete to provide a holistic view about distinguishing elites from non-elites. However, this analysis of the mortuary evidence conveys that the communities of the Nile Delta were more stratified than first thought.

13.1.2 MEMPHIS SUMMARY

The large concentration of Early Dynastic cemeteries containing distinctive tombs on both the western and eastern banks near modern Cairo is speculated to have been influenced by where Memphis is theorised to have been located during the Early Dynastic period.²⁹²⁵ The more prominent tombs dating from the First to Third Dynasties were located at North Saqqara, where they exhibited niched facades, multi-chambered substructures for storing mortuary provisions, subsidiary burials, cultic spaces, enclosure walls and funerary boats. Inscribed artefacts were retrieved from these tombs, however, the seal impression evidence and the names inscribed on them should indicate the donors who supplied the mortuary provisions for these tombs not the owners. Second Dynasty tombs instigated new designs with tunnelled subterranean chambers, similarly to the Second Dynasty tombs of Hetepsekhemwy and Peribsen, with the addition of more rooms including areas being interpreted as latrines.

²⁹¹⁹ Ch. 4.2.3 Tell el-Farkha; Ch. 4.2.7 Minshat Abu Omar; Ch. 4.2.8 Tell el-Masha’la.

²⁹²⁰ Ch. 4.2.5 Tell el-Iswid.

²⁹²¹ Ch. 4.2.1 Minshat Ezzat.

²⁹²² Ch. 4.2.9 Tell Beni Amir.

²⁹²³ Ch. 4.2.10 Kafr Hassan Dawoud.

²⁹²⁴ Ch. 4.1.2 Abu Ghalib – Wardan.

²⁹²⁵ Bárta (2005: 179).

However, it is not certain what the function of these rooms entailed and whether the artefacts being supplied for these tombs were also used for daily life within settlement locations. Third Dynasty tomb designs saw the amount of rooms and corridors within the substructure be reduced, but the addition of more cult corridors and spaces outside the tomb's superstructure became more prominent.

Other smaller, yet also distinctive, tombs emulated the features of the North Saqqara tombs, such as the First Dynasty tombs on the M Cemetery at Abu Rawash with niched facades, storage facilities and funerary boat pits.²⁹²⁶ Moreover, distinctive tombs within the lower cemeteries, like the Third Dynasty grave 930 from Cemetery 800, which exhibited a corridor space for offerings and indicates continued elite tomb development within the site.²⁹²⁷ Other distinctive cemeteries were located on the Western bank, featuring mastaba tombs exhibiting niched facades and subsidiary burials including South Giza and Abu Ghurab.²⁹²⁸ On the Eastern Bank, First and Second Dynasty tombs from the sites of Old Cairo and Ma'asara were found, but the preservation of their tombs were found to be greatly disturbed, however, the stone vessels retrieved from them indicate the deceased were able to afford a diverse range of mortuary provisions. At Turah large mud bricked shaft tombs, featuring stairs and a perimeter wall were found, including grave 137/76. Similar looking tombs were reported from the site of Helwan, which was originally excavated by Larsen, before Saad excavated over 10 000 tombs pertaining to a wider ranging population of deceased members, including tombs dating from the First to the Third Dynasties imitating the mastaba tombs of the Western Bank cemeteries.²⁹²⁹

The tombs from these cemeteries seem to not just share similarities in terms of architectural distinctions, but they have been constructed on high escarpments and it has been attributed to make them be visible from the Nile Valley, such as the sites of North Saqqara, Kafr Ghattati and Abu Rawash.²⁹³⁰ While this aesthetic reason may be valid, defining a site's importance based on its high elevation and 'visibility' should not be considered as a complete overriding factor. What should also be considered is that most of these cemeteries occupied high elevated locations formed by old paleofan drainage systems within the Mokkatam formation which characterises the area and would have provided prime locations for most of

²⁹²⁶ Ch. 5.1.1 Abu Rawash.

²⁹²⁷ Ch. 5.1.1 Abu Rawash.

²⁹²⁸ Ch. 5.1.3.1 Mastaba V; 5.1.4 Abu Ghurab/Abusir.

²⁹²⁹ Kohler *et al* (2005: 1).

²⁹³⁰ Cervelló Autuori (2017: 217-218).

the Memphite cemeteries when the annual Nile inundation occurred.²⁹³¹ These locations may have been chosen due to the presence of wadis near the cemetery which would have provided distinct entrances into the cemetery.²⁹³² For example, it has been mentioned that despite being treated as a mass populace cemetery, the site of Helwan was located near a series of wadis which may have dictated its choice of location.²⁹³³ Moreover, there is evidence that a wadi running from the valley near Abusir may have been a dominant feature of the landscape which the cemeteries of both North Saqqara and Abusir were built to be in close reach of.²⁹³⁴ The location of this wadi may have dictated where the entrance into both the Abusir and North Saqqara cemetery was accessible.²⁹³⁵ This is supported by the discovery of smaller Early Dynastic tombs being found in the valley leading SSW from the remnant lake at Birket Mukhtar Pasha to the large Gisir el-Mudir enclosure.²⁹³⁶ According to Jeffreys and Tavares' assessment, the location of the Abusir lake lay on the 25 m contour line in recent times, the valley floor rises to 40 m at the Serapeum and Macramallah's cemetery, then stabilises to 45/50 m at the north wall of the Gisir el-Mudir enclosure before rising again to 55 m at the enclosure's southern side.²⁹³⁷ Based on this evidence, building near wadis seemed to be a common theme for the location of Early Dynastic cemeteries, which seems to have imitated the royal burials grounds of Abydos, where the tombs of the Early Dynastic kings were built near an ancient wadi which traversed to where the visible opening in the desert plateau cliff face to the west of the cemetery is located.²⁹³⁸

13.1.3 MIDDLE EGYPT SUMMARY

In the region of Middle Egypt, sparser communities were defined by their connections to smaller urban centres, which had connections to areas of resource procurement. This includes the area of Tarkhan, where the presence of niched mastaba tombs towards the south of cemetery are located on an isolated hill top overlooking the 'valley' cemetery.²⁹³⁹ Because of the location of these niched tombs, they are regarded to belong to elite members of the local community. While some scholars tend to connect this cemetery to the Memphite region, the 45-60 km distance to the Memphite settlement is quite large, instead this cemetery is not too

²⁹³¹ Jeffreys (2004: 838); Köhler (2005: 16).

²⁹³² Reader (2017: 85).

²⁹³³ Ch. 5.2.3 Helwan.

²⁹³⁴ Reader (2004: 63-64; 2017: 85).

²⁹³⁵ Bárta (2005: 179-180).

²⁹³⁶ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 149).

²⁹³⁷ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 149); Bárta (1999: 113-114).

²⁹³⁸ Richards (1999: 92-93); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 214).

²⁹³⁹ Campagno (2003: 22).

far away from the Fayum oasis. Therefore, an alternative opinion is that Tarkhan was much closer to the micro-region of the Fayum, making it a major cemetery on the outskirts of the region of Middle Egypt.²⁹⁴⁰ El-Lahun and Sedment are other cemeteries located near the mouth of the Fayum Oasis and may have been part of a micro-region in that location. Moving further down in the centre of Egypt, community cemeteries, like Qarara, were created based on their connections to the roads leading to the Eastern desert's mining areas known at Galala and El-Sheikh.

Despite the scarcity of tombs located in Middle Egypt, it does not mean that Early Dynastic occupation was completely absent within this vast area of Egypt. The concentrations of mortuary sites near the vicinity of the Fayum in the north and the sites down to the Badari-Qau area makes sense for the alluvial plains would have been rich areas for agricultural purposes compared to other areas in the middle-based locations. The connectivity from either Memphis or Abydos would have made it difficult to monitor the entire area. However, it seems that the establishment of places like Herakleopolis and Asyut in more prominent times of the Old Kingdom and beyond indicates that the border control of Middle Egypt had to be made a priority. Sadly, the settlement evidence for the Early Dynastic period from this area is scarce, making it difficult to reconstruct the habitation practices of the people living in these scattered communities. Nonetheless, the tombs reflect an interesting insight that their burial practices were emulating the approaches made by Early Dynastic tombs within the regions near Memphite and Abydos, with the incorporation of staircases and the selections of mortuary provisions. Whether this is because some cemeteries were closer to the main economic hubs of Memphis and Thinis remains a possibility, but from the Second Dynasty it can be observed that architectural and grave good trends become standardised compared to the complexity observed from First Dynasty funerary contexts.

