

Lower – Upper Egyptian Interaction during the Pre-Naqada Period: From Initial Trade Contacts to the Ascendancy of Southern Chiefdoms

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Considering the succession of events in Lower Egypt preceding the Naqada expansion in Lower Egypt in the late fourth millennium, we can distinguish three steps of activity in the relationship between the Delta cultures and the Naqada culture. The three steps span some 700 years between 4000 and 3300 BCE.¹

Phase 1: Initial Contacts Between the Northern Delta and Upper Egypt: Culture of Early Buto (Buto Ia)–Culture of Late Badari/Early Naqada Ia (ca. 4000–3800 BCE)

The first trading step between the two regions took place during the Buto Ia Period. The chronology presented by von der Way² has placed the origin of Buto in a period contemporary with the end of Ma'adi, in a timeframe corresponding to the Upper Egyptian chronology of Naqada IIb,³ a relative chronology that has been widely quoted by researchers.⁴ Yet we believe that the Buto phase Ia⁵ should be placed in a far earlier period corresponding to the opening of Ma'adi, or even to a pre-Ma'adian phase. In terms of Upper Egyptian chronology, this period would be contemporary with the Late Badarian or early Naqada Ia,⁶ This analysis is based on the locally-produced ceramics which feature some shapes comparable to the cultures of Upper Egypt and strong culturally-Palestinian characteristics which would appear more likely linked to the Palestinian Late Chalcolithic. Given the current published data, the relative chronology between the Buto Ia culture and the Ma'adi culture must be seriously revised, and it is hazardous to link these two sites, as the archaeological material shows few similar traits and could occupy distinct and disjunctive timeframes. Von der Way's forging of the term "Buto-Ma'adi culture" is thus a source of confusion that must be put into focus and possibly be entirely reformulated.

Artifacts being unearthed relating to Buto I and II are also quite different. Analyzing the proposed classification, we can identify a chronological gap between Buto I and II due to the fact that a layer with a clearly much earlier material of Palestinian origin (Buto I) dating from the Late

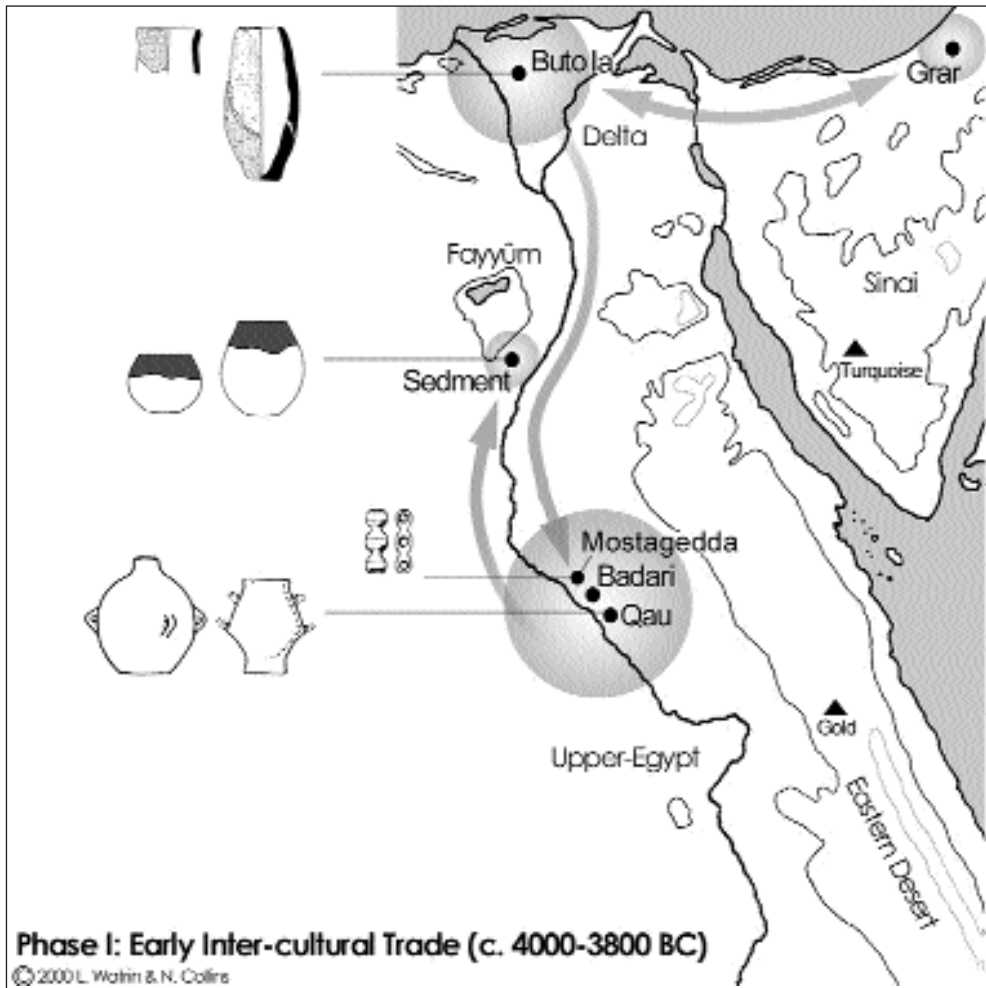


Figure 1

Chalcolithic (*ca.* 4000–3800 BCE) has not been taken properly into account. The next layer (Buto II), as far as it is concerned, shows D-class shards and a kind of “impressed-ware” typical of the Naqada IIb–c Period (*ca.* 3500–3400 BCE). Von der Way⁷ and Köhler⁸ insist that there is no stratigraphical “gap” anywhere in the recorded layers of Buto. Still, it appears that the “archaeological layers” are based on the clustering of similar material into “phases” rather than on real stratigraphy.⁹ Another aspect concerns the precise determination of Buto’s phases in relation to Ma’adi (Buto Ia, Buto Ib and/or Buto IIa?). In any case, these links are difficult to establish because the best type-fossils for Buto Ia, the locally manufactured Chalcolithic Palestinian type kitchenware, and for Buto IIa, ceramics decorated with a “rocker stamp” and D-class Naqada-ware, are both totally absent from Ma’adi.

The relationship between Early Buto and Upper Egypt is attested by two Chalcolithic

Palestinian ceramics (pots with four lug handles) found in a Badarian tomb (Qau al-Kebir 569¹⁰) which were surely traded through a center of Lower Egypt.¹¹ Another Badarian tomb (Mostagedda 592), has yielded eight “perforated rods,”¹² made of shell, possibly elements of a belt derivative of Chalcolithic Palestinian models in bone (Ghassûl, Nahal-Qanah). According to R. Friedman,¹³ we also find some non-local jars in Badarian tombs similar in manufacture, finish, and form to vessels from Merimde or Buto I. Furthermore, in the Northern delta at Tell al-Farkha, M. Chlodnicki¹⁴ indicates that recent digs reaching the sites earliest layers have unearthed jars that might be linked to Bararian ware. The presence of cylindrical ceramics at Buto I could also establish another link between the Northern and Southern cultures. These ceramics have been compared to Naqadan beakers by von der Way¹⁵ and Faltings,¹⁶ significant reference material for Upper Egypt at the period of Naqada I–IIa, yet these vases do not feature the blackened rims characteristic of the beakers or their imitations (Ma’adi), and find closer parallels in the Neolithic cultures of Lower Egypt such as Merimde,¹⁷ pushing the site’s timeframe even further back to a period contemporary with the Early Predynastic. A radiocarbon dating¹⁸ yielding a date around 4000 BCE for Buto I is consistent with the type of artifacts that we find there. If there are some links between Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt at the time of Early Buto, some clues may be also found in the Fayoum.

