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BY

BRUCE WILLIAMS

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PART III

NUBIA FROM THE END OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY TO THE RECONQUEST IN THE NEW KINGDOM

CHAPTER X

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE NUBIAN CULTURE COMPLEX IN THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Thanks to three successive Nubian "Emergencies", the area between the First and Second Cataracts of the Nile has been one of the most intensively excavated regions on the face of the earth. In our period, it has resulted in the exposure of far more material than in Egypt itself. Material from the Second Intermediate Period belongs to four cultural assemblages.

The bulk of the material excavated in Nubia from the time of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period belongs to the C-Group culture. This vast body of material has been seriated by Bietak in a work that has received widespread attention. The five phases he discerned cover the period from the beginning of the C-Group near the end of the Old Kingdom to the end of the culture in the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1]

Two of the three other assemblages, Pan Grave and Kerma, also occur in C-Group cemeteries from time to time, in addition to separate

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[1]Manfred Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe; Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens ans zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophische-Historische Klasse; Denkschriften 97. Band; Berichte des Österreichischen Nationalkomittees der UNESCO-Aktion fur die Rettung der Nubischen Altertumer, Vol. V (Vienna: Hermann Bohlaus nachf; Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1968), pp. 93-117 give the stages and major characteristics.

occurrences. Traits of these assemblages have been found in the C-Group burials as well, which allows us to date some crucial changes in the C-Group during the Second Intermediate Period.[1]

These three groups have one major advantage for study over Egyptian and Asiatic groups considered in this work. Almost all of the burials were single burials or mass graves made at one time. There is little difficulty in evaluating the groups.[2]

The most difficult problem facing the investigator is the small size of the groups. This made it necessary to study aspects of the burials other than pottery to discern chronological changes. An additional feature of C-Group tombs aided the investigations of Bietak. The cemeteries were tightly packed masses of stone circles. Since new circles with pits were constructed for each burial, a pattern of growth in the cemetery could be observed. Since the circles were built so closely together, random expansion of the cemetery was rendered unlikely. These cemeteries grew in either a linear fashion from the earliest tombs, or often in a concentric pattern outward. The order of tombs could thus be checked by plotting the various features on a map of the cemetery. Cemetery N at Aniba, which grew outward from a center, clearly indicated the order of the C-Group phases.[3]

These can be compared with Pan Grave and Kerma materials; where the traits of these other two assemblages occur, it can be assumed that

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[1]Ibid., pp. 99, 105, II/a/3, Pan Grave contracts; II/b/3 and p. 112 for II/b Pan Grave contacts.

[2]Ibid., p. 24, fig. 5, below pp. 523-525.

[3]Ibid., pp. 18-21.

they are contemporary with the C-Group.

The greatest difficulty encountered in the discussion of Nubian materials was the lack of good evidence for absolute dates. While some Egyptian objects were found in these tombs, they were not themselves clearly dated.[1] Since the Pan Graves and Kerma groups had not been well dated in the past, there was a considerable amount of flexibility in the absolute dates.

Groups from the fourth cultural assemblage in Nubia, the Egypto-Nubian, are as mixed or more mixed than Egyptian groups in Egypt. Further, the materials have been no better dated than groups in Egypt; they remain today in a state of disarray.[2]

We are considering the Nubian materials in this work to determine the place and date of origin of the various groups that we have discussed in Part I. The date when Pan Graves and Kerma tombs first appeared in Lower Nubia as well as their place of ultimate origin is of crucial importance for our understanding of the Hyksos Age; the date of their appearance in Egypt has already been discussed (Table 57).

Some discussion of the traits and chronology of the C-Group Culture is clearly necessary to the understanding of the related Pan Grave and Kerma assemblages. Since the general chronology has already been discussed thoroughly elsewhere we will begin this Part with a brief recapitulation of traits, chronology and geography of the C-Group.

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[1]Ibid., pp. 133-157.

[2]Below, Chapter XIV. A general date for the various cemeteries and tomb types has been established however.

CHAPTER XI

THE C-GROUP

Any discussion of the C-Group must inevitably have a review of Bietak's work as its core. His verification of the C-Group typological sequence by the form of horizontal stratification mentioned in Chapter X is well set out in his own work and needs no further discussion here.[1] He achieved effective division of the materials into five phases, Ia, Ib, IIa, IIb, and III (Table 17, figs. 149-154). These extended roughly from the Sixth Dynasty to the New Kingdom, thus approximately contemporary with the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine and Syria. Division of the C-Group materials was necessary since they covered such a long time. Other schemes have been proposed, but this was the first one clearly documented.[2] Even these divisions covered rather long spans of time; IIa lasted as long as 200-250 years.

Ia

Bietak identified the following non-pottery characteristics of Ia (his numbering):[3]

1. The so-called "Ältere Steinkreis" is a rather tall circle of stones around the burial, strewn with pebbles.

2. The burial shaft is oriented East-West, with the body on the right side, skull east. This type of shaft and orientation continues

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[1]Above, p. 521, note 3.

[2]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 17-18.

[3]Ibid., pp. 93-96.

into IIa, sporadically into III.

3. Pottery is found to the East of the stone circle, just outside.

4. Paddle-shaped stone stelae are found sometimes decorated with an incised cow and calf. These are not associated with specific graves, but are found in the areas of cemeteries where Ia tombs occurred.

The most characteristic pot in Ia is the shallow black incised convex bowl, normally with a vertical or slightly in-curved rim. Its surface is polished black; the ware is also black in the break. Decoration consists of incised hatched areas, normally bands. These hatched areas are the fundamental elements of decoration in all C-Group phases.[1]

In phases Ia and b, this decoration is virtually always arranged as though it were a woven cloth stretched over the bowl. The decoration tends to be rectilinear when seen from the bottom, curved when seen from the side. Elements of decoration are most often concentric squares (Ia-6 or the "Quadratmuster") or an overall pattern of alternating triglyphs, really a woven pattern (Flechtmuster, I a-7). This has a symmetrical variant (Flechtmuster II, Ia-8) in which the bowl is divided into quadrants by the decoration. Yet another type Bietak called pretzel decoration (Ia-9), symmetrical polished curls on a background of incision. A variant of the Quadrant decoration he called the half-moon decoration, really a form of the double axe or butterfly motif, here alternated (Ia-10). Of particular interest is a looped rope decoration in reserve on a hatched background (Ia-11). At the rims of these bowls are incised zig-zags (single or double), double triangles or chains.

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[1]Ibid., plate 1-2, hereafter cited only by number.

At this time, black-topped bowls tend to resemble the low profile of black incised bowls, with pointed bases and nearly carinated sides (Ia 12).

Globular or piriform jars, about 25 cm. high, have a flared neck and a rolled or folded rim. They have a colored slip, normally red, and bands of grooves on the shoulder (Ia-13).

I b

There is rather little change in the characteristics of the C-Group culture between Ia and b other than in pottery:[1]

1. The superstructure of the tombs is wider and lower than in Ia.

2. Orientation of both shaft and body are the same as in Ia.

3. The placement of pottery outside the stone circle is the same.

The most striking change in this period was the shape of the incised black bowl. It has changed from the shallow convex shape of the Ia to the over-hemispherical shape of the later phases. A more angular form is rare (Ib-5b).

The two main decorative patterns, concentric squares (Ib 5 D, Ib 5 B) and woven patterns (Ib 4 a, Ib 9b), survive, but the elements are enlarged and the patterns are more irregular (Ib 4). Often they combine elements of different types of decoration (Ib 4,5). New is a net decoration (Ib 6). In this period, quadrants are sometimes filled with truncated chevrons (Ib 7a) or alternating truncated chevrons and horizontal bands. The looped rope has become one or more partially

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[1]Ibid., pp. 97-98, plates 3-4, traits cited hereafter only by number.

looped snakes (bodies do not cross each other). Looped rope decoration occurs in similar circumstances (Ib 8a, Ib 9). The backgrounds on these bowls are decorated with various patterns of incision which were often quite irregular, as the illustrations show. Over-all horizontal zig-zags appear on the black bowls, arranged in such a way that they appear to radiate from a star. This is made with concentric circles inscribed in the lowest zig-zag on the base (Ib 10).

Rim decoration is either dots or rows of zig-zags (Ib 7-10).

IIa

This is the longest of the C-Group phases. It appears to have begun in the Twelfth and lasted through the Thirteenth Dynasty into the earliest Hyksos Age.[1] By the end of the phase, evidence of Pan Grave and Kerma influence is found.

Traits of the period are as follows:

1. The tumulus is constructed in the same manner as in Ib. At Adindan, the excavators felt that there was a portion of the circumference of the stone circle that was built lower than the rest, like a shelf (Fig. 142, IIa 1).

2. Rectangular stone cists are often built of upended flat stones in the tomb shaft, paralleling the method of domestic construction (Fig. 142, II a 2).

3. The bed burial, marked by four holes at the corners of the shaft, appears for the first time. Since burials of this type are

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[1]Ibid., pp. 98-105, plates 5-8, hereafter cited only by number of trait.

extremely common at Kerma, indeed characterized Kerma groups, this gives a chronological link between the end of IIa and Kerma.

4. In most cemeteries, there is a re-orientation of the burial from east-west to north-south with the head north.

5. The older type of burial orientation persists however, called IIa 5.

6. Pottery is found outside the circle as before, to the east, where the shafts were oriented east-west, to the northwest or north where the shafts are north-south.

25. Figurines include animal or steatopygous women; these last through IIb, sporadically into III. Representations of steatopygous women and cattle are also found on bowls and jars of these periods.

26. The characteristic large jar of the period is the zir or water jar which has an ovoid or tubular body, a flared neck and rounded base.

A number of Pan Grave characteristics are associated with IIa. These link IIa chronologically to the Pan Grave assemblage as well as to the Kerma materials. The traits include P 8, bowls; P 10, bowls; P 15, gazelle skulls (Fig. 143 b, P 15); and P 16, a wristlet of rectangular plates pierced at the ends, linked with the long sides together (Fig. 143 b, P 16).[1]

In IIa, the shape of the black incised bowls remains primarily the over-hemispherical type introduced in Ib, but forms with a flat or an omphalos base appeared, normally with an almost vertical side (Fig. 142 a, IIa 7/8, 8/9). Some even had a tapered body from a waist (Fig. 142 a, IIa 7).

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[1]Ibid., p. 105, plates 15 and 16.

Incised decoration is more and more organized into horizontal bands or had a horizontal effect. Where vertical, or bottom centered, the old quadrants have been broken up into many vertical bands of hatching (Fig. 143 a, IIa 21) or chevrons (Fig. 143 a, IIa 19). One remaining example of quadrant decoration is dominated by rows of slashed triangles (Fig. 142 a, IIa 8). There is a bowl with larger truncated zig-zags (Fig. 142 b, IIa 7/10 b). Other important survivals are concentric squares (Fig. 142 b, IIa 13) and rare woven patterns (Ib 4). Overall decoration of crossed bands leaves either bands or diamonds in reserve on the burnished surface (Fig. 143a, IIa 17).

By far the most important types of decoration are based on various ways of using the zig-zag line with horizontal lines to form triangles (Fig. 142 a, IIa 8), running lozenges (Fig. 142 b, IIa 9) and zig-zags. Combinations are achieved by the use of horizontal zones, with different decorations in each (Fig. 142 b, IIa 8/9, IIa 17 b, IIa 18a). Elaborate stars are put on the bases (Fig. 142 b, IIa 10a, 16). Two optical tours de force are interesting survivals of the bottom-oriented decorative principle. In one, horizontal rows of lozenges become a brilliant star pattern when viewed from the base (Fig. 142 b, IIa 16). A second type has semicircular concentric bands filled with alternating hatched and reserve zones when viewed from the side, which became a rectilinear checkerboard when viewed from the bottom (I a-b Quadratmuster). Rims are generally the same as in Ib, without dots, sometimes with simple slashes. Cruder bowls sometimes have bands of slashes arranged horizontally or in zig zags (Fig. 143 b, IIa 22, IIa 20).

Black-topped bowls (Fig. 143b IIa 24) are found in both the

hemispherical shape and in forms with nearly carinated sides and tapered bases. The zir has been mentioned. Crude globular jars are also important in this group, (IIa 23), sometimes with lugs or a tripod base. Incised decoration occurs on these, rather cruder than the incised decoration of the bowls, with a tendency to have motifs vertically arranged. Representations of animals and humans occurs on these jars (IIa 23 a-c) more often than on the bowls.

IIb

The traits of IIb burials are rather more complex, reflecting the wider contacts of Lower Nubia at this time.

1. In some cases, there are very large stone circles above the shafts with a large tumulus inside.[1]

2. The stone cist used to line the grave continues in use.

3. Holes at the corners of rectangular shafts indicate that the bed burials are still used.[2]

4. Larger tumuli often have a mud-brick chapel generally built on the north side of the circle.

5. There is often a brick burial chamber built in the shaft, usually with a vault.

6. Cheaper versions include vaults built on a brick shaft or on a rectangular shaft in the gravel.

7. Occasionally, a brick circle is built as the tomb superstructure

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[1]Ibid., pp. 105-113, plates 11-13, hereafter cited only by the number of the trait.

[2]M. Almagro, F. Presedo and M. Pellicer, "Preliminary Report on the Spanish Excavations in the Sudan 1961-62", Kush, 11 (1963), p. 179. In one rectangular grave, the Spanish expedition found pots sunk in the holes.

8. The orientation of the burial is generally north-south.

9. Pottery is found in the chapel or to the north of the circle; small pots are sometimes found in the shaft.

(10. Occasionally at the end of IIa the better pots are put into the shaft.)

11. Sometimes a sheep or goat is found buried in the shaft near the burial as a sacrifice.

21. Clay figurines continue.

22. Daggers were sometimes found (Fig. 145 a, IIb 22).

Pan Grave features found in this phase include gazelle skulls (Fig. 145 a, IIb, P 15) and the wristlet of plates discussed above (Fig. 145 a, IIb P 16).

Egyptian materials found in this phase include the convex bag jar we have discussed from the Hyksos Age (Fig. 145 a, IIb 20 a).

The greater sophistication of burial customs together with great variation in the sizes of the various tumuli indicate that social classes had either become prominent for the first time, or that they were given expression for the first time. Certainly the most elaborate of IIb tombs contrast as sharply with the lesser tombs of the same age as they do with the relatively uniform burials of Ia-IIa.