13.1.4 ABYDOS REGION SUMMARY

The tombs within the Abydos region showcase a wide range of differences between each other through size and quality elements. Naga ed-Der is the largest cemetery in the region with tombs dating from the Predynastic to the Old Kingdom period. Amongst these, First Dynasty tombs are characterised as substructural mud brick tombs with some considered distinctive elite tombs due to their external features of roofing, enclosure walls, walled courtyards and niched areas in their superstructures. Most of these tombs are found within

²⁹⁴⁰ Köhler (2010: 48); Mawdsley (2012a: 335).

cemeteries N1500 and N3000. Moreover, late First Dynasty tombs like N1532 were found to be furnished with distinctive looking mortuary provisions such as gold beads and bull amulets, which is comparable to the funerary assemblage retrieved from the niched mastaba tomb at Naqada.²⁹⁴¹ The Second Dynasty tombs become more sophisticated within cemetery N1500 as evidenced by subterranean chamber like tombs with stairway accesses or slopes and emulating the design of the Peribsen and Khasekhemwy's tombs within the royal cemetery, not to mention featuring an increase in stone vessel provisions. Some tombs were found to have distinct niched areas marked by red painted areas, such as N1506 and N1514, and are deemed to be areas for the living to present offerings to the deceased. Comparable examples are known from the royal tombs of Djer and Djet, T1060 from Tarkhan and possibly the painted panels associated with the Hesyre's tomb at North Saqqara, indicating an emulation of funerary practices from the royal tombs and other Early Dynastic elite tombs. Similar observations can be said about the Third Dynasty tombs at Naga ed-Der which exhibit stairway entrances into its superstructure and leading downwards into the substructure of the tomb, thus emulating the mastaba tombs at Beit Khallaf. While it is comparable to Helwan due to the many different tombs, possibly reflecting a more diverse deceased population, Naga ed-Der is smaller and not as well preserved. However, compared to other cemetery sites within the regions, it provides an unbroken archaeological record to follow throughout from the First to the Third Dynasties.

There are a group of late First Dynasty tombs unearthed near the site of Abydos. This includes the presence of the Early Dynastic cemetery at South Abydos revealed mud bricked tombs for a local community sitting just outside of the Abydos cemetery zone to the south of Seti I's temple. It is not known who the occupants of these tombs were, but considering the proximity of a settlement, the deceased of these tombs may have been involved with the maintenance of the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery or other parts of the Abydos necropolis during the Early Dynastic period and for their efforts were granted a cemetery area to build their tombs which imitated some of the designs from the royal tombs themselves, such as Tomb I with its staircase feature.²⁹⁴² At El-Mahasna, two mud bricked tombs, dating to the late First Dynasty as one of them featured a staircase, were found in a separate and isolated area away from the Predynastic cemetery. Further developments change with the introduction of newer cemeteries dating to the Third Dynasty, imitating the royal burial grounds at the Umm el-Qa'ab to reinforce their mark on the local landscape. This is evident with the mastaba tombs at the site

²⁹⁴¹ Ch. 7.1.1 Naga ed-Der

²⁹⁴² Ch. 7.2.4.2 South Abydos

of Beit Khallaf, where no other tombs in their vicinity were detected, indicating that the deceased within these burials were highly distinctive within the local region.²⁹⁴³ Other cemeteries like El-Reqaqnah follow suit as well and provide examples of tombs possibly imitating the burials at Beit Khallaf, but also conveying that the deceased provisioned well with the presence of stone vessels. Despite no seal impressions being recovered, the presence of a stela from tomb 88A provides a possibility that these tombs were built for elite members of the local area.²⁹⁴⁴ However, it is not concrete to know whether these stone vessels were acquired through the royal administration or were obtained independently. Nonetheless, these tombs provide an insight into the early development of Old Kingdom tombs within the region.

The placement of these cemeteries though has called into question whether a capital settlement was within the vicinity of these mortuary areas, hence the calls for the city of ‘Thinis’ has been a prominent candidate. The location of Thinis is still unknown today, despite the persistent calls that it should be where the modern village of Girga resides. This is because the presence of the cemeteries of Naga ed-Der on the East bank, where over 700 graves is estimated, indicates the presence of a huge population within this Upper Egyptian area.²⁹⁴⁵ Scholars liken this situation to where Helwan is located near where the settlement of Memphis is believed to be situated at Mit Rahina.²⁹⁴⁶ However, the location of Girga for the site of Thinis should be called into question, especially since the distance between Naga ed Der and Girga is relatively long.²⁹⁴⁷ Moreover, ‘Thinis’ is regarded as the residence for the buried sovereigns at Abydos and yet they are 20 km apart from each other. Some may argue why such an urban centre could be so far away from the prominent cemetery of Abydos.²⁹⁴⁸ However, Abydos’ environmental character with the western cliffs portraying an entrance to the underworld may have been worth the walking distance for the ancient Egyptians, as shown by the thousands of broken ceramics littered around the site. Furthermore, the distance of this cemetery to other settlements may have consolidated the imagined boundaries between the worlds of the living and the dead.

²⁹⁴³ Ch. 7.2.2. Beit Khallaf

²⁹⁴⁴ Ch. 7.2.1 El-Reqaqnah

²⁹⁴⁵ Hendrickx & van den Brink (2002: 357).

²⁹⁴⁶ Wilkinson (1999: 354); Baines (2009: 121).

²⁹⁴⁷ Podzorski (2008: 89, fn. 1).

²⁹⁴⁸ Wilkinson (1999: 40).

13.1.5 NUBT AND NEKHEN SUMMARY

The regions of Nubt and Nekhen within Upper Egypt provide examples that the consolidation of this area was imperative for the Early Dynastic kingship. This is evident by the isolated mastaba tombs located at Naqada and Armant. The question that has been asked of these tombs though is what connection do they have with the royal administration back in Memphis? For the niched mastaba tomb at Naqada, the discovery of the names of Neith-hotep and Rehit have suggested that the deceased owner was part of the royal family. However, most of these names have been found on seal impressions and not stelae; therefore, these names do not indicate ownership and instead indicate the names of the people who may have been responsible for furnishing the tomb with resources acquired by the Early Dynastic kingship.²⁹⁴⁹ Therefore, like the tombs at North Saqqara, we are at a loss with regards to who owned this niched tomb at Naqada, not to mention its destroyed neighbouring tomb. Moreover, the distinct difference in design with these tombs indicates that the deceased owners of these tombs had a connection with the royal administration based in Memphis, as conveyed by the niched façade on the Naqada tomb.

The Early Dynastic tombs at Armant are dated to the early First Dynasty and have been interpreted to have had niched facades as well, but the archaeological reports do not indicate this clearly. Nonetheless, both sets of tombs were found to be built outside of the local Predynastic cemeteries indicating a possible breakaway from local kinship traditions. This is not dissimilar to what has been observed from other rural cemetery locations, such as the Early Dynastic mastaba tombs of Tarkhan being built far away from the Predynastic cemeteries at the site.

The site of Gebelein has been earmarked to have an Early Dynastic occupation based on the presence of a funerary assemblage obtained by Quibell and the two limestone blocks exhibiting similarities to the style of the Narmer palette and may be linked to activities conducted by the elite members of the local community.²⁹⁵⁰ Due to the presence of the temple dedicated to Hathor in the Eastern Hill, which was built during the Old Kingdom, Gebelein may have been a sacred site during earlier times as well due to the two limestone clad hills presently there. However, the nearby cemeteries attest that a local community resided at

²⁹⁴⁹ van Wetering (2012: 113).