In the Fayoum, cemetery “J” at Sedment re-evaluated by B. Williams,¹⁹ reveals links with Upper Egypt, notably in the form of a reddish-brown jar with a blackened rim which is certainly an imitation of a black-topped vessel, perhaps from the Badarian Period (?).²⁰ In the region of Qasr Qarûn, the site FS-3²¹ presents links to the south in the form of a U fishtail flint blade,²² an import from Upper Egypt occurring during Naqada Ia–IIa.

Phase 2: The Forging of Inter-regional Trade Networks during the Ma’adi Cultural Phase and the Naqada Ia–IIa Phases (ca. 3800–3500 BCE)

The second trade phase between the north and the south of Egypt takes place during the Ma’adi culture phase. The sites linked to this culture are virtually all located in the Cairo region with the exception of Es-Saffa a little further south. The relationship between the northern Delta and Ma’adi remains to a certain extent, unclear.²³ We find some artifacts (possibly from Ma’adi) such as a square-sectioned copper hook and some basalt jars fragments at Buto Ib,²⁴ and what appears to be a ring-based jar situated in the “transition phase” of Buto I–II.²⁵ This same phase reveals possible copies of jars P 56b,²⁶ which may suggest a fragile link between Buto and Upper Egypt during Naqada Ic–IIa. However, the synchronous presence at Buto and at Ma’adi of bone combs²⁷ similar to the earliest southern productions attests to the contacts with Upper Egypt.

The discovery at Ma’adi of products imported from other cultural spheres has allowed us to draw an initial sketch of the site’s possible chronology.²⁸ It is based on the presence of some imported or copied material from the south (B-Class ceramics and stone palettes) as well as the presence of imported ledge-handled Palestinian ceramics, considered as prototypes of the first W-class wares which appear in Upper Egypt in Naqada IIc. The difficulty in establishing a relative chronology among the southern and northern cultures is apparent in the works of Kaiser²⁹ and of Rizkana and Seeher³⁰ who propose a wide dating-range around Naqada I–II. The beginnings of the Ma’adi cluster (Heliopolis, Ma’adi, Digla I–II) are placed in the second half of Naqada I³¹ and the closing is placed in mid- or final Naqada II, depending on the author: Naqada IIb–c (Rizkana and Seeher³²), Naqada IIb–early IIc (Hartung³³), Naqada IIc (Tutundzic, Largacha³⁴), Naqada IIc–d (Kaiser³⁵), or Naqada IId (Hendrickx³⁶). We will demonstrate that Ma’adi should be more surely situated in an earlier sequence, in a period contemporary with Naqada Ia–c and extending into *Stufe* IIa.³⁷

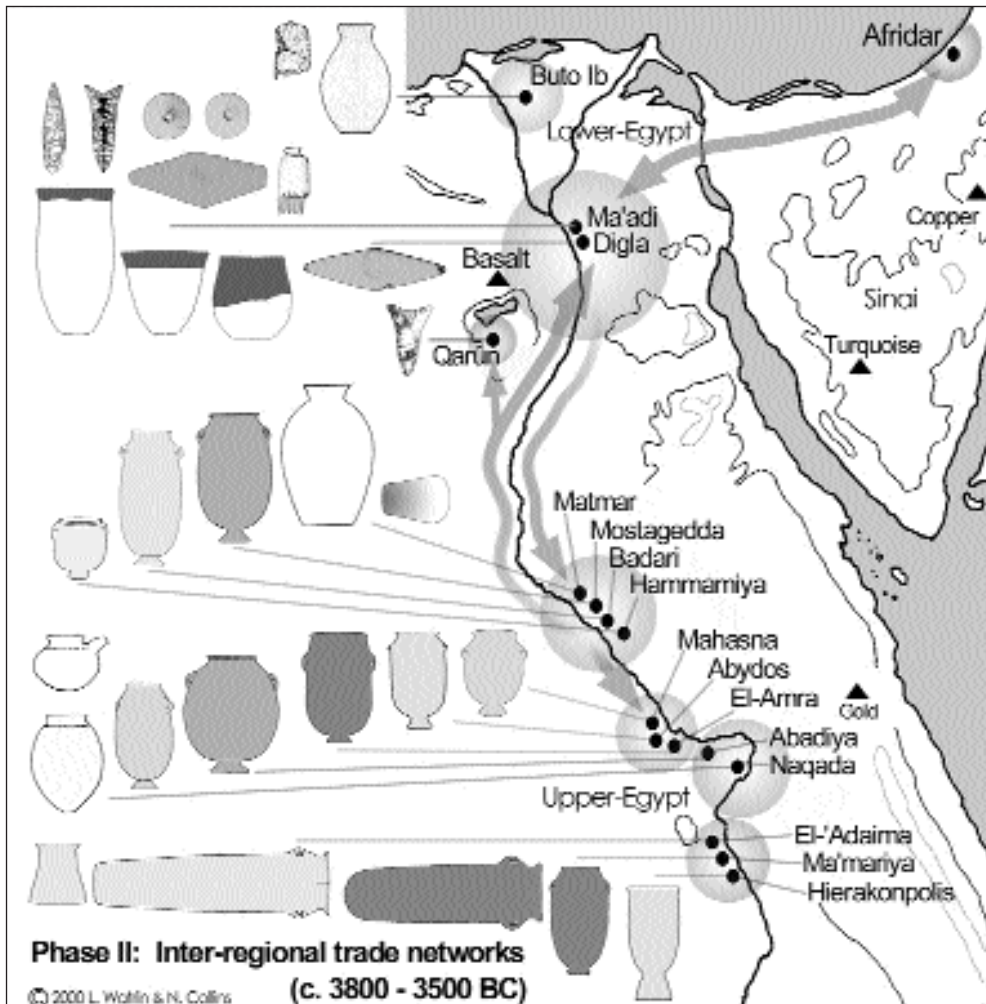


Figure 2

The current conventional dating is based largely on the presence of black-topped shards and their local imitations (complete vessels), in particular beakers which appear on the Naqada Ia-IIb horizon.³⁸ In Upper Egypt, this fine ceramic is current in the necropoli during Naqada Ia-c where it is the dominant ceramic type.³⁹ While it is difficult to compare the Ma'adian imitations to precise black-topped models from the south, it appears possible to relate some of them to Naqada forms B 18b,⁴⁰ B 25m,⁴¹ and B 84a,⁴² forms characteristic of Naqada Ib-IIa. So we have on the one hand the presence of a ceramics set linked to an early period (*Stufen Ib-IIa*), and on the other hand the absence of D-Class ceramics typical of a more recent period (*Stufen IIb-c*). This may be interpreted as a lack of interaction with the southern cultures during Naqada IIb-c, or it may indicate Ma'adi's closure before this date.

The ceramic trade parameters include Ma'adian-type ceramics discovered in Upper Egypt.

These may include a jar decorated with incised pattern around its neck (classified as P 40f by Petrie⁴³) discovered in a context of Naqada Ia (Naqada tomb N 1783).

In the other direction, on the Ma'adi site, we find a flint dagger⁴⁴ and a fish-tailed flint blade which are lithic tools clearly imported from Naqadan lands. The fish-tailed flint blade is U-shaped,⁴⁵ which testifies to its import before Naqada IIb, the date at which this model is replaced by the V-shape.⁴⁶ Two other typical lithic artifacts imported or imitated locally lead to the same conclusion. The presence at Ma'adi⁴⁷ of Naqada I type flat-topped mace heads typical of Upper Egypt beginning in Naqada Ia,⁴⁸ and the absence of Naqada IIa–b pear-shaped mace heads,⁴⁹ may indicate an early dating limited to Naqada I. The same holds true for the slate palettes which are all of the simple rhombic type (Petrie's types 90, 91, 92), which have been found at Ma'adi⁵⁰ and Digla⁵¹ and which appear from Naqada Ia onward.⁵² In Upper Egyptian necropoli, this type of artifact represents two-thirds of the Naqada I palettes.⁵³ At the beginning of Naqada IIa, they were progressively replaced by the zoomorphic palettes—particularly fish-shaped palettes—which represent about half of the palettes in Naqada II,⁵⁴ artifacts totally absent at Ma'adi. We also note that the bifacial knives of Naqada IIb⁵⁵ and the “rippleflake” knives of Naqada IIc, widely used in Upper Egypt, are comparatively, totally absent at Ma'adi.