Pottery types change as well. While many types continue from IIa, there are a number of important additions to the repertoire. New shapes include a footed goblet (Fig. 144 b, IIb 16 a,b) and small globular jars in the black decorated ware. These have a more professional decoration than the incised jars of IIa (Fig. 144 b, II b 17-18). Decoration tends very much to include lozenges or diamonds; this is the heritage of the old concentric squares motif, which also persists

(Fig. 144 b, IIb 13). Independent triangles or zig-zag rows are rather rare and never seemed to appear without lozenges. These lozenges are produced sometimes by staggered zig-zags (Fig. 144, IIb 16b, IIb 12), but more often by a sort of reserve cross-hatching (Fig. 144, IIb 12a, 13a, 13b, 18a, b, d, g). This gives them the appearance of floating free on the surface of the bowl. The most elaborate of these lozenges have within them either hatching, cross-hatching, hatched bands (Fig. 144 a, IIb 12 a), other lozenges in concentric arrangement, triangles (Fig. 144a IIb 12b) or checks (Fig. 144b, IIb 18b) in various combinations. Red, white and yellow paint occurs together on these pots, making them the principle glory of the period.

III

The final stage of the C-Group involved the sudden deterioration and disintegration of all aspects of the culture (Fig. 145 b, III 10, 11) with an equally sudden rise in Pan Grave (Fig. 145 b, III 12, 13), Kerma (Fig. 145 b, III 16), and Egyptian elements (Fig. 145 b, III 18, 20-22). The decorated pottery is hardly recognizable as C-Group at all.[1]

Following are major non-pottery characteristics of the period.

1. Graves sometimes have no superstructure.

2a. Other graves still have the old round stone superstructure.

2b. The stone circle often has horizontal courses with vertical stone slabs added outside. This type of circle is most common in southern Lower Nubia.

3. The shaft is sometimes lined with vertical slabs of stone; this is not built into a cist, but is open to the top.

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[1]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 113-117, plate 14, hereafter cited only by the number of the trait.

4. Burial on the left side has become common.

5. Burial is still often with east-west orientation, with the body on the right side and the head east.

6. Burial is also given a north-south orientation with the body on the right side and the head north.

7. Burial with an east-west orientation also has the head west. Pottery is found both in the shaft (III-8) and outside (III-9).

None of the burial customs outlined above is found consistently all over Nubia. In addition, tombs were found that contained elements of several cultures.[1] Egyptian type burials in rectangular shafts have become common, entirely without superstructures. Thus the confusion in burial customs and the low quality of pottery in the period gives a clear picture of disintegration in the culture.

The one major trend to be noticed is Egyptianization. Simply viewing the plans of some cemeteries, especially that of cemetery 189 at Tumas, gives a striking impression of this process. By the end of this period, these tombs were so Egyptianized that the Archaeological Survey of Nubia publications normally refer to them simply as New Kingdom.[2]

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[1]Ibid., p. 113.

[2]Ibid., fig. 21, Ginari, cemetery 58/100; fig. 29, Qurta, cemetery 118; fig. 32, Tumas, cemetery 189.

Cemetery 189 at Tumas gives the clearest indication of both the nature and date of Nubian C-Group in the New Kingdom. There, the C-Group cemetery that began in Ib (Ibid., pp. 69-74) continued through the stages in the normal organization of C-Group cemeteries. The later graves, rectangular with bodies loosely contracted to extended on the back, contained normal Egyptian grave goods of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Royal names of Amenhetep I and Nefertari occurred.

The cemetery is in fact in two parts, the eastern growing from the west toward the main C-Group cemetery. The graves with Eighteenth Dynasty royal names were toward the end of this latter series.

The so-called New Kingdom tombs outside the fortress area were generally simple shafts, or shaft and loculus or chamber types. With

TABLE 17

THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF C-GROUP SITES AFTER BIETAK

Region	North of Kubban Region				
Site	Kubaniyya N.	Shellal	Meris Markos	Ginari	
Cemetery No.	--	7-6	41:500	58:1	58:100
No. Burials	100	25	31	18	Unk
Ia					
Ib	X				
IIa	X		X		
IIb		P			X
III				P	X
XK		X Kx			X

TABLE 17 Continued.

Kubban Region

Mo'alla			Gerf Husein		Gedekol		Koštamna	Dakka		
68	69N	69S	72/200	73	77:1	77:100	87	94	97	101
Unk	23	52	500-700	A-"B Group" Cem	in "B Group" Cem		173	Unk	unk	600
			X	X	X	X			X	X
			X				X		X	X
			X				X		X Px	X
			?				X			Px X P
X PxKx	X P	X						X		
X										

TABLE 17 Continued.

Region	Kubban Region								
Site	Kubban	Wadi Alaqi				Qurta		Khor Nabruk	Maharaqa
Cemetery No.	110	111	113:1	113:50	114	115	118	--	127
No. Burials	--	few	few	few	25	107	240	35	10
Ia							X		
Ib					X !?P	X	X	X	X
IIa	Egypto-Nubian Cemetery				X Px	X	X	X	X
IIb						X	[X] P K		
III	X ~~KxPx~~	X	X?	K X			[ ] X		
NK	X		X	X					

TABLE 17 Continued.

Kubban Region				Between the Kubban and Tumas Regions			Tumas Region	
Sayala				Mediq	Wadi es-Sebu'a	Wadi el 'Arab	Riqa	Areika
135	B	G/6-8	G/12-17	147	151	--	167	
26	12	--	Stlmt	few	20	Settlement	Unk	Stlmt
			tent huts X?					
					X	X	X	irreg. walls X
P	P	P		K(?)		X rect.	X	rect. X set.
							X	
							X	

TABLE 17 Continued.

Region	Tumas Region			Aniba Region						
Site	Amada	Afya	Tumas	Aniba						
Cemetery No.	--	181	189	N	C	SS	B	S	195	200
No. Burials	Stlmt	Unk	375	1000	13	few	32		105	104
Ia				X						
Ib			X	X I		X				X
IIa			X K	II X III					X	X
IIb			?P,K[1]	P X X	P X		K ?		X	X
III		X	X				X		?	X
NK		X	X					X		

Egypto-Nubian 2nd Intermediate

TABLE 17 Continued.

Aniba Region						Between Aniba and Faras Regions
Masmas	Toshka				Arminna	Abu Simbel
201	Junker	Junker	209	210	Junker	215
86	201	C500-502	278	22	37	100- A + "B Group"
						X
			X	X		
	X		X	X		
	Px X		X			
		C 500 501			Kx	
X Px, Kx		X			X	
					X	

TABLE 17 Continued.

Region	Faras Region						
Site	Faras				Adindan		Aksha
Cemetery No.	Bietak p.82	p.83-14a	--	24/E-3	T	K	--
No. Burials	large	--	Stlmt		over 250	Over 65	Unk
Ia	X				X		X
Ib	X				X		
IIa	X		X	X		1	
					X	X 2	
						3a	
						3b	
IIb	X	X		X	X	X K P	
III	?				X	X	
NK	X				X	X	

TABLE 17 Continued.

Faras Region				
Debeira		Ashkeit	Gezira Dabarosa	
35	65	97	6/8/2	6/6/18
80	few	7	--	unk
	X			
Px ?			K p.82	?
X				X
X		X		

TABLE 17 Continued.

X = Bielak phase present.

P = Pan Grave(s) present--does not reflect on date.

K = Kerma burial present--does not reflect on date.

Px = Pan influence at date specified.

Kx = Kerma influence at date specified.

They are so called despite the fact that they occurred in C-Group cemeteries as a continuation of them and almost certainly belong to Nubians. We have reached the point where Nubians can no longer be distinguished from Egyptians by their grave goods. Geography gives some clue to the nationality, but is a bit uncertain (Argin). Only at Kerma or in Upper Nubia did distinctly Nubian aspects of burial customs survive, but probably not beyond the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.

C-Group Settlements

Settlement materials of the C-Group include some of the most interesting features of that culture. Most important of these are the towns of Aniba and Areika, with others at Sayala, Faras, Wadi el Arab, Wadi es-Sebua, Korosko and Amada. Similar structures at Serra East are probably of the Pan Grave people.[1]

The earliest stage, represented at Aniba level I and the Sayala settlement G 12-17, consists of round huts with postholes, presumably built of poles and reeds. In addition, Sayala has corral-like structures. This stage seems to be Ia and b in date.[2]

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rare exceptions we have no way of telling either from the contents or the shape of the grave whether this is an Egyptian or a Nubian burial. The large shaft-tomb complexes so popular in the New Kingdom cemeteries near the forts of Aniba, Buhen and the temple of Soleb did not occur here. We could conclude that these simpler graves were thus largely of Nubians, who preferred single burials in any case. In cemetery 189 at least they were almost certainly Nubians, since the New Kingdom parts of the cemetery were a natural growth of the C-Group cemetery.

[1]Ibid., pp. 87-92.

[2]Manfred Bietak, Ausgrabungen in Sayala-Nubien 1961-1965; Denkmaler der C-Gruppe und der Pan-Gräber-Kültur; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, vol. 92, Bericht des Österreichischen Nationalkomittees der UNESCO-Aktion fur die Rettung der Nubischer Altertumer, Vol. III, (Vienna: Hermann Bohlaus, 1966), plate 12.

TABLE 18

A RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF C-GROUP SETTLEMENTS

	Sayala	Wadi es-Sebu'a	Wadi el Arab	Korosko	Areika	Amada	Aniba	Faras
Ia	X						(I)	
Ib							(I)	
IIa		[X]	[X]	[X]	X	[X]	II (III)	X
IIb			X,P		X	[X]	(III)	X
III					[X]			
NK					[X][1]			

[1] Scarabs of New Kingdom including Thutmose III.

The next stage consists of Aniba level II, Areika C 1-6, C 16 and Faras. The unique C-Group architecture is introduced in this stage. Houses are made up of groups of round or irregularly polygonal rooms made with upended flat slabs for a foundation. Small stones and mud are used for binding; there are occasional bricks (Fig. 146, 147). These structures appear in IIa, the period of the Egyptian occupation of Nubia in the Thirteenth Dynasty down to the time of the earliest Kerma Tumuli.[1] The unique orthostat construction is an unmistakable structural feature.

The latest type of structure found in the Second Intermediate Period is the rectangular, small building with many rooms, normally constructed of mud-brick. At Aniba, these houses are small huts. At Areika, the excavators found two large rectangular complexes which they considered to have been fortresses or a single fortress.[2] It combines features of the old orthostat construction as well as the mud brick.[3] At least one room seems to have been used in some communal fashion.[4] Possibly built in II b, the fortress continued to be used into the New Kingdom.[5]

Imported Objects

Bietak noted a number of imported objects that have some chronological significance:

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[1]See below, p. 552, Table 19.

[2]Serge Sauneron, "Un Village Nubienne fortifié sur la rive orientale de Ouadi es-Sebua", Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 63 (1965), p. 163.

[3]D. Randall-MacIver and C. Leonard Woolley, Areika; University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Egyptian Department of the University Museum (London: Oxford University Press, 1909), plate 5.

[4]Ibid., rooms P 17, C 14.

[5]Ibid., plate 9 ph. 4058.

For Ia, several seals were cited; these are of the button type, which gives a similar date to this material as the seals found at Qau.[1] They come from the end of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.

Several button seals were cited from Ib, with the same chronological implications. However there is one scarab cited with so-called nefer-decoration from Aniba N 289.[2] This is traditionally dated to the late Middle Kingdom and the Thirteenth Dynasty. The traditional dates need not be so confining.[3]

In stage IIa, there are a number of scarabs, one with a representation of Taurt. This type occurs at Uronarti, where it was called Thirteenth Dynasty, and at Kahun, where it may also be of this date.[4]

IIb also contains a number of late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs, one with concentric circles.[5]

III contained numerous scarabs, mostly so-called Hyksos type. Debeira cemetery 35-8 contained a seal with the name of Amenhotep I, while 35-78 had the name of Thutmose III. Ashkeit cemetery 97 grave 7

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[1]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 133-4.

[2]Ibid., p. 134.

[3]George A. Reisner, "The Art of Seal Carving in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom", Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, 28 (1930), figs. 4-7. Numerous examples of this type of decoration were found. The earliest example I know of a scarab with a scroll-pattern with isolated hieroglyphs is the silver scarab of Wah, the estate manager of Meketre (the end of the Eleventh Dynasty); Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911-1931, plate 30.

[4]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 135; George Reisner, "Clay Sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort", Kush, 3 (1955), 26-69; Petrie, Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, plate XI, 39.

[5]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 135-136.

yielded a scarab with the name of Tjuroy.[1]

The transitional materials from III to the New Kingdom contain Hyksos royal names and vague types which were not distinctive.[2]

New Kingdom materials include an example of a tomb with Kerma ware at Aniba (S-84) with the name of Thutmose III, and S 45 with the name of Thutmose III. In cemetery 64-3 and 110-27, there were scarabs with the names of Ahmose and Thutmose I, with black banded bowls. Group 54 had the same with the name of Thutmose III.

The chronological value of these imports to the rather self-contained C-Group culture is somewhat limited. The stamp seals from Ia seem to limit the start of the culture to the Late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. The date of the change from Ib to IIa is doubtful as the evidence is weak. The change from IIa to IIb cannot be determined from the chronological evidence given above. However the date of Kerma is clear, as is the occurrence of Kerma characteristics in IIa. The end of IIa should therefore not be earlier than the earliest tumulus at Kerma, about 1640-20. The evidence for dating IIb is also equivocal. It must be later than IIa in the late Seventeenth Century. The date of III is less in doubt. Since the name of Thutmose III was associated with one of the burials from this time, it could not have ended before his time.

We may add to the evidence cited above pottery from Ib cited by Bietak.[3] It includes forms from the late Eleventh Dynasty (19-x6) to the

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[1]Ibid., p. 138.

[2]Ibid., p. 139.

[3]Ibid., plate 19.

early Twelfth Dynasty (x7, x11, x16).[1] IIb contained the simple bag jars which confirm a synchronism with the Hyksos Age.[2]

By the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, C-Group settlement is found in three major areas of Lower Nubia, that of Faras, that of Aniba (with the sub-region near Tumas) and the area near the fortresses of Ikkur and Kuban. These major regions were dominated in a sense by the Egyptian fortresses in their midst. Scattered between these settlement areas are more isolated settlements or cemeteries such as Meris Markos between Gerf Husein and Aswan and Wadi es Sebua between Maharaqa and Riqa (see map IIa). In Egypt, the settlement which was found at Kubaniyya North is still recognizably Nubian in the IIa period (Figs. 149-154).

By IIb, the C-Group settlement at Kubaniyya North has disappeared; the only other change in the distribution of C-Group is the new occurrence at Gezira Dabarosa just North of Buhen.

