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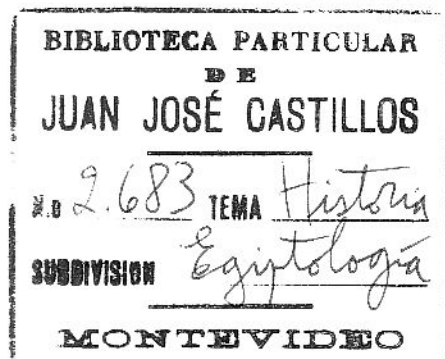
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## INFORMATIONS ET DOCUMENTS

### POTTERY DISTRIBUTION IN UPPER EGYPTIAN PREDYNASTIC CEMETERIES

Almost one hundred years ago, the pioneer of modern Egyptian archaeology, Sir W. M. F. Petrie, started his excavations of Egyptian predynastic and early dynastic cemeteries bringing to light unsuspected sophistication in the artistic and technological achievements of prehistoric Egyptians<sup>1</sup>.

When he finished his work at one of the important sites of these periods, Diospolis Parva, he felt ready to classify his finds, especially the pottery, with the purpose of establishing some sort of chronological order which could be used in future digs<sup>2</sup>. Much has been said about Petrie's classification of Upper Egyptian predynastic pottery, some in favour of it<sup>3</sup> and much against it<sup>4</sup>, but the fact remains that it has been widely used for the last ninety years in spite of its limitations<sup>5</sup>.

This predynastic pottery in its rich diversity of form, texture, manufacturing techniques and decoration implied a complex picture of waning and appearing types as the centuries brought about changes in technology, funerary beliefs and fashion.

Already since our first acquaintance with the objects found in the tombs of these periods, we wondered whether some scheme was at work in their assignment to the graves, not simply by random impulse but based on the social status or wealth of the deceased, their sex and age and some of the funerary practices such as the orientation of the bodies<sup>6</sup>.

We obtained some answers of a sociological and demographic nature after completing two research projects concerning Egyptian predynastic and early dynastic cemeteries<sup>7</sup>, but our early query as to the grave items was postponed and only recently we could devote some time to try to clarify the subject of the pottery distribution in Upper Egyptian predynastic cemeteries.

In our first approach<sup>8</sup>, we decided to consider only intact graves in six cemeteries which limited the scope and significance of the results but allowed us to tread on firm ground. The use of plundered or disturbed burials for this or any kind of research has been defended by some authors<sup>9</sup> on the grounds that robbers usually took the most valuable items only and left behind

<sup>1</sup> Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, (1896); Petrie-Mace, *Diospolis Parva*, (1901); Petrie, *Abydos*, I-II, (1902-3).

<sup>2</sup> Petrie-Mace, *o.c.*; Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, (1920); Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, (1921).

<sup>3</sup> Vandier, *Manuel*, I, (1952), p. 233; Trigger-Kemp-O'Connor-Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, (1983), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Scharff, *Abusir el-Meleq*, (1926), p. 71; Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, I, 2nd Edition, (1955), p. 40; Kaiser, «Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur», *Archaeologia Geographica* 5/6 (1957), 69; by the same author see also *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 91; Arkell-Ucko, «Review of Predynastic Development in the Nile Valley», *Current Anthropology* 6<sup>2</sup> (1965), 151.

<sup>5</sup> Desmond Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa*, (1970), p. 26; Hoffman, *Egypt before the Pharaohs*, (1979), p. 118, 141.

<sup>6</sup> Some of these distribution patterns have been established for prehistoric cemeteries, notably in Central Europe, D. Wilson, *The New Archaeology*, (1975), p. 216-9; and in North America, J. O'Shea in *The Archaeology of Death*, (1981), p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Castillos, *A Reappraisal of the Published Evidence on Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Cemeteries*, Toronto, (1982); Castillos, *A Study of the Spatial Distribution of Large and Richly-endowed Tombs in Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Cemeteries*, Toronto, (1983).

<sup>8</sup> See Part I — The intact graves.