Likewise, valuable chronological indications can be deduced from the Ma'adian materials imported into the Naqadan sphere, notably the basalt vases.⁵⁶ The majority of these stone productions appear to have originated in Northern Egypt, a region with a long tradition of basalt craftsmanship: Merimde, Al-Omari, and around the Cairo-area quarries (Heliopolis) and those of the Fayoum.⁵⁷ Numerous basalt vases have a ring base and bear lugs, some with a row of shallow hollows carved round the neck,⁵⁸ a set of characteristics which can be found on the Ma'adian pottery, but not in that of Upper Egypt.⁵⁹ In Naqada tombs, basalt vases similar to those of Ma'adi are present as early as Naqada Ia and are particularly numerous at the Naqada Ic–IIa Periods.⁶⁰ They have been found at Abydos (U 1)⁶¹ and at Naqada (N 1676⁶²) in Naqada Ia contexts; at Mahasna (H 30),⁶³ Ab'adiya (B 56),⁶⁴ Al-Badari (3823),⁶⁵ and at Naqada (N 231, N 1503, N 1661)⁶⁶ in Naqada Ic contexts; at Mahasna (H 38)⁶⁷ in a Naqada IIa context, as well as in other necropoli among tombs that can not be precisely dated.⁶⁸ No tomb later than Naqada IIa features this kind of basalt vessel, which may indicate that the commercial networks were either run down or nonexistent by the end of this period.⁶⁹

Other artifacts such as the Ma'adian-type copper objects discovered in Upper Egyptian sites allow us to trace the links between these two regions and to refine chronological timeframes. At Matmar, Brunton⁷⁰ discovered copper hooks square in cross-section, similar to the Ma'adian copper hook types.⁷¹ On the same site (Matmar tomb 3131), we find a trapezoidal copper axe identical to the Ma'adian productions.⁷² Matmar represents the northern extent of the Naqada I civilization (its earliest tombs dating from Naqada Ib⁷³). The tomb 3131 has conventionally been dated in Naqada IIb,⁷⁴ but it is more likely contemporary with Naqada Ic.⁷⁵ This chronological re-evaluation is important because it allows us to determine the Naqadan chronology for the Ma'adian rise of metallurgical activities, a time contemporary with the death of the owner of Matmar tomb 3131 around Naqada Ic.⁷⁶ This tomb has also revealed a Palestinian jar dating from the Early EB I, which confirms the existence of trade with the north. This discovery is not isolated, since another tomb at Naqada, dating from the same period (N 1759, Naqada Ic),⁷⁷ yielded a small Palestinian spout jar (“teapot”) of rough clay, possibly wheel-made, with one line of incised pattern round its neck associated with metal (a copper pin).

Another chronological puzzle involves the Naqadan ledge-handled jars and the W-class models appearing in Upper Egypt during Naqada IIc (ca. 3400 BCE). The origin of the wavy-han-

dled jar type is Palestinian. According to Hendrickx,⁷⁸ they were brought into Egypt through trade beginning during Naqada IIb. In Naqada IIc, we find the first Egyptian imitations of these pots in the tombs of Upper Egypt.⁷⁹ We must first note that the Palestinian ledge-handled jars imported at Ma'adi belong to the EB Ia1 Period (*ca.* 3700–3600 BCE), a time-span contemporary with Naqada Ic-IIa.⁸⁰ As a consequence, the Naqadan potters drew their inspiration from later series that were contemporary with Naqada IIc. We must also consider that Petrie types W 1 and W 2 are most likely jars imported from Palestine in Naqada IIc, and that the first Naqadan imitations begin with the type W 3. The W 3 are wide-bodied jars with a ledge handle positioned at mid-body.⁸¹ The Palestinian chronology relative to Naqada IIc is in the mid EB I Period (EB Ib1),⁸² and the W 3 models are more closely linked to Palestinian jars of EB Ia2 type or early EB Ib1. In conclusion, the equation Naqada IIc = closing of Ma'adi, largely based on Kaiser's interpretation of the relationship between Ma'adi's EB Ia1 ledge-handled jars and the W-ware of the Naqada culture, will probably have to be reconsidered.

The whole of the present analysis⁸³ confirms that Ma'adi is a Middle Predynastic site, which was probably established much earlier than thought at first (around Naqada Ia), and that likewise it was probably abandoned earlier (throughout Naqada IIa). The rescaling of both the opening and closing of the site is consistent with comparative studies by different researchers⁸⁴ based on the radiocarbon methods which place Ma'adi around 3800 and 3500 BCE,⁸⁵ corresponding precisely to the absolute chronology for Upper Egypt in the time span of Naqada I.⁸⁶

Phase 3: Trade Links between Upper Egypt and the “Post-Ma’adian and Pre-Naqadan” Delta Cultures of Buto II, Tell al-Farkha I, and Tell al-Eswed A (Naqada IIb–c, *ca.* 3500–3300 BCE)

The third phase of the relationship between Lower and Upper Egypt would concern what we currently refer to as the “post-Ma’adian” and “pre-Naqadan” Delta cultures, a group of sites located in the northern Delta (Tell al-Farkha Ia, Tell al-Iswid III-I, Buto IIa) which present an original culture whose opening is contemporary with Naqada IIb⁸⁷ and possibly earlier (during Late Naqada IIa). This notion is supported by the presence on some of these sites of artifacts featuring some likeness to Ma’adian culture but also major differences which can be explained by regional particularities, and moreover by chronological distance. Indeed, Buto IIa features some similarities to both the Ma’adian culture⁸⁸ and that of Upper Egypt. The comparisons made between the ceramics of Buto II and that of Naqada are fragile⁸⁹ with the exception of small ovoid pots with round bases which can with certainty be linked with the Naqadan R 65b–c types,⁹⁰ a ceramic type current in the Upper Egyptian burials of Naqada IIa–IIIa Periods. At the same period we note that among the ceramic set of Buto IIa, appears an amphora with a pointed base,⁹¹ which may have been inspired by Naqada P 98 jars⁹² during Naqada IIb–c. We also observe the emergence of a new ceramic type in Upper Egypt,⁹³ the “Rough”-class (beginning in Naqada IIa),⁹⁴ which may have been influenced by the crude northern ceramics that make up about 95 percent of the ceramic sets of the Delta sites as far back as the Neolithic.