²⁹⁵⁰ Ch. 8.1.3 Gebelein

Gebelein, including the possibility of an Early Dynastic cemetery within the Western Hill which requires excavations to confirm such proposals.

Early Dynastic elite activities at Hierakonpolis are also discreet, but some of the Predynastic tombs within the HK6 cemetery and Tomb 100, seem to have been renovated during the early stages of the Early Dynastic period, not to mention the presence of Third Dynasty ceramics associated with Tomb 23 within the HK6 cemetery. This conveys that these sites were revered and possibly considered pilgrimage spots during the Early Dynastic period. The Fort Cemetery is also known to have Early Dynastic burials, but their disturbed contexts could not reveal much about the people who were buried there.²⁹⁵¹

Down at Elkab, the presence of Early Dynastic tombs have been recorded within the site's famous walled enclosure, however, they were found to be plundered extensively. However, on the outskirts of the site an intact Second Dynasty cemetery was located amongst stone rocks protruding from the ground and labelled as 'stone crowns'. The assessment of the skeletons from these graves indicate that the buried deceased consisted of children, adolescents and some adults, possibly representing a family group. One distinctive grave was found with fragments of a terracotta coffin for the deceased, indicating that some mortuary differentiation was present. Atop the nearby rock necropolis, a Third Dynasty tomb is located, which has architectural similarities to the Third Dynasty mastaba tombs at North Saqqara and Beit Khallaf. Excavations revealed skeletal evidence from people who were reburied in the tomb during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate periods. Nonetheless, the isolated location of this subterranean rock cut mastaba indicated possibly a local governor who may have been from the area.

13.2 THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE CULTURE

What can be made about these tombs? From analysing the layout of the different cemeteries, it must be stated that not all these distinctive tombs were part of the same elite group, there would have been elites who justified their position by being connected with the king, elites who were highly respected because of their profession and elites who were respected because of the authority they had within their respective kin community groups. The evidence that I have put forward does not highlight these distinctions to such a great extent due

²⁹⁵¹ Ch. 8.1.4.2 HK27 - The Fort Cemetery

to the limited archaeological evidence. However, the variety of elite tombs from different cemeteries that have been analysed in Part II suggests that such distinctions are prevalent. However, when analysing these tombs their size or monumentality should not be the only reason why they are distinctly important, so other angles of interpretation are needed.²⁹⁵²

A variety of factors may have dictated the social standing of the deceased, but we must not forget that by analysing graves there had to be a cultural influence behind the way they had been constructed and furnished, to also appease the process with regards to mourning the loss of human life. Studying the mortuary behaviour of the ancient Egyptians means to also study both the socio-economic and philosophical-religious aspects of their culture.²⁹⁵³ This is why archaeologists have looked to the works of sociologists and anthropologists to fill the gaps where archaeological evidence is limited and to emphasise the variations of meaning one encounters from analysing mortuary evidence. While sociological and anthropological literature are useful, they should not be considered universal in their application, especially towards the diversity which the archaeological data presents. Instead, the diverse approach by Daloz was consulted to group different theoretical reading grids together and combine them to assist with inductively evaluating the variation of meanings being made from the diverse range of archaeological evidence which has been used to emphasise the presence of elites during the Early Dynastic period. Daloz's explanatory schemes were broken down to consider the Mortuary Provisions and Tomb Distinctions, which reflect 'External signs of Superiority'. Moreover, Linguistic Competence, Titles and Physical Appearance reflected the 'Embodied signs of Superiority' scheme. Finally, the aspect of subsidiary burials was evaluated to see how they reflect 'Vicarious signs of Superiority'. Tombs which do not exhibit these distinct features should not be considered as negated examples though.²⁹⁵⁴ How far this occurs amongst elite tombs or as a mixture with distinct forms, must be discussed in individual cases.²⁹⁵⁵

13.2.1 MORTUARY PROVISIONS

Since the archaeological evidence is not always sourced from intact tombs, some approaches have been made to understand whether certain artefacts or funerary assemblages assist with identifying social groups when written evidence is not reliable or available. This includes the use of statistical summaries via absolute approaches. which should be considered

²⁹⁵² Bussmann (2010: 146).

²⁹⁵³ Power (2011: 248).

²⁹⁵⁴ Bussmann (2010: 146).

²⁹⁵⁵ Bussmann (2010: 146).

‘merely as ways of describing the data and for making apparent patterns within it’ rather than a full proof answer for distinguishing the social identities of the deceased, including elites.²⁹⁵⁶ Richard’s Wealth Index model was chosen to convey this to be the case, especially since it relies upon a source that may have inherent biases from just one section of Egyptian society, not the whole spectrum.²⁹⁵⁷ Therefore, the analysis will be one sided and not consistent for discussions regarding social inequality for we are not aware whether the artefacts we find in the larger tombs were also distributed amongst other types. They are not converted into a form of invariant data that can be easily assessed and measured meaningfully, especially when determining the prestigious nature of the artefacts in question.²⁹⁵⁸ This also includes funerary evidence which was created to preserve the memory of a loved one in an idealised fashion, not to create an accurate ‘passport’ picture of the deceased as part of the perceived social hierarchy of ancient Egypt in any given period.²⁹⁵⁹ It becomes more problematic when it is not clear as to what evidence can be used to evaluate the social differentiation between elites and non-elites, especially if the primary evidence of monuments and texts are described to contain bias and a lack of credibility. Nonetheless, using Richard’s Wealth index model for analysing Early Dynastic mortuary evidence to detect the presence of elites is problematic, because every kind of production and consumption for each of her chosen prestigious goods must be considered and that type of information is scarce for the Early Dynastic period.²⁹⁶⁰

Therefore, contextual approaches are required to understand why certain artefacts were given prominence when placed within a funerary context. Some artefacts are very distinctive amongst tombs, which is why the Abydos Ware ceramic type was given attention when found amongst the assemblages of the royal tombs at Abydos. Judging by the variety of tomb contexts it has been found within, it was a popular item for the deceased’s funerary assemblage, even elite tomb examples have been found where its distinctive shape and vase like handle has been imitated.²⁹⁶¹ Whether these artefacts had a practical purpose or not, their inclusion with some funerary assemblages suggests that a personal choice for aesthetic items were considered by the deceased, especially if they had a symbolic value which made them distinctive to other local ceramic types.

²⁹⁵⁶ Stevenson (2009: 186).

²⁹⁵⁷ Harris (1961).

²⁹⁵⁸ Griswold (1992: 193); Neunert (2014: 171).

²⁹⁵⁹ Bates (2006: 42).

²⁹⁶⁰ Kienlin (2017: 144).

²⁹⁶¹ Ch. 4.2.6 Tell Ibrahim Awad; 9.2.1 Abydos Ware

Similarly, the same can be said for Funerary boats being found mostly amongst tombs of the Memphite region. Their inclusion for mortuary purposes may have been due to symbolic purposes relating to their use as transportation vessels and able to guide the deceased across unknown waters. However, it is not known whether these boats were initially used on the Nile before they were used for their funerary installation or were just built for mortuary purposes. Regardless, it is not out of the question whether certain tombs created a boat shaped pit to showcase that they had one to begin with, since most boat pits have been found without any trace of wooden remains. The counter argument could be due to tomb robbing and that the wood being used to create these boats would have been of great value for other purposes.

Imitation is the greatest form of flattery considering that deceased owners of elite tombs either acquired objects through the king and other state related facilities or created imitations using local materials in order to gain certain provisions for their mortuary needs, whether practical or aesthetic. The question of whether these objects were seen by a major number of onlooking people would probably occur during two events. Firstly, the construction and preparation of the tomb would allow the opportunity for employed workers to begin depositing certain funerary objects within the tomb. Secondly, the rest of the funerary provisions would be brought to the tomb as part of the funerary ritual itself when the life of the deceased is being celebrated and mourned. Following this, the tomb would then be closed off or sealed, with its deposited funerary objects never to be seen again; that is until a tomb robbery breaks open access to the tomb itself. Tomb robbery and looting prevents a complete idea about whether all graves were found with mortuary provisions to analyse for interpreting the social standing of the deceased tomb owner. Therefore, other aspects of the tomb are taken into consideration, especially the external architectural features of the tomb which are classified as Tomb Distinctions.