Stage III occurs in all of the major areas of C-Group occupation. In addition, the area between the Kuban region and Aswan is settled at Ginari and Mo^{c}alla. The materials at Mo^{c}alla, Arminna and Ashkeit are all on the east bank of the river. The region of the Second Cataract may have been settled at this time by C-Group people as well; information on the type of C-Group found there in the surveys is vague.

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[1]Ibid., x7, x11, x16; Brunton, Qau and Badari II, plate LXXXIX, 24 w, plate XCI, 91 series, and plate LXXXVII, 68 series respectively.

[2]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, plate 13, IIb 20a.

CHAPTER XII

KERMA

Cemetery N

The unpublished cemetery N at Kerma contained materials that antedate the great tumuli. These materials seem to compare with the IIa stage of C-Group, though they do not belong to the C-Group culture.[1] It was only possible for me to gain some general impressions about this chronologically very important cemetery. Leaving aside the few later Kerma burials, the pottery from the cemetery gives a rather homogeneous impression.

The pottery consists largely of black-topped bowls and Egyptian imports. Black bowls with overall incised decoration are extremely rare.

The predominant black-topped bowls may be divided into three categories; those without decoration, those with decoration in a narrow band near the rim, and those with decoration on the body. The shapes in all categories varies from the standard over-hemispherical type characteristic of the C-Group black bowl in Ib and IIa to the tapered, almost carinated wide bowls also known in C-Group Ib - IIa. Occasionally,

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[1]I am indebted to Mr. Edward J. Brovarski and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for assistance in finding and permission to use this material. Mr. Dows Dunham especially was of great help in locating pertinent notebooks and object cards. It was intended to have this cemetery published after the Second World War by Mrs. Elizabeth Eaton West, but the project was never completed, due to her death. Unfortunately, other obligations made it impossible for me to devote the time necessary to assemble groups.

the rim is everted slightly in the wide bowls.

The most interesting bowls are those with a narrow band of decoration near the rim. Like the decoration of C-Group IIa, the basic decorative elements are zig-zag lines, often grouped together or used to make lozenges of some sort. The zig-zag lines are sometimes in reserve, producing the floating lozenge effect seen on C-Group IIa and IIb bowls later. Unlike C-Group bowls, the decoration was either confined to the narrow band at the rim, or a slightly wider band that might be about one-sixth of the height of the bowl.[1]

The incision on those bowls that are decorated on the body was generally much cruder. Most often, it is vertical panels of impressed rocker patterns, though triangles and lozenges are found. These last are incised, and resemble IIb decoration of C-Group. It may be that this particular bowl is later (floating lozenges occur in IIa however IIa 17).[2]

C-Group decoration on bowls occurs in a variant of the quadrant decoration (Ib 4) and woven patterns (Ib 4a), which persists somewhat into IIa.

Jars occur in two categories, Egyptian and Nubian. Nubian jars are globular or squat (wider than tall) with everted, rolled or slightly pushed-out rims. Hole mouth forms occur. Two jars have a rather ovoid, baggy shape with straight or everted rims. Decoration is generally incised, in horizontal bands at the shoulder or vertical bands down the side of the pot. Incision occurs, but most filling motifs as well as

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[1]Pottery from the Lower Deffufa included bowls with this decoration, see fig. 165 a.

[2]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, 93-117, hereafter cited only by the number of the stage of C-Group or the name of the culture and the number of the trait.

lines and zig-zags are impressed. The zig-zags and rocker motifs of the cruder style of bowl decoration are most common.

Egyptian type jars are mostly small, rather globular pots with roll-rims. Occasionally these have the straight neck and bevelled rim we noted in the Thirteenth Dynasty groups at Edfu. Some of these pots have the wide mouths of the BSAE 33-36 series. One of these has four lugs below the rim and a band of incision on the shoulder. These last appear to be early forms of the jar most popular in Tell ed-Dabʿa early levels.

Other objects from the cemetery include Egyptian mirrors, round "hair-rings", rings and a dagger. This last is an interesting antecedent of the classic Kerma spike-like dagger. It was found in a leather case like the Kerma daggers. Its shape is, however, somewhat different. The blade is shorter, with a thick, rounded midrib. The pommel is a single piece, with cut openings.

The burials themselves are of great interest. They were made in round, ovoid, or rectangular shafts. The bodies were generally on the right side with the head North in a semi-contracted position. Leather shrouds or garments occurred in tombs of all types. Feathers were also found. The burial of animals (goats or sheep) was noted in some graves, both round and nearly rectangular. There were no superstructures.

The description of these tombs conforms to that of the Pan Graves and Kerma burials. They are surely not C-Group. The round grave is Pan Grave (P1); the posture and orientation are also characteristic of Pan Grave and Kerma (P3, K3). Feathers are characteristic of the Kerma tombs (K13), less so in other contexts. The burial of animals with the dead was noted as a Kerma characteristic in Nubia (K14).

It should be clear that the major part of the cemetery belongs to the period preceding that of the great tumuli. The features of the burials and the pottery contained both Pan Grave (round shafts, decorated rim-bands on black-topped bowls) and Kerma characteristics (burial of animals, feathers, dagger with sheath).

Cemetery N thus represents the time of Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasty in Upper Nubia, the period of the Execration Texts. It shows the Kerma and Pan Grave assemblages occurring together, as a single culture.

The Age of the Great Tumuli at Kerma

The general date of the great tumuli at Kerma has already been discussed. All of the classic archaeological problems, chronology, regionalization and the very nature of the culture, are present in the great cemetery at Kerma. They are further soluble to such an extent that the Kerma cemetery gives chronological definition to all of Egypt and Western Asia in the Hyksos Age. The fundamental problems of relative and absolute chronology require first attention.

Reisner pointed out seven archaeological groups in what he called the Egyptian cemetery, associated with K III, IV, X, XVI, XVIII, XIX, and XX respectively.[1] Reisner showed that these tumuli must represent a developmental sequence. We have seen that the imported juglets in K IV, X and XVI require that the order of three of the four greatest tumuli was K IV, X and XVI. K III, by its position and the evolution of Kerma pottery is earlier (Tables 21 - 24). Late Yehudiyya ware appeared no earlier than

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[1]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I - III, p. 808; Parts IV-V, pp. 333, 339-340, 343, 347 and 352respectively; Above, pp. 88-96.

TABLE 19

THE ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KERMA TUMULI

	Highest Possible Date	Likely	Lowest Possible Date
K III	1645	1620	?
K IV	1625	1610/00	?
K X	1610/00	1600/1590	1570
K XVI	1580	1570	1560

1600. Early Yehudiyya ware is itself shown by these occurrences to have been made and deposited in the late Seventeenth Century.

We have anticipated an argument by presuming that these tumuli were the burials of the Princes of Kush. They are, however, the only burials of royal size that occur in this age in Nubia. They further correspond in date to the known Nubian princedom of the Hyksos Age. It would be difficult in the face of this correspondence to insist that these are not the tombs of the Princes of Kush.[1]

A glance at the map of the Eastern Cemetery yields major historical information (Fig. 155, 156). The dynasty had, at its start, a series of four great rulers, buried in K III, K IV, K X and K XVI. Thereafter, the dynasty was considerably humbled, having tumuli smaller and poorer than the secondary tumuli of earlier times (compare XVIII-XX with VIII, XIII or V).

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[1]Fritz Hintze, "Das Kerma-Problem", Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache, 91 (1964), pp. 79-86.

Architecture and Burial Customs

Private architecture

No clearly domestic architecture was found at Kerma. An area of humbler buildings was investigated west of the Lower Deffufa in at least two, sometimes three, levels and many more building phases (Fig. 158). The incomplete plans do not give much of an indication of the use of these buildings. The rooms F-E-D and B-A-L were arranged in a row; these would indicate a possible official function, as would the position next to the Lower Deffufa. Most significant was the clearly rectilinear planning of the architecture. In addition, the thickness of the walls indicates that there was possibly a second story. This sophisticated architecture is in stark contrast to the distinctive curvilinear or irregularly polygonal orthostat structures of the contemporary C-Group.

Public and temple architecture

Most of the known Kerma architecture is of a clearly official sort. The buildings discussed here were massive structures of mud brick. Very little interior space is found in any of them.

The Lower Deffufa (Fig. 157) is a massive brick tower about 25 by 50 meters. A stairway, in several stages, was built in an empty corridor left in the brickwork. This stairway and a small chamber that opens off it are the only interior spaces found in the building, which is preserved to a height of 19.3 meters. From the height of the preserved mass, one can infer that the structure was a tower of some sort. Since there is no evidence of rooms, loopholes and other features necessary for a military function (which in fortresses of the Middle Kingdom are at a

much lower level), we can rule out military use for this tower.

The addition to the Lower Deffufa is also a massive brick structure with a narrow columned hall in it. This has a single row of column bases down the center of the room. This feature resembles the funerary temples in the cemetery. Of three square wells inside, two had no access to the outside.

The Upper Deffufa, K II (Fig. 159 a) is north and slightly to the east of K III (it is on the side away from the river). Its dimensions are over 30 by 50 meters. About 85 percent of the area is solid brick. In the center are two long, rectangular rooms connected by a corridor, six meters or less in width. There are four column bases down the center of each room. At the front are two parallel walls which did not lead to the entrance.

The building was repaired, with a stone lining added to the rear room. Inside there is painted decoration on plaster. This includes a register of giraffes facing east, on the north wall of A; on the east wall is a large fleet of ships in three rows, sailing north. The building probably had more storeys, but Reisner was unable to locate stairs. This is hardly surprising, since the buildings in the cemetery had been destroyed or eroded nearly to ground level by the slashing winds.[1]

A considerable number of objects, mostly imported, was found in and around the structure. They include pieces of statuary, stone vessels, faience figurines as well as Kerma pottery.[2] Particularly remarkable is the series of faience tiles, which include a large faience lion; from

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[1]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I-III, pp. 122-123.

[2]Ibid., pp. 127-129.

the size of this lion, it could hardly have been used to ornament anything but a wall.

K XI is a similar structure to K II, but its architectural features are more developed. Room A has a well-paved floor; doorposts were added. Seven columns are in a row again down the center of the room. The building itself was constructed in several stages, beginning with the single inner room (Fig. 159 b). The outer section was then added, followed by two skins, the last of sandstone. A hall to a stairway leads from room B. This went to the upper stories. This upper story may have had much more room area. The outer shape has an apse for which there is no corresponding feature in the room; it may be that the upper stories had larger ceremonial rooms with apses.

The rooms of K XI have painted decoration in red, black, yellow, grey and white. Subjects include men and a house, followed by eight rows of hippopotami and some bullocks. There is an ass on the opposite side. It is hitched to some sort of rope apparatus, which Reisner thought might have been used to draw water. Beyond this representation is a boat with a crew attached to others. In room A, on the west wall are giraffes; on the east, the boats continue. No more representations could be clearly made out.[1]

While quite similar to each other, these buildings are among the most unusual found in the ancient Near East. The columns down the center of the rooms would completely defeat any ceremonial purpose. However, these close-set columns would serve a structural purpose. The mass of bricks was far greater than that required to sustain a second or even a third story. It may be that these plans are the ground floors

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[1]Ibid., pp. 263-269.

of very high buildings of many stories.

Tumuli

There was visible change in the so-called Deffufa structures from K II to K XI; in the tumuli themselves, the change is greater.

K III

K III (Fig. 160 a), the greatest of the tumuli, has the most elaborate substructures. These may have been designated to stabilize the mound in the high winds that blow at Kerma. K III is bisected east-west by a long coridor with heavy walls. In the center and to the South are walls that make a two-room central complex for the main burial. Sacrifices were made outside in the hall (as well as in the burial chambers of the subsidiary burials). About 90 degrees from the central axis is a series of cross-walls a few meters apart which led to a retaining wall at the edge of the mound.[1] Between these long walls are short crosswalls that made convenient compartments for subsidiary burials. In some cases, these were used (K309-12). In others, special walls were built (334, the tomb with the vessel of Sebeknakht). The original idea may have been to fill the entire tumulus with subsidiary and sacrifice burials. The surface of the tumulus was originally entirely paved over.

K IV

In K IV (Fig. 160 b), the rigor of the architects was lessened if not the efficiency of the executioners. First the main corridor was

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[1]Ibid., plan XV.

dug, with a few subsidiary pits, K 411, 425 and 405 for example. After the burial and accompanying holocaust, the corridor was built over with a series of cross-walls at rather variable angles. These in turn have little wall stubs or buttresses attached at various places to improve the anchoring efficiency of the walls. Breaks in the walls attest to rather random subsidiary burials later.

K X

The structural organization of K X (Fig. 161 a) is still looser. The sacrificial corridor is a built rather than an excavated feature. In it was built a free-standing vaulted chamber as was popular in contemporary Hyksos tombs (and C-Group IIb). A number of cross-walls radiate from a brick mass on the north. These do not fill the mound; rather reliance was placed on a stone retaining wall some distance from the cross walls. Subsidiary burials were dug in the fill of the mound rather than in the complex of cross walls. The number of sacrifices was greatest in K X; thereafter, they fell off sharply.

K XVI

In K XVI, (Fig. 161b), the interior retaining walls were abandoned entirely. The exterior retaining wall holds the tumulus together. This wall was built first with chambers excavated afterward. The main chamber A was indicated by a large stone cone.[1] Subsidiary burials were simply dug in the fill.

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[1]Ibid., plan XVII, K IV; plan XXI, K X; fig. 136, K XVI. Other features these tombs had in common included a stone cone near the main burial. White pebbles were found in the fill. Rows of sheep and cattle skulls were found south of the tumuli.

Objects

It would hardly be possible to discuss all of the objects from Kerma. Apart from the unique black-topped pottery, only a few weapons, appliques and inlays were characteristic of the assemblage or peculiar to the site. They can be regarded as having been made by or for this society. Other groups of material, statuary, stone vessels, scarabs and faiences were largely the products of trade or war.[1]

Statuary and stone vessels

The statuary, mostly mutilated, was possibly loot from war in Egypt.[2] Stone vases, scarabs and faiences are obvious trade goods. These last appear in types very similar to those from Byblos and Khirbet Kufin.[3] A globular form with straight neck (Fig. 174 d-g), was found with the concave, tapered cylinder jar (Fig. 174, a-c), and the baggy jar based on the pottery shape BSAE 43 series (Fig. 175 q-t) in addition to the normal "kohl" shape (Fig. 178 a-q). Some exotic and "Old Kingdom" type shapes, such as a jar with the name of Senwosret I (Fig. 173),[4] occurred as well.

Glyptic

Scarabs and seal impressions are also types one would expect to

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[1]Some, at least, of the faience vessels were Kerma shapes (Fig. 169 g, h) so it was probably made locally as well.