The relationship between these Delta sites and the Upper Egyptian cultures takes place in a more recent phase than Ma’adi as attested by the presence of D-class Upper Egyptian shards⁹⁵ with a spiral motif at Buto IIa, and by the roulette-decorated ceramics from the Delta found on sites in Upper Egypt. Indeed this period in the Delta witnesses the emergence of a new ceramic group known as “Roulette-ware,” a group of small cooking vessels using organic temper and bearing a motif made by a rocker stamp.⁹⁶ This ceramic class represents a small percentage of the jars (one percent of the sets) but is definitely present on all the northern Delta sites contem-

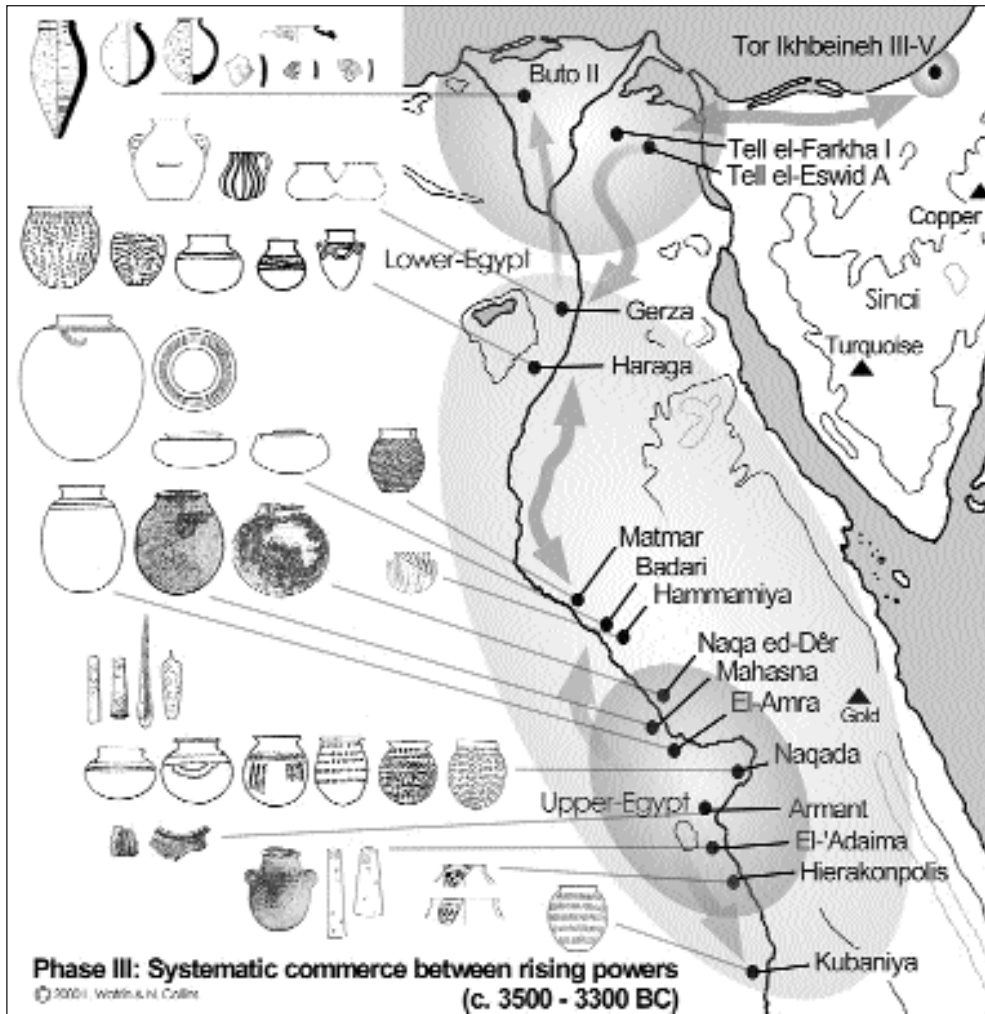


Figure 3

porary with the closing of Naqada IIa until Naqada IIc. It apparently emerges in Naqada IIa with a striped motif⁹⁷ continuing in Naqada IIb-c with an additional evolutionary tangent toward geometrical designs (zigzags) stamped horizontally or vertically.⁹⁸ Other vessels with punctated decoration are the result of different techniques using a stylus or nail.⁹⁹

These pots from Lower Egypt, whose content is unknown to us, were either exported toward or imitated in Upper Egypt. Some of these vessels bear a particular decoration of three or four parallel lines impressed with a rocker-stamp, forming a sort of necklace with a “loose” end. The most ancient one comes from Mahasna¹⁰⁰ in a Naqada IIa context (tomb H 33). Three examples come from Naqada (Naqada tombs N 1352,¹⁰¹ N 1361,¹⁰² and N 1689¹⁰³). At Naga ed-Der (N 7298)¹⁰⁴ and at al-Badari,¹⁰⁵ we also find this decoration, not on small pots but on medium-sized jars. Another model bearing three rows of incisions round the neck comes from an al-Amra

tomb (B 139)¹⁰⁶ belonging to Naqada IIb. Three small jars with the same motif were discovered at Naqada (N 1705 and N 1899).¹⁰⁷ This impressed decor with three rows of incisions round the neck also exists on other containers as at al-Badari.¹⁰⁸ We also identify one pot with only two rows of incisions in a Naqada tomb (N 396). At Abydos (tomb U-392, Naqada IIb?),¹⁰⁹ another model presents a motif of four incised parallel stripes. At al-Adaima (tomb 404, dated Naqada IIb¹¹⁰), we find a pot with lug-handles decorated with three parallel rocker-stamp lines. We find a comparable pot with knob handles in Naqada tomb 198,¹¹¹ which while undated is probably belonging to Naqada IIb–c¹¹² based on its cultural context and localization. A small Naqada jar¹¹³ (tomb N 707) also bears similar motives. At Matmar¹¹⁴ (tomb 2665 dated in Naqada IIb) we find another type of small jar with punctuated motif. Three examples come from Naqada/Ballas¹¹⁵ (in Naqada IIb–c contexts). In Hammamiya tomb 1728, which should be dated as belonging to Naqada IIb,¹¹⁶ we find a small, lug-handled Palestinian jar, reflecting once more the “obliged middleman position” of the Delta throughout Egypt’s relationship with Palestine.¹¹⁷

In the lithic industry, we note at Buto II and Tell al-Iswid A set of standardized flint blades knives designated as “Hammamiya blades variant A” by K. Schmidt.¹¹⁸ These blades are more elaborate than the types produced at Ma’adi but less evolved than the “rippleflake” series of Upper Egypt. These blade knives appear frequently in Upper Egyptian tombs in Naqada IIb¹¹⁹ and are thus an important marker in establishing the chronologies of the post-Ma’adian Delta cultures, as well as major proof of their contacts with the southern Nile Valley cultures.

The period of Naqada IIc which corresponds to the second phase of the northern Delta cultures (Tell al-Farkha Ib, Tell al-Iswid VI–IV, Buto IIb, Tell Ibrahim Awad 7) sees the expansion of the Upper Egyptian cultures into the Fayoum as seen in the foundation of Gerza and Haraga.¹²⁰ The Delta villages are in contact with the Naqadan villages in the Fayoum, as demonstrated by Lower Egyptian imports. The site of Haraga, whose tombs date from Naqada IIc–d1¹²¹ have yielded two small blackware jars, one with a zigzag motif and the other one with a striped motif (F 91g and F 91n),¹²² as well as three small “red-polished” pots bearing a striped decor (P 76, P 77k, and P 80p).¹²³ At 20 km north of Haraga, the site of Gerza¹²⁴ has yielded ceramic containers that were surely shipped through the Delta (several Palestinian jars). Further south, shards with a zigzag motif have been found in the Ermant settlement (unknown date)¹²⁵ and at Hierakonpolis (context Naqada IIc).¹²⁶ In addition, some Palestinian jars have been found at al-Amra¹²⁷ and at Naqada¹²⁸ in Naqada IIc contexts, which must have been transited through the Delta.¹²⁹ The most southerly discovery of a probable Lower Egyptian import comes in the form of a small jar with a pinecone pattern at Kubbaniya.¹³⁰

This pre-Naqadan Period in Lower Egypt ends around Naqada IId1. On the majority of the Delta sites, there is a gap between the stratigraphic sequence between the Predynastic and the Protodynastic occupation phases. At Tell al-Farkha, the layer Ib is contemporary with Naqada IIc and is followed by a gap corresponding to Naqada IId; the following layer (Farkha II) dates to Naqada III.¹³¹ The stratigraphical break at al-Farkha is marked by a significant erosive interface that corresponds to the drastic change in the material culture (i.e. pottery).¹³² The same discontinuity has been documented at Tell al-Iswid between the layers six and seven, which are contemporary with Tell al-Farkha Ib and II.¹³³ On this site, the stratigraphical break is marked by a sand deposit. Yet on another site (Buto IIIa¹³⁴), we have some evidence of a more gradual evolution of the archaeological sets with the introduction of Naqada-ware,¹³⁵ indicating either an increase in the imports or a period of acculturation (locally made?).

This period, immediately before Naqada’s expansion toward the north, sensible as from Naqada IId onward (ca. 3300 BCE), may be split into three principal sequences. The first sequence

witnesses mostly down-the-line trade between Upper and Lower Egypt and with the neighboring regions. The second sequence is best illustrated by the emergence of a trade federation among the villages of Lower Egypt (typified by Ma'adi) and in Upper Egypt (typified by rivaling village-territories). This second sequence also sees the establishment of inter-regional trade networks now trading metals like copper. The third sequence in Upper Egypt sees Naqada's domination over rivaling chiefdoms and the expansion of its authority across Middle Egypt toward the borders of the Delta. This final phase of trade before the acculturation of Lower Egypt by Naqada sees a shift in exported containers from basalt to ceramic material, as well as a shift in Lower Egypt's cultural center from the southern Delta (Ma'adi) to the northern Delta (Buto II, Tell al-Farkha I), perhaps due to internal conflicts over trade.

Notes:

- 1 For the relative chronology of Upper Egypt, that of Petrie and Kaiser are used, taking into account the revisions made by T. Wilkinson and S. Hendrickx. Concerning the absolute chronology, the positioning of the Naqada IIc culture by S. Hendrickx around 3650 BCE (see "The Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture: Problems and Possibilities," in J. Spencer (ed), *Aspects of Early Egypt* [London, 1996], 64) is too early. Cross-referencing with other cultural spheres (notably Palestine) offer substantial evidence of a timeframe some 200 years later. For W. Kaiser ("Zur Entstehung des gesamtägyptischen Staates," *MDAIK* 46 [1990], 289, fig. 1) the period of Naqada IIc is contemporary with 3400 BCE. For M. Chłodnicki and K. Ciałowicz (in "Tell el-Farkha Explorations, 1998," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean X* [Warsaw, 1999], 70), the Naqada IIb phase is contemporary with 3500–3400 BCE and Naqada IId with 3300–3200 BCE.
- 2 T. von der Way, *Buto I*, 80–1.
- 3 von der Way, "Investigations Concerning the Early Periods in the Northern Delta of Egypt," in Van den Brink (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta* (Amsterdam, 1988), 247. "Excavations at Tell el-Fara'in/Buto in 1987–89," in Van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition* (Jerusalem, 1992), 5; von der Way, *Untersuchungen zur Spätvor- und Frühgeschichte Unterägyptens*, *SAGA* 8 (Heidelberg, 1993), 5. Idem, *Buto I*, 81.
- 4 For example Hendrickx, "La chronologie de la préhistoire tardive et des débuts de l'histoire de l'Egypte," *Archéo-Nil* 9 (1999), 20.
- 5 In the light of the recent publication of the first excavation of Buto (von der Way, *Tell el-Fara'in - Buto I* [Mainz, 1997]) and soundings led by D. Faltings (in C. J. Eyre [ed.], *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, "Recent Excavations in Tell el-Fara'in/Buto: New Finds and their Chronological Implications," *OLA* 82 [Leuven, 1998], 373).
- 6 L. Watrin, The Relationship between the Nile Delta and Palestine during the Fourth Millennium: From Early Exchange (Naqada I–II) to the Colonisation of Southern Palestine (Naqada III), *OLA* 82 (Leuven, 1998), 1215. The placement of the first phase of Buto (Buto Ia) in an earlier period is also shared by D. Faltings (see in "Recent Excavations in Buto," 373, note 37).

- 7 von der Way, (pers. comm., 2000).
- 8 K. Köhler, "Evidence for interregional contacts between late prehistoric Lower and Upper Egypt – a view from Buto," in Krzyzaniak and al., *Interregional contacts in the later prehistory of northeastern Africa* (Poznan, 1996), 216.
- 9 See the reflections of Köhler, "Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen im Früzeilichen des DAI in Tell el-Fara'in/Buto, 1993–1995," *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 104.
- 10 G. Brunton and C. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation* (London, 1928), 3, pl. XXVI. J. Kaplan, "The Connections of the Palestinian Chalcolithic Culture with Prehistoric Egypt," *IEJ* 9 (1959), 134–6.
- 11 In the other direction, the discovery in Palestine at Nahal Qanah (A. Gopher and T. Tsuk, *Ancient Gold: Rare Finds from Nahal Qanah Cave* [Jerusalem, 1991]) in Late Palestinian Chalcolithic context, of gold "ingots" of probable Egyptian origin may attest to a traffic from the regions of Upper Egypt (Eastern Desert) through Lower Egypt and then Palestine in the context of a "down the line" exchange type, or even a more organized exchange network.
- 12 G. Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture* (London, 1937), 37, pl. XXIX. See study of S. Scham and Y. Garfinkel, "Perforated Rods – A New Chalcolithic Ivory Type," *BASOR* 319 (2000), 1–5.
- 13 R. Friedman, "Badari Grave Group 569," in W.V. Davies (ed), *British Museum Occasional Paper 123, Studies in Egyptian Antiquities* to T.G.H. James, (London, 1999), 7–8.
- 14 M. Chlodnicki, (pers. comm. 2000).
- 15 von der Way, "Untersuchungen zur Spätvor," 31–2, 37, pl. 11.
- 16 D. Faltings, "Recent Excavations in Tell el-Fara'in/Buto," 373.
- 17 Eiwanger, *Merimde – Benisalame II* (Mainz, 1988), pl. 11.
- 18 KN 4015 (BP 5230 +- 200), von der Way, *Buto I*, 82.
- 19 B. Williams, "Notes on Prehistoric Cache Fields of Lower Egyptian Tradition at Sedment," *JNES* 41 (1982), 217, fig. 3, n°19m.
- 20 As noticed by Rizkana and Seeher (in *Ma'adi II* [Mainz, 1988], 62) the designer drew the vases with an accentuated importance on the containers' bases, which is the case of a 19m vase as comparable to its photo (see Williams, "Notes on Prehistoric Cache Fields," 216–7).
- 21 Two radiocarbon datings on FS-3 yield 3800 BCE (BP 4960 +-160) and 4350 BCE (BP 5475 +-225) (see R. Wenke and D. J. Brewer in R. Friedman and B. Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus* (Oxford, 1992), 176).
- 22 G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (London, 1934), pl. LIII, 34. See also the discoveries made on the northern edge of Birket Qarûn by M. Casini in L. Krzyzaniak and M. Kobusiewicz, *Origin and Early Development of Food-Producing Cultures in North-Eastern Africa* (Poznan, 1984), 199–204.
- 23 For Köhler ("Evidence for interregional contacts between Late Prehistoric Lower and Upper Egypt: a view from Buto," in Krzyzaniak et al., *Interregional Contacts*, 216), the relationship of Buto I with Ma'adi is obvious (which is far from the case, especially in Phase Ia).
- 24 von der Way, *Buto I*, pl. 55, n°15; pl. 48, n°4–5–9; pl. 49, 10–11.
- 25 *Idem*, pl. 3, n°3. On the basis of these parameters, Buto phase Ib, whose "Palestinian" Chalcolithic elements disappear by acculturation, is certainly contemporary with Ma'adi. Buto Ia is essentially a pre-Ma'adian phase and Buto IIa essentially a post-Ma'adian phase.
- 26 von der Way, *Buto I*, pl. I, 10 (see also *idem* pl. I, 9: vase from Ezbet al-Qerdahi). Compare with Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (London, 1921), pl. XII, P 56b.
- 27 von der Way, *Buto I*, (Mainz, 1997), pl. 55, 7. Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi III*, (Mainz, 1989), pl. 9, 23; pl. 10, 1–2–3. *Idem*, "New Lights on the Relation of Maadi to the Upper Egyptian Cultural Sequence," *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 249.
- 28 Rizkana and Seeher, "New Lights on the Relation of Maadi," 238–9.

- 29 Kaiser, "Stand und Probleme der ägyptischen Vorgeschichtsforschung," *ZAS* 56 (1956), 99; "Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit," *ZAS* 91 (1964), 119.
- 30 *Idem*, 251.
- 31 Hendrickx, "La chronologie de la préhistoire tardive," 20.
- 32 Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi* I (Mainz, 1987), 78. *Idem*, *Maadi* IV (Mainz, 1990), 103. See also U. Hartung, "Bemerkungen zur Chronologie der Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Südkanaan in spätprädynastischer Zeit," *MDAIK* 50 (Mainz, 1994), 108.
- 33 Hartung, "Bemerkungen zur Chronologie," 108.
- 34 S. Tutundzic, "A Consideration of Differences Between the Pottery Showing Palestinian Characteristics in the Maadian and Gerzean Cultures," *JEA* 79 (1993), 54. A. P. Largacha, "The Delta during Nagada III," in *Atti VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, (Torino, 1–8 Settembre 1991) (Torino, 1992), 489.
- 35 Kaiser situates the closure of Ma'adi at the middle of Naqada II or at the close of Naqada II (phase IIc–d) (Kaiser, "Einige Bemerkungen," 119, note 4).
- 36 Hendrickx, based on the chronology of the Digla cemetery ("La chronologie de la prehistory tardive," 20).
- 37 According to Hendrickx's works (in "Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture," in Spencer, *Aspects*, 39), whose analysis we agree with concerning the dividing lines between the *Stufen*, the *Stufe* IIa seems to be an integrated part of the Naqada I culture.
- 38 Kaiser, "Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur," *AG* 6 (1957), 69ff.
- 39 The B-class representing 75 percent of the ceramic burial material during Naqada Ic, 50 percent in Naqada IIa, 25 percent in Naqada IIb, 10 percent in Naqada IIc and 5 percent in Naqada IId (Kaiser, "Stand und Probleme der ägyptischen Vorgeschichtsforschung," *ZAS* 81 (1956), fig. 4, 107).
- 40 Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi* I, pl. 69:2. See F. Petrie, *Corpus*, pl. II, B 18b.
- 41 *Idem*, pl. 69: 12. See Petrie, *Corpus* (London, 1921), pl. III, B 25m.
- 42 *Idem*, pl. 71: 3. See Petrie, *Corpus*, pl. VIII, B 84. Rizkana and Seeher, "New Lights on the Relation of Maadi," 243, note 24.
- 43 Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt: Corpus*, XI. Compare with the Ma'adian vases in Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi* I, pl. 35: 3 and pl. 41: 3.
- 44 Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi* II, pl. 69: 2.
- 45 The earliest U-shaped fishtail blades appear in Naqada Ia (i.e. Naqada 1676). There exists at Ma'adi a second fishtail blade whose extremity has been damaged, rendering the artifact undatable (O. Menghin and M. Amer, *The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi II* [Cairo, 1936], 44, pl. LV, fig. 17).
- 46 The first fishtail blades with a V-shape appear in Naqada IIb (for example Naqada 472).
- 47 Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi* II, 51–2, pl. 94, 1–6 and pl. IX.
- 48 For example in Abydos tomb U1, T. E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos II* (London, 1914), pl. XXVII, U1.
- 49 The earliest pear-shaped mace heads of the Naqada culture appear during Naqada IIa (for example Mahasna H 23). See K. Cialowicz, *Les têtes de massues des périodes prédynastiques et archaïques dans la vallée du Nil* (Krakow, 1987), 22–5.
- 50 Menghin and Amer, *Excavations at Maadi II*, pl. LVIII, n°2. Rizkana and Seeher, *Ma'adi* II, 47, pl. 83–5 and pl. V, 1–9.
- 51 Grave 259 (photo in J. Seeher, in Van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta*, 228, pl. 2.
- 52 For example in Naqada tombs 1584 and 1595. Petrie, *Corpus*, (1921), pl. LVIII, 92 M and 90 H
- 53 K. Cialowicz, *Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans decoration: Etudes de l'art Prédynastique* (Krakow, 1991), 21–8. Kaiser, "Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur," 71.
- 54 Cialowicz, *Les palettes*, 21–4.
- 55 Type 8c of Baumgartel (see in *Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt II* [London, 1960], 40). Blades discovered in Naqada IIb contexts (i.e. Naqada 1345).

- 56 The basalt vases discovered in Naqadan tombs have formed the subject of numerous hypothesis concerning their origins, the general consensus attributing them to Lower Egyptian types (B. Adams, "Imports and Imitations in Predynastic Funerary Contexts at Hierakonpolis," in Krzyzaniak and al., *Interregional Contacts*, 133–4).
- 57 Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi II*, 57–8. See also Kaiser, "Stand und Probleme," 100, note 1.
- 58 Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi II*, pl. 102, 3.
- 59 Rizkana and Seeher published a documented study about this problem (in *Maadi II*, 67–8, fig. 16). See also Kaiser, "Stand und Probleme," 100, note 1. The presence of a rectangular-type graffiti on a basalt vase found in the Naqadan sphere (M. Rice, *Egypt's Making: The Origins of Ancient Egypt: 5000–2000 BC* [London, 1995], 73, n°18) like those found on the Ma'adian globular jars (Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi I*, pl. 6: 1, pl. II: 7) may be an additional clue as to the northern origin of these stone vases.
- 60 It appears that these vases were influenced by the artists of Upper Egypt, who produced them in another matter as proved by a cylindrical ivory vase with a base ring and two small lug-handles, discovered in Naqada tomb 231 (Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas* (London, 1896), pl. LXIV, n°105) that one can be dated to Naqada Ic.
- 61 Peet, *Abydos II*, pl. XXVII, U1. The same tomb has yielded two flat-topped maces of the type imported at Ma'adi.
- 62 Baumgartel, *Cultures II*, 109. It is a model with a ring-base and two handles similar to those of Ma'adi (Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi II*, pl. 101: 11). The same tomb contains two U-shaped fishtail blades similar to those imported at Ma'adi.
- 63 Ayrton and Loat, *El-Mahasna* (London, 1911), pl. XXI.
- 64 Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* (London, 1901), 32, pl. IX: 5 and 7. Baumgartel, *Cultures II*, 109.
- 65 Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *Badarian*, pl. LI: 3823.
- 66 Baumgartel, *Cultures II*, pl. XIII: 1.
- 67 Ayrton and Loat, *El-Mahasna*, pl. XVIII.
- 68 Ma'mariya (W. Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* [Brooklyn, 1984], 240–1); al-Adaïma (*idem*); Hammamiya (Baumgartel, *Cultures II*, 107; Hierakonpolis (Baumgartel, *Cultures II*, 107, pl. XIII: 3 and 5); Al-Amra (D. Randall-Maciver and A. C. Mace, *El-Amra and Abydos* [London, 1902], pl. XVI, 1); Mostagedda (Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture* [London, 1937], XLII: tomb 11729).
- 69 We find ring-based stone vases (certainly copies of the basalt models) for example in Matmar tomb 2644 (in limestone) dated Naqada Ila (Brunton, *Matmar* [London, 1948], pl. XIII, 27). Another ring-based vase in gypsum was found in Ermant tomb 1466 dated Naqada IIb (R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Cemeteries of Ermant* [London, 1937], pl. XVII, 1).
- 70 Brunton, *Matmar*, pl. XVI: 40. Other hooks of this type may have been found on other Upper Egyptian sites (see study of Rizkana/Seeher, *Maadi III* [Mainz, 1989], 14).
- 71 Ma'adi was the crucible of the most ancient metallurgy of Egypt: the artifacts are diverse (ingots, axe heads, fishhooks with square cross section, beads, pins, small pieces of metal which may be the remains of vessels, and one statuette (Menghin and Amer, *Excavations at Maadi II*, 48, pl. LVIII, 12. Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi III*, 13–8, pl. 3–4, pl. I–II. F. A. Badawi, pers. comm. 1996 (statuette).
- 72 Seeher, "Gedanken zur Rolle Unterägyptens bei der Herausbildung des Pharaonenreiches," *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 313–18.
- 73 Kaiser, "Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur," 69ff. T. Wilkinson, *State Formation in Egypt: Chronology and Society*, BAR 651 (Oxford, 1996), 49.
- 74 Hartung, "Bemerkungen zur Chronologie der Beziehungen Ägyptens," pl. 108.
- 75 As stressed by the combined presence of B 11k2 and B 62d vase-types which are characteristic of this period.
- 76 T. Wilkinson (*State Formation*, 48, fig. 9) furthermore confirms the dating of this tomb as being among the most ancient of Matmar, dated Naqada Ib–Ila. Furthermore, the presence in Matmar tomb 3131 of an ovoid jar with a flat base and flared rim in "gray clay" with a light slip indicates a probable import from

- Palestine dating to the Early EB I, allowing us to add a piece to the puzzle of the region's chronology relative to the East. Seeher (in "Gedanken zur Rolle Unterägyptens," 316, pl. 1) has made rough comparisons with the EB II jars from Tell al-Far'ah (N). This jar finds a closer parallel on a site contemporary with the EB Ia: that of Biq'at Nimra (M. Sebbane and U. Avner, *'Atiqot* XXII [1993], 34, fig. 3). We will note that from Lower Egypt some Upper Egyptian products were traded into Palestine, as may demonstrate a flat-topped mace head discovered at Megiddo XIX (J. B. Hennessy, *The Foreign Relations of Palestine during the Early Bronze Age* [London, 1967], 32).
- 77 E. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt* (London, 1955), 92–3, fig. 37, 4. Jar classed as D 92 by Petrie. This jar finds a parallel in Palestine in an EB I tomb of Tell al-Farah north (tomb 12) (R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* [1970], 44–5, pl. 9, 13).
- 78 Hendrickx, *Antiquités préhistoriques et protodynastiques d'Égypte* (Bruxelles, 1994), 33.
- 79 Kaiser, "Stand und Probleme," 93–4.
- 80 L. Watrin, "Copper Drops and Buried Buildings: Ma'adi's Legacy as a Predynastic Delta Trade Capital," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte* LXXIII (Cairo, 2000), 170–173.
- 81 Three examples in well-determined contexts have been found in the tombs of Naqada IIc at al-Amrah (A 140 and B 35) and in the tomb N 7402 of Naqa ed-Der (A. Lythgoe and D. Dunham, *The Predynastic Cemetery N 7000* [Los Angeles, 1965], 241, fig. e.)
- 82 For example the layer II of Taur Ikhebeineh in the Gaza strip, datable to the Middle EB I (EB Ib1), has yielded a ceramic sherd belonging to the D-class (boat motif) (E. Oren and Y. Yekutieli, "Taur Ikhebeineh – Earliest Evidence for Egyptian Interconnections," in Van den Brink, *Nile Delta*, 369–72) characteristic of the Naqada IIc–d1 period.
- 83 Another argument in favor of Ma'adi's closure not only before Naqada IIc but also before Naqada IIb is the total absence of "Roulette-ware" class ceramics, and notably of the type with zigzag motifs as found at Tell al-Farkha Ia, site which is contemporary with Naqada IIb (M. Chlodnicki, R. Fattovich and S. Salvatori, "The Nile Delta in Transition: A View from Tell el-Farkha," in Van den Brink, *Nile Delta*, 185). Ma'adi produces a group of kitchenwares, decorated with rows of irregular incisions (row of oblique incisions between horizontal lines or interrupted by knobs) (Menghin and Amer, *Excavations at Maadi II*, pl. XL, fig. 2 and pl. XLVII, n°5) made with a sort of stylus, which appear to directly precede the more recent group from the Delta which uses a rocker stamp.
- 84 F. Hassan, "Radiocarbon Chronology of Neolithic and Predynastic sites in Upper Egypt and the Delta," *AAR* 3 (1985), 105. I. Caneva, M. Frangipane, A. Palmieri, "Recent Excavations at Maadi (Egypt)," in L. Krzyzaniak and M. Kobusiewicz (eds.), *Late Prehistory of the Nile Basin and the Sahara* (Poznan, 1989), 289. Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi IV*, 104, fig. 34.
- 85 BP 5050 +/- 55 and BP 4800 +/- 140.
- 86 Wilkinson, *State Formation*, 14–5.
- 87 Certain Delta sites (notably Tell al-Iswid III-I) have been placed in a period contemporary with Naqada IIc (Van den Brink, "A Transitional Late Predynastic – Early Dynastic Settlement Site in the Northeastern Nile Delta (Tell es-Iswid), Egypt," *MDAIK* 45 [1989], 78, Table 1) on the basis of the stratigraphy of Buto which served as a reference. Buto I was at that point placed by its first excavator in Naqada IIb, the following layer (Buto IIa) was doomed to a dating in the following subphase of Naqada IIc (K. Köhler, *Bulletin de liaison* XIX, IFAO, [Cairo, 1996], 3; D. Faltings, "Recent Excavations in Tell el-Fara'in/Buto," 373). The presence at Buto IIa of southern D-Class shards with a spiral motif, a very widespread ceramic in Naqada IIc, led von der Way to date the layer in this period whereas the same material existed in Naqada IIb, a period to which this material may be more surely linked. Only one Delta site has been correctly dated, that of Tell al-Farkha I, who clearly dated the sites layer I—which bears material identical to Buto II and Tell al-Iswid III-I, notably the Roulette-ware with a zigzag motif—in a period contemporary with Naqada

- Ilb (M. Chlodnicki, R. Fattovich and S. Salvatori, "The Nile Delta: A View from Tell el-Farkha," in Van den Brink, *Nile Delta*, 185).
- 88 Buto IIa presents possible ring-based vases (von der Way, *Buto I*, pl. 3, 3) fragments of jars with a row of impressed oblique dots below the rim (*idem*, pl. 38, 3–5), fragments of jars with incised rows of oblique strokes between horizontal lines (*idem*, pl. 42, 9), jar fragments with shoulder-markings composed of two horizontal bands of oblique strokes with above a row of impressed shallow dots (*idem*, pl. 42, 10–1) and carinated bowls (*idem*, pl. 38, 8–9).
- 89 See Köhler, in Krzyzaniak et al., *Interregional Contacts*, 222–3.
- 90 von der Way, *Buto I*, pl. 3, n°8–9–10. Compare with Petrie, *Corpus*, pl. XL, R 65b and R 65c.
- 91 von der Way, *Buto I*, pl. 38, 1.
- 92 Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt: Corpus*, XIV, P 98c.
- 93 Needler, *Predynastic*, 189. K. Köhler, in Krzyzaniak et al., *Interregional Contacts*, 317.
- 94 The ceramics of R-class represent some 30 percent of the sets from Naqada IIa, then 50 percent in Naqada IIb-d (Kaiser, "Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur," 69ff).
- 95 The D-ware is without doubt the most useful fossil in establishing the relative chronologies for the Delta between Naqada IIb-d. However, it represents a low percentage of the ceramic sets of Upper Egypt (6 percent in Naqada IIb-c and 3 percent in Naqada IId, dominated in this period by the R-class (50 percent of the assemblages between Naqada IIb and IId) (Kaiser, "Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur," 69ff).
- 96 Van den Brink, "A Transitional Late Predynastic – Early Dynastic Settlement," 70–4.
- 97 Mahasna tomb H 33 (Aryton and Loat, *El-Mahasna*, pl. XXV, 1).
- 98 These were first discovered by Van den Brink in the Eastern Delta (Van den Brink, *Bulletin de Liaison* XIII, IFAO [Cairo, 1988], fig. 1–2).
- 99 Van den Brink, "A Transitional Late Predynastic – Early Dynastic Settlement," 74, fig. 12: 1–12.
- 100 Aryton and Loat, *El Mahasna*, pl. XXV, 1.
- 101 Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt: Corpus*, XIII, P 76G.
- 102 *Idem*, P 78. Baumgartel, *Cultures II*, XII, 4.
- 103 P 78. Baumgartel, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation: A Supplement* (London, 1970), LIV.
- 104 Lythgoe and Dunham, *N 7000*, 175: d.
- 105 Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *Badarian*, pl. XLV: 8.
- 106 Randall-Maciver and Mace, *El-Amra and Abydos*, pl. XIII: R 50.
- 107 Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt, Corpus*, XIII, P 76 (N 1705); P 76 and P 77a (N 1899). In the tomb 1899 there is also turquoise, a product imported from the East of the Nile Valley (Sinai), which has surely transited through the Delta. The presence of a V-shaped fishtail blade attests to a dating later than Naqada IIa.
- 108 G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, *Badarian*, pl. XXXVII, 3000/6 and 3731.
- 109 Hartung, "Abydos: Friedhof U," *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 75, fig. 12: c. Other than the little vase, (type P 76), tomb U-392 also includes two elliptical bowls of class F 15 (models which appear between Naqada Ic and IId) and a vase comparable to the type R 33 from Mostagedda. Due to the recent publication of this object, we were not able to integrate its image into our illustrations (phase 3).
- 110 Midant-Reynes et al., "Le site prédynastique d'Adaïma; Rapport de la huitième campagne de fouille," *BIFAO* 97 (Le Caire, 1997), 213, fig. 2. Dating: S. Hendrickx (pers. comm., 1998).
- 111 Baumgartel, *A Supplement*, IX. This vase is the only identifiable fossil.
- 112 The study of a tomb cluster around Naqada tomb 198 includes 12 tombs which were either not documented (181, 182, 186, 188, 190, 199), not datable (193), or contemporary with Naqada IIb (191), Naqada IId (178, 212) or Naqada IId (210).
- 113 P 77G. Baumgartel, *A Supplement*, XXVIII.

- 114 Brunton, *Matmar* (London, 1948), pl. XIII, 1. Mentioned by Van den Brink in "A Transitional Late Predynastic – Early Dynastic Settlement Site," 71, note 26.
- 115 Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. XXXVI, D 93a-b. Petrie, *Corpus*, pl. XXXVII, D 93c.
- 116 This tomb is uncertainly dated to SD 46–57 (Naqada IIc-d). The local material is composed of a Blacktopped ceramic of type B 11n and of a Rough ceramic of type R 69, material typical of Naqada IIb (Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *Badarian*, pl. XL).
- 117 Van den Brink ("A Transitional Late Predynastic – Early Dynastic Settlement Site," 67, note 14) notes several shards of Palestinian jars at Tell al-Iswid A. In Palestine we find ceramics decorated in stripes by a rocker-stamp at 'En Besor- Site H (in EB Ia2 context?) (E. Macdonald, *Beth-Pelet II* [London, 1932], pl. XXXVI).
- 118 K. Schmidt, "Lower and Upper Egypt in the Chalcolithic Period. Evidence of the lithic industries: a view from Buto," (in Krzyzaniak et al., *Interregional Contacts*, 281) prefers to use a terminology with respects to each "region-type" rather than the usual morphological criteria.
- 119 For example Naqada tombs 1205, 1309, 1345, 1434, 1791 (2 examples), 1846.
- 120 Kaiser, "Zum Friedhof der Naqadakultur von Minshat Abu Omar," *ASAE* 71, (Cairo, 1987), 199, note 3. At Minshat Abu Omar, almost all of the tombs are from Naqada IId2–III. Some of them are maybe a little earlier, contemporary with Naqada IIc (Kroeper) or Naqada IId1 (Watrin).
- 121 Kaiser, "Zum Friedhof von Minshat Abu Omar," 119, note 3.
- 122 R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923), pl. XXVI.
- 123 *Idem*.
- 124 F. Petrie, G. A. Wainwright, E. Mackay, *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (London, 1912), pl. XI, W2c, F 46b and F 100. Trade relations with Palestine continue, as attested by a Roulette-ware sherd with a zigzag motif found in the Northern Sinai (Y. Yekutieli, *Pers. com.* 1998).
- 125 M. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant* (London, 1937), PL. LIV, fig. 6. Dating uncertain (probably Naqada IIb-c?).
- 126 Other clues such as shards with punctuate pattern and other types belonging to Palestinian jars attest of its relationship with the North of Egypt. See: B. Adams and R. Friedman, in Van den Brink, "Imports and Influences in the Predynastic and Protodynastic Settlement and Funerary Assemblages at Hierakonpolis," *Nile Delta*, 322–4.
- 127 Grave a-6 and b-166. Randal-Maciver and Mace, *El-Amra and Abydos*, Wa (= Petrie's W 1t).
- 128 Grave 1246 (= Petrie's W 2a) and Grave 1298 (= Petrie's W 2b). Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada*, pl. XXXI.
- 129 Likewise, the presence of manufactured products such as cast-copper weapons (spears and adzes) at such southern Naqada IIb-c villages of El-Adaima (Needler, *Predynastic*, 280, n°180 and 282, n° 182) and Naqada (a spear—in N 836 dated by Kaiser in Naqada IIb—and adzes—in N 39, N 807 and N 1298, tombs dated Naqada IIc—(Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada*, pl. LXV, 3–4–5–6) are probably artifacts which were traded through the Delta and were manufactured by Palestinian metallurgists (?). These copper weapons are completely interchangeable with the models manufactured in EB Ia Palestine – 'En Besor H (Macdonald, *Beth-Pelet II* (London, 1932), pl. XXVIII, 1) or Meser (M. Dothan, "Excavations at Meser, 1956: Preliminary Report on the First Season," *IEJ* 7 (1957), Pl. 37, c-d) a region featuring a strong tradition in metallurgical works since the end of the 5th millennium, and which was a privileged economic partner with Lower Egypt.
- 130 Probable Naqada IIc context. H. Junker, *Friedhöfen von El-Kubaniyeh – Süd* (Wien, 1919), 78, fig. 40a.
- 131 M. Chlodnicki, R. Fattowich, S. Salvatori, "The Nile Delta: A View from Tell el-Farkha," in Van den Brink, *Nile Delta*, 185–7.
- 132 S. Salvatori, *pers. com.*, 2000. M. Chlodnicki, R. Fattowich, S. Salvatori, "The Nile Delta: A View from Tell el-Farkha," in Van den Brink, *Nile Delta*, 182.

- 133 Van den Brink, *Bulletin de liaison* XIII, IFAO, (Cairo, 1988), 4. M. Chlodnicki, R. Fattowich, S. Salvatori, "The Nile Delta: A View from Tell el-Farkha," in Van den Brink, *Nile Delta*, 182, 185.
- 134 Köhler, "The Pre- and Early Dynastic Pottery of Tell el-Fara'in/Buto," in Van den Brink, *Nile Delta*, 3 and 17, 21.
- 135 The material culture of the major Delta settlements (Tell al-Farkha II, Tell al-Iswid VII and Buto IIIb-d) and that of a contemporary cemetery—Minshat Abu Omar I-II—show that throughout Naqada IId2–IIIa (ca. 3300–3200 BCE), Egypt evolved toward a standardized culture.