13.2.2 TOMB DISTINCTIONS

This study attempted to gather some external features which reflects the monumentality exhibited from some of the elite tombs analysed. While it is not exhaustive, the discussion surrounding some of the more popular funerary features have been studied with regards to extracting more information about their meaning within the design of Early Dynastic elite tombs. While there are certainly norms and trends behind influencing the decision making in building a tomb's external features, personal choice also needs to be considered when determining who occupied the tombs considered to belong to the elite. The royal tombs

provided the quintessential tomb template for the elite to compare their tombs to and aspire to emulate in order to, not just to distinguish themselves socially, but to achieve eternal life for their deceased selves. While the royal tombs may have followed a certain set of traditions in building their tombs, the elite followed another funerary tradition, and this may have been based on how they incorporated both ‘chthonic’ (hidden) and ‘aerial’ (visible) components within their tombs built within their respective landscapes.

Despite the interchanging of burial grounds throughout the First and Second Dynasties, the majority of the royal sovereigns of Egypt buried at Abydos created monuments which conveyed both ‘chthonic’ and ‘aerial’ patterns amongst their funerary monuments, with large subterranean tombs hidden within the Umm el-Qa’ab cemetery landscape and visible funerary enclosures at North Abydos.²⁹⁶² This changes in the Third Dynasty, despite the presence of the mastaba tombs at Beit Khallaf and El-Reqaqnah which are distinctive in their landscape near Abydos. Contrarywise, other tombs begin to incorporate being hidden from plain sight, such as the mastaba tomb found on the outskirts of Elkab. The design of the royal tomb also changes, with the construction of Netjerikhet’s funerary complex, incorporating both a visible enclosure comprising of chapels for the sed festival and the monumental stepped pyramid.²⁹⁶³ The stepped pyramid in turn protects the chthonic elements of Netjerikhet’s tomb. Since then, this has been the norm for the sovereigns who built the great pyramids of the Old Kingdom period.

Based on the evidence discussed for the North Saqqara tombs, Cervelló Autuori expands on Hendrickx’s opinion to suggest that these tombs were distinguishable, not because they were built for the kings, but they were built for the tomb owners by the kings by accessing their exclusive resources and personnel (i.e. ‘chief architect’) as ‘royal marks’ in the Memphite landscape.²⁹⁶⁴ Subsequent textual evidence from the Old Kingdom, especially the inscription of Debeheni, attests that construction of a tomb had to be approved by king Menkaura.²⁹⁶⁵ The text even states that the king assigned stone workers to create the tomb for Debeheni.²⁹⁶⁶ It is also argued that other tombs which exhibited similar architectural features from the sites of Abu Rawash, Giza and Tarkhan may have been built through the royal sovereign’s favour for

²⁹⁶² Even though the hidden nature of the royal tombs is advocated, it must be acknowledged that several authors, including Wengrow (2006: 252), have suggested that the external appearance of inscribed stelae would have been erected to indicate the location of the royal tombs and their associated subsidiary burials.

²⁹⁶³ Roth (1993: 33); Wilkinson (2004: 1141).

²⁹⁶⁴ Alexanian (2006: 8); Morris (2007a: 187); La Loggia (2015: 127); Cervelló Autuori (2017: 225).

²⁹⁶⁵ Sethe (1933: 18.10-12); Alexanian (2006: 3).

²⁹⁶⁶ Sethe (1933: 21.10-12); Hassan (1943: 168); Alexanian (2006: 3)

the people who were buried there.²⁹⁶⁷ The tombs from these areas have shown to have been carved out of limestone based ground on higher plateaus which would have required manpower and countless resources.²⁹⁶⁸ However, what can be said about other Early Dynastic tombs at Tell el-Farkha, Minshat Abu Omar, Reqaqnah, Naga ed Der, Beit Khallaf, Naqada and Elkab, where they exhibit niched facades and other similar architectural features? Unlike the tombs of North Saqqara, some of these tombs have been regarded to not also belong to members who are closely tied to the royal family and instead are linked with another elite group, consisting of provincial or town governors.²⁹⁶⁹

However, by focusing too much on such Tomb Distinctions for our research, archaeologists and historians run the risk of underestimating the significance of key factors, like patronage, informal networks of power and authority, proximity to the king and the court, the self-interests of potentates and institutions, even the possession of individual organisational skills, which may have been decisive in the promotion of both careers and transversal interventions, with the effect that the boundaries between hierarchies and areas of competence become blurred.²⁹⁷⁰ Therefore, the inscriptional evidence retrieved from these tombs needs to be consulted. This includes inscriptional evidence found on ceramic vessels, seal impressions, and small stelae which are considered symbols of their connection to the royal administration of the Early Dynastic period. The presence of inscriptional evidence and other prestigious artefacts has also been used to assist with the question of tomb ownership when discussing the embodied characteristics of the Early Dynastic elite.

13.2.3 EMBODIED SIGNS

Chapter 12 attempted to showcase a variety of embodied signs which characterise the Early Dynastic elite. There were some ways which ancient Egyptians utilised to distinguish themselves during Early Dynastic Egypt, especially from a personal point of view. The written evidence from tombs have been used to accentuate that to know the ability to read and write was an essential characteristic which set apart elites from other ancient Egyptian social groups. Preservation of the deceased's body was an essential exercise towards preserving their identity. However, the preservation of the deceased's name was also an important task, by depicting them on stelae, as the royal sovereigns of the Early Dynastic period have conveyed through the

²⁹⁶⁷ Cervelló Autuori (2017: 217).

²⁹⁶⁸ Ch. 10.1 Tomb Design and Cemetery Location

²⁹⁶⁹ Hendrickx (2001); Wilkinson (2016: 546).

²⁹⁷⁰ Moreno García (2013b: 2).

discoveries at Abydos. This would be emulated by elites who could afford this practice, though not just on stelae, but also funerary slabs, such as the ones sourced from Helwan. Due to the preservation of these names on stelae at Abydos, archaeologists have used them to emphasise the ownership of the tombs which they have found elsewhere at North Saqqara, despite the disturbed contexts where they have been found. However, when names have been found on seal impressions or other artefacts, such evidence has created confusion and instead the name of the king featured on a mortuary artefact should be considered a gift from the sovereign. These instances of archaeological evidence may represent the role that the royal rulership had with providing the funerary provisions for non-royal tombs. However, such items could have been made to manufacture a fake connection between the deceased and the sovereign organisation if we go by the opinion which do not consider the size of the tomb to belong to someone who is worthy to have had a relationship with king. These opinions should also be considered for it is during the funerary ceremony where identities and relationships between the dead and the living can be easily manipulated to benefit the legacy of the deceased and in turn their descendants or anyone who had a social connection with them.

In turn, the names of officials found on similar mediums should be treated the same, either as donors or people who were responsible for sourcing mortuary provisions for the tomb itself. The ancient Egyptians valued names since they are part of the social identity of the individual and helped to make them distinct for both the world of the living and the dead.²⁹⁷¹ Since they are coming from inside tombs, it must be said that the inscribed names were not originally created to indicate who the tomb owner was, rather, who the donor of mortuary provisions was since this act would be connected to the name of the donor, who may have done so via an official administrative role, as indicated by the title of *hry tp nswt*.²⁹⁷² This role may have been important considering that the mortuary provisions being placed within the tomb were for the beneficial sustenance of the deceased's spiritual entities, especially the *ka*. The *ka* is intimately connected to the body of the deceased and, despite being a spiritual form, it required food and drink.²⁹⁷³ The life of the deceased depended on the *ka*'s sustenance for their continued existence in the afterlife, therefore, great care and responsibility had to be taken when supplying the required mortuary provisions. As a result, the names upon seal impressions from North Saqqara should be reconsidered as people who were assigned by the king's funerary cult to furnish the tombs of certain deceased members. This may have included people who

²⁹⁷¹ Meskell (1999: 111-112).

²⁹⁷² Ch. 11.1.2 Names on Seal Impressions.

²⁹⁷³ Snape (2011: 21).

were either part of the king's family or part of his entourage. Hence an evaluation of some of the titles assigned to elites had to be considered, such as, *ḥ3ty-* and *ḏ-mr*. The titles discussed in this chapter are not exhaustive, but they have been chosen due to their regular association with elites living during the Early Dynastic period.

The evidence regarding these titles from an Early Dynastic perspective is limited, however, understanding their etymology was key to evaluating whether elites assigned with such titles made them distinct due to their functional responsibilities. It would make sense that mastaba tombs found in remote locations such as Giza, Naqada and Beit Khallaf could belong to people assigned as *ḥ3ty-*, since this title should be held by people who looked after these areas. As for the *ḏ-mr* title, finding it on seal impressions with tombs along with either the king's name or that of an official, dictates that the tomb in question was furnished with mortuary provisions from state sponsored institutions, from where the royal family received theirs.²⁹⁷⁴ Therefore, the deceased of the tomb in question must be part of the elite. This would have been a special privilege considering that the efforts required to create and furnish a tomb was an arduous and costly exercise. Other titles, however, such as *iri-p't*, *s3 nsw* and *s3.t nsw*, are honorific in their nature and the distinction of the people who held these titles is more complicated to understand. It must be kept in mind though that there had to be a distinction between those who were close to the king due to being part of his close kin and those who were his officials through patronage. Some of the individuals mentioned, like Merka and Hesyre, had long title chains, but there is not one title which accentuates a close connection or relation to the king amongst them.²⁹⁷⁵ Therefore, these individuals were not part of his actual family, but were patrons as part of his entourage. On the other hand, members like Sehefner would have been part of the immediate family of the king, due to the *s3.t nsw* which they hold. The intricacies of their relationship with the king is unclear but judging by the manufacturing quality of their funerary slabs, they would have been made by the craftsman who were assigned to the king. This is further exemplified when compared to the other funerary slabs belonging to other women with the *s3.t nsw* title at Helwan, whose funerary slabs are not meticulously well made, and were found in a different cemetery. Nonetheless, considering their efforts, both Satba and Hepetkhenmet would have been highly regarded as elites within the Helwan community and may have originally come from that community. Their posture and dress also signified their high position as depicted on the funerary slabs. However, like the hieroglyphic

²⁹⁷⁴ Alexanian (2006: 8); Engel (2013: 22); Regulski (2011b: 696).

²⁹⁷⁵ Engel (2013: 37).

writing, we must be critical of pictorial evidence as well, considering that mortuary evidence can be easily manipulated by the living kin of the deceased. This includes the vicarious displays of subsidiary graves as well.

13.2.4 VICARIOUS DISPLAYS

The funerary evidence suggests that whoever was laid to rest within these subsidiary burials were highly valued by the king and elites who owned the tombs from the analysed sites. The idea that people being buried within these subsidiary graves due to sacrificial means is an odd interpretation and while it does provoke more enquiries in discussing the ‘human sacrifice’ matter, there is no definitive archaeological proof that such sacrificial acts were even conducted.²⁹⁷⁶ What does not help the investigation of this sacrificial debate is that the tombs in question from Abydos and North Saqqara have been plundered extensively, thus the legible evidence to support this argument is untraceable.²⁹⁷⁷ However, the idea that the deceased found within these subsidiary burials are products of ‘sacrifices’ does not make sense, especially since one of the original proponents of the concept for Early Dynastic Egyptian funerary practices, Emery, admits that no trace of anatomical evidence has been found to support the notion of sacrifice within the North Saqqara tombs, even though most of these burials were robbed.²⁹⁷⁸ Nonetheless, there are still some authors who argue that it is difficult to deny that sacrificial practices may have been conducted by the Egyptians, especially when referring to Early Dynastic iconographic evidence.²⁹⁷⁹ Despite the iconographic evidence being used to accentuate this claim, there is no clear distinction to suggest that sacrificial practices are being depicted. Instead, the proximity of the subsidiary burials to whoever was buried in the main tomb indicates a possible relationship based on patronage practices, whether through familial or subordinate relations. This practice may have been going further back before the onset of the First Dynasty, as shown by the Predynastic burials at Hierakonpolis and Protodynastic evidence from the Tell el-Farkha cemeteries.

The aspect of patronage relations could serve as an alternate explanation for the presence of these burials within the respective tomb complexes for both royal and elite tombs,

²⁹⁷⁶ Hikade & Roy (2015: 47). ‘*Dans aucun cas nous n’avons pu prouver que l’un des sujets avait été sacrifié lors du décès d’un autre.*’ Despite this statement by Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005: 64), in the context of the Adaima cemetery, they refer to the remains of the double parallel grave from Hierakonpolis and suggest in that context, the deceased could have been sacrificed – without further explanation.

²⁹⁷⁷ Kaplony (1963b: 1045, fn. 1762); Hoffman (1979: 279); Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005: 69); Hikade & Roy (2015: 42).

²⁹⁷⁸ Emery (1954: 142) cf. Köhler (2008: 389, fn. 28).

²⁹⁷⁹ Crubézy & Midant-Reynes (2005); Morris (2013).

emphasising that these deceased people had a special relationship connection with the major burial owners. The people buried within the subsidiary graves benefitted by either being related to the main burial owner or being under their care due to patronage relations, resulting in some benefits for their loyal dependence, such as a furnished burial. It must be stressed that to build and furnish a tomb was a costly exercise and for that to be done due to the loyalty which a subordinate has given to a patron through their services may have been part of the perks of that relationship. This is attested by the burials built into the wall of the Tomb 100 at Tell el-Farkha.

The idea that they were sacrificed victims does not correlate with what is seen with subsequent examples of smaller burials being buried around larger tombs and being well furnished with mortuary provisions that rivalled some of the artefacts coming from the royal tombs at Abydos. This is shown by the subsidiary burials with Mastaba V at South Giza, where the presence of a vessel made from lapis lazuli was sourced from Grave no. 11 and conveys that these deceased people held some high social importance based on their relationship to the deceased member of the main tomb.²⁹⁸⁰ On the other hand, the presence of subsidiary burials around these tombs was not a widespread phenomenon and was mostly restricted to Lower Egyptian regions. For the tombs which did incorporate such features, they would have helped to reinforce the status of the main tomb owner and convey that they had a great influence on people, therefore showcasing their great qualities as leading members within Early Dynastic society. This can be emphasised where some subsidiary burials were created even though no deceased bodies or remains were found within them, such as Tomb 12 from Abu Rawash, where its outermost row of subsidiary burials were found to be filled with a compact layer of homogenous clay, yet white plaster is visible on the burial pit walls.²⁹⁸¹ In comparison to the innermost row of subsidiary graves that were found to be brick lined burial compartments, it has been suggested that these outermost graves could have been built as dummy graves.²⁹⁸² A similar occurrence is also known from Abu Ghurab with the three mound like burials interpreted as dummy graves, in association with Mastaba XVII.²⁹⁸³

While it is too excessive to declare that sacrifices were never performed in a funerary context for ancient Egypt, it is also too difficult to prove that human sacrifices were performed during Early Dynastic which require special and convincing arguments.²⁹⁸⁴ However, what can

²⁹⁸⁰ Petrie *et al* (1907: 4, pl. V.3); Aston (1994: 73); Eaton-Krauss (2011: 187, fn. 30, 239).

²⁹⁸¹ Tristant (2016: 166, Fig. 12).

²⁹⁸² Tristant (2016: 166, Fig. 12); Tristant *et al* (2017: Origins 6 Presentation, 13th September).