<sup>9</sup> Lythgoc, *The Predynastic Cemetery N 7000 at Naga-ed-Dêr*, p. 381; Bard, *JEA* 74 (1988), 49.

other objects, especially the pottery. However, there is evidence to show that ancient plundering activity sometimes implied breaking some of the pots and using them as shovels to aid in the removal of the sand covering other graves<sup>10</sup>. We cannot, therefore, be sure whether the pottery types associated to disturbed burials represent the original choice of the deceased or their relatives or if these options have been altered by later intrusion.

Our earlier experience while studying other aspects of Egyptian predynastic cemetery research showed us that in broad terms, the evidence from disturbed burials roughly agreed with that of those found intact. Besides, and because of this basic agreement, the advantage of numbers lent more credibility to our conclusions which otherwise, and because intact burials are usually so few, would have been very poorly supported.

We have always considered, nevertheless, that conclusions based on disturbed burials should be treated as tentative and provisional, to be confirmed or corrected by future discovery of largely intact cemeteries or by evidence from other sources.

In this frame of mind, we decided to complement our first approach to the subject with a similar survey of all the tombs, regardless of their condition, so as to be able to compare the results with the previous ones. Thus, the following 38 Tables were obtained which involve seven major Upper Egyptian middle and late predynastic cemeteries<sup>11</sup> with a total of 2105 graves in which one or several types of pots had been found. As in our previous publications, A, B and C refer to size and represent small, medium and large tombs respectively as calculated for every cemetery according to the method already described there<sup>12</sup>.

We have divided, therefore, our paper in two Parts, Part I including Tables 1A to 5A and Graphs 1 to 5 covering the intact graves and Part II which consists of Tables 1B to 38B corresponding to both the intact and disturbed burials.

#### THE INTACT GRAVES

In this type of research we were not concerned with how many pots of any given kind were found associated to a burial but only with the presence of a type. Otherwise, we would not be able to differentiate between cases such as one tomb including five B-class pots in ten and another in which five tombs had one B-class pot each in ten, in both cases we would count a total of five pots of this type in ten graves, but in the first example it would be a minority option while in the latter it would reflect a more widespread practice. Our figures refer then to individual options in the choice of pots and not to the total number in each grave.

We were basically concerned about the distribution of pots according to variables such as the apparent wealth or status of the deceased (size of the grave, total number of funerary offerings, presence or absence of a coffin), the orientation (facing east or west) and the age and sex of the body. For the grave-size estimation, we used the three arbitrary groups for each cemetery, namely,

<sup>10</sup> Hoffman, *o.c.*, p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Mond-Myers, *Cemeteries of Arment*, I, (1937); Petrie-Quibell, *o.c.*; Baumgartel, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation: A Supplement*, (1970); Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, I-II, (1914); Lythgoe, *o.c.*; Brunton-Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization and Predynastic Remains near Badari*, (1928); Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture*, (1937); Brunton, *Matmar*, (1948).

<sup>12</sup> Castillos, *A Reappraisal* ..., p. 4.

A (small), B (medium) and C (large) tombs already described in our previous publication. The wealth or status as per the number of objects in the grave was, as we did before, defined as P for ten or less items (poor) or R for more than ten (rich) for comparison purposes. Finally, for the age and sex estimations, we considered only single burials in the broad categories of Male, Female or Child which was the most frequent description in the original publication of the sites.

The following Tables and Graphs contain our overall results for the 218 intact tombs in the middle and late predynastic cemeteries at Armant, Abydos, Naga-ed-Dêr, Badari, Mostagedda and Matmar.

Table 1A — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs

Size group	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F
A	130	71	36	55	6	17	14	7
		55%	28%	42%	5%	13%	11%	5%
B	73	42	29	31	8	4	10	5
		58%	40%	42%	11%	5%	14%	7%
C	7	5	4	5	2	0	1	0
		71%	57%	71%	29%	0%	14%	0%

Table 2A — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs

Wealth group	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F
Ten or less objects	192	105	53	76	11	19	21	10
		55%	28%	40%	6%	10%	11%	5%
More than ten objects	26	17	18	20	6	4	4	3
		65%	69%	77%	23%	15%	15%	12%

Table 3A — Pottery distribution and the presence of a coffin  
(Data available for the Badari area only)

Coffin	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F
Absent	38	9	9	22	6	10	9	1
		24%	24%	58%	16%	26%	24%	3%
Present	9	2	3	6	1	1	4	1
		22%	33%	67%	11%	11%	44%	11%

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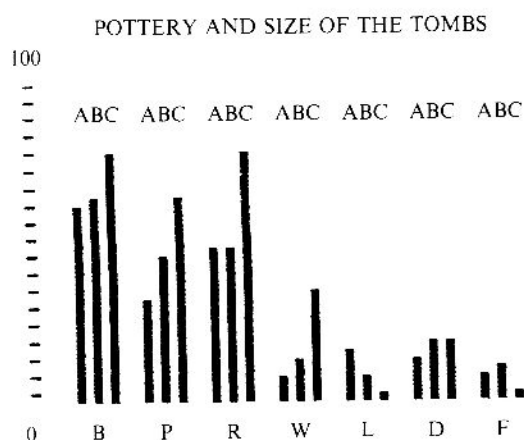
Table 4A — Pottery distribution and the orientation of the bodies

Orientation	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F
Facing due or local W	194	109 56%	65 34%	84 43%	15 8%	21 11%	22 11%	12 6%
Facing due or local E	12	4 33%	2 17%	7 58%	2 17%	1 8%	1 8%	0 0%

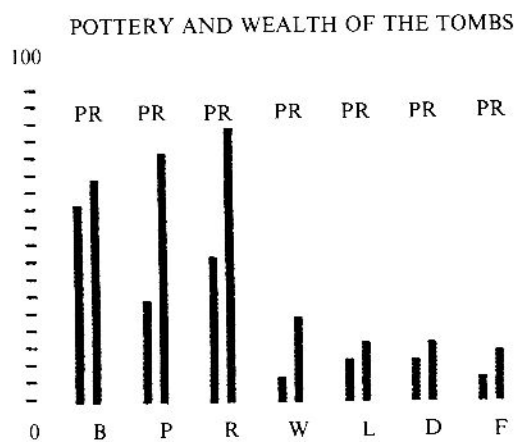
Table 5A — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies

Sex/Age	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F
Male	67	45 67%	19 28%	23 34%	5 7%	5 7%	5 7%	1 1%
Female	69	37 54%	28 41%	35 51%	8 12%	7 10%	7 10%	9 13%
Child	52	24 46%	12 23%	27 52%	1 2%	8 15%	12 23%	2 4%

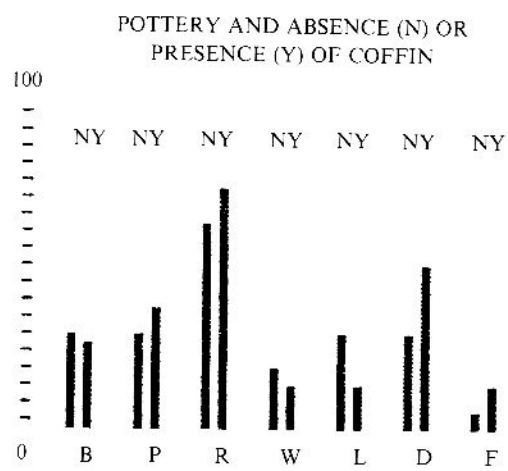
Graph 1



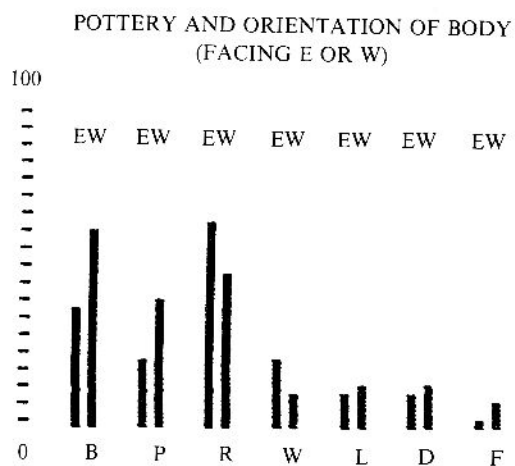
Graph 2



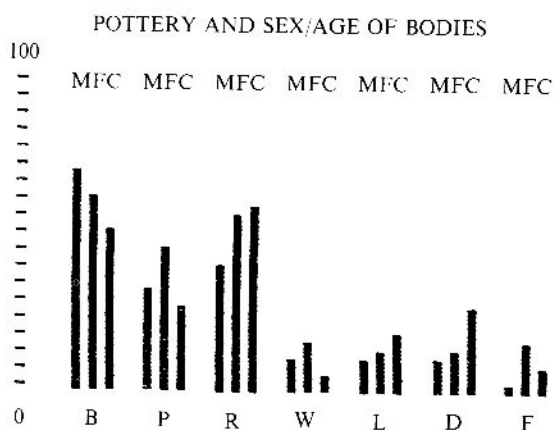
Graph 3



Graph 4



Graph 5



SUMMARY

The first conclusion we can safely draw because it is well supported by the data in Tables 1A, 2A and 3A (see also Graphs 1, 2 and 3) and also by the preliminary partial estimations we made for every cemetery separately, is that Class P (polished) pots were consistently and remarkably more common in richer or larger graves.

A similar situation seems to apply to Class W (wavy-handled), D (decorated) and F (fancy) pots although the figures are not so conclusive due to the small numbers involved.

In the case of R (rough) and B (black-topped) pots, important variations in the figures obtained for individual cemeteries in one or other direction persuaded us that the differences for these types in our Tables 1A to 3A should not be used to draw general conclusions. It would appear that the size or wealth of the burial was not a major consideration in a wide geographical context to place such pots in the graves.

Class L (late) pots seem to have been more common in the smaller graves but they are not absent in the richer burials, which places them in a rather dubious situation.

Class C (cross-lined) pots were so rare in these intact tombs that we could not consider them in our analysis.

The orientation of the bodies does not seem to have determined the pottery distribution since there are no dramatic differences in the figures in Table 4A, which in the case of bodies facing due or local east involve just a few graves.

In what concerns the sex and age of the bodies, the overall figures in Table 5A seem to imply that women were more frequently buried with P, W and F pots and children had the most D pots. but again, variations in the figures for individual cemeteries make it advisable to use these results with caution.

To the currently assumed role of high status objects for C, D and W-class pots, which agrees with our conclusions, we think that undecorated P-ware should be reconsidered as a good candidate to be included in this group of luxury items.

#### INTACT AND DISTURBED GRAVES

Table 1B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (ARMANT)

Size group	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
A	46	32 70%	17 37%	26 57%	1 2%	5 11%	5 11%	1 2%	1 2%	0 0%
B	75	34 45%	42 56%	58 77%	12 16%	15 20%	12 16%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
C	10	3 30%	4 40%	9 90%	6 60%	2 20%	3 30%	1 10%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 2B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (NAQADA)

A	153	61 40%	42 27%	57 37%	29 19%	31 20%	15 10%	5 3%	1 0.7%	2 1%
B	151	72 48%	66 44%	35 23%	61 40%	31 21%	15 10%	10 7%	0 0%	6 4%
C	15	7 47%	10 67%	7 47%	7 47%	8 53%	0 0%	2 13%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 3B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (ABYDOS)

Size group	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
A	12	8 67%	1 8%	4 33%	1 8%	1 8%	0 0%	2 17%	0 0%	0 0%
B	43	26 60%	11 26%	15 35%	9 21%	5 12%	4 9%	4 9%	1 2%	0 0%
C	15	6 40%	6 40%	12 80%	9 60%	5 33%	3 20%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 4B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (NAGA-ED-DÊR)

A	179	116 65%	84 47%	83 46%	3 2%	0 0%	7 4%	0 0%	1 0.6%	0 0%
B	137	86 63%	85 62%	82 60%	10 7%	0 0%	17 12%	0 0%	3 2%	0 0%
C	16	14 88%	13 81%	15 94%	12 75%	0 0%	4 25%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 5B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (BADARI)

A	83	17 20%	20 24%	46 55%	13 16%	21 25%	15 18%	2 2%	2 2%	0 0%
B	74	18 24%	30 41%	51 69%	20 27%	25 34%	16 22%	1 1%	2 3%	0 0%
C	10	4 40%	5 50%	6 60%	6 60%	5 50%	0 0%	0 0%	1 10%	0 0%

Table 6B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (MOSTAGEDDA)

A	59	22 37%	16 27%	39 66%	5 8%	13 22%	12 20%	2 3%	1 2%	0 0%
B	48	12 25%	14 29%	39 81%	12 25%	25 52%	13 27%	0 0%	2 4%	0 0%
C	4	2 50%	3 75%	4 100%	1 25%	1 25%	2 50%	1 25%	0 0%	0 0%

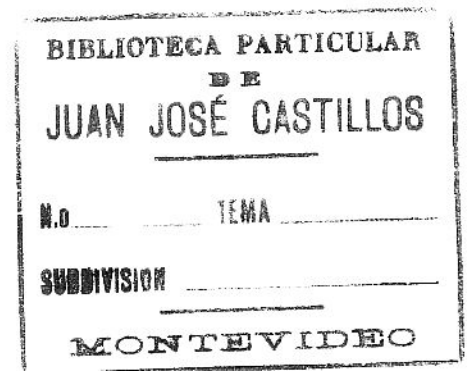


Table 7B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (MATMAR)

Size group	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
A	111	77 69%	21 19%	50 45%	8 7%	11 10%	11 10%	9 8%	1 1%	0 0%
B	44	28 64%	21 48%	32 73%	9 20%	10 23%	13 30%	7 16%	1 2%	0 0%
C	6	6 100%	2 33%	5 83%	1 17%	2 33%	2 33%	3 50%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 8B — Pottery distribution and the size of the tombs (ALL THE ABOVE)

A	643	333 52%	201 31%	305 47%	60 9%	82 13%	65 10%	21 3%	7 1%	2 0.3%
B	572	276 48%	269 47%	312 55%	133 23%	111 19%	90 16%	22 4%	9 2%	6 1%
C	76	42 55%	43 57%	58 76%	42 55%	23 30%	14 18%	7 9%	1 1%	0 0%

Table 9B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (ARMANT)

Wealth group	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
Ten or less objects	125	69 55%	53 42%	84 67%	13 10%	17 14%	16 13%	2 2%	1 1%	0 0%
More than ten objects	15	5 33%	12 80%	15 100%	6 40%	7 47%	6 40%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 10B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (NAQADA)

Ten or less objects	889	378 43%	296 33%	187 21%	75 8%	137 15%	100 11%	67 8%	19 2%	13 1%
More than ten objects	174	90 52%	95 55%	45 26%	77 44%	38 22%	23 13%	21 12%	6 3%	6 3%

Table 11B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (ABYDOS)

Ten or less objects	53	35 66%	11 21%	16 30%	7 13%	6 11%	3 6%	6 11%	1 2%	0 0%
More than ten objects	23	5 22%	10 43%	20 87%	17 74%	10 43%	4 17%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 12B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (NAGA-ED-DÊR)

Wealth group	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
Ten or less objects	267	173 65%	147 55%	144 54%	6 2%	0 0%	16 6%	0 0%	3 1%	0 0%
More than ten objects	38	32 84%	37 97%	37 97%	18 47%	0 0%	12 32%	0 0%	1 3%	0 0%

Table 13B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (BADARI)

Ten or less objects	174	35 20%	50 29%	108 62%	38 22%	51 29%	34 20%	4 2%	4 2%	0 0%
More than ten objects	15	11 73%	11 73%	8 53%	4 27%	3 20%	2 13%	2 13%	1 7%	0 0%

Table 14B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (MOSTAGEDDA)

Ten or less objects	120	40 33%	33 28%	84 70%	17 14%	37 31%	25 21%	4 3%	2 2%	0 0%
More than ten objects	16	8 50%	8 50%	14 88%	6 38%	9 56%	6 38%	1 6%	1 6%	0 0%

Table 15B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (MATMAR)

Ten or less objects	171	114 67%	44 26%	91 53%	14 8%	24 14%	23 13%	20 12%	0 0%	0 0%
More than ten objects	25	20 80%	11 44%	18 72%	6 24%	3 12%	7 28%	5 20%	2 8%	0 0%

Table 16B — Pottery distribution and the wealth of the tombs (ALL THE ABOVE)

Ten or less objects	1799	844 47%	634 35%	714 40%	170 9%	272 15%	217 12%	103 6%	30 2%	13 1%
More than ten objects	306	171 56%	184 60%	157 51%	134 44%	70 23%	60 20%	29 9%	11 4%	6 2%



Table 23B — Pottery distribution and the orientation of the bodies (ABYDOS)

Orientation	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
Facing W	55	32 58%	16 29%	23 42%	16 29%	10 18%	5 9%	5 9%	0 0%	0 0%
Facing E	6	2 33%	1 17%	5 83%	3 50%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 24B — Pottery distribution and the orientation of the bodies (NAGA-ED-DËR)

Facing W	245	164 67%	136 56%	119 49%	4 2%	0 0%	16 7%	0 0%	2 1%	0 0%
Facing E	2	0 0%	2 100%	1 50%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 25B — Pottery distribution and the orientation of the bodies (BADARI)

Facing W	74	17 23%	24 32%	47 64%	14 19%	17 23%	17 23%	4 5%	0 0%	0 0%
Facing E	5	2 40%	0 0%	3 60%	0 0%	0 0%	1 20%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 26B — Pottery distribution and the orientation of the bodies (MOSTAGEDDA)

Facing W	61	20 33%	14 23%	38 62%	7 11%	21 34%	13 21%	2 3%	2 3%	0 0%
Facing E	1	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 27B — Pottery distribution and the orientation of the bodies (MATMAR)

Facing W	62	43 69%	14 23%	22 35%	5 8%	9 15%	8 13%	11 18%	1 2%	0 0%
Facing E	1	0 0%	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 28B — Pottery distribution and the orientation of the bodies (ALL THE ABOVE)

Facing W	699	357 51%	269 38%	324 46%	87 12%	87 12%	79 11%	30 4%	8 1%	2 0.3%
Facing E	24	10 42%	5 21%	12 50%	3 13%	1 4%	3 13%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 29B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (ARMANT)

Sex/age	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
Male	26	17 65%	14 54%	15 58%	4 15%	5 19%	1 4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Female	22	7 32%	7 32%	13 59%	0 0%	5 23%	3 14%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Child	18	14 78%	3 17%	11 61%	0 0%	4 22%	3 17%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 30B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (NAQADA)

Male	72	35 49%	24 33%	14 19%	14 19%	11 15%	7 10%	4 6%	4 6%	0 0%
Female	63	29 46%	21 33%	7 11%	9 14%	6 10%	4 6%	4 6%	2 3%	3 5%
Child	7	1 14%	2 29%	2 29%	4 57%	1 14%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 31B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (ABYDOS)

Male	21	18 86%	5 24%	5 24%	3 14%	1 5%	0 0%	1 5%	0 0%	0 0%
Female	11	7 64%	3 27%	6 55%	3 27%	1 9%	1 9%	2 18%	0 0%	0 0%
Child	8	4 50%	3 38%	4 50%	1 13%	1 13%	0 0%	2 25%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 32B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (NAGA-ED-DËR)

Male	80	53 66%	42 53%	39 49%	3 4%	0 0%	4 5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Female	81	54 67%	43 53%	41 51%	2 2%	0 0%	5 6%	0 0%	2 2%	0 0%
Child	23	16 70%	6 26%	8 35%	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%	0 0%	1 4%	0 0%

Table 33B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (BADARI)

Sex/age	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
Male	23	6 26%	6 26%	15 65%	5 22%	7 30%	3 13%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Female	33	9 27%	13 39%	20 61%	8 24%	7 21%	6 18%	2 6%	0 0%	0 0%
Child	21	1 5%	6 29%	13 62%	3 14%	4 19%	8 38%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 34B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (MOSTAGEDDA)

Male	24	6 25%	9 38%	19 79%	4 17%	9 38%	8 33%	1 4%	1 4%	0 0%
Female	29	10 34%	8 28%	22 76%	5 17%	10 34%	7 24%	1 3%	1 3%	0 0%
Child	18	7 39%	2 11%	8 44%	1 6%	5 28%	3 17%	0 0%	1 6%	0 0%

Table 35B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (MATMAR)

Male	57	45 79%	13 23%	26 46%	6 11%	8 14%	9 16%	8 14%	0 0%	0 0%
Female	52	35 67%	14 27%	24 46%	7 13%	6 12%	6 12%	7 13%	0 0%	0 0%
Child	29	17 59%	5 17%	16 55%	0 0%	0 0%	4 14%	1 3%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 36B — Pottery distribution and the sex/age of the bodies (ALL THE ABOVE)

Male	303	180 59%	113 37%	133 44%	39 13%	41 14%	32 11%	14 5%	5 2%	0 0%
Female	291	151 52%	109 37%	133 46%	34 12%	35 12%	32 11%	16 5%	5 2%	3 1%
Child	124	60 48%	27 22%	62 50%	9 7%	15 12%	19 15%	3 2%	2 2%	0 0%

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Table 37B — Pottery distribution and the age of the bodies (NAGA-ED-DÊR)

Age	No. of tombs	B	P	R	W	L	D	F	C	N
0-20	42	31 74%	20 48%	19 45%	1 2%	0 0%	1 2%	0 0%	1 2%	0 0%
20-40	7	4 57%	4 57%	3 43%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
40-60	11	6 55%	7 64%	5 45%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table 38B — Pottery distribution and the age of the bodies (NAQADA)

0-20	15	4 27%	7 47%	4 27%	7 47%	2 13%	2 13%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
20-30	13	4 31%	8 62%	0 0%	2 15%	3 23%	1 8%	3 23%	1 8%	0 0%
30-50	71	36 51%	21 30%	14 20%	9 13%	5 7%	6 8%	7 10%	3 4%	2 3%

## CONCLUSIONS

In agreement with our previous results<sup>13</sup> we found that P pots were consistently more frequent in the larger and richer tombs, which would gain admission for them as a type into the luxury item category consisting until now of the decorated D, C, N types and also the W class<sup>14</sup>. The individual and overall figures in Tables 1B to 20B for all tombs (intact and disturbed) in almost every case agree with this notion.

As before, we also found (see Tables 21B to 28B) that P pots were more frequent in the tombs where the body was looking west, the very few intact tombs with east-orientated bodies advised circumspection in the first report, the greater numbers now confirming the same situation although still relatively small, lead us to make this suggestion.

B and R pots, especially the former, show in these Tables a somewhat erratic behaviour which would indicate no definite tendency in assigning them to the graves.

Among the traditionally accepted luxury types, W pots in Tables 1B to 20B appear very strongly represented in the larger and richer graves, being often many times more frequent in them than in the poorer or smaller tombs.

In the case of D pots, the traditional view is confirmed although not so sharply defined. For C and N pots, the figures are too small for comment but they also do not challenge the general agreement considering them luxury items.

<sup>13</sup> See Part I — The intact graves, Summary.

<sup>14</sup> Bard, *JEA* 74 (1988), 49.

F pots can usually be found more frequently in the larger and richer tombs but this trend is not very marked. A curious fact is that no F pots were found assigned to graves containing east-orientated bodies (see Tables 21B to 28B).

As far as the sex and age of the bodies are concerned, the overall picture (Tables 29B to 38B) including the disturbed burials, does not disprove the moderate tendencies found for the intact tombs indicating a certain preference to assign to women P, W and F pots and to children the D pots.

We expect the reader who accepts these conclusions based on the above Tables to consider them as tentative interpretations to be compared with the future results of better excavated and recorded contemporary cemeteries. In any case, we hope that the data we publish here, which reflects the surviving evidence on the subject, will also be found useful for other purposes than those we had in mind.

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