[2]Almost all of the statuary was mutilated in some fashion; it would be difficult to explain this as the natural result of peaceful trade, especially as many of the stone vessels, faiences and Yehudiyya juglets were undamaged.

[3]Ibid., Figs. 161, 162 and 159.

[4]Below, p. 1204-6. Characteristic later types seen in the Palestinian MB III were absent.

find in contexts of this date. A few older types are Middle Kingdom designs which continued into the New Kingdom.[1] Some seals are similar to those found in Palestine in the MB III.[2] Little if any development is discernable in the glyptic of Kerma.

Faiences

Most faiences were likewise probably imported. Since this is a royal cemetery they are far more elaborate than those preserved elsewhere. Some, including the tiles and the imitations of Kerma pottery, were probably made locally. At least one was made in imitation of a Kerma rilled or ribbed beaker (Fig. 169 h). Decoration on the various jars and bowls is mostly Egyptian-like drawings and geometric designs of Egyptian origin (Fig. 164 a). There are some running spirals (Fig. 171 c, 1-4) and some light-on-dark designs (Fig. 171 c, 4, 48 and 22). An interest is also taken in the drawing of animals and birds. We have already noted the faience lion inlays. Parts of other figures and/or models were recovered, including a boat model (Fig. 168 a and b), hippopotami, rams and carnivores, mainly from K III and II.[3] At least two jars are characteristic of faience vessels popular in Palestine in the MB III B (Fig. 170 e and f, KX - XVI).

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[1]Reisner, "The Art of Seal Carving in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom", Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, 28 (1930), 47-55. Compare Fig. 6 number 4 with Hayes, Scepter of Egypt II, Fig. 43, bottom row left.

[2]Figure 76 a, bottom row. Such representational designs were characteristic of Palestine in the MB III, not found before. See Bruce B. Williams, Representational Scarabs from the Second Intermediate Period; unpublished M.A. thesis in the University of Chicago Library, 1970.

[3]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I-III, p. 147.

Metal

Of the various metal objects, none stand out so clearly as characteristic of Kerma as the daggers.[1] Typologically, they appear to be derived from older ribbed daggers from Egypt; we have already noted a primitive form of the dagger from the N cemetery. When repeatedly sharpened, the dagger's profile would become narrower, the edge more concave in shape. In time, the blade would become almost a spike.[2] The Kerma people preferred this effect and tended to increase the length, sometimes to over 30 cm. (Fig. 211 k). Further, they modified the old Egyptian crescent or pierced oval pommel into a long trapezoidal shape that became the main part of the handle. Sharp spike-like projections covering part of the blade and pommel are characteristic.

Wood

Wooden objects include the broad-based Kerma headrest we have mentioned at Thebes and the angareb bed with four animal legs, the foot-board sometimes inlaid with ivory figures (Fig. 167 b). Also of note are the paddle-shaped comb and the group of horn protectors.[3]

Ivory, mica and leather appliques and inlays

Some at least of the ivories were manufactured in a pure Egyptian style (Fig. 40 d, vultures). Most appear to have been intended for inlay on the foot boards of the beds (Figs. 39-41). The arrangement cited

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[1]Ibid., plate 50, 2.

[2]Daggers treated this way have been found at Platanos in Crete; they were types of Egyptian origin; S. Xanthoudides, Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara (London: University Press of Liverpool, 1924).

[3]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I-III, plates 51 and 52.

above is instructive. The selection of animals, ostrich, giraffe, gazelle, rhinoceros, lion and elephant, has a distinct African flavor. Modified Egyptian influence is present however in the vultures and the unusual skirted Taurt figures. These last are also usually armed with a large knife. One unique piece has a doe running in a pose that resembles the flying gallop. The same tomb contains an inlay with two goats in a tree. Development in this group of objects is again hard to trace. Perhaps there was an increased use of geometric designs in K X and XVI, but style is much the same from K III to K XVI.[1]

Mica appliques were cut out and sewn onto items of clothing.[2] These shared many motifs with the ivories, though they were not identical. Other than geometric design elements, noteworthy additions to the designs are the Rekhyt bird and the double headed eagle. This last occurs on a scarab at Megiddo and in Hittite art repeatedly.[3]

Despite massive plundering in the cemetery, a number of gold objects was found and catalogued.[4] There is one torque. Most impressive of these objects are two bed-leg sheaths of pure gold.[5]

Pottery

The most distinctive and in many ways spectacular development of the Kerma civilization is its pottery. These remarkable pots include the finest black-topped ware ever made in the Nile Valley. People at Kerma were well aware of its importance and buried it in vast amounts

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[1]Ibid., pp. 268-271.

[2]Ibid., pp. 273-280.

[3]Williams, Representational Scarabs, fig. 19-1.

[4]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I-III, pp. 283-85.

[5]Ibid., plate 69 2.

with their dead. Reisner noted three basic divisions in the pottery.

c. (Reisner's designation) Coarse local ware made in traditional Nubian materials and techniques is 8.5% of the total.

b. Egyptianizing wares make up 11.5% or, if part of the red polished vessels are included, 15.5% of all the pottery present.

a. The Kerma fine ware make up either 79% or 76% of the vessels found. They are "variants of the Nubian mixture but made by Egyptian methods, i.e. the wheel".[1]

It would be difficult to find a better way of illustrating the opulence of Kerma. The last, the fine wares, are a product of tremendous effort and expense, as each was burnished to a high polish (in K III and IV at any rate). Further, two thirds of the non-luxury pots were imported from Egypt, hundreds of miles and two cataracts away.

This transport of pottery hundreds of miles illustrates the dependent, aristocratic and dominant nature of the society found here. The products of settled civilization in Egypt were adapted to more "primitive," possibly nomadic, tastes.

Reisner divided the pottery of Kerma into the following wares:

1. Black-topped (BKT), I-XXX, called purely Kerma.

2. Black polished (BP) contains both Kerma (X-XVIII) and Egyptian (I-IX) types, especially bottle-jars with ovoid shape.

3. Black polished with white-filled decoration (WJ), mostly includes bowls with C-Group decoration, but with Yehudiyya ware as well.

4. Red polished (RP) is largely Egyptian pottery, but with two examples of Palestinian juglets.

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[1]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts IV-V, p. 325.

5. Red ware (RW), ordinary red ware, is Egyptian, but with a few local beakers.

6. White slipped red ware (WSR) is Egyptian.

7. Polished white slip red ware (PWSR), also Egyptian.

8. Drab ware (Db W), Egyptian.

9. Fine drab ware, very smooth (F Db W).

10. Fine grey ware, with polished white slip (W P Grey), Egyptian.

11. Fine grey ware, with polished red slip (R P Grey), Egyptian.

12. Greenish drab ware similar to Keneh ware (KW), Egyptian.

13. Black ware of local origin, brown or black surface (Blk W).

14. Black ware of local origin, red surface, imitation Bkt (BM).

15. Coarse black ware of local origin, red surface (CR).

16. Black-mouth ware (BMW).

17. Coarse red ware (CRW).

18. Burnished CR (BCR).

19. Same but with incision (BCRJ).

20. Painted.

There is no point in attempting to reorganize these wares here, even though they include such anomalous combinations as Nubian and Yehudiyya ware in the same ware (WJ and RP). This could not be done without extensive work with the original materials. Most of them appear to be valid distinctions, even if they are not all based on the paste; they have a general cultural validity.

Of these "wares", the black-topped is the largest category, purely Kerma. We shall consider it separately. Other wares will be considered under the heads of Kerma pots, C-Group imitations, Egyptian

pots and Palestinian imports.[1]

Yehudiyya juglets

These were found in K IV, K X and K XVI. In K IV B there was a red polished piriform juglet with ring base and double handle. K 452 contained a similar but larger jug, with flat base. It is also red polished. Ring-based juglets are found only in the earliest levels at Tell ed-Dabᶜa. We shall see them in Palestine in the MB III A.[2] Jugs with a flattened base of this type occur in the MB II; this type is rather more sophisticated than the earlier types and may be somewhat later (Fig. 177 a and b).[3]

K X contained four incised and punctate-decorated juglets. One from 1084 is the classic early type with trumpet mouthpiece rim and a wide disc base, decorated with incised standing and pendant triangles (Fig. 177 c and d).[4] Others from K 1042, K 1045, and K 1098 have four standing and pendant triangles only; these are transitional between MB III A and B.[5]

K XVI C, the main burial, contained a juglet with vertical panels of punctate ornament characteristic of the MB III B levels at Tell ed-Dabᶜa and the Hyksos Age tombs at Tell el Yehudiyya (Fig. 177 e, f, g). K 1620 and K 1625 contained piriform juglets with carinated shoulder (or

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[1]Also in local pottery were a series of teapots; Ibid., pp. 406-407.

[2]Below, pp. 923, 953.

[3]Affula juglets also had stump bases, below, p 990.

[4]Tell ed-Dabᶜa, F - E2, above, pp. 74-75.

[5]Tell ed-Dabᶜa, E 1, above, p. 76.

nearly carinated) of red polished grey ware. These are also contemporary with the later levels of Tell ed-Dab'a and MB III B in Asia.

Expressed in absolute and relative terms, the sequence is as follows: K III, 1620, no juglets, MB III A(?); K IV, 1610/00, MB III A juglets; K X, 1600/1590, MB III A juglet, MB III A - B transitional juglets; K XVI, 1570, MB III B juglets.

Black-topped pottery

Reisner's black-top ware, especially beakers is of great importance for the chronology (Tables 21-24).[1] These began in K III, with a wide, bell-shaped form with round or very slightly flattened base.[2] The bases were rarely flat.[3] Where the bases were flat, they were narrow, never as much as half the diameter of the pot. There were also bowls with flared, nearly straight sides.[4] These bowls with a nearly conical shape betray a relationship with the Egyptian conical bowl in use at this period.[5] It may be that the conical type developed from the Egyptian conical bowl and was in turn the ancestor of the true bell-beaker (Fig. 55-57).

In addition to the beakers, there were also large hemispherical bowls with thickened rim and corrugated goblets made in imitation of a stack of beakers. Jars with everted rims occur, normally with a

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[1]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I-III, pp. 330-363.

[2]Ibid., p. 335, fig. 227, 1-19 except 16.

[3]Ibid., p. 343, no. 17; p. 342, fig. 230, 1-5.

[4]Ibid., p. 353.

[5]MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, plate 95, type xxi.

simple, rather globular shape.[1] One of the most important features of pottery from K III was the extremely high burnish on the black-topped pottery.

Though this high polish continued, there was a definite change in the black-topped beakers from K III to K IV. A glance at the chart of occurrences shows the shift in types. In K IV, the curve at the neck of the beakers was accentuated. The beakers were thus wider at the bottom and had greater capacity. The curve was still generally an alteration in the amount of flare. It was rare that the flaring ceased altogether anyplace on the pot, giving it a vertical side (Fig. 183 e 10). Likewise, a new form appears where the bulge is wider than the neck, resulting in a truly sinuous side (Fig. 183 a 3). The flat base is normal now except for hemispherical bowls and jars. A truly sharp angle between the base and body is found only once or twice. Jars continued much the same with more emphasis on the angle between the neck and shoulder (Fig. 184 c). The high polish also continues.[2]

In K X, the surface of the pots appears duller. The beaker has a substantial part of the side vertical (Figs. 185-187). The side often drops suddenly to the base. As a result, the beakers have both a wider base and greater capacity. They tend to have a more even curve from base to rim or a kink nearly in the middle. While some pots are very lustrous, dull surfaces appear.[3]

Jars do not change much except that there are many more spouted examples (Fig. 188 c and d).

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[1]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I-III, p. 336 fig. 243, one with a spout, no. 4 also p. 366, 7, figs. 246 and 247.

[2]Ibid., plate 74.

[3]Ibid.

Considerable change in the pottery took place from K X to XVI. The exterior surfaces of the pots in K XVI are almost always dull. The shape is angular, the bottom flat with an even curve from the base to rim (Fig. 189-190).

Jar necks are longer, but the shape is otherwise more carelessly executed.[1]

There are three major stages in the Kerma pottery of the great tumuli at Kerma, K III, IV-X and XVI. The greatest variety of materials is found in the middle group. It is, however, possible to distinguish between the materials of all four great tumuli, so that we have four stages that can be distinguished in this period.

C-Group pottery

Hemispherical bowls that resemble the incised C-Group bowl are rather few in number and tend to occur later in the sequence, mostly in K X and XVI (Fig. 191, Table 20). K X had six pieces while K XVI had eighteen. The motifs, zig-zags, triangles, and lozenges seem to be related more to C-Group IIa than IIb, except number 9 and 10, possibly 12 which are IIb. Some of the lozenge decoration in X-13, 20 and 21 may also indicate a chronological link with IIb.[2]

Egyptian pottery

Egyptian and Egyptianizing shapes dominate the rest of the assemblage. As would be expected, there is relatively little change in this somewhat short period of time.

In K III, the shapes of Egyptian pots tend to be globular, ovoid, or in some cases biconical (Figs. 196-198). Only one type has the baggy

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[1]Ibid., figs. 250 and 251. [2]Ibid., pp. 251-52, 253-54.

TABLE 20

C-GROUP POTTERY IN THE KERMA TUMULI

Burial		Object
K III	318	Two black over-hemispherical bowls with hatched zig-zags, related to C-Group IIa
K X	1089	Bowl with hatched running lozenges, related to IIb
	B-West	Bowl with hatched running lozenges, related to IIb
	1052	Bowl with zig-zags, related to IIz or b.
	1099	Triangles and chevrons, shape unknown
	B	also straight-sided and flared cup with horizontal hatched bands
K XVI	C debris	Bowl with zig-zags
	1630	Two bowls with pendant triangles
	1613	Bowl with vertical bands
	1623	Bowl with concentric lozenges, related to IIb.
	C debris	Two bowls with zig-zags that form lozenges

shape with a low center of gravity (Fig. 198 d). This has the grooved neck seen on similar pots from Tell ed-Dabʿa (F, BSAE 43). There are also some drop-shaped or baggy pots (Fig. 197 l-n). Mouths tend to be narrow, with the rims flaring (Fig. 196 i-q). While jars with straight necks are present, they are not common (Fig. 198 e).

Of particular interest are the painted pyxides and biconical jars (Fig. 199). These are painted in polychrome geometric designs. One remarkable jar has a pair of leopards attacking a man on it; a second jar is decorated with a lotus motif. Five pyxides came from K III, while all three jars were from that tumulus. Two painted pyxides were found in K IX, and a painted bowl K VIII (Fig. 201 a and b).

After K III, there is a change in the Egyptian pottery. The tall ovoid polished jars are gone. There is a marked drop in the

average center of gravity in the pots. Baggy jars with rolled rims are numerous in K IV (Fig. 202 f-n). These include several with combed decoration on the shoulder in horizontal bands. Biconical jars tend to be smaller, and have a wider mouth (Fig. 200, 1, n, o). The simple bag-jar occurs for the first time (Fig. 202 d). Wide jars with vertical necks and nearly bevelled rims are characteristic of this tumulus (Fig. 200 p-r).

K X continued many of the same pots. Wide jars, however, tend to be more globular (Fig. 206 g-j). Otherwise the baggy or drop-shaped types with rolled rim and combed bands on the shoulders continue (Fig. 207 b-k), as do simple bag jars. Biconical jars continue as well (Fig. 205 j-n).

Three jars are of special interest. One, with a flat base and folded and bent rim, has a horizontal band of combing on the shoulder. We have seen the type at Qau, in Group C (Fig. 205 o). Two tubular or ovoid jars have straight necks with incised decoration. On one, the decoration is the standard scrabble between two horizontal bands (Fig. 208 d) we have seen in Qau C - D. The second jar, with the elaborate knobs on the collar and complex band of scrabble decoration, can only be paralleled by the decoration on footed bowls from Qau C (Fig. 208 e).

Between K X and K XVI, there is a substantial change in the pottery of Egyptian type. Luxury wares drop by about a third, while drab, local wares increased by many times from 4.71% to 31.22%. This sudden increase in the quantity of local pottery appears to continue in the same proportions in the later tumuli. The total number of pots decreased from the 550-600 found in each of the earlier tumuli (K III-X) to 237. Sacrifice burials are numbered about 100, about one quarter

of the number in K X, though about the same as were found in K III.[1]

The sample of Egyptian pottery is not large. It includes a few wide biconical jars that occurred before. There is very little innovation. In fact, the repertoire of Egyptian forms is virtually reduced to the baggy jar with everted rim in several wares and sizes (Fig. 209-210). The type has been seen in Egypt at the end of the Second Intermediate Period and in the early New Kingdom.[2] The most remarkable Egyptian pot is a pedestal bowl with scrabble decoration as seen at Qau in C (Fig. 209 a).

Kerma, Summary

Despite the relative lack of written sources on the princedom of Kush, the archaeology offers us much vivid information on the nature of its society and some on its history.

From the sheer size of the burial monuments, 80 or 90 meters across, and the size of the "Deffufa" buildings, we can see that these princes disposed of great resources. Burials in these tumuli included types known as subsidiary, made on the event of a courtier's death, and sacrifice, the ritual murders of persons at the death of the Prince of Kush and some courtiers.[3] Reisner pointed out that many or most of these sacrifices were young women. It may be, however, that the main burials of some of the subsidiary tombs were themselves sacrifices.[4]

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[1]Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts I-III, p. 69.

[2]Above, p. 210. Egyptian baggy jars at the beginning of the New Kingdom had an almost biconical body however.

[3]Ibid., pp. 65-79.

[4]Ibid., p. 221, K 432. The main burial in this tomb has the hands tightly pressed against the face as is the case with sacrifice burials.

This concentration on a Prince was a remarkable feature not found in the more egalitarian C-Group culture.

A second noteworthy feature of the Kerma remains was that every art and craft, from the architecture to the mica ornaments, bore the stamp of Egyptian workmanship. Painting, architecture, faience, weapons, even the characteristic black-topped pottery was created with considerable sophistication, with elaborate techniques or is clearly based on Egyptian models, modified to a Nubian purpose. This again contrasts sharply with the essentially native arts of the C-Group. Nevertheless, the forms of expression were uniquely Kerma in architecture, weapons and pottery. In other areas as well, emphasis was laid on materials of African origin, processed through Egyptian and even Near Eastern art. This is particularly true of painting, inlays and appliques of mica, ivory and leather. There was a limited imitation of C-Group hemispherical bowls. Many materials were simply imported from Egypt, including the statuary, stone vessels and scarabs, most faience objects, Yehudiyya ware and most of the household pots.

Major changes in the culture were almost limited to the structures of the Tumuli and Deffufa buildings and the black-topped pottery, though imported pottery changed as well. More elaborate products of the culture such as weapons, inlays, and painting, did not give satisfactory evidence of development.

TABLE 21

BLACK-TOP I POTTERY FROM THE KERMA TUMULI

Fig. 226	I#	K III	K III Graves	K IV	K IV Graves	KX	X Graves	K XVI	K XVI Graves
1	(12)	1	4						
2	(13)		2						
3	14		3						
4	18		5						
5	15			1					
6	17				1				
7	12/2				3				
8	5				2	3	2		
9	24				1				
10	20/2				1				
11	19				2		1		
12	22					2	3		
13	8						3		
14	3					5	10		
15	22/2						1		
16	6				1		1		1
17	16/2						1		
18	1						10		
19	2						10		
20	7/2						5		
21	7					2	1		
22	16						5		
23	25								1
24	11								2
25	10					1	1		2
26	4				1	2	7		1
27	4/3					2	1		
	TOTAL	1	14	1	15	17	63	0	7

SOURCE: Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV-V, p. 333.

TABLE 22

BLACK-TOP II POTTERY FROM THE KERMA TUMULI

Fig. 229	II #	K III	III Graves	K IV	IV Graves	K X	X Graves
1	26		4				
2	17		16				
3	27		10				
4	23		5				
5	26		2				
6	38		2				
7	45	1	8				
8	47		4				
9	19	1	52				
10	19/3		15				
11	19/2	2	38				
12	29		6				
13	18	2	73				
14	43		6				
15	3/4		1				
16	48		4				
17	28		4		2		
18	16	1	28				
19	46		1				
20	20				5		
21	14		5		3		
22	15		2		5		
23	25				9		
24	21				17		1
25	21/2				23	1	4
26	21/3				1		2
27	42				3		
28	34		1		5		
29	2/3				32		
SUBTOTALS		7	287		105	1	7

SOURCE: Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV-V, p. 333.

TABLE 22 Continued.

Fig. 229	II #	K III	III Graves	K IV	IV Graves	K X	X Graves
30	3/3				15		
31	3/2			3	18		1
32	40				10		
33	9				2		
34	8				1		
35	2/5				1		
36	2/4				3		
37	30				5	1	
38	30/2				12		
39	6				5	5	3
40	41				2		
41	31				4		2
42	2/2				23		
43	39				1		
44	7				1		2
45	22						4
46	28/2				1	2	3
47	13						2
48	1				5	2	24
49	2				20	4	32
50	3			1	19		21
51	5				2	1	6
52	4				1		4
53	35				1	1	2
54	10				1		3
55	32						1
56	11						4
57	12						1
58	36						4
59	6/2						2
60	33				1	3	2
61	37						2
TOTAL		7	287	4	258	21	132

SOURCE: Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV-V, p. 340.

TABLE 23

BLACK-TOP III POTTERY FROM THE KERMA TUMULI

Fig. 230	III #	K III	III Grave	K IV	IV Grave	K X	X Grave
1	5		2		3		
2	4		10				
3	16		9				
4	11		12		1		
5	10		4		1		
6	7		3		5		
7	12			1	7		1
8	13				16		2
9	14				2		
10	8			1	2		1
11	6				2		
12	1						5
13	2			6	8	2	22
14	15				1	1	1
15	9			1	2	1	4
16	3						1
	TOTALS		40	9	50	4	37

SOURCE: Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV-V, p. 343.

NOTE: K XVI is mostly BKT VI and VIII.

TABLE 24

BLACK-TOP X AND XI POTTERY FROM THE KERMA TUMULI

Fig. No.	Illus. No.	BKT No.	K III	K III Graves	K IV Graves	K X Graves	K XVI Graves
236	1	X - 1	1	1			
	2	X - 2		1			
	3	X - 5		6	1		
	4	X - 3	1	2			
	5	X - 4	1	6			
	6	X - 6		1			
	7	X - 7		3			
237	1	X - 8			2		
	2	XI - 9			1		
	3	XI - 4				1	1
	4	XI - 1				1	
	5	XI - 2				1	
	6	XI - 6				1	
	7	XI - 7					1
	8	XI - 10					
	9	XI - 3				1	
	10	XI - 5					

CHAPTER XIII

CEMETERIES IN UPPER NUBIA AND KERMA TOMBS IN LOWER NUBIA

Materials of Second Intermediate to New Kingdom date were found in Upper Nubia and Sai Island, Soleb, Songi and Ukma. Unfortunately, only the cemetery at Soleb has been fully published (Table 58).

Sai

This place appears under the name of Sha^{c}t in the Execration Texts as the seat of a prince.[1] Excavations have been undertaken there by Vercoutter. Thousands of tumuli have been reported, some of considerable size. The only example published was large, but much simpler than the Kerma tumuli; it had only a single chamber in the center. Pottery includes flared beakers of K III - IV type and a spouted jar.[2]

The full range of types and materials is clearly not yet known at Sai. The Kerma assemblage clearly occurs here however, second in intensity only to Kerma itself.

Soleb

Under the superstructure of the Pyramid tomb 15 at Soleb was a

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[1]J. Vercoutter, "Excavations at Sai 1955-57; A Preliminary Report", Kush, 6 (1958), p. 147; Karole Zibelius, Afrikanische Orts-und Volkernamen in Hieroglyphischen und Hieratischen Texten, Beihefte zum Tubingen Atlas des Vorderen Orient Nr. 1, (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1972), p. 154.

[2]Vercoutter, "Excavations at Sai", Kush, 6, pp. 148-52.

small cemetery of the Second Intermediate Period. The graves were round (P/1) or oval, with no preserved superstructure. The dead were covered with ochre, contracted on the right or left side, with the head east.

Pottery includes globular and baggy jars with roll rims, the later Second Intermediate period types we have seen at Kerma. There is a single Kerma beaker of K XVI type, with flat base and concave side. Though the Pan Grave pottery is not present, the burial customs are characteristic of that assemblage, rather than that of Kerma.[1]

Songi

The site of Songi contains both a settlement and a cemetery. The settlement, of brick or adobe, contained at least one rectilinear building. It is, however, of uncertain date.[2]

The cemetery was slightly more specifically described. It consisted of some two hundred tombs in three types, mostly circular (P/1) or rectangular. A third type, also rectangular, was much longer and deeper than those of the second type; graves of this type were grouped around a small hillock, with the burials on the back.

Burials of the first two grave types were usually contracted on the side with the head east or north. Objects found in the cemetery include beds of the angareb type (K/5), cloth, pottery, ostrich plumes (K/13) and some jewelry. One scarab has the name Ma^{c}aibre^{c} (XV-2?). Pottery does include Kerma vessels.[3]

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[1]Michela Schiff-Giorgini, "Soleb, Campagna 1958-59", Kush, 7 (1959), 54-170.

[2]J. Leclant, "Fouilles et Travaux en Égypte et en Soudan, 1970-1971", Orientalia, 41 (1972), 274-5.

[3]Ibid., fig. 32, p. 274.

The general type of the graves as given in the description was similar to the graves at Soleb.

Ukma West

In cemetery 21-H1-4, some 200 tombs were found. About a third of these were rectangular and had the characteristic materials and dispositions of Kerma tombs. The remainder, round or oval in shape, were different.

There is a considerable amount of pottery and several dozen scarabs of "Second Intermediate Period type". Of the two pots illustrated, one is a jar with incised triangles and zig-zags. The second was an over-hemispherical bowl with incised triangles and a cross-hatched band. This is a variant of the C-Group bowl.[1]

None of the occurrences gave any indication that the round or oval graves were of earlier date than the Kerma great tumuli; there is no evidence published from the N Cemetery period. Pottery from Soleb, on the other hand, clearly indicates that the materials from that cemetery are contemporary with the great tumuli at Kerma. The materials, especially the burial customs from Songi, Ukma and Soleb, are closely related to the Pan Graves.

Semna South

A native Nubian cemetery at Semna South was said to contain materials that resembled Cemetery N at Kerma. As such, it would document the most northerly known occurrence of that assemblage in the Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasties.[2]

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[1]J. Leclant, "Travaux et Fouilles en Égypte et Soudan", Orientalia, 39 (1970), p. 355, figs. 55-58. Pottery is on Figs. 57-8.

[2]Dunhan, Second Cataract Forts, vol I, p. 111, fig. 64. The

Kerma Occurrences in Lower Nubia

Bietak has noted the following characteristics of Kerma burials in Lower Nubia:[1] (Table 59)

1. If there was a stone circle about the grave shaft, it was loosely built.

The tomb shaft was rectangular with the burial on the right side, either with the head east (K/2) or the head North (K/3), with the shafts in corresponding orientations.

4. Human sacrifice burials occur.

5. Evidence that the burial had been made on a bed is often present.

6. Often, an offering hole was dug in the shaft at the head of the burial.

K/7-12 are pots of Kerma type. K 9 is not paralleled at Kerma, while K 12 is a type of jar found in C-Group phase III and New Kingdom graves.

13. Feathers, also seen in C-Group III are found in the Kerma tombs in Lower Nubia.

14. Often, animals are buried in the tomb shaft.

15. The Kerma dagger often occurs in these tombs.

He cited the following occurrences in Lower Nubia, Qurta, Kubban, Wadi Alaqi, Mediq, Tumas, Aniba, Gezira Dabarosa, Mirgissa, with a possible occurrence at Debeira. We may add Nag el Tahouna, near Aniba, and Adindan, cemetery K.

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heavy, crude, bowls of this cemetery do not much resemble the well-made fine bowls of Cemetery N.

[2]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 123-126.

Qurta[1]

Grave 1 had a trench at one end of the shaft, with the skeletons of two young females in the trench.[2] The Kerma beaker, spouted jar and angareb bed were found in the cemetery, but these do not necessarily indicate the presence of the Kerma assemblage, since these occur as imports. As Bietak's diagram shows, there are only a few possible examples. Those to the lower right were probably New Kingdom.[3]

Kuban

The Egyptian Cemetery 110 at Kuban contained a group of tombs toward the Northwest part of the cemetery that had no superstructures and rectangular shafts. Burials were oriented east-west, the bodies on the right side with the skull east (K/2, 258, 259, 318). With them were a Kerma beaker (K/7), wide hemispherical black-topped bowl with everted rim (K/8) and spouted beaker (K/10). The combination of traits indicates that these were indeed Kerma burials. Though a few more might be added to the list on the basis of the burial type, there remain few Kerma burials in this cemetery.[4]

The cemetery was a large Egypto-Nubian Cemetery actively used from the Thirteenth Dynasty.[5]

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[1]Ibid., p. 67; C. M. Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1910-1911, (Cairo: Government Press, 1927), pp. 140-151.

[2]Ibid., p. 140.

[3]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, Fig. 31.

[4]Ibid., pp. 69-71.

[5]Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1910-1911, pp. 46-48.

Wadi Alaqi

A few tombs in the Wadi Alaqi had the rectangular shaft with burial on the right side (K2/3), human sacrifice at the foot of the bed (K4), angareb bed (K/5), offering hole or trench (K/6), animal offerings (K/14), feathers (K/13) and the pottery of Kerma type.[1] The tombs were found near a few graves of C-Group III and New Kingdom tombs.

Mediq

Cemetery 147 at Mediq contained two graves with the burial on the right side, and the head north. A Kerma beaker was deposited in the shaft.[2]

Tumas

Cemetery 189 included tombs with rectangular shafts and the Kerma beaker. This cannot be considered a clear occurrence of the Kerma assemblage.[3]

Aniba

Pottery of Kerma type from Aniba Cemetery B is not sufficient to identify any part of the cemetery as belonging to the Kerma assemblage.[4]

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[1]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Grouppe, p. 62; Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1910-1911, pp. 129-131, plate 25 a/2, tombs 4 and 6 especially.

[2]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 68, tombs 4 and 5; Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1910-1911, p. 219.

[3]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 74; Walter B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, The Excavations and Survey from Wadi es-Sebua to Adindan, Service des Antiquités d'Égypte: Mission Archéologique de Nubie, (Cairo: Government Press, 1935), pp. 212-267.

[4]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 35 and fig. 93.

At Nag el Tahouna near Aniba, an Egyptian Expedition found a grave with many Kerma pots among a group of Pan Graves. The pots have the high polish of the earlier Kerma beakers, the sides are widely flared, so the date should not be later than K X, probably K IV.[1]

Buhen

Tomb J 33 at Buhen had a burial with a sacrificed goat or gazelle in the dromos. Pottery includes some flared K IV-X shaped beakers and bowls, with the spouted jar and Kerma dagger. In addition, there are two ivory flies[2] (Fig. 211).

This is one of the clearest occurrences of the Kerma assemblage in an Egypto-Nubian cemetery.

Debeira

Tomb 170/37 contained Kerma beakers, with a wide-angled profile and an excellent polish, K III-IV in date, with a rather globular jar, razor and bone inlays as well as scarabs.[3]

While the occurrence of a single Kerma beaker or two might not indicate the presence of the assemblage, the number found here, at Buhen, and Nag el Tahouna, make the presence of the culture clear.[4]

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[1]Abd el Moneim Abu Bakr, "The Nag el Tahouna Cemetery", Fouilles en Nubie, vol. I, (Cairo: Organisme générale des imprimeries gouvernementales, 1963), pp. 117-118, plate VII.

[2]Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, pp. 174-5, plates 50-51.

[3]Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "Preliminary Report on the Scandinavian Joint Expedition; Archaeological Investigations between Fars and Gemai, November 1961-March 1962", Kush, 11 (1963), pp. 67-69, plate VII.

[4]The Qurna burial of two beakers with an Egyptian burial showed the way in which such beakers occurred as imports.

Mirgissa

The cemetery designated M III was the only true Kerma cemetery in Lower Nubia. It was made up of loosely-built stone circles, burials in the sand, with the head east on the right side.[1] There were human sacrifices in tombs 15 and 16, and beside tomb 8. Animals were found in tombs 2, 5, 9, 15, 16 and 17.

The pottery begins in K T 2 with the classic wide-mouth beakers of K III-IV and the spouted jar, as well as the jar with ribbing but no spout.[2] Egyptian pottery includes the baggy jar with rolled rim and grooves at the neck (Fig. 202, k-m; fig. 207, f, g, and k) and the simple bag jar (Fig. 202 d).[3] These pots compare well with the pottery of K IV at Kerma. The Kerma type beakers are clearly early in the sequence, so the tomb belongs to the age of K IV. It also contained a scarab with the name of Nubkheperre^{c} (Intef, XVII-1).

The rest of the cemetery contained tombs of later dates. K T 4 contained round-based bowls,[4] a beaker with nearly flat base and a more vertical side than those of K T 2, and a bowl with everted rim and omphalos base. This last parallels the bowl with omphalos base from K T 8.[5] This tomb also had a simple jar with spout and Egyptian bag

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[1]Jean Vercoutter, Mirgissa I, Mission Archéologique français au Soudan sous la direction de Jean Vercoutter, Ouvrage publié par la Direction Générale des Relations Culturelles, Scientifiques et Techniques, Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, (Paris: n. p., 1970), p. 290, fig. 37 bis.

[2]Ibid., pp.223-76, figs. 9A and B.

[3]Ibid., fig. 9 D and F.

[4]Ibid., fig. 11 C and D.

[5]Ibid., fig. 11 E and F, and fig. 16 G.

jars, rather plump, with one set of horizontal grooves.[1] These two tombs are contemporary with K X.

K T 9 contained three flat-based beakers, with dull finish, one with a vertical side. The curve leading to the everted rim began just below the rim.[2] Egyptian pottery includes types that closely resemble those of K T 8, but the grooved jar is slightly more baggy. The tomb also contains a dagger, bed and sacrifice burial. Its date is still K X.

K T 15 belonged to the latest stage of the Second Intermediate Period Kerma culture. It also had a bed, sacrifice and a dagger.[3] The Kerma beakers have flattened bases; one of these has a concave side with a constant curve from base to rim. There are classic Egyptian type bag jars present from the latest Hyksos Age.[4] The burial belongs to the age of the latest Kerma great tumulus, K XVI.

Adindan

Cemetery K at Adindan contained two tombs with rectangular shafts and bed burials. These were found together, east of the C-Group cemetery. One of the tombs contained a beaker with flattened base, K IV-X in date.

Summary: The Kerma Assemblage in Lower Nubia

Though much of the material excavated in Nubia during the latest emergency remains unpublished, we can make a number of general statements about the occurrences of Kerma tombs in lower Nubia. Since the Kerma beakers and other luxury pots are found in clearly Egypto-Nubian contexts at Semna (tomb), Buhen (several tombs), Aniba (cemetery S tombs), we

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[1]Ibid. [2]Ibid., fig. 18 D and E; fig. 19 A and B.

[3]Ibid., p. 265, fig. 25. [4]Ibid., fig. 26 C, E and F.

alien types. Whether these were resident ambassadors or agents of the Prince of Kush on some missions maintaining a surveillance in Lower Nubia is doubtful. The tombs are too uniform and the grave goods too consistent to admit of that explanation.

It would appear that all of the paraphernalia of the Kerma culture was at hand when each of these burials was made, including the slaves or wives for sacrifice. This condition could only plausibly be brought about when the Kerma Prince was on campaign, with all his ships which could carry the characteristic goods of the Kerma culture with the living Kermans to see to it that the burials were made in uniform Kerma style.[1]

We can add to these Kerma occurrences the Kerma tomb at Abydos, and the very probable Kerma burials also at Abydos and Abadiya E 2. By their isolation and the fact that the Abydos tomb is consistent with Kerma tombs elsewhere we can determine that the explanation of their presence in Egypt should be the same as that for Lower Nubia. As in Lower Nubia, there are not enough tombs of the type for colonization.[2]

Their occurrence in isolation indicates the temporary presence of a number of Kermans who had the full paraphernalia of the culture with them and the political ability to carry out such alien customs as human sacrifice. The hypothesis that these burials were made on campaign

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[1]Were no other Kermans present, the burials would have been made largely according to local custom. And one would hardly expect to find such a custom as human sacrifice.

[2]A colony would require a full cemetery. Even the cemetery at Mirgissa is too small to have been the main cemetery of a colony. It could belong to two or three generations of a single household, or it might have been a convenient cemetery near the Mirgissa slipway, a logical stopping place in a journey.

remains the best explanation for the presence of uniform, isolated Kerma tombs in Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PAN GRAVES

Bietak noted the following traits that identify the Pan Grave assemblage in Lower Nubia; the same traits identify this assemblage in Egypt[1] (Table 60).

1. The shaft of the grave is often round, sometimes with a loosely-constructed stone circle.

2. There is often a simple excavation in the sand with or without the stone circle.

3. The burial is generally on the right side with the head north.

4. Burial with the head east occurs.

5. Sometimes, a roof of large stones was placed over the burial.

6. Offering pits were dug in the cemeteries, separate from any burial.

Pottery includes black polished or black-topped bowls with thickened rims, generally with the rim incised (P/7, figs. 214-216). Sometimes there is a band of hatched or cross-hatched decoration, sometimes in opposed fields below the rim (P/8 and P/9). The brown to grey with hatched triangles on bowl, generally opposed, occurs early in the history of the Pan Graves (P/10, also noted in C-Group above). One type of bowl has bands of hatching (P/11), while some have vertical panels of hatching or chevrons (P/12). A type of hemispherical bowl with deeply

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[1]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 118-122; Bietak, Sayala, pp. 63-64.

incised grooves was also seen in C-Group materials (P/13). The four-pointed dish is well known in both Egypt and Nubia (P/14).

The following two characteristics are also found in C-Group IIa, marking the date of earliest Pan Grave influence.

15. The skulls or frontals of animals, often painted with red or black spots, were deposited outside the circle or in separate pits. These occur in C-Group IIa and b.

16. Armlets made of rectangular plaques tied together vertically (with the long sides together) are characteristic of the Pan Graves in Egypt and Nubia; they occur in C-Group IIa and b.

17. Strings of Nerita shells occur in Pan Graves, but not in C-Group contexts.

We have already discussed the occurrence of Pan Grave characteristics in the known cemeteries of Upper Nubia at Soleb, Songi, Ukma and Kerma cemetery N.[1] The first three may have been contemporary with the Pan Graves of Lower Nubia and Egypt, but Cemetery N lacked any of the distinctive pottery of Pan Graves in Egypt and Lower Nubia; it must therefore be ancestral.

The following sites have had Pan Grave material cited from excavations (Fig. 213):

Shellal

Cemetery 7, Knoll B contained about 25 burials in round graves, largely plundered. Bodies were found on the right side with the head west.[2] Pottery includes black-topped pots with thickened

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[1]Above, pp. 547-551.

[2]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 44;

Dakka

Cemetery 97 was a C-Group cemetery; in it were found some bowls with the opposed hatched triangles.[1] This was also a questionable occurrence.

Cemetery 98 at Dakka had one tomb with the body on the left side and the skull north. A Pan Grave bowl has incised cross-hatching on it.[2]

Cemetery 101 at Dakka was a large C-Group cemetery with graves that Bietak considered almost certainly to be Pan Grave. Some tombs had the wristlets of plates.[3] One contained a burial on the right side with the head north, with two black-topped bowls which have thickened rims.[4] Two tombs had bowls with cross-hatched bands and wristlets. One grave had a black-topped bowl with thickened rim and a bowl with opposed hatched triangles.[5] There were also burials of animal skulls. These tombs, which had no superstructures, were put down after the C-Group tombs had sanded up.[6]

Kuban Fort

Weigall reported several pieces of Pan Grave pottery from the

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[1]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 56; Bietak, Sayala, p. 67; F. M. Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1909-1910. (Cairo: Government Press, 1915), pp. 108-111, graves 6, 46, 66, and 93.

[2]Bietak, Sayala, p. 67; Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1909-1910, (Cairo: Government Press, 1915), pp. 111-112, tomb 1004.

[3]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 60; Bietak, Sayala, p. 67; Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1909-1910, pp. 111-112, tombs 403, 407, 430, 451, and 508.

[4]Ibid., tomb 363. [5]Ibid., tomb 461, others-wristlets 428, 439.

[6]Ibid., plates 32, b 2-3, 1; 35 d 1; bucrania, 262, 265, 266.

fortress of Kuban.[1]

Kuban Cemetery

Though some characteristics of Pan Grave were noted here this is a dubious occurrence.[2]

Wadi Alaqi

Cemetery 114 contained a round grave, while another contained a bowl with opposed hatched triangles.[3]

Qurta

Cemetery 118 contained both Kerma and late C-Group burials.[4] There were also some Pan Graves in the northeast part of the cemetery. Many had round shafts.[5] In some others, the wristlets were found.[6] Bietak considered this a mixed occurrence to be dated shortly before the New Kingdom.

Maharaqa

The Austrian excavations uncovered a Pan Grave camp.[7]

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[1]Bietak, Sayala, p. 67; Arthur Weigall, A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (The First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier), (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), plate LXXXII, 16, 17, 18, 24 and 25.

[2]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 61.

[3]Ibid., p. 62; Bietak, Sayala, p. 67; Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1910-1911, p. 129, tombs 15-16.

[4]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 63; Bietak, Sayala, p. 67; Firth, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1910-1911, p. 140.

[5]Ibid., tombs 3, 20, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36-39.

[6]Ibid., tombs 15, 106, 115.

[7]Bietak, Sayala, p. 67.

Sayala

A Pan Grave cemetery was excavated, cemetery B. Graves were round, some with a loosely-constructed stone circle.[1] Burials were on the right side, with heads north or west.[2] Both wristlets and shells were found.[3]

Pottery includes Pan Grave bowls with the cross-hatched band at the rim,[4] and those with the wider cross-hatched band below the rim.[5] There are also examples with the opposed fields of hatching.[6] Bowls with the simple thickened rim occur, but they are not common.[7] Though one globular jar with roll rim was found,[8] early examples of Egyptian pots are also uncommon. There are two bag jars, one with angled-out rim, and a small convex jar.[9]

Wadi es-Sebuʿa

A fortified settlement at this location was of C-Group orthostat type, with pottery of Pan Grave type. Sherds with the opposed hatched fields occur.[10]

Areika

Two sherds of Pan Grave pottery were found in this otherwise C-Group settlement.[11]

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[1]Ibid., plate 20. [2]Ibid., plate 21. [3]Ibid., plate 36.

[4]Ibid., plate 32, 76062; plate 33, C 6-8 a.

[5]Ibid., plate 33 c; plate 32 a.

[6]Ibid., plate 31, 76052 a; plate 30, 76046 b.

[7]Ibid., plate 30, 76047 b. [8]Ibid., plate 28, 76021.

[9]Ibid., plate 33, 76065. [10]Above, pp.542-4, Bietak, Sayala p. 68.

[11]Above, pp.542-4; Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen

Tumas

Cemetery 189 contained a group of round graves at the northwest end of the cemetery, near the New Kingdom cemetery. Two bodies were buried on the right side with the head north.[1] There are bowls with thickened rims, one with cross-hatching.[2] Nearby were burials of animal skulls.[3]

Aniba

Cemetery N at Aniba contained about 21 plundered Pan Graves on the east side of the C-Group cemetery. The wristlet was found, as was the bowl with cross-hatching and another with opposed triangles.[4]

Cemetery C consisted of thirteen graves, mostly round, with typical Pan Grave materials. There are black-topped bowls with thickened rims,[5] bowls with incised decoration,[6] and animal skulls.

C-Gruppe, p. 89; Bietak, Sayala, p. 69.

[1]Ibid., p. 69; Emery and Kirwan, The Excavation and Survey Between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931, pp. 219-224, tombs 51 and 80, fig. 228-2.

[2]Ibid., fig. 233-3, tomb 61.

[3]Tombs 24, 50, 52-8, 18 and 97 contained Kerma ware; they were rectangular shafts.

[4]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 34; Bietak, Sayala, p. 69; Georg Steindorff, Aniba; Erster Band, Services des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Mission Archéologique de Nubie 1929-1934 (Gluckstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), pp. 193-196. Pan Graves were 60-67, 69-80, 87, possibly 22-4, 27, 29, 30, 34; plates 58-5 and 58-3.

[5]Steindorff, Aniba; Erster Band, p. 193, plate 81-1, 3; Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 34; Bietak, Sayala, p. 69.

[6]Graves 3, 6, 7, 11, and 12.

Masmas

Cemetery 201 contained several features in the transition to the New Kingdom that could be due to the Pan Grave influence.[1] These include black-topped bowls with thickened rims, bowls with incised decoration, and animal skulls.

Toshka West

A small C-Group cemetery may have contained Pan Grave traits.[2]

Toshka East

Pots deposited near a relief of Senwosret III had Pan-Grave characteristics.[3]

Adindan

Cemetery K yielded several fragments of Pan Grave pots and some bowls with four corners.[4]

Faras to Gamai East

There were unverified occurrences of Pan Grave materials near the New Kingdom cemeteries.[5]

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[1]Bietak, Sayala, p. 69; Emery and Kirwan, The Excavation and Survey Between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931, p. 312.

[2]Bietak, Sayala, p. 70; W. K. Simpson, "Nubia; 1962 Excavations at Toshka and Arminna", Expedition, 4 (1962), p. 42.

[3]Bietak, Sayala, p. 70; Weigall, A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia, p. 27; Simpson, "Nubia; 1962 Excavations at Toshka and Arminna", p. 44, plate XXII.

[4]Unpublished field records of the Oriental Institute Expedition.

[5]Bietak, Sayala, p. 70; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "Preliminary Report of the Joint Expedition; Archaeological Investigations Between Faras and Gemai, November 1962-March 1963", Kush, 12 (1964), p. 30.

Serra West

Some Pan Grave influence could be detected in the wristlets and animal skulls.[1]

Additional unverified occurrences of Pan Graves in Upper Nubia were cited at Kassala, Erkowit and Khor Arbaat.

Pan Grave Sites in Egypt

Partly because the exploration has been less intensive, there are fewer Pan Grave sites known in Egypt itself. We have discussed the more important occurrences above. The sites known to me are Dahshur,[2] Lisht,[3] Illahun,[4] Rifa,[5] Mostagedda,[6] Qau and Badari,[7] Abydos,[8] Balabish,[9] Hu,[10] Ballas,[11] El Khizam,[12] Thebes,[13] Tod,[14]

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[1]Bietak, Sayala, p. 70; C. J. Verwers, "The Survey from Faras to Gezira Dabarosa", Kush, 10 (1962), pp. 24-25.

[2]J. Leclant, "Fouilles et Travaux en Égypte et au Soudan 1972-1972", Orientalia, 43 (1974), p. 185.

[3]Unpublished sherds in the collection of the Oriental Institute.

[4]Bietak, Sayala, pp. 64-65, gives the list.

[5]Above, pp. 201-203. [6]Above, pp. 194-199.

[7]Above, pp. 204-207.

[8]Bietak, Sayala, p. 64; Peet, The Cemeteries of Abydos Part II, plate XV, 12.

[9]Above, p. 204. [10]Above, pp. 215-216.

[11]Bietak, Sayala, p. 65; Reisner, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia; Report for 1907-1908, p. 6, an uncertain occurrence.

[12]Bietak, Sayala, p. 65; Reisner, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-1908, p. 6, an uncertain occurrence.

[13]Bietak, Sayala, p. 65; Weigall, A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia, p. 25; Petrie, Diospolis Parva, p. 46 on both sides of the Nile.

[14]Bietak, Sayala, p. 65; P. Barguet, "Quelques tombs du massif

Ed-Deir,[1] El Kab,[2] Edfu,[3] Gemeniya,[4] and Zenigla.[5]

There is nothing that has been discussed from the Lower Nubian Pan Graves that is substantially different from the pottery we have discussed from the Egyptian Pan Graves. The clearly-defined bands of well-executed decoration below the rim of a bowl is characteristic of Mostagedda A. Although there were a few examples of this higher quality decoration on bowls from Sayala, most bowls are irregularly decorated or decorated only on the narrow rim (Fig. 87-89). This is particularly true of the so-called decoration in opposed fields, which is generally quite irregular.[6] Thus, while some of the Nubian Pan Graves belong to the period of Mostagedda A, the bulk belong to B, even C, in the Early-to-Mid and Late Hyksos, about 1630-1575 B.C.

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de la nécropole de Tod", Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archeology Orientale, 50 (1952), p. 17. There were seven graves on the desert edge.

[1]Bietak, Sayala, p. 65, this citation applies to all of the following sites: Weigall, A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia, p. 25, an uncertain occurrence.

[2]Ibid., p. 26, plate LXXVI.

[3]Ibid., plate LXXVII, 2, 3, 6, and 9.

[4]Ibid., plates LXXVII and LXXVIII.

[5]Ibid., plate LXXVIII, 1-5, 9-12.

[6]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, plate 16, P 10; Bietak, Sayala, plate 31, 76052 a; plate 27, 76020.

CHAPTER XV

EGYPTIANS IN NUBIA

The essential problem of Egypto-Nubian archaeology is the same as that in other Egyptian groups. Unlike other groups occupying Nubia, the Egyptian settlers practiced the reuse of tombs on a large scale. In fact, the problem of mixing here is so severe that only a limited amount of information may be obtained. Whatever chronological information we can obtain must be based on better quality evidence from Kerma and Egypt; Egypto-Nubian archaeology is an entirely dependent sequence.

Fortunately, the type of historical information we need is also fairly limited. We need to know the date, nature and scale of the transformation of Egyptian military domination into permanent settlement. The clearest indication of the transformation should be the presence of tombs. The one clear archaeological indication of truly permanent settlement is the presence of several ranks of society in burials.

To obtain this information, the following procedure was followed. First, a relatively high quality tomb group was used to date a given type of tomb in one place. Other tombs could be given a general date by taking well-dated objects, especially pottery, as <u>termini ante quem</u> for the construction of the tomb. Yehudiyya ware was especially useful in this regard. Other tombs with no clear indication of date could be grouped typologically with the dated examples. Thus a very general idea of the date and size of Egyptian settlement was obtained (Table 61).

Buhen

Despite the clearly intensive Middle Kingdom occupation in Nubia, I have been unable to document any substantial number of tombs from that period. This is despite substantial evidence of Middle Kingdom pottery and sealings that we have seen and have come to expect from the fortresses.[1] A few isolated groups may be pointed out at Aniba.[2]

There was a group of materials from Buhen that reflected clearly on the nature of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period settlement there. Since, however, the cemeteries were extensively reused during the New Kingdom, the contexts were not clear. The presence of well-dated materials was the only indicator of date.

Cemetery H extended northeast of the fort along the river. J was not a single cemetery, extending in three parts, one at a right angle to the fort, the second parallel to it, the third cut around the Gebel Turob. Cemetery K consisted of a few graves next to the fort's southwest corner and a row of them next to the inner wall.[3]

The earliest evidence from the cemeteries was a Middle Kingdom water pot with a roll rim, more or less cylindrical neck and ovoid body with rope marks. The type, with the corpus number 41 m, occurred in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom cemeteries of Haraga with *termini post quem* of Amenemhat III.[4] Here it is indicated by the number of sV from the New

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[1]Geoffrey Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1971), pp. 142-148. The seals of government departments are especially instructive.

[2]Only one is clear, S 110, below, p. 611.

[3]MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, plan G.

[4]Ibid., plate 45, S V.

Kingdom (!) corpus[1] (Fig. 227 b). At Buhen, it occurred in tomb H 79, with hemispherical cups and other possible Middle Kingdom types, in a simple broad-room tomb with forecourt dug into the edge of the scarp. Except for one dubious occurrence in H 81, the other pots with the s V designation came from surface burials under the edge of the plateau. One of this group of tombs had fragments of a rectangular coffin (H 98). Another (H 96) had a silver torque.[2] These poor sand-pit graves contrast strongly with the enormous fortifications and intense exploitation of the region evident from Middle Kingdom records. Egyptians must have been buried here only as a last resort (Table 61).

Cemetery K

Tomb K 8

As in Egypt, the tombs of the Thirteenth Dynasty had increasingly complex substructures. The best dated tomb of the series was from this period. The approach and chapel of K 8 had a bent axis; a dromos led down by a series of steps to the first chamber a meter or so below the ground (Fig. 228a). Outside the dromos, a series of four shallow steps led to a small oval. The chambers were organized as a long vestibule with five chambers.[3] All were robbed except the main chamber, F, which had been saved by a cave-in. A considerable amount of jewelry was

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[1]Such chronological reversals are not unusual in the Buhen publication; some of the pottery illustrated on plate 49 from the publication is also attributed to the New Kingdom, though it is Yehudiyya ware.

[2]Ibid., pp. 164-166. Most of the tombs on these pages are of the same type and probably of the same date. They were so poor that no clear idea of the date could be obtained from the contents.

[3]Ibid., pp. 186 and 200-201.

recovered, including necklaces 10753 and 10754 of gold and amethyst, one with lion finials. There had been a plaster mask, but there was no sign of a coffin. A finger ring of gold wire held a glazed steatite scarab with the name of Amenemhat III. On the shoulder was found a green glaze plaque with the name of Neferhotep I (Golden Horus Menmerut).[1] There were also two gold bracelets. A water pot of the Middle Kingdom corpus-i type was found near the wall, a modification of the sV water pot discussed from the small Middle Kingdom cemetery.

Tomb K 5

This was a simple straight axis tomb with short dromos and two chambers. The Eastern chamber had coffin pits B and C. The bottom burial in pit B had hemispherical bowls, a saucer, a water pot of type i[2] and a flared-collar jar of the BSAE type 38 with painted lotus, running spiral or s-scroll, and cross-hatched decoration (Fig. 225 w). Since the shape did not occur at Tell ed-Dabʿa or Kerma, it must be earlier; it was known in Haraga C 1 and the groups at Thebes.[3] The unusual painted decoration has prototypes in both Asia and the Aegean, which we will discuss later.

Tomb K 27

This tomb had a broad vestibule, approached by a vaulted dromos, where a stele was found.[4] It was a straight axis tomb. It contained

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[1]Ibid., plate 74; von Beckerath, Untersuchungen, p. 243, XIII-22, p. 245.

[2]MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, p. 199; plates 93-95. Henceforth the pottery is cited by number only for cemetery K.

[3]Above, p. 159. [4]MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, pp. 208.

among other objects a water pot of type i and the flared-collar vase (type xxvii).

Tomb K 13

This tomb had a bent axis, with several chambers, all well organized. Pottery includes the flared-collar jar, which indicates a date at least as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty (Fig. 228 c).

Tomb K 9

This tomb had a straight axis; the stairway in the dromos led to three chambers (Fig. 230 a). In the first room was a burial with several Early Yehudiyya ware juglets with triangle decoration (10767 and 10765, fig. 223 a) and kohl pots (10766 and 10766 B). Also found were hemispherical bowls, fruitstands or "incense burners", and an angular bowl (or the conical type xxi hypothesized here to be the ancestor of the Kerma beaker, Fig. 225 l).[1]

Tomb K 32

This was a long-axis tomb with vaulted dromos. A circular base in the first room indicated that there was originally a pillar there. Three other rooms were cut around it to the rear and one side. The contents were of some interest.

The dromos contained a fruitstand (Fig. 226 f or e), and an ovoid jar with an angled neck,[2] and four red tumblers. There were also carnelian and amethyst beads.

Chamber A contained five bodies. Body 1 had gold ring beads.[3]

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[1]Ibid., pp. 201-202.

[2]Ibid., pp. 210-211.

[3]Ibid., plate 87, 10815.

Body 2 had ring beads (10822), amethyst with gold spacers (as on the frontispiece from K 8), bracelet (10822), gold beads, and flattened gold spheroid. Body 3 was a child, which had a gold bead. Body 4 had a Kerma dagger (10844), two kohl pots, two Yehudiyya ware pots (10831-2), one was bag-shaped and the other not illustrated. Fragments, said to be of a bowl, had "vandykes" and a scrabbled line.

Chamber C contained a single body, which Woolley and MacIver thought was undisturbed.[1] It had a plaster mask with gold foil, mirror and an iron spearhead.[2]

Tomb K 1

This tomb was a dromos type tomb with square vestibule and well-organized rooms around it. It contained late Yehudiyya ware[3] (Fig. 231 d).

Tomb K 44

This was a rectangular shaft, with an arch over it; the door was bricked up. There were infant burials on either side of the east end, and also many skeletons inside. Four pieces of Yehudiyya ware were catalogued,[4] as well as a mirror, Egyptian pottery (Fig. 225 g, n, u), and beads (Fig. 231 a).

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[1]Ibid., p. 211

[2]Ibid., plate 86. This socketed iron spearhead is not only odd for its material, but for its shape, since socketed weapons in ancient Egypt are unusual to say the least. The long leaf-shape is suspiciously modern. Moreover the position is not that of a spear, which should have been lying alongside the body; there is no sign of a decayed shaft. The body was obviously undisturbed. I suspect that MacIver and Woolley were imposed upon by clever workmen who added a Mahdist spearhead to an otherwise lackluster burial.

[3]Ibid., p. 197.

[4]Ibid., pp. 214-215.

Tomb K 45

K 45 had the elaborate substructure with long-room vestibule common in this later group (Fig. 230 f). Chamber A had three skeletons, and produced a wooden coffin and a Yehudiyya juglet.[1] Chamber B had three more bodies, with the remains of plaster masks. C also contained masks, the scraps finely molded, with the hieroglyphs molded in stucco and then gilded. There were also a ram amulet, scarab and kohl jar. Just outside were juglets and a cylindrical stone jar.

Chamber D contained two skeletons. The southern body had amethyst ball beads and gold tubes, a pendant and a nugget. At the feet were a fluted bronze bowl,[2] a thick bronze mirror wrapped in linen and an axe-head.[3] More juglets were found in this chamber.[4]

Chamber E contained the burial of a child, with a globular juglet of LB I A type and some other objects including a silver torque, copper bowl, stone trussed duck and a casket with bone inlays that had turned to dust. It had contained kohl pots and kohlsticks. The latest burial in this tomb must be put in the New Kingdom.[5]

Summary, Cemetery K

Cemetery K was the best preserved Egyptian cemetery in Nubia. More objects of value were found here than in all of the other Egyptian cemeteries we shall discuss from Nubia. Though one burial from K 45 could be dated to the New Kingdom, there was no evidence of any Twelfth Dynasty

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[1]Ibid., pp. 215-216.

[2]Ibid., plate 96 top.

[3]Ibid., plate 91.

[4]Ibid., p. 216.

[5]Ibid., plate 92, 10889. The surface has deteriorated, but it is clearly a black lustrous juglet.

burials, and almost no other burials of the New Kingdom. By far the greatest number of burials came from the Hyksos Age including the later part of that period. Two points were raised by this cemetery. First, the Egyptian colony at Buhen disposed of considerable wealth in gold and jewelry. It is significant that there was more jewelry of gold and precious stones from these tombs than from the much larger group of tombs at Qau. Second, this cemetery illustrates some very interesting features of Egyptian burial customs in the Hyksos Age. Tombs in this cemetery often had rows of mud-brick obelisks in front of them. These had niches in the body of the pillar, then one built of two leaning bricks on a mud offering tray (Fig. 231 b). These appear to have been designed to serve the souls of individuals buried in these complexes, as did the soul houses of the Middle Kingdom.[1] Burials appear to have been mainly extended on the back.[2] Stelae were placed above the doorway in such a manner that the dromos passed under them; they were visible when the dromos was filled.

While K 7 was a shaft tomb with chambers at either end of the rectangular shaft, there were almost no tombs of this type in Buhen cemetery K. In cemeteries H and J, the majority of the tombs appear to have been of this type. Since late Yehudiyya ware occurred in these tombs, they were at least partly Second Intermediate Period in date. They were used extensively in the New Kingdom, however, and thoroughly plundered of valuables.

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[1]Ibid., plates 80-82.

[2]Ibid., pp. 200-201, plate 78, K 27 for the stela; plate 85 illustrated burials in K 44, plate 86 illustrated the burial in K 32.

Cemetery H

This type of tomb with a shaft and chambers differed from the earlier tombs with this general design in that the chambers adjoining the shaft were treated as vestibules. Chambers for burial were cut from the main room (Fig. 104). Above the shaft was a rectangular brick structure that surrounded the top of the shaft; the large chapels of Aniba were not found here.

Tomb H 33

This was a shaft tomb with three chambers and a corridor. This type of tomb was rare in Nubia. Late Yehudiyya ware was found in this tomb.[1]

Tomb H 40

Tomb H 40 was a shallow trench with one painted Yehudiyya juglet.[2]

Tomb H 74

This was a stepped dromos tomb; it was lined with brickwork, probably originally vaulted. Two late Yehudiyya juglets with the vertical panels were found.[3]

Tomb H 76

Tomb H 76 had a shaft, square vestibule with chambers cut around it, and a vault over the entrance to the shaft (Fig. 232 e). Two late Yehudiyya juglets found here have horizontal bands of punctate chevrons above and below the waist.[4]

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[1]Ibid., pp. 142-53.

[2]Ibid., p. 155.

[3]Ibid., pp. 161-62.

[4]Ibid., pp. 162-3.

Tomb H 78

A shaft had chambers at both ends with rooms around (Fig. 232 f). There was a fragment of Yehudiyya ware with chevrons.[1]

Cemetery J

Tomb J 21

This was a tomb cut in the Gebel Turob. A single piece of Yehudiyya ware has the neck and handle gone, with the broken edges ground down. As such, this occurrence is suspect, and the tomb is possibly of New Kingdom date.[2]

Tomb J 27

Tomb J 27 had a simple dromos and chamber. The top part of a Yehudiyya juglet is decorated with standing triangles, Early or Transitional Yehudiyya ware.[3]

Tomb J 33

A dromos tomb with square chamber and rooms at the back, J 33 had the only clear case of a Kerma burial at Buhen, put in the dromos. This contained several beakers of K IV-X type, probably of the earlier date. They have a fully sinuous profile, with a high polish. A spouted Kerma jar was found as well as two ivory flies and a classic Kerma dagger. A gazelle or goat was buried with the offerings.[4]

Tomb J 41

This was a shaft with two vestibules, one with coffin pits, the other with chambers around it. Found inside were a late Yehudiyya juglet

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[1]Ibid., p. 163. [2]Ibid., p. 171. [3]Ibid., p. 172.

[4]Ibid., p. 174, plates 51-52, above figs. 59-63.

with vertical panels of punctate ornament and fragments of three other juglets.[1]

Tomb J 44

A shaft had a relatively crude vestibule at one end with chambers around it. There was a chamber with a coffin pit at the other end. A fragment of red Yehudiyya ware with punctate decorated triangles was found. It is early or transitional Yehudiyya ware.[2]

The burials from these two cemeteries were much less wealthy than those of K, due to the New Kingdom plundering.

The Chronology of Tombs at Buhen

The series of tombs at Buhen were of three major types, all of which were in use during the Second Intermediate Period. The first of these at Buhen can be dated at or after Neferhotep and within the Thirteenth Dynasty.[3] Tombs of this type were dromos tombs, often with vaulting preserved, with a broad vestibule, often with bent axis and chambers around (Fig. 228-229). The second stage was also a dromos tomb type. These had the single square chamber with chamber behind it, or a long or square vestibule with rooms around it. There was sometimes a single pillar in the center of the vestibule. The finest tomb of this type was K 45. Many of these tombs had Yehudiyya ware associated with them (Table 61). Two of them had early Yehudiyya ware (Figs. 230, 231, and 232 a-c).

A subtype of these earlier tombs was a simple pit with a vault (Fig. 231 a). K 44 of this type contained Yehudiyya ware. Brick obelisks

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[1]Ibid., p. 177. [2]Ibid., p. 178. [3]Ibid., pp. 317-18, K 8.

were associated with K 39 and K 37. A simple pit type was the normal burial type at Diospolis Parva and Qau; it was rare in Nubia. In Egypt, no superstructures were preserved.

The third major type was the type with shaft (Figs. 232 q-i, and 233). These tombs began with a rectangular shaft, sometimes with a brick enclosure at the top. This may have one or two rectangular vestibules excavated from one or both short sides of the shaft. Sometimes, there was a small chamber with coffin pits at one end and a vestibule with chambers around at the other. Several tombs of this type had Yehudiyya ware. The earliest of these was probably J 44 with early or transitional Yehudiyya ware. Some of the best constructed of these tombs, H 76 and H 78, had Yehudiyya ware.

It would be difficult to use the rather vague chronological indications given by this series of tombs very strictly. However, there seems to be a general sequence of the tombs at Buhen; the earliest pottery from the tombs of the last type is Yehudiyya ware. Earliest pottery from the tombs of the first type are the Thirteenth Dynasty water pot and the flared-neck jar. The burial from the time of Neferhotep or later was in a tomb of this type. Coincidentally, the bulk of the Yehudiyya ware occurrences we have cited came from tombs of the second type.

Rather few burials were made at Buhen before the Hyksos Age, but the cemetery began to grow in the period that just preceded the conquest by the Hyksos. The great expansion in the Buhen cemeteries began in the Hyksos Age itself, as indicated by the early Yehudiyya ware occurrences. This expansion accelerated in the later Hyksos Age, with tomb types two and three in use simultaneously.

Aniba

The Egyptian cemetery at Aniba, designated S, was much better excavated and published than that of Buhen.[1] Nevertheless, the materials were so plundered and mixed that the amount of information to be derived was considerably less. Because of the presence of substantial amounts of Yehudiyya ware of late type, however, we were able to date the major developments of tomb types, together with the growth of the cemetery. As will become apparent, this cemetery grew later than that of Buhen (Table 61).

Cemetery S

S 110

This was the only tomb in the cemetery with pottery of Thirteenth Dynasty type. Three flared-neck jars similar to those from the first group at Buhen were found in it (Fig. 219). The type of tomb continued to be used, as S 113, which contained painted Yehudiyya ware shows. This was the simple shaft or trench.

Dromos tombs

The next stage in the development of the tombs at Aniba corresponds to the second of the stages established at Buhen. This had the stepped dromos, with long or rectangular vestibule and rooms around it (Figs. 233-237). In some cases, as S 20, these were really elaborate. There were occasionally single pillars in the vestibule (S 64, S A 27, Fig. 236 a). Superstructures, doubtless originally vaulted, were often preserved (Fig. 236). These were much more elaborate and larger than

[1]Georg Steindorff, Aniba; Zweiter Band, pp. 152-241.

the superstructures preserved at Buhen; they sometimes had pillars or obelisks associated with them. In S 33, there were two in a courtyard formed by an enclosure wall. S 31 had several (Fig. 233), with offering platforms in the irregular arrangement noted at Buhen in K 39. S A 27 and S 34 of the next group perhaps had four in a square arrangement in the courtyard. Steindorff restored these as supporting a roof (Fig. 237).

The date of this type of tomb was established by Yehudiyya ware of late type in S 33 (Fig. 222, type 45 b 2) and S 31 (Fig. 222, type 45 a 2) and S 16 (Fig. 222, type 45 b 4).[1]

Shaft tombs

The third stage in tomb development at Aniba corresponds to the last stage at Buhen. This was the shaft tomb type, with square vestibule and rooms or chambers around. It also occurred in forms with one or two vestibules, or in forms with only a coffin chamber at one end and the full complement of chambers at the other (Figs. 238-240). S 34, possibly one of the earlier occurrences of the type had the same superstructure as the earlier form, with the four columns in the forecourt. In Table 61 these are divided into two groups, those with only one vestibule at the end of a shaft, and those with one at each short side of the shaft. There is no chronological significance in the distinction; those with two groups of chambers were used for a longer time with more burials.

Imported pottery

The first of the groups was dated by the occurrence of Yehudiyya ware in S 32, S 29, S 106, S 34 and S 87. The second group had Yehudiyya

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[1]Ibid., plate 96, above.

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[1]Ibid., plate 96, above.

ware in S 81 and S 105, all of late type (Table 25, Fig. 222).

Kerma ware occurred in this cemetery, as it did at Buhen. Here its meaning was somewhat better appreciated, and here it can be used as a supplementary dating criterion. The second table gives the occurrences of Kerma and Yehudiyya ware by tomb.

TABLE 25

THE OCCURRENCE OF IMPORTED POTTERY IN EGYPTIAN GROUPS AT ANIBA

Type	Occurrence
21--Aniba 2, Plate 76	Occurs in Tomb S110
40 b 3 Plate 83	S113--painted Yehudiyya ware (shaft grave)
40 b 4 Plate 83	S 34--painted Yehudiyya ware (shaft and chamber)
45 a 1 Plate 85	S 87
45 a 2	S11, S117, and S 29
45 a 3	S106
45 a 4	S 31
45 a 5	S 87
45 a 6	S 105, S 15
45 b 2	S 32, and S 33
45 b 3	Town remains
45 b 4	S 16
45 b 5	S 81

NOTE: for Kerma ware of various types, Plate 84, types 41 and 42, see S 4, S 28, S 32, S 45, and S 84 especially, and S 26, 67 and 87.

Tombs S 31 and S 41 have Second Intermediate Period pottery largely unmixed with New Kingdom materials. These are illustrated on plate 67, a and b, and are most interesting since high quality groups are so rare.

Kuban; Cemetery 110

This cemetery was primarily important because it showed that the Middle Kingdom type of shaft tomb with the chambers at either end was earlier in Nubia than the end of the Hyksos Age. In the cemeteries of Aniba and Buhen there was no evidence that tombs of this type were earlier than the latest Hyksos Age. Here, they occurred with pottery types we have seen from the later Thirteenth Dynasty at Buhen, especially the "type i" water pot and the flared-neck jar. Coincidentally, the dromos tombs so popular at Aniba and Buhen occur only twice in this extensive cemetery.[1]

The Tombs

Tomb 1

This was a shaft with chambers at each end, later enlarged with long chambers added. Three water pots of the type were found with the Neferhotep plaque at Buhen (Fig. 217b). Flared-neck jars were also present as were hemispherical bowls. A single bag jar indicates that the group was open into the later Hyksos Age.

Tomb 2

A straight dromos with no steps led to a long antechamber. New

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[1]Emery and Kirwan, The Excavation and Survey Between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931; plan V has all of the tombs. Tombs 2 and 3 are dromos tombs.

Kingdom pottery was found.[1]

Tomb 3

A stairway dromos led to a long antechamber; New Kingdom pots were found here too.[2]

Tomb 16

A shaft with chamber had hemispherical bowls, an "incense burner" or fruitstand and necked jars of the type cited from tomb 1. The date this tomb was constructed should be about the same as that of tomb 1.[3]

Tomb 31

A shaft with chamber had a jar of Buhen type i.[4]

Tomb 33

A shaft with two large antechambers and rooms had a necked jar of the Buhen type i, with a flared-neck jar, Hyksos Age bag jars and later bag-jars with everted rims (Fig. 217 a).

Tomb 37

This was a similar tomb with pottery like that of tomb 33 (Fig. 218 a).

Tomb 43

This tomb was of the same type, with similar pottery.[5]

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[1]Ibid., p. 56.

[2]Ibid., p. 56.

[3]Ibid., p. 55 pottery.

[4]Ibid., p. 57.

[5]A considerable amount of carnelian was found in these tombs. Tombs 27, p. 64, 41 on p. 65, 49 on p. 66, and 66 on p. 70 all contained carnelian jewelry.

The Chronology of Tombs at Kuban

Only tomb 267 had unequivocal evidence of early date (Fig. 218 b). The group of shaft tombs in the Northern part of the cemetery from which the above tomb groups came had mostly New Kingdom pottery, a few some Hyksos Age or early New Kingdom type bag-jars with hemispherical bowls.

Two tombs from this group, just south of the front row of tombs, had features of special interest. Tomb 55, a shaft tomb with two groups of chambers, had an enclosure wall with two brick pyramidia or obelisks at the rear. Like those at Buhen and