²⁹⁸³ Radwan (2003: 510-511, pl. 78 & 79);

²⁹⁸⁴ Testart (2005: 52); Tristant *et al* (2017: Origins 6 Presentation, 13th September).

be said is that the people who were buried within these subsidiary burials were given proper funerary treatment, by being placed in graves and having associated mortuary provisions for offerings. Therefore, we may be seeing a physical reality of the family or entourage who was associated with the tomb owner, some of whom may have been related in terms of traditional kinship relations, but others may have also been related in terms of patronage.

13.3 WHO WERE THE EARLY DYNASTIC ELITE?

So, who were the Early Dynastic Elite? Due to the limited forms of archaeological evidence we can only speculate that they existed based on socio-economic interpretations, therefore we cannot be precise. However, when compared to the royal tombs that are mostly located between the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery at Abydos and the royal burial ground beside the stepped pyramid of Netjerikhet at Saqqara, Early Dynastic elite tombs have been found outside of those two sites and found to exhibit similar mortuary features though on a differing distinctive scale that varies from site to site. This has been shown through the cemetery sites that have been examined in Part II of this thesis. The next question then is, why do these tombs have such features and what allows them to have such distinctive features accompanying their mortuary structures in comparison to the royal tombs? This is a matter of theorising the type of relationship that these people have had with the royal sovereigns and those below them within the social hierarchy. Initially, First Dynasty funerary practices exemplified the importance of furnishing their tombs with large quantities of mortuary provisions. However, changes occurred during the late First Dynasty and onto the Second Dynasty when the ancient Egyptian monarchy changed their burial ground traditions moving back and forth between Abydos and Saqqara, before settling on the latter site near the beginning of the Third Dynasty. The effort and resources towards these changes for the royal tombs may have affected what these kings could provide as patrons towards their client followers and thus decreasing the building program allocated to their elite followers across the country and allocating more burial plots in more established cemeteries in Saqqara, Helwan and Naga ed-Der.

Based on the literature analysed within this dissertation, a working definition for the elite of the Early Dynastic period is as follows:

The elite of the Early Dynastic period are a group of people who are labelled to exhibit the best features of a society through their wealthy possessions, embodied human character and

*their social relations with other members of their contemporary society; this depends on the mortuary evidence and what is known contextually.*²⁹⁸⁵

However, what should be remembered though is that the nature of elites depends on the circumstantial time and place in which they are situated. Therefore, an absolute definition of who the Early Dynastic elite are would restrict the flexibility of future findings which will always involve new archaeological evidence and new interpretations.²⁹⁸⁶ Furthermore, the evidence that we have for the Early Dynastic mostly comes from a First Dynasty context, while Second and Third Dynasty contexts are still being researched. However, it is becoming inevitable that evidence pertaining to the Second Dynasty holds a very important key to Egyptian social development, not because of a supposed dark period which most archaeologists suggest, but, because there is evidence of a religious development which elite tombs of the period have seemingly come to express as part of their funerary assemblages to safeguard their passage to the afterlife.²⁹⁸⁷ There is simply a huge shortage of information when determining the social differentiation from the mortuary evidence.²⁹⁸⁸ The site of North Saqqara for example, may provide evidence regarding the mastaba tombs found there, but other smaller tombs found at the site were simply never published.²⁹⁸⁹ While the study of this period lacks the necessary written documentation, it does allow more freedom to utilise a wide variety of theoretical approaches which determine social identity in more ways than other studied ancient Egyptian periods of study which has better preserved forms of written documentation.²⁹⁹⁰ With regards to elite analyses for the Early Dynastic period, it certainly has its place, albeit with some disadvantages and advantages.

The disadvantages indicate that the word ‘elite’ is not fixed as most researchers accept it to be; for like any social typology that we use, it tends to unhelpfully homogenise societies and social forms.²⁹⁹¹ Instead it emphasises an element of diversity which can refer to various groups of people who are distinguished from the rest of society due to a form of power, which could be sourced from aspects of social, political, economic, military, cultural ideological and territorial powers.²⁹⁹² Secondly, defining the elite within the Early Dynastic period is

²⁹⁸⁵ This definition is based on an anthropological perspective by Marcus (1983: 10) and Haller (2012: 87); not to mention archaeological perspectives by Legarra Herrero (2016: 29-30).

²⁹⁸⁶ Smith (2016: 166).

²⁹⁸⁷ Dodson (1996).

²⁹⁸⁸ Regulski (2011b: 700).

²⁹⁸⁹ Regulski (2011b: 700).

²⁹⁹⁰ Helck (1959: 4-5); Grajetzki (2010: 182).

²⁹⁹¹ Falconer (2015: 61).

²⁹⁹² Moreno García (2009: 7); Legarra Herrero (2016: 30).

complicated for it is important to find the different elements that certain tombs exhibit that distinguish themselves from every other grave, but these elements change dramatically across this period since no cemetery or grave is ever similar. Elite tombs have been defined as such in relation to the tombs of the royal sovereigns, not so much in comparison to tombs which were not found with much preserved archaeological evidence to consider.

The advantages, however, convey that the ‘elite’ term’s applicability to a variety of social differentiation phenomena within a multitude of historical and cultural situations makes it very attractive to use.²⁹⁹³ In comparing the terms ‘class’ and ‘elite’, ‘class’ is used as social label to distinguish inequalities between sectors of society based on economic possessions. Using the word ‘elite’, however, distinguishes inequalities based on many factors than just owning the means of production.²⁹⁹⁴ Secondly, elite tombs provide an important wealth of data, especially when analysing the distribution of elite cemeteries, which can trace a social geography of the country.²⁹⁹⁵ Thirdly, by analysing the distribution of various elite cemetery areas of the Egyptian landscape their location has been thought to be in close proximity to ancient settlements or cities.²⁹⁹⁶ The funerary items that have been found within tombs of these cemeteries has then been used to advocate the emergence of state formation through numerous studies, including craft specialisation, administration activities and foreign relations.²⁹⁹⁷ By analysing the funerary features of these elite tombs, they have contributed to our understanding of the development of burial customs for the Early Dynastic period.²⁹⁹⁸

Despite mortuary evidence being the major source of material, the investigation of social differentiation amongst the buried deceased within cemeteries is not full proof.²⁹⁹⁹ All mortuary investigations regarding social complexity use information as to how many graves are present and interpret what level of expenditure they present from archaeological reports; it is wise to make sure that there is a full sample of graves available for analysis. However, most publications, especially older ones from a century ago, tend to mostly describe the upper sections of the distributed tombs within cemeteries, while lower ones are not given as much attention.³⁰⁰⁰ This is mainly because certain tombs are better preserved compared to others,

²⁹⁹³ Auenmüller (2013: 24).

²⁹⁹⁴ Thurston (2010: 195).

²⁹⁹⁵ Seidlmayer (1996: 122-124; 2006a: 315); Wengrow (2006: 228).

²⁹⁹⁶ Jeffreys & Tavares (1994: 143); Köhler (2008a: 381); Baines (2013: 27); Verner (2015: 7-8); Moeller (2016: 160).

²⁹⁹⁷ Wilkinson (1999: 34, 324); Seidlmayer (2006a: 315).

²⁹⁹⁸ Emery (1961: 128-164).

²⁹⁹⁹ Seidlmayer (1988: 46).

³⁰⁰⁰ Seidlmayer (1988: 46).

which determines how much data they can provide. How one can assume that there is a connection between funerary effort and social status must not involve just quantitative analyses. Qualitative approaches must also be included for they do not just involve a material aspect, where the funerary effort corresponds to what the deceased individual could afford, but also a cultural influence determining the design of the grave.³⁰⁰¹ This is important to consider since there seems to be a neglect of the cognitive aspect of status as well, not in terms of a wealth orientated status, but an emotional one as well when mourning the loss of human life.

Overall, this study has aimed to give a voice to a group of tombs which represented a diverse human group who lived during the Early Dynastic period and possibly influenced their society in more ways than one as part of the elite. Whether they were advisors to the king, administrators in charge of treasuries, leaders of rural communities, the possibilities are endless. There could be more pieces of evidence and opinions which could be added to advocate more roles, but there is only so much that can be written. Nonetheless, it is hopeful that this study has demonstrated that more opinions and alternative theories can further be implemented towards studying the available Early Dynastic archaeological evidence regarding social complexity discussions. It is not a simple task to study human society at any point in history, but for what it is worth, it is certainly a privilege when given the opportunity.

³⁰⁰¹ Seidlmayer (1988: 45); Grajetzki (2010).

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APPENDIX

PERIOD		RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY						ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY C. BC			RULER'S NAMES HENDRICKX (2006); HORNUNG <i>ET AL</i> (2006)									
		PETRIE (1899; 1920; 1953) PETRIE <i>ET AL</i> (1913)		KAISER (1957, 1990)		HENDRICKX (1996, 2006)		KÖHLER (2013)	HENDRICKX (2006)	DEE <i>ET AL</i> (2013); STEVENSON (2016)		KÖHLER (2013)								
PRE-DYNASTIC		AMRATIAN	30-38	STUFE I	STUFE IA	NAQADA I	NIA		4000/3900-3600	3800/3750(?) - 3450										
		GERZEAN	38-62		STUFE II		STUFE IB						NIB							
							STUFE IC						NIC							
				STUFE IIA		NIIA														
				STUFE IIB		NIIB														
				STUFE IIC		NIIC														
				STUFE IID1		NIID1														
				STUFE IID2		NIID2														
PROTODYNASTIC	SEMAINEAN	63-76	STUFE III	STUFE IIIA1	NAQADA II	NIIA1	3350-3150		3325-3085	3300-3100	UNKNOWN RULERS									
				STUFE IIIA2		NIIA2														
				STUFE IIIB1		NIIIB														
				STUFE IIIB2																
				STUFE IIIC1																
EARLY DYNASTIC	FIRST DYNASTY	76-87	STUFE IIIC2	NAQADA III	NIIIC1	NIIIC1-3	3150-3100	3085-2867	3100-2850											
					NIIIC2						2920 ONWARDS	2850-2680								
					STUFE IIIC3															
	SECOND DYNASTY					NIIID	NIIID													
												THIRD DYNASTY				?			2680-2620	

APPENDIX 1: CHRONOLOGY CHART
After Dębowska-Ludwin (2013: 8, Table No. 1)

DJET CASE STUDY - ABYDOS, DJET (TOMB Z)

WEALTH INDICES MODEL - RICHARDS 2005: 111				DJET'S TOMB (TOMB Z) WITH SUB BURIALS -		DJET'S TOMB (TOMB Z) BY ITSELF			GRAVE 71		GRAVE 9		GRAVE 4	
WEALTH 1	VALUE	WEALTH 2	VALUE	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2		WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2
LAPIS	19	SILVER	14	19				SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (CEMETERY W)	19					
BRONZE	18	ELECTRUM	13											
OBSIDIAN	17	GOLD	13		13					12				
TURQUOISE	17	LAPIS	12		12									
COPPER	16	TURQUOISE	11	16						10	15			
GARNET	15	IVORY	10	15	10		10							
AMETHYST	15	BRONZE	9	15										
GREEN FELSPAR	15	COPPER	8		8									
QUARTZ	14	GREEN FELSPAR	7			14								
QUARTZITE	14	CARNELIAN	7		7				7		7		7	
ELECTRUM	13	FAIENCE	7						7		7		7	7
		PAPYRUS, INSCRIBED	6											
SILVER	13	GARNET	5	13	5						5			
GOLD	13	OBSIDIAN	5											
ANHYDRATE	13	AMETHYST	5	13	5	13					13			
STONE	12	ANHYDRATE	5								12		12	
HEMATITE	12	HEMATITE	5			12					5			5
SERPENTINE	11	QUARTZ	5				5		11		11		11	
FAIENCE	10	QUARTZITE	5											
FLINT	10	FLINT	5	10					10		10		10	
CARNELIAN	9	STEATITE	5			9								
ALABASTER	8	ALABASTER	5	8		8	5		8					
IVORY	8	SERPENTINE	5				5							
PAPYRUS, INSCRIBED	7	STONE	4		4		4				4			
STEATITE	6	FIBER	3											
PAPYRUS	5	PAPYRUS	3	5		5								
WOOD	4	SHELL	3	4					4		3			
POTTERY	3	FABRIC	3											
FABRIC	3	WOOD	2		2									
FIBER	2	BONE	2	2	2									
BONE	1	CLAY	1	1	1						1			
SHELL	1	POTTERY	1		1				1					
CLAY	1	MUD	1											
MUD	1	STRAW	1											
STRAW														
TOTAL	339		196	121	70	61	29		52	37	62	31	33	19

APPENDIX 2: WEALTH INDEX MODEL TEST FOR DJET'S TOMB

DJET CASE STUDY - GIZA, MASTABA V							
WEALTH INDICES - RICHARDS 2005: 111				MASTABA V WITH SUBSIDIARY BURIALS		MASTABA V BY ITSELF	
WEALTH 1	VALUE	WEALTH 2	VALUE	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2
LAPIS	19	SILVER	14	19			
BRONZE	18	ELECTRUM	13				
OBSIDIAN	17	GOLD	13		13		
TURQUOISE	17	LAPIS	12		12		
COPPER	16	TURQUOISE	11	16			
GARNET	15	IVORY	10				
AMETHYST	15	BRONZE	9				
GREEN FELSPAR	15	COPPER	8		8		
QUARTZ	14	GREEN FELSPAR	7				
QUARTZITE	14	CARNELIAN	7				
ELECTRUM	13	FAIENCE	7		7		
		PAPYRUS,					
SILVER	13	INSCRIBED	6				
GOLD	13	GARNET	5	13			
ANHYDRATE	13	OBSIDIAN	5				
STONE	13	AMETHYST	5	13		13	
HEMATITE	12	ANHYDRATE	5				
SERPENTINE	12	HEMATITE	5	12			
FAIENCE	11	QUARTZ	5	11			
FLINT	10	QUARTZITE	5	10		10	
CARNELIAN	10	FLINT	5		5		5
ALABASTER	9	STEATITE	5	9		9	
IVORY	8	ALABASTER	5	8	5	8	5
PAPYRUS, INSCRIBED	8	SERPENTINE	5		5		
STEATITE	7	STONE	4		4		4
PAPYRUS (REED)	6	FIBER	3				
WOOD	5	PAPYRUS (REED)	3				
POTTERY	4	SHELL	3	4		4	
FABRIC (LEATHER)	3	FABRIC (LEATHER)	3				
FIBER	3	WOOD	2				
BONE	2	BONE	2	2	2	2	2
SHELL	1	CLAY	1				
CLAY	1	POTTERY	1		1		1
MUD	1	MUD	1				
STRAW	1	STRAW	1				
TOTAL	339		196	117	62	46	17

APPENDIX 3: WEALTH INDEX MODEL TEST FOR MASTABA V AT GIZA

DJET CASE STUDY - SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (MASTABA V)															
WEALTH INDICES - RICHARDS 2005: 111				GRAVE 000		GRAVE 1		GRAVE 3		GRAVE 4		GRAVE 5		GRAVE 6	
WEALTH 1	VALUE	WEALTH 2	VALUE	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2
LAPIS	19	SILVER	14												
BRONZE	18	ELECTRUM	13												
OBSIDIAN	17	GOLD	13												
TURQUOISE	17	LAPIS	12												
COPPER	16	TURQUOISE	11												
GARNET	15	IVORY	10		10										
AMETHYST	15	BRONZE	9												
GREEN FELSPAR	15	COPPER	8												
QUARTZ	14	GREEN FELSPAR	7												
QUARTZITE	14	CARNELIAN	7												
ELECTRUM	13	FAIENCE	7												
		PAPYRUS,													
SILVER	13	INSCRIBED	6												
GOLD	13	GARNET	5												
ANHYDRATE	13	OBSIDIAN	5												
STONE	13	AMETHYST	5									13			
HEMATITE	12	ANHYDRATE	5												
SERPENTINE	12	HEMATITE	5												
FAIENCE	11	QUARTZ	5												
FLINT	10	QUARTZITE	5	10											
CARNELIAN	10	FLINT	5		5										
ALABASTER	9	STEATITE	5												
IVORY	8	ALABASTER	5	8											
PAPYRUS, INSCRIBED	8	SERPENTINE	5												
STEATITE	7	STONE	4										4		
PAPYRUS (REED)	6	FIBER	3												
WOOD	5	PAPYRUS (REED)	3												
POTTERY	4	SHELL	3	4		4		4		4				4	
FABRIC (LEATHER)	3	FABRIC (LEATHER)	3												
FIBER	3	WOOD	2												
BONE	2	BONE	2												
SHELL	1	CLAY	1												
CLAY	1	POTTERY	1		1		1		1		1				1
MUD	1	MUD	1												
STRAW	1	STRAW	1												
TOTAL	339		196	22	16	4	1	4	1	4	1	13	4	4	1

APPENDIX 4: WEALTH INDEX MODEL TEST FOR MASTABA V'S SUBSIDIARY BURIALS

DJET CASE STUDY - SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (MASTABA V)																	
WEALTH INDICES - RICHARDS 2005: 111				GRAVE 7		GRAVE 8		GRAVE 11		GRAVE 12		GRAVE 13		GRAVE 14		GRAVE 15	
WEALTH 1	VALUE	WEALTH 2	VALUE	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2
LAPIS	19	SILVER	14					19									
BRONZE	18	ELECTRUM	13														
OBSIDIAN	17	GOLD	13						13								
TURQUOISE	17	LAPIS	12						12								
COPPER	16	TURQUOISE	11					16		16		16					
GARNET	15	IVORY	10						10				10				
AMETHYST	15	BRONZE	9														
GREEN FELSPAR	15	COPPER	8						8		8		8				
QUARTZ	14	GREEN FELSPAR	7														
QUARTZITE	14	CARNELIAN	7														
ELECTRUM	13	FAIENCE	7														
		PAPYRUS,															
SILVER	13	INSCRIBED	6														
GOLD	13	GARNET	5					13									
ANHYDRATE	13	OBSIDIAN	5														
STONE	13	AMETHYST	5					13									
HEMATITE	12	ANHYDRATE	5														
SERPENTINE	12	HEMATITE	5														
FAIENCE	11	QUARTZ	5														
FLINT	10	QUARTZITE	5					10						10			
CARNELIAN	10	FLINT	5						5						5		
ALABASTER	9	STEATITE	5														
IVORY	8	ALABASTER	5					8				8					
PAPYRUS, INSCRIBED	8	SERPENTINE	5														
STEATITE	7	STONE	4						4								
PAPYRUS (REED)	6	FIBER	3														
WOOD	5	PAPYRUS (REED)	3														
POTTERY	4	SHELL	3	4		4		4		4		4		4		4	
FABRIC (LEATHER)	3	FABRIC (LEATHER)	3														
FIBER	3	WOOD	2														
BONE	2	BONE	2														
SHELL	1	CLAY	1														
CLAY	1	POTTERY	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1
MUD	1	MUD	1														
STRAW	1	STRAW	1														
TOTAL	339		196	4	1	4	1	83	53	20	9	28	19	14	6	4	1

**APPENDIX 5: WEALTH INDEX MODEL TEST FOR MASTABA V'S
SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (CONTINUED)**

DJET CASE STUDY - SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (MASTABA V)																	
WEALTH INDICES - RICHARDS 2005: 111				GRAVE 16		GRAVE 17		GRAVE 18		GRAVE 21		GRAVE 23		GRAVE 36		GRAVE 38	
WEALTH 1	VALUE	WEALTH 2	VALUE	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2
LAPIS	19	SILVER	14														
BRONZE		18 ELECTRUM	13														
OBSIDIAN	17	GOLD	13														
TURQUOISE	17	LAPIS	12														
COPPER	16	TURQUOISE	11														
GARNET	15	IVORY	10									10					
AMETHYST	15	BRONZE	9														
GREEN FELSPAR	15	COPPER	8														
QUARTZ	14	GREEN FELSPAR	7														
QUARTZITE	14	CARNELIAN	7														
ELECTRUM	13	FAIENCE	7														
		PAPYRUS,															
SILVER	13	INSCRIBED	6														
GOLD	13	GARNET	5														
ANHYDRATE	13	OBSIDIAN	5														
STONE	13	AMETHYST	5														
HEMATITE	12	ANHYDRATE	5														
SERPENTINE	12	HEMATITE	5														
FAIENCE	11	QUARTZ	5														
FLINT	10	QUARTZITE	5									10					
CARNELIAN	10	FLINT	5										5				
ALABASTER	9	STEATITE	5														
IVORY	8	ALABASTER	5									8					
PAPYRUS, INSCRIBED	8	SERPENTINE	5														
STEATITE	7	STONE	4														
PAPYRUS (REED)	6	FIBER	3														
WOOD	5	PAPYRUS (REED)	3														
POTTERY	4	SHELL	3	4		4		4		4		4		4		4	
FABRIC (LEATHER)	3	FABRIC (LEATHER)	3														
FIBER	3	WOOD	2														
BONE	2	BONE	2														
SHELL	1	CLAY	1														
CLAY	1	POTTERY	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1
MUD	1	MUD	1														
STRAW	1	STRAW	1														
TOTAL	339		196	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	22	16	4	1	4	1

APPENDIX 6: WEALTH INDEX MODEL TEST FOR MASTABA V'S
SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (CONTINUED)

DJET CASE STUDY - SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (MASTABA V)																	
WEALTH INDICES - RICHARDS 2005: 111				GRAVE 39		GRAVE 40		GRAVE 41		GRAVE 42		GRAVE 44		GRAVE 51		GRAVE 56	
WEALTH 1	VALUE	WEALTH 2	VALUE	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2	WEALTH 1	WEALTH 2
LAPIS	19	SILVER	14														
BRONZE	18	ELECTRUM	13														
OBSIDIAN	17	GOLD	13														
TURQUOISE	17	LAPIS	12														
COPPER	16	TURQUOISE	11													16	
GARNET	15	IVORY	10														
AMETHYST	15	BRONZE	9														
GREEN FELSPAR	15	COPPER	8														8
QUARTZ	14	GREEN FELSPAR	7														
QUARTZITE	14	CARNELIAN	7														
ELECTRUM	13	FAIENCE	7														
		PAPYRUS,															
SILVER	13	INSCRIBED	6														
GOLD	13	GARNET	5														
ANHYDRATE	13	OBSIDIAN	5														
STONE	13	AMETHYST	5														
HEMATITE	12	ANHYDRATE	5														
SERPENTINE	12	HEMATITE	5														
FAIENCE	11	QUARTZ	5														
FLINT	10	QUARTZITE	5					10								10	
CARNELIAN	10	FLINT	5						5								5
ALABASTER	9	STEATITE	5														
IVORY	8	ALABASTER	5														
PAPYRUS, INSCRIBED	8	SERPENTINE	5														
STEATITE	7	STONE	4														
PAPYRUS (REED)	6	FIBER	3														
WOOD	5	PAPYRUS (REED)	3			5				5		5					
POTTERY	4	SHELL	3	4		4		4						4			
FABRIC (LEATHER)	3	FABRIC (LEATHER)	3														
FIBER	3	WOOD	2				2				2		2				
BONE	2	BONE	2														
SHELL	1	CLAY	1														
CLAY	1	POTTERY	1		1		1		1						1		
MUD	1	MUD	1														
STRAW	1	STRAW	1														
TOTAL	339		196	4	1	4	1	14	6	5	2	5	2	4	1	26	13

**APPENDIX 7: WEALTH INDEX MODEL TEST FOR MASTABA V'S
SUBSIDIARY BURIALS (CONTINUED)**