

ADAĪMA SETTLEMENT BURIALS: GIVING THE BURIALS CONTEXT

by

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Submitted to the Faculty of

The Archaeological Studies Program
Department of Sociology and Archaeology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

2013

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University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, 2013

The purpose of studying the Predynastic site of Adaïma is to place the nine burials found in the settlement area within their archaeological context using AutoCAD and plan maps, determine the importance of the individuals buried (both human and animal) through iconography, grave goods, and settlement comparisons, and to determine why the burials occurred in the settlement rather than the cemeteries by comparison. The dog burials appear to be placed away from the living areas while infant burials are closer. Additionally, dogs were depicted in hunting scenes on ceramics and rock carvings as part of an elite practice to control chaos. With little difference between the cemeteries and settlement burials, it may have been the family's choice where to bury their child or an issue of cost.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. David Anderson and Dr. Constance Arzigian for helping me through this process. Additionally, I want to thank Rebecca Loew and Hannah Reshel for their constructive criticism to improve this project. I also need to thank my parents for listening to countless pages of my writing and giving their opinions. A special thanks to the Interlibrary Loan Office in Murphy Library for helping acquire sources for this project.

INTRODUCTION

The Predynastic site of Adaïma, located in Upper Egypt, is a unique area. Sites dating to the same time period supply information largely from a cemetery context. Adaïma, on the other hand, offers scholars an opportunity to study both cemetery and settlement remains. There have been several scholars who have excavated the site in hopes of gleaning as much information as possible from the site. Henri de Morgan, in the winter of 1906-1907, while conducting surveys for the Brooklyn Museum, located Adaïma (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:1). De Morgan returned the following field season (1907-1908) to continue surveying the settlement area and to conduct excavations within the two cemeteries he had previously pinpointed. By the close of the season, de Morgan had investigated a total of fourteen burials (Crubézy et al. 2008:290; Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:1). The artifacts collected from the 1907-1908 season have been stored at the Musée d'Archéologie nationale in Saint-Germain-en-Laye as well as the Brooklyn Museum New York (Crubézy et al. 2008).

In 1973, Fernando Debono began additional excavations at Adaïma. Debono, however, focused his attention on only one of the cemeteries rather than the settlement and second cemetery. In the cemetery thirty burials were uncovered; however, Debono was not the first individual to expose the burials. A majority of those investigated appeared to have been robbed and plundered during the Predynastic period. In addition, it is difficult for current scholars to determine where Debono had excavated. In some instances, his work area has been destroyed as

a consequence of *sabakh* digging (the removal of organic material for use in agricultural practices) (Crubézy et al. 2008:290; Midant-Reynes et al. 1996:93; Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:2).

In response to the site of Adaïma's preservation being threatened by *sebakh* and other agricultural activities, excavations have been occurring off and on from 1989 to 2005. Rescue measures were put into place by the director of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, P. Posener Krieger, in conjunction with the Department of Antiquities. Once the site had been surveyed once again, large scale excavations took place in both the cemeteries as well as the settlement from 1996 to 2000. The cemetery and burial investigations were conducted by Éric Crubézy and Thierry Janin while the settlement studies were operated by Nathalie Buchez and Béatrix Midant-Reynes (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:2-3). So far, 881 graves have been excavated in addition to mortars, hearths, black-topped wares, and living floors (Crubézy et al. 2008:290; Midant-Reynes et al. 1996:93).

As a result of these excavations, more and more data are becoming available for Predynastic settlements. For example, more than a handful of burials have been uncovered in the Adaïma settlement. These burials include five dogs, one pig, and four infants/children (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002). While these burials are discussed in the site report *Adaïma 1. Économie et habitat*, there is a lack of detailed descriptions explaining the archaeological and historical contexts in relation to the rest of the settlement. Additionally, only a limited number of explanations have been offered as to why both the animal and infant burials are in the settlement rather than in the cemeteries. These two issues will be the topic of this study.

In order to place the burials in their archaeological and historical contexts, an analysis of the surrounding features is necessary. Are there postholes present near the burials? If so, what type/form of structure do they form (e.g. house, wall, etc.)? Are there associated trash pits? In

addition to a settlement analysis, the importance of the individuals needs to be determined. Why were dogs buried? Is there more importance placed on an individual burial or a group burial? It will also be beneficial to compare the animal burials to the infant/child burials in order to determine whether the two were perceived as being equal or if one was seen as more important than the other. To explain why these burials occurred in a settlement rather than in a cemetery, a comparison of the settlement burials to those in a cemetery context is needed. What differences occur? What similarities are there?

BACKGROUND

Predynastic Period

The Predynastic Period in Egypt consists of a span of approximately 1400 years when pharaonic rule was absent; however, Upper and Lower Egypt were eventually unified at the end of the time period. Different chronological or dating systems have been established by numerous archaeologists. Sir W. Flinders Petrie was one of the first to create such a sequence through the use of ceramic types (Batey 2012:17). Petrie based his relative dating chronology on cemetery ceramics. He observed and took note of when certain pottery types occurred, how often they occurred, types were buried together, which ones declined as others increased, and which types of pottery fell into disuse (Adams 1988:20). Petrie then categorized each ceramic into a specific type. These included: black-topped wares (B-class), polished red wares (P-class), white cross-lined wares (C-class), rough wares (R-class), fancy wares (F-class), Nubian wares (N-class), decorated wares (D-class), wavy-handled wares (W-class), and late wares (L-class). The wares were then subdivided into form categories (e.g. bowls, jars, etc.) (Adams 1988:20-23). Petrie

was able to discern three periods within the Predynastic: Amratian, Gerzean, and Semainean (Batey 2012:17).

Following Petrie, Werner Kaiser developed a “refined” dating sequence also based on pottery. Kaiser’s system is generally referred to as the *stufen* system (Batey 2012:17). The phases of this system are called Nagada I, Nagada II a-b, Nagada II c-d, and Nagada III (Adams 1988:30).

As technology advanced, new methods of dating material emerged, specifically after World War II with the invention of radiocarbon dating. The new technique led to the creation of yet another chronological sequence for the Predynastic. Instead of the simple Nagada I, Nagada II, and Nagada III, the dates consist of Nagada IA-IIB, Nagada IIC-IID2, Nagada IIIA1-IIIB, Nagada IIIC1, and Nagada IIID (Batey 2012:17). In addition to the later Nagada periods, the early Predynastic is referred to as the Badarian; however, Badarian materials have not been recovered at Adaima so the Badarian will not be discussed here.

In the past, archaeologists put forth the hypothesis of the Predynastic people consisting of a new, foreign culture that entered Egypt. This “New Race” as Petrie referred to it, was thought to be responsible for the unification of the Egyptian state. Petrie based this conclusion on the cultural material and burials he had study at the site of Nagada in 1895. The material he was uncovering was so different from the dynastic material he had worked with previously that Petrie believe there was no chance of the earlier material being a part of the same culture. However, Petrie realized his mistake after observing artifacts collected by another archaeologist, Jacques de Morgan, who recognized the material from Nagada and Abydos as being prehistoric rather than another race of people (Adams 1988:68)

Nagada I

The Nagada I dates to 4000-3500 B.C. (Batey 2012:17). The archaeological record shows that during this period copper was being widely utilized. It is also at this time that painted pottery, figurines, and amulets are being used. A majority of the information collected from this period tend to be from a cemetery context. There are two reasons for this. First, the organic materials from the settlements rarely survive in the archaeological record (Batey 2012:17). Second, a majority of the burials are located in the low deserts above the floodplains out of the reach of the Nile (Stevenson 2009:2).

Burials during the Nagada I are fairly simplistic. As far as the actual structures, early burials are subterranean oval pits without much room for anything else the deceased and possibly a few grave goods (Batey 2012:20; Stevenson 2009:2). The dead are found lying on their left side in the flexed position on top of mats, head towards the south, face pointed west. Generally, the burials belong to individuals; however, there are occasionally double burials. When this situation occurs the burials contain a female and an infant (Batey 2012:20; Stevenson 2009:4).

During the later years of Nagada I, a shift begins to take place. At this time, a small number of the burials are separated from the others, large and rectangular in shape rather than oval. Occasionally, coffins are found inside as well. It is also at this point when grave goods appear to be of greater value (Batey 2012:20). These goods include various styles of ceramics (e.g. black-topped ware, red polished ware, rarely white-cross-lined ware) (Stevenson 2009:4). Other burials contain palettes, figurines, and maceheads (Batey 2012:20).

Nagada II

In the Nagada II, ca. 3500-3200 B.C., Predynastic Egyptian society is beginning to become more complex than in the Nagada I. The increased complexity is evident in five characteristics of the

period. First, the settlements become larger as well as the cemeteries. Second, agricultural settlements begin to move close to the Nile River as a result of the drier climate. Third, domesticated animals, such as cattle, goat, sheep, and pig, are found in the archaeological record that date to this period. Fourth, individuals considered to be “elites” are hunting wild animals like gazelle and hippopotamus. Finally, as a consequence of agriculture and the resulting surplus, craft specialization emerges (Batey 2012:21-23).

Nagada II burial structures continue the trend that occurred at the end of the previous period. There is an increase in the number of rectangular subterranean burials with the rarity of mudbrick or plaster walls and a roof (Batey 2012:22; Stevenson 2009:2-3). The burials also continue to be separated based on the wealth and status of the individual (Batey 2012:22).

For the most part, the orientations of the bodies stay the same as in the Nagada I burials; however, there begins to be more variations like double burials and coffins. The grave goods also changed at this time. There is a decrease in the quantity of black-topped ware, white-cross-lined ware no longer appears in the burial assemblages, some stoneware vessels, and rough ware occurs more frequently. Long distance trade also is evident in the burials through items like lapis lazuli (Stevenson 2009:4).

Nagada III

Dating to ca. 3200-3000 B.C., the Nagada III period (also referred to as the proto-dynastic) was the transitional phase between Nagada II and the unification of Egypt under one ruler. However, many scholars believe that multiple kings ruled certain areas from a proto-kingdom or large city, like Hierakonpolis (Figure 1) (Adams 1988:9; Kemp 1989:44). Additionally, populations begin to grow next to the river valley and there is the beginning of large scale architecture. Agriculture also becomes the dominant form of subsistence for the larger population (Batey 2012:24).

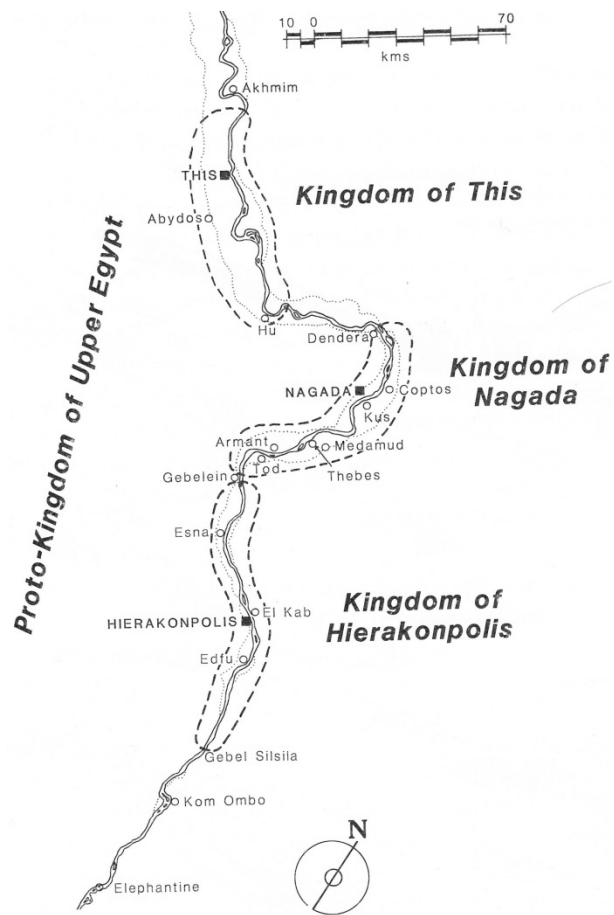


Figure 1. Predynastic Proto-Kingdoms (Kemp 1989:Figure 8).

The burials of the of the Nagada III period are similar to the subterranean, plaster or mudbrick burials of the previous periods. There is an increase in the number of coffins that are used. These coffins are either constructed of wood or ceramic (Stevenson 2009:2). While there is a greater amount of variation when it comes to the orientation of the bodies, a majority follow the same precedent established in the Nagada I and Nagada II with the individual on their left side, head south, face west, in the flexed position (Stevenson 2009:4).

Adaïma

The site of Adaïma is located eight kilometers south of the modern town of Esna in Upper Egypt. Situated on the West Bank of the Nile River, Adaïma is near Wadi Ezbet Hababda (Figure 2). At its largest, the settlement and associated cemeteries achieved a size of forty hectares and dates from the Nagada I, the time of the first burial, to Dynasty 3 (Buclez 2011a:939; Duchesne 2005: 38; Midant-Reynes et al. 1996:93;).

The site of Adaïma consists of two cemeteries, Western and Eastern, as well as a large settlement area (Figure 3). Located on the western bank of the Wadi Ezbet Hababda on a plateau, the Western Cemetery dates to the Nagada I to Dynasty 3 (Buclez 2011b:32; Crubézy et al. 2008:5, 295). Of the excavations that have been conducted within the cemetery, a total of 301 burials have been studied by archaeologists (Crubézy et al. 2008:292-293). Individual child burials have been found to be relatively rare in the Western Cemetery. In most instances, children in this area were buried with or in association with adults. Many of the graves have been victims of looting both in prehistoric and historic times. As a result, archaeologists have had a difficult time distinguishing between secondary burials and looting damage (Crubézy et al. 2002:6).

The Eastern Cemetery runs along the wadi below the Western Cemetery plateau (Crubézy et al. 2002:7) and is further divided into northern and southern areas by branches of the wadi. The branches of the wadi serve as a natural boundary between the adults on the northern end and the children on the southern end (Buclez 2011b:33; Crubézy et al. 2008:293). This cemetery portion of the Adaïma site dates from the late Nagada I to late Nagada II (Crubézy et al. 2008:301). More burials have been excavated in the Eastern Cemetery (580 burials) than in the Western Cemetery (Crubézy et al. 2008:293).



Figure 2. Map of Egypt (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Ill. 1).



Figure 3. Topographical Map of Adaima (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Ill. 3).

The third area of Adaïma is the settlement area dating to Nagada IC (ca. 3700-2600 BC). It is located by the floodplain, between the wadi and ravine (Buche 2011b:31-32; Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:20). During its habitation, house structures were composed of wooden frames that were blanketed with animal skins or plastered with mud (Figure 4) (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:38). As the Predynastic Period progressed, the settlement area began to decrease in size (Buche 2011b:35). The reduction in size occurred being in the southern portion of the site. Individuals moved north towards the floodplain while the cemeteries expand eastwards. By the end of Nagada IIIB, the southern habitation areas were abandoned by the population (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:21).

Excavations of 1001 and Extensions

The excavations conducted by Béatrix Midant-Reynes and her colleagues of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale focused primarily on section 1001 and its extensions to the east of the two cemeteries (Figures 3 and 5). There appears to have been two occupation occurrences in this area which can be attributed to a single culture (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:25). The radiocarbon dating of thirteen samples places the first occupation (Period I) to the end of Nagada I into Nagada II (ca. 3600 to 3400 B.C.). The second occupation (Period II) was during Nagada III (ca. 3300 to 2950 B.C.) (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:28). Each of the occupations is characterized by multiple phases of construction, living, and abandonment of the area (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:21-22).

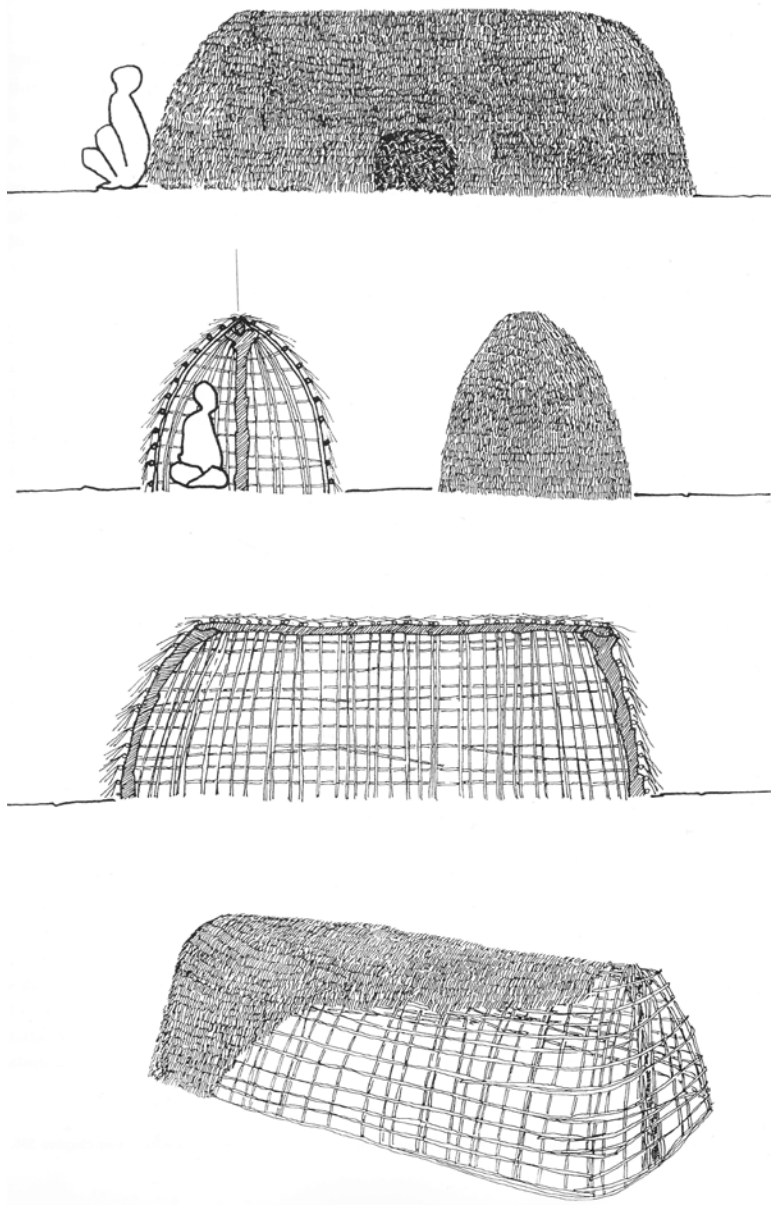


Figure 4. Proposed House Structure at Adaima (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Figure 1.11B).

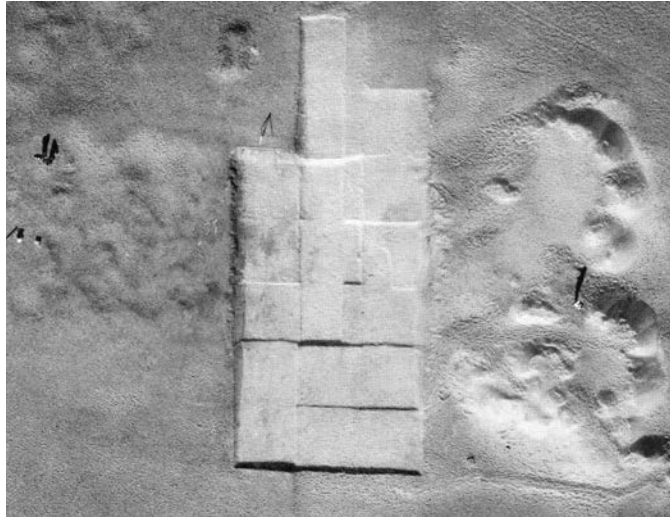


Figure 5. Section 1001 and Extensions (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Photo 1.1).

Within section 1001 and extensions, archaeologists uncovered a total of 649 features (postholes, fire pits, etc.); the most abundant in the southern portion of the site (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:11, 32). The southern region had a large quantity of postholes (total: 394). Thirty-nine of the postholes appear to form a structure, referred to as *CI*, while the others form arcs or straight walls thought to possibly be windbreaks (Figures 6 and 7) (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:37-38). In addition to structures, fire pits, and other habitation features, Midant-Reynes et al. investigated four infant/child burials and six animal burials (five dogs and one juvenile pig). These ten inhumations all occur in Period I deposits throughout the site.

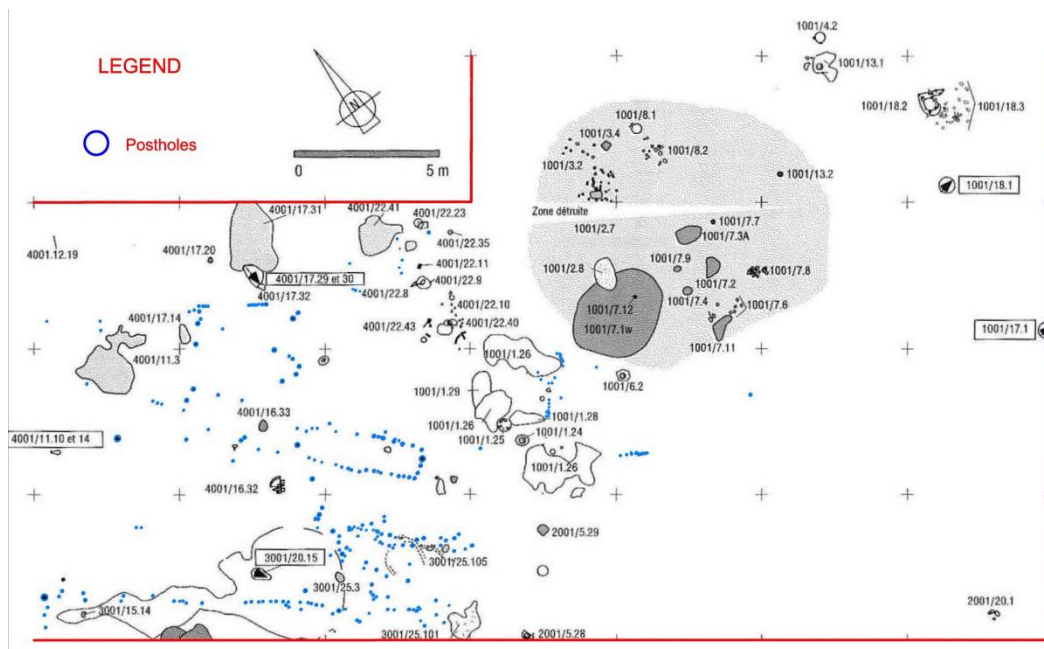


Figure 6. Distribution of Postholes in Southern Area of Adaima (adapted from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Plan 3).



Figure 7. Postholes for Structure C1 (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Photo 1.5)

METHODOLOGY

Archaeological and Historical Contexts

As stated in the introduction, the intention of this study is to place the animal and infant/child burials into their archeological and historical contexts. This was accomplished through the use of plan maps of the excavation areas provided in Midant-Reynes et al.'s (2002) report on the multi-season excavations in the Adaïma settlement. Pertinent maps were scanned and loaded into AutoCAD Map 3D 2012 (Autodesk 2011). This software program allows the user to create different maps on different layers or overlays. Once specific features are outlined, different layers can be turned off so they do not appear on the screen. This process made it easier to see what features (postholes, structures, garbage pits, etc.) were relevant to the burials. In most situations, the features were selected based on their proximity to the burials within the same five meter by five meter excavation unit. Additionally, if the feature was discussed in the site report along with a burial the feature was mapped.

Importance of Individuals

The second purpose of this study was to understand the importance of the individuals that were buried. As it pertains to the dog burials, the importance was determined through the use of Predynastic depictions of the animals on white cross-line wares and rock cravings. The presence of grave goods was also taken into account. The analyses of the infant/child burials were also based on the grave goods that were or were not buried with them. The animal and infant burials were also compared to each other to determine if there were any similarities in the manner of

burial. These factors included grave goods, orientation of the body, and the burial type (e.g. primary or secondary burials, buried in a container, etc.).

Settlement Rather than Cemetery

To answer the question of why these burials occur in the settlement rather than the cemetery, a comparison of the two contexts was necessary. The infant/child burials of the Adaïma settlement were compared to those present in the Western and Eastern Cemeteries. The individuals selected from the cemeteries were roughly of similar age (0 months to 6 years) as those in the settlement to obtain a more accurate comparison. Each of the burials was analyzed based on grave goods, type of burial and the orientation of the bodies.

THE BURIALS

The data presented here has been divided into three sections: settlement animal burials, settlement infant/child burials, and cemetery infant/child burials. These sections have been further subdivided.

Settlement Animal Burials

Within the Adaïma settlement a total of ten burials were uncovered. The burials included one pig, five dogs, and four infants/children. The individuals buried were placed in shallow graves with limited grave goods with a couple of exceptions (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002).

Pig

Among the animal burials there was one pig in the settlement in section 1001/17.1 (Figure 8a). It appeared to be of a relatively young age, ranging from two weeks to two months. This age

range was determined by the occurrence of unfused epiphyses and the presence of its milk teeth. The pig was placed on its right side, skull facing to the north in the burial. The only possible grave good found interred with the pig was a poorly preserved mat/matting under the skull (Van Neer 2002:533).

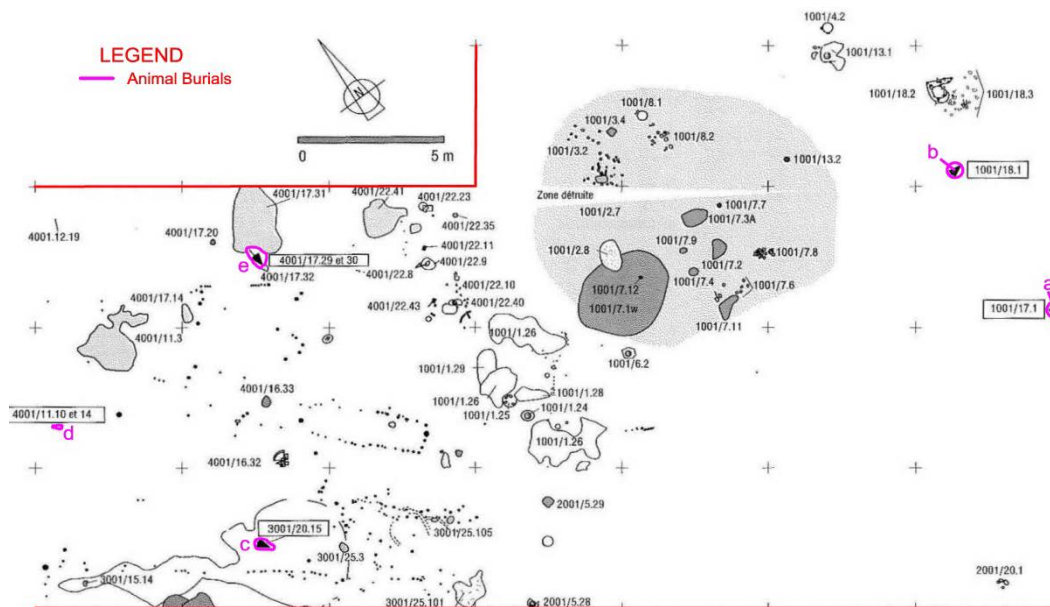


Figure 8. Animal Burials (adapted from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Plan 10).

Dogs

Within the settlement a total of five dog burials were identified and excavated. The first individual uncovered was located in section 1001/18.1 (Figure 8b). Its age was calculated to be around two years of age as a result of all the epiphyses being fused to the diaphysis. While some of the skeleton is poorly preserved due to erosion a height for the dog of 52 cm could still be determined. It was laid on its left side and the head pointed towards the northeast. The individual was buried with a double mat. There were remnants of pottery as well as fragments of flint (Figure 9) (Van Neer 2002:533-534).



Figure 9. Burial 1001/18.1 (Van Neer 2002: Figure 9).

The second adult dog was in section 3001/20.15 (Figure 8c) and was smaller than the individual in 1001/18.1 with a height of 49 cm based on femur and humerus measurements (Van Neer 2002:534). This adult dog was one of the better preserved examples in the settlement. It was buried on its left side with the head to the southeast. The individual was also supplied with an offering jar/bottle. Because of this, a date can be attached to the burial. The offering jar/bottle had a large timespan of Nagada IC to Nagada IIIA1; however, it had been widely utilized during Nagada IIB to Nagada IID1 (Figure 10) (Van Neer 2002:543).



Figure 10. Burial 3001/20.15 (Van Neer 2002: Figure 11).

The next burial, located in section 4001/6.3, was even smaller with a height of 41 cm (Figure 11). The height may not be completely accurate due to the use of a poorly preserved humerus to calculate the value. The individual was placed on its right side for burial. Materials found in association with the dog were pieces of charcoal and flint. Additionally, a piece of skin or leather was found on the left ribs (Figure 12) (Van Neer 2002:534).

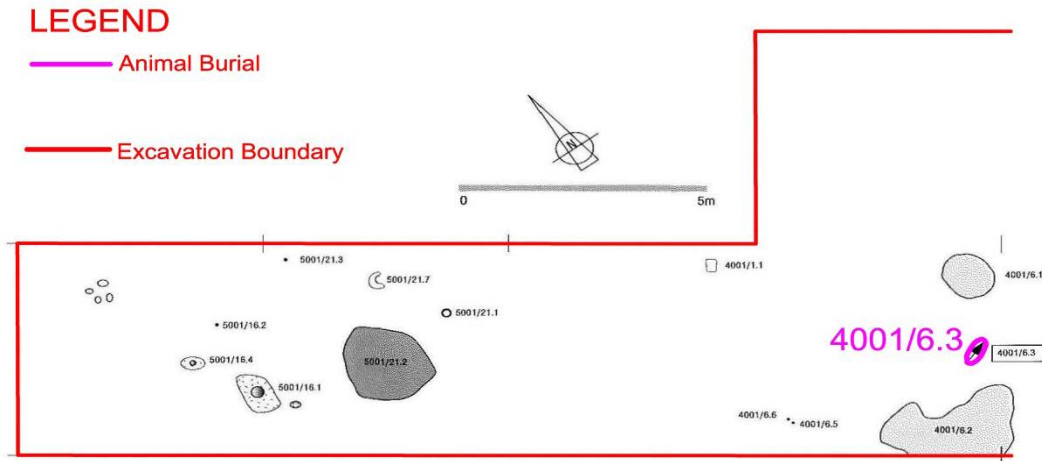


Figure 11. Animal Burial d (adapted from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Plan 10).

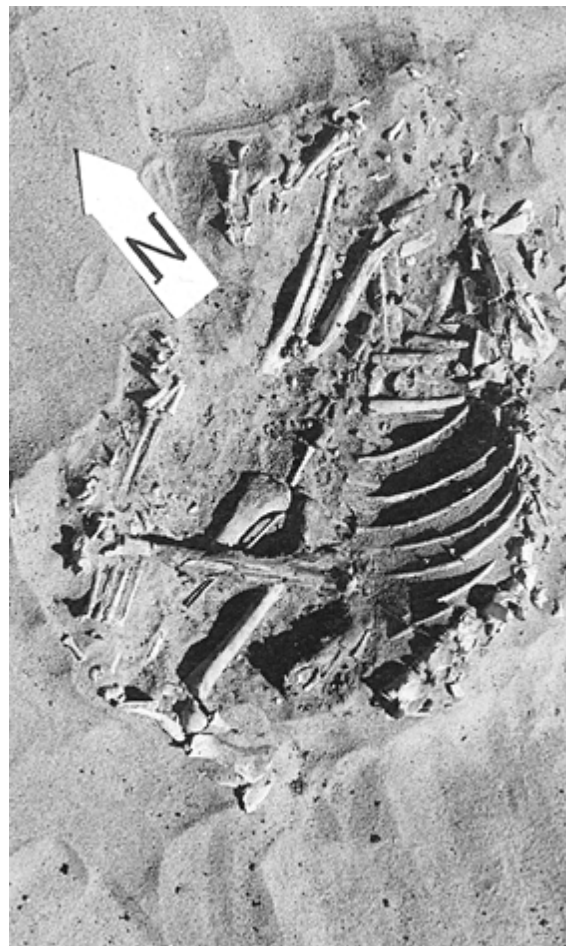


Figure 12. Burial 4001/6.3 (Van Neer 2002: Figure 12)

A shallow pit was created for the dog in section 4001/11.14 (Figure 8d). Poor preservation had left only the forelegs and a few vertebrae. Despite the poor preservation, a pot was found in association with the dog. This pot dated the burial to Nagada IIC (Van Neer 2002:534).

The fifth dog burial was found during the 1995 in section 4001/17.29 (Figure 8e). The individual was placed in a shallow pit on its right side, head to the south. A mat was found in the pit as well (Figure 13) (Van Neer 2002:534).



Figure 13. Burial 4001/17.29 (Van Neer 2002: Figure 13).

Settlement Infant/Child Burials

There were a total of four infant/child burials found in the Adaïma settlement. The burial in section 1001/2.13 belonged to a child aged six to nine months. It is oriented with its head to the southwest (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2002:71). The hands appeared to have been tucked into the trunk of the body which is slightly twisted to the left (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2002:73). Grave goods for 1001/2.13 consisted of one left ulna of a slaughtered goat and a large shell (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2002:71-72). While the body was placed in a shallow burial, it appears as though the infant was placed inside a leather bag or other type of container (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2002:72-73).

The second burial (1001/5.1) was also believed to be a six to nine month old infant/child (Figure 14). The infant was laid on its left hand side with the head towards the south; however, the torso was slightly twisted. This burial may have been altered slightly due to rodent turbation. This made it difficult to confidently determine whether the oyster valve found nearby was a grave good. The individual was also buried in a container, possibly a leather bag (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2002:73-74).



Figure 14. Burial 1001/5.1 (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Photo 1.28).

The burial from 3001/15.16 was the oldest of the four burials with an age of nine months to one year (Figure 15). The individual has been thought to be in its original position, on its left side, head to the south. This burial possessed a large quantity of grave goods which consisted of a red vase, carnelian and quartz beads under the right hand, and a shell in the left hand. The beads could have been a bracelet. Additionally, a leather bag and mat were found in the burial (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2002: 74).



Figure 15. Burial 3001/15.16 (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Photo 1.29).

The fourth burial, 4001/16.47, was that of a six to nine month old. It was on its right side, head towards the east and feet towards the west. The only evidence of leather was found near the left hand (Figure 16) (Crubézy and Midant-Reynes 2002:75).

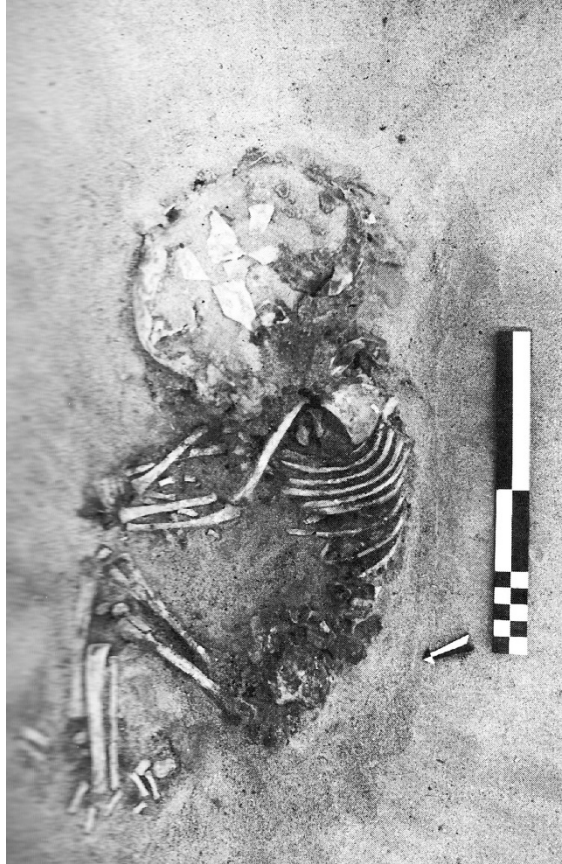


Figure 16. Burial 4001/16.47 (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Photo 1.31).

Cemetery Infant/Child Burials

The sample of child burials chosen for comparison consisted of seventeen burials from the ages of zero months to six years from both the Western and Eastern Cemeteries (Table 1). Two burial types occurred most frequently, in/underneath a vase/pot (n=7) and a simple pit (n=6).

Individuals buried via these methods range between zero months to six years, with the youngest being interred in a vase/pot and the oldest in a simple pit. Of the thirteen vase/pot and simple pit burials, seven individuals were able to have their positions, orientations, and burial types (i.e. primary and secondary) determined. The seven burials were in primary context and had their heads pointed to the south, feet towards the north (Crubézy et al. 2002).

Of the sample set, nine of the infants/children were buried with at least one grave good. The ceramics used as the burial container were not included in the grave good inventory. The most common good was some form of ceramic container (n = 16). A less common good was the remnant of a bracelet in S160, one of two mud coffin burials. In addition, the presence of pebbles/stones appeared only in S175. Mats were also found in association with three burials (Crubézy et al. 2002).

A majority of the burials (n = 11) were oriented with their heads pointed to the south and feet north. Six burials lacked information on their position, reducing the sample size to 11. Of the remaining burials, seven were laid on their left side (Crubézy et al. 2002).

Table 1. Child Burial Sample. Burials 3, 51, 54, 55, 73, and 79 from Western Cemetery. Remaining from Eastern Cemetery (Note: Data from Crubézy et al. 2002).

<u>BURIAL NO.</u>	<u>INTACT/DISTURBED*</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>ORIENTATION</u>	<u>PRIMARY/SECONDARY/UNDETERMINED</u>	<u>GOODS**</u>
3	I	PIT BURIAL	1.5	LEFT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	B; S; CATFISH
51	I	SIMPLE PIT	6 MONTHS	LEFT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	
54	D	SIMPLE PIT	3-7	UNDETERMINED	UNDETERMINED	UNDETERMINED	
55	D	SIMPLE PIT					
73	I	SIMPLE PIT	4.5-6	LEFT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	3 C; S
79	D	SIMPLE PIT	1-2	UNDETERMINED	UNDETERMINED	UNDETERMINED	3 C
151	I	MUD COFFIN	< 6 MONTHS	RIGHT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	
152	I	VASE/POT	1-2	N/A	BACK NORTH	PRIMARY	
153	I	VASE/POT	4-5	RIGHT SIDE-HC	S-N	PRIMARY	M; B; 2 C
154	I	VASE/POT	0-2 MONTHS	LEFT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	F?
155	I	VASE/POT	3-6 MONTHS	UNDETERMINED	UNDETERMINED	SECONDARY	
158	I	VASE/POT	3-4	LEFT SIDE-HC	S-N	PRIMARY	M
159	I	VASE/POT	6 MONTHS-1 YEAR	N/A	N-S	PRIMARY	
160	I?	MUD COFFIN	3-5	LEFT SIDE-HC	S-N	PRIMARY	BRACELET; S; 3 C
163	I	SIMPLE PIT	3-5	RIGHT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	
167	D	VASE/POT	4-5	RIGHT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	M; B; C
175	I	FLOOR + POT	3-5	LEFT SIDE	S-N	PRIMARY	3 P/S; 1 GREEN P/S; 4 C

* I = Intact; D = Disturbed

** B = Bead; C = Ceramics; F = Fauna; M = Mat; P/S = Pebble/Stone; S = Shell

To summarize, the infant/child burials within the Western and Eastern Cemeteries tended to be buried in either a simple pit or in/underneath a vase/pot with their heads pointed south. Many of the burials were supplied with additional ceramics, while others contained beads, shells, faunal remains, etc.

In relation to these features, 1001/18.1 was buried after the features were put into place. However, this does not mean that the pit was no longer being used during the time the burial was created (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:147).

Dog burial 3001/20.15 was located in the lower portion of the site to the west. Midant-Reynes et al. discussed the various features found in association with the burial; however, the features do not appear on the map. Burial 3001/20.15 occurred just prior to the beginning of Period II at Adaïma. Nearby, there is a large pit, 3001/20.2, which most likely dates to the same period. Once into Period II, there was an ash deposit labeled 3001/25.6. Underneath 3001/20.15 numerous hearth/fire areas as well as a few postholes were found (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:23).

Burial 4001/6.3 was excavated to the west of section 1001 (Figure 18). Three features were found in close proximity to this burial, not necessarily physically, but temporally. These features were 4001/6.2, 4001/6.1, and 4001/11.3. Feature 4001/6.2 was an ash deposit about 15 cm thick. The soil was soft with a grayish color. Within the soil charcoal was present as well as ceramic fragments and flint. Towards the bottom of this feature, archaeologists collected seeds and microfauna (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:61). According to the site report, feature 4001/6.2 was slightly below the animal burial (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:145). In the same area, feature 4001/6.1 was found. This feature was smaller than the previous, having a depth of only 10 cm. It was comprised of compacted ash and sediment. No comments were made regarding archaeological material being discovered in the feature. It appears feature 4001/6.1 and the previous feature were contemporaneous (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:58, 145).

Feature 4001/11.3, while not within the same excavation square as burial 4001/6.3, occurred just after the burial and roughly the same time as burial 4001/11.14. The feature was

also the result of ash and other waste deposits but not as deep as 4001/6.2, with a depth of 10 cm. While being slightly smaller, 4001/11.3 shared characteristics with the two previously discussed features. Comparable to 4001/6.2, the deposit contained not only ash but unburned flint fragments as well (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:61, 145).

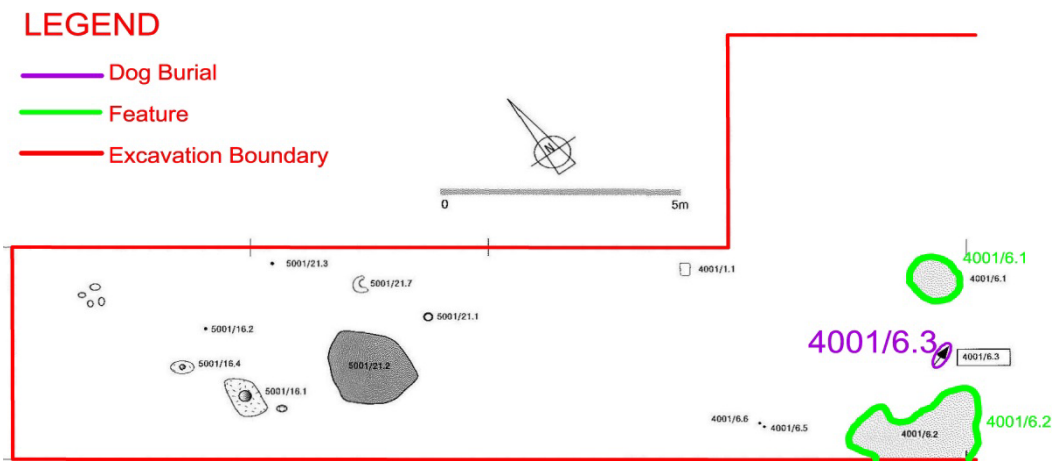


Figure 18. Burial 4001/6.3 and Features 4001/6.1 and 4001/6.2 (adapted from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Plan 10).

Finally, burial 4001/17.29, situated north of the *C I* structure, had four features within its excavation unit: 4001/17.14, 4001/17.20, 4001/17.31, and 4001/17.32 (Figure 19). Feature 4001/17.14 was an ash deposit with no other materials found within it (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:56). Next, feature 4001/17.20, thought to be a fire pit, had large pieces of charcoal and other fragments of wood (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:53). One of the larger features within section 1001 and its extensions was 4001/17.31 (247 x 165 x 30 cm). It was situated northeast of the burial and appears to have been a debris area. During its excavation, pieces of flint, feces, a small quantity of charcoal, and faunal remains were collected (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:61).

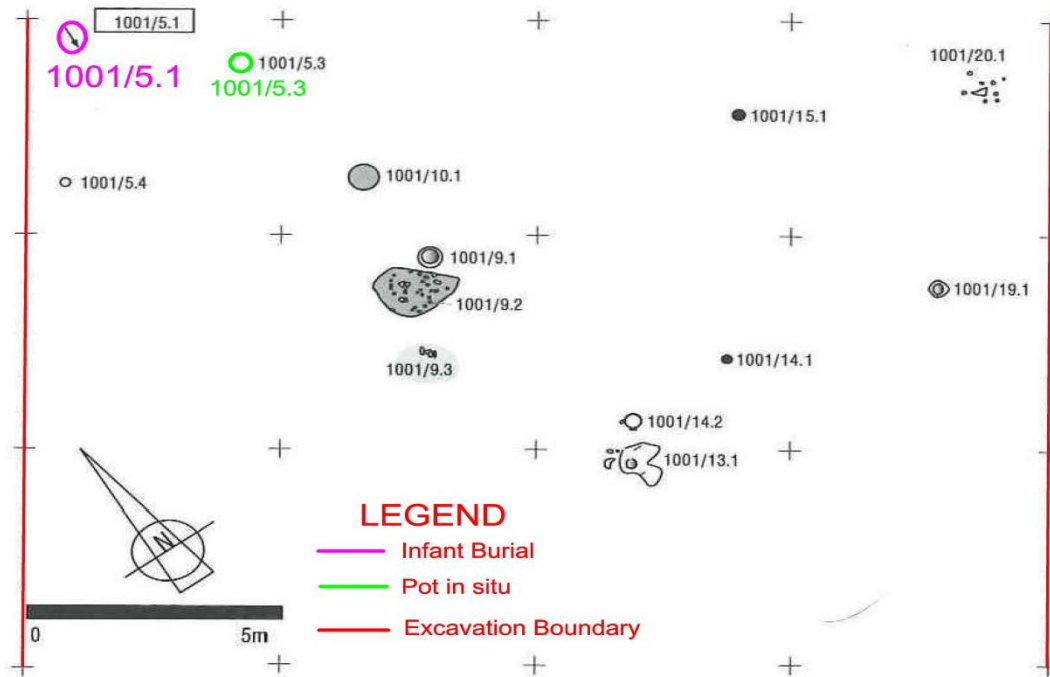


Figure 21. Burial 1001/5.1 and *in situ* Pot (adapted from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Plan 9).

Burial 3001/15.16 had six features that surrounded it (Figure 22). Two features (3001/15.19 and 3001/15.22) were ash deposits. Feature 3001/15.19 had a variety of materials present. These materials included a large quantity of charcoal (30-40%), fragments of flakes, a small bone, and pieces of seeds (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:58). The second ash feature, 3001/15.22, was found to hold charred plant materials (e.g. seeds and twigs) (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:55). These two features were placed within a level close to that of the burial. The three features remaining were hearth/fire pits. Within 3001/15.20 there were remnants of faunal remains, dung, and other charcoal (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:56). Next, 3001/15.21 held both charred and uncharred wood (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:53). The last feature (3001/20.23)

categorized as a hearth was not discussed. In addition to ash deposits and hearths, a posthole with a diameter of 15 cm was found but not placed on the map (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:44).

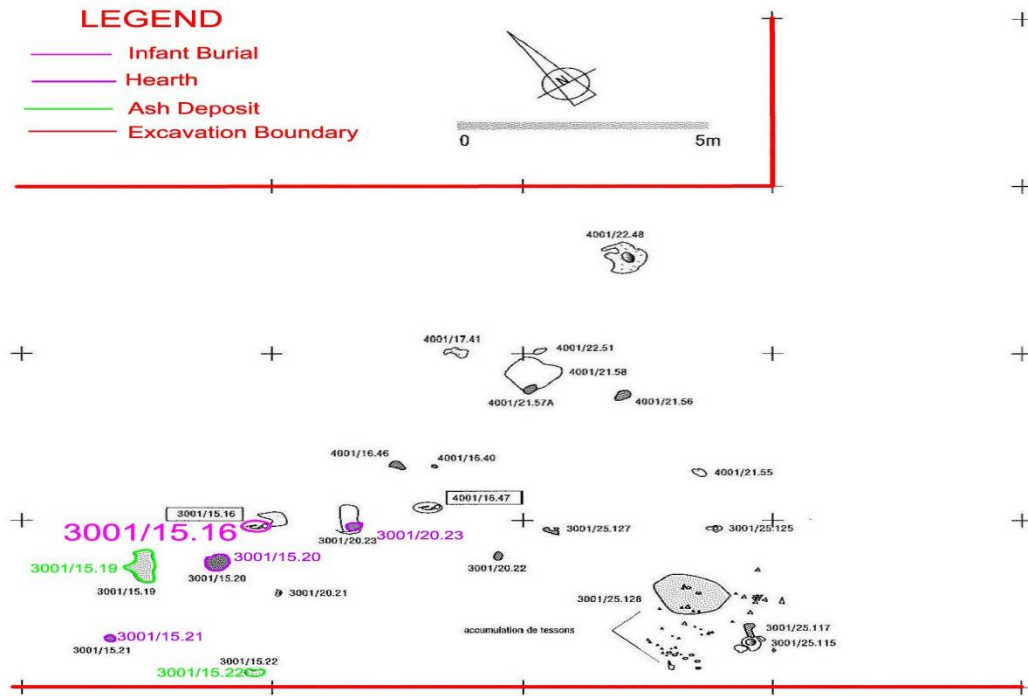


Figure 22. Burial 3001/15.16 and Features (adapted from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Plan 5).

The last burial, 4001/16.47, was depicted with two hearth areas, 4001/16.46 and 4001/16.40 (Figure 23). Hearth 4001/16.40 dipped downwards and contained a small amount of charcoal and microfauna (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:53). The second hearth had large amounts of charcoal (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:55). However, the burial appeared to be from an earlier time than the two hearths (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002:139).

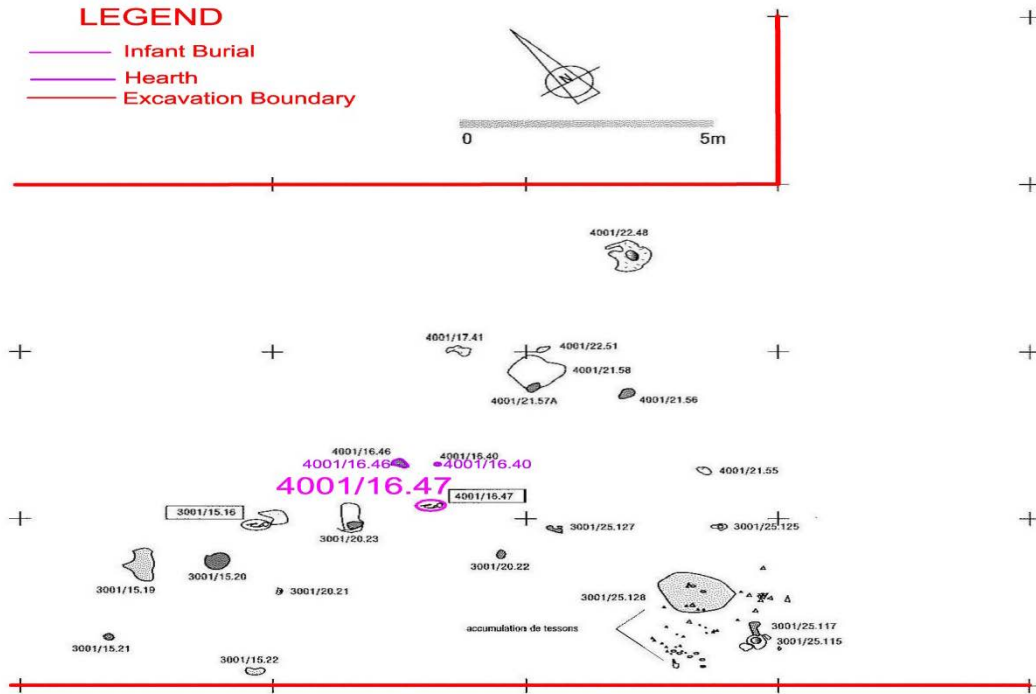


Figure 23. Burial 4001/16.47 and Features (adapted from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002: Plan 5).

ANALYSES/RESULTS

Archaeological and Historical Context

Dogs

The spatial analysis made it apparent how dispersed the dog burials were in relation to one another. There was no designated area for these burials. With the exception of burial 3001/20.15, the burials were not located near a large density of postholes. Additionally, the burials were usually near some kind of disposal area for ash and other materials. This occurred with burials 1001/18.1 and 4001/11.14. The widespread dispersal of burials, lack of posthole densities in these areas, and being placed in areas near midden materials (e.g. flint fragments, ceramic sherds, etc.) suggests that the dogs were buried away from the homes of the population.

While the burials are not near the living spaces, there could have been emotional attachment to the dogs.

Infants/Children

The infant burials within the settlement of Adaïma occurred in living space areas. Many of the features surrounding the burials in the area were hearths, former storage areas, or, on one occasion, a *calage-céramique*. So, unlike the dogs burials previously discussed, the child burials appear to have been kept nearby the living areas.

Importance of Individuals

Dogs

The dog burials within the settlement of Adaïma held some importance to the people who layed the dogs to rest. While the dogs were not being kept close to home after death, the dogs were still given grave goods and buried, not simply tossed to the side. These goods were not the most lavish but someone still had to take the time to manufacture the materials. The most significant of the goods left with the dogs were the two offering bottles/jars found with burials 3001/20.15 and 4001/11.14. Leaving these jars incates the people's concern for the afterlife of the animals.

Dogs have been a part of, not only the Adaïma settlement, but Egyptian culture for a majority of Egypt's history. According to Karine Bouvier-Closse, domesticated dogs began to be seen at similar times as other domesticates such as sheep, goat, etc. The earliest Burial of a canine species dates to the Badarian. In this burial, the animal was buried with a mat (Bouvier-Closse 2001:55-56). As time passed, dogs continued to be interred either with humans or in association with humans. Examples of this were seen in Predynastic site like Ballas, Mahasna, Hierakonpolis, Nagada, Heliopolis, and Abydos (Bouvier-Closse 2001:56).

Canines begin being depicted during Nagada I in hunting scenes, usually on pottery called white cross-line ware (Bouvier-Closse 2001:56; Hendrickx 2006:723, 728). Within these scenes, the dogs are depicted as being “in the pursuit of – or immediately preceding an assault on – other animals (Hendrickx 2006:724).” Other characteristics of include a raised front leg (referred by Stan Hendrickx as the “leaping” position); pointed ears, triangular body, and a curled tail (Figure 24) (Hendrickx et al. 2009:205). Hendrickx believes that it is possible to identify the dog breed based on the degree of the tail curl. For example, dogs with a more drastic curl to the tail would be perceived as a basenji (barkless dog) while one with a gradient curl is most likely to be a greyhound (Figure 25) (Hendrickx et al. 2009:205-206).

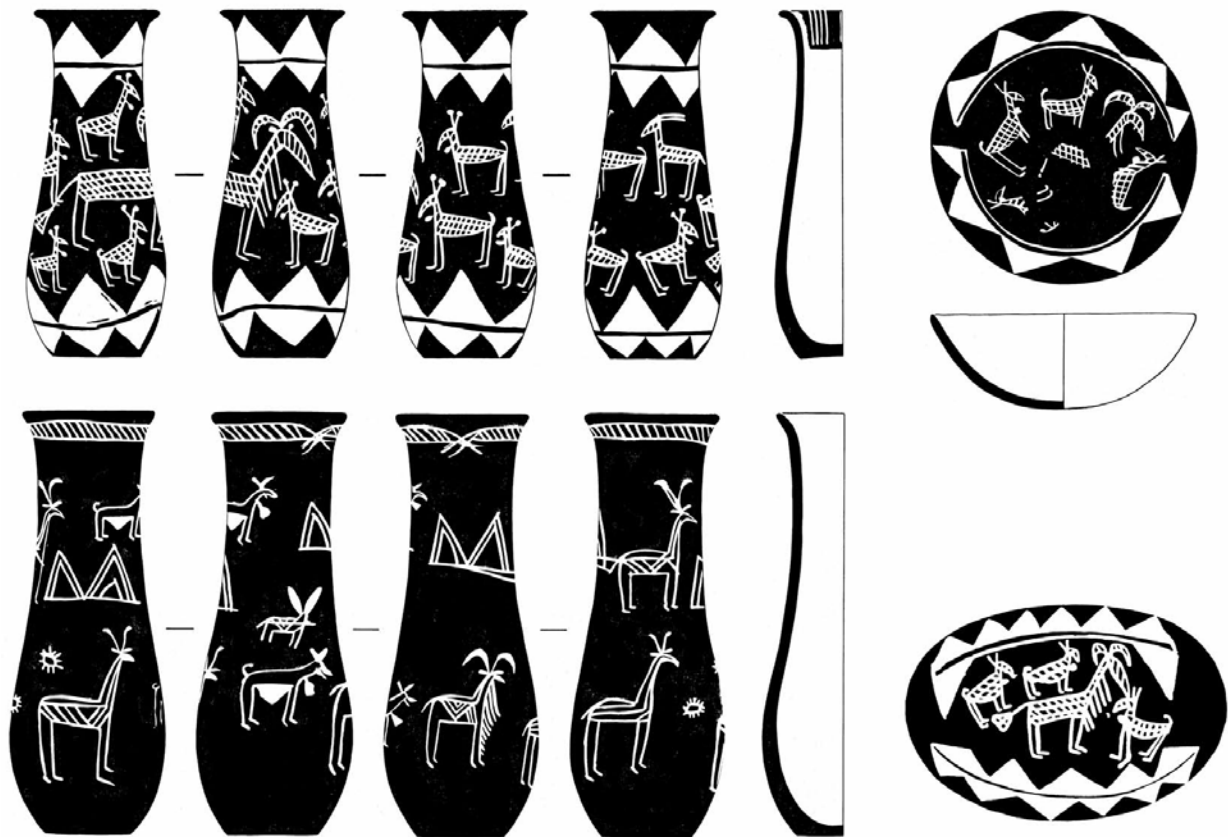


Figure 24. Vessel from Nagada Portraying Identifying Characteristics and Potential Basenji Dogs (Hendrickx et al. 2009:Figure 18).



Figure 25. Vessel from Abydos Depicting Potential Greyhound-like Dogs (Hendrickx et al. 2009:Figure 21).

In addition to being portrayed on different ceramic vessels during the Predynastic, hunting scenes could also be carved into rock. Unlike the vessels previously shown, the rock carvings appear more “active” (Hendrickx 2006:728). Many of the carvings are located in the Western Desert at Dakhla Oasis (Figure 2). In these depictions the dogs are attacking Barbary sheep, an animal once common in the Eastern and Western Deserts but now on the brink of extinction (Figures 26 and 27) (Hendrickx et al. 2009:190).

It is important to note that by the fourth millennium B.C., hunting was not used as a major source of subsistence goods. Rather, it became an elite activity in which only the well-to-do could participate (Hendrickx 2006:735). Hunting was used by elites to display their control over the chaotic world. As time progressed, the theme of the iconography changed. Instead of a pack of dogs attacking an animal like in Figure 27 below, the dogs were seen in the iconography

maintaining the orderly, straight lines of animals (Hendrickx 2006:743). According to Hendrickx,

The theme of order over chaos seems to be present already from at least the late Nagada I period, which is not surprising since the second important power issue, namely military power, also occurs from that moment onwards. Over time there seems to have been an evolution in the iconographic context in which the dog was represented, from a preference for actual hunting scenes to dogs controlling orderly arranged rows of animals. However from the beginning both representations occur next to each other and continue to do so (Hendrickx 2006:732).



Figure 26. Rock Carving of a Pack of Dogs Attacking a Barbary Sheep (Hendrickx et al. 2009:Figure 28)

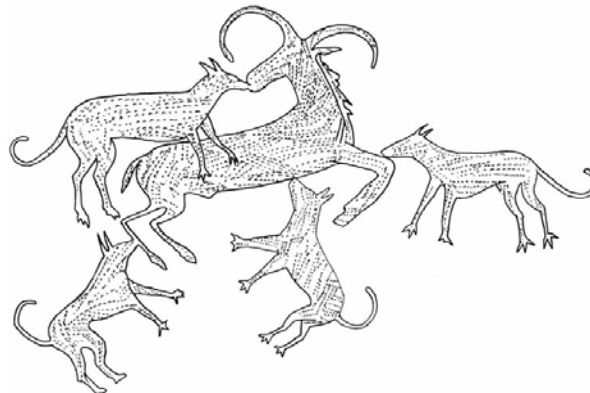


Figure 27. Sketch of Figure 14 (Hendrickx et al. 2009:29).

There are multiple reasons why dogs would be deemed worthy enough of a burial. First, the dogs buried at Adaïma were used for hunting various animals, as is evident through some of the other faunal material found. For example, a few Barbary sheep remains as well as hippopotamus and other wild animal remains were reported by Wim Van Neer (Van Neer 2002). The remains of Barbary sheep reaffirm the iconography that has been seen on numerous vessels. Second, the presence of a graffiti depicting a dog with the characteristics discusses above demonstrates a shared component with other settlements in Egypt during the Predynastic (Figure 28). Finally, the iconography from the Predynastic depicted the animals as managers of chaos among the people and a symbol of the elite class.



Figure 28. Left: Abydos Greyhound-like Dog (Hendrickx et al. 2009). Right: Adaïma Graffito (Midant-Reynes et al. 2002).

Stan Hendrickx, when discussing dog burials, sums up the importance of these burials as follows:

It is however to be noted that burials of dogs also occur in less prestigious environments. At Adaïma for example, five dogs were found buried within the settlement. The fact that matting could be used for these burials and that in some instances a water jar accompanied the dog indicates nevertheless the importance attached to these animals (Hendrickx 2006:736).

Infants/Children

The burial goods belonging to the infants/children were limited. Between the four total burials, only three were recorded to possess any goods (Table 2). The individual with the most goods happened to be the oldest as well (nine months to one year). Burial 3001/15.16 was buried with beads, a vase, shell, and mat. The remaining burials belonged to individuals between the ages of three to six months. Despite a similar age range, these burials did not appear to be equal in the value of their grave goods. While there were only four infant/child burials in the settlement to study, the discrepancies in the grave goods could indicate the presence of ascribed status.

Table 2. Infant/Child Burials (Data from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002)

<u>Burial No.</u>	<u>Burial Container</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Orientation</u>	<u>Burial Type*</u>	<u>Grave Goods</u>
1001/2.13	LEATHER BAG	L	SW	P	GOAT ULNA; SHELL
1001/5.1	LEATHER BAG	L	S	P	OYSTER VALVE?
3001/15.16	LEATHER BAG	L	S	P	BEADS; VASE; SHELL; MAT
4001/16.47		R	E	P	

* P = Primary

Dog and Infant/Child Comparison

The positions of the dog and infant/child burials were slightly different. The infants/children appeared to be fairly consistent with the positions (Table 2). Three out of the four infant/child burials were buried on their left side, and were oriented to the south. The one exception is burial 4001/16.47 that was placed on the right side and oriented to the east. The burial was also the only human burial in the settlement not buried goods or a leather container (there was a portion of leather found within the burial but not enough to conclude that a container was present).

With the dog burials, there was not a set pattern to the inhumations (Table 3). Two of the burials were on their left, two on their right, and one which could not be determined. Similarly, the available sample size for burial orientation was not conducive to make any generalizations. The grave goods for the dog burial were more standardized according to what can be seen on Table 3. Like their human counterparts, the dogs could also be buried with vessels. What was not seen between the two sets of grave goods was any type of beads or other faunal material with the canine burials.

When compared, the infant/child burials seemed to be treated in a more caring manner than the dog burials. This was determined through the consistency with which the young were buried (left side; towards the south) and the grave goods that were found. For example, burial 1001/2.13 had the ulna of a goat buried with it. This could be seen as giving the child food/nourishment for the afterlife. While two of the dogs had bottle/jars, food remains similar to that found in the human burial, were completely lacking.

Table 3. Dog Burials (Data from Midant-Reynes et al. 2002).

Burial No.	Position	Orientation	Burial Type*	Grave goods	Burial Container
1001/18.1	L	NE	P	DOUBLE MAT	
3001/20.15	L	SE	P	JAR/BOTTLE	
4001/6.3	R		P		
4001/11.14			P	JAR/BOTTLE	
4001/17.29	R	S	P	MAT	

* P = Primary

Settlement Rather than Cemetery

As far as infant/child grave goods were concerned, there was little difference between those from the settlement and those from the cemeteries. Both categories had beads, ceramics, shell, and faunal remains. However, the faunal remains were different in and of themselves. In the Western Cemetery an individual was buried with the remains of a catfish, a water creature that was perceived as chaotic. The fauna from the settlement that was placed in the burial was from a goat, a domestic species, one that was orderly.

Orientation of the burials varied slightly between the cemetery sample and the settlement. The cemetery was stricter with maintaining a south-north orientation. The settlement burials were south-north roughly half the time. The other individuals were situated southwest and east. Both samples, for the most part, had the deceased placed on their left side.

The most obvious difference was the type of burial present. As stated previously, a large number of the burials in the cemetery were in/underneath vessels. However, the settlement placed the infants/children into a leather bag rather than using a vessel. The cause of these discrepancies could be the personal preference of the parent or an issue of cost.

CONCLUSION

The dog burials studied at the Adaima settlement were buried near midden areas as well as areas lacking posthole densities. Additionally, the burials were widely dispersed over the settlement. This suggests that the dogs were buried away from the homes of the population. While the burials were not near the living spaces, there could have been emotional attachment to the dogs. There are two pieces of supporting evidence for this. First, the dogs were buried rather than tossed to the side. Second, some labor was invested in the creation of the grave goods (e.g. offering jars) showing a concern for the animal's afterlife.

The importance of the five dogs at settlement appears in four ways. First, the dogs were intentionally buried with grave goods which, as previously stated, could show concern for their afterlife. Second, dogs were used for hunting as seen in numerous ceramic iconography and rock carvings. Third, the graffiti depicting a dog found at the site demonstrates a shared component with other Predynastic sites. Finally, dogs were to control chaos by the elite class. However, dogs were not more important than the infants/children found at the site based on a comparison of the grave goods in the burials.

In contrast, the infant/child burials appear near the house structures of the settlement. The presence of postholes, hearths, and storage areas support this conclusion. The grave goods of the infants/children suggest a society of ascribed status. One individual possessed a vase, beads, and other goods while another was buried with no goods that were similar in age. After comparing the cemetery and settlement context burials at Adaima, few differences in burial practices were present. The differences in the methods of burial and the faunal remains within the burials suggest the discrepancies are a result of either the parents' choice or cost of the

burials. Those in the cemeteries were buried inside/underneath ceramics, while the children in the settlement were in leather containers.

With few settlements from the Predynastic period surviving in the archaeological record, Adaïma offers scholars an opportunity further understand how settlements functioned during this time. Additionally, the presence of cemeteries at the site allows for comparisons between the two contexts. With further study, Egyptian Predynastic culture can be understood more fully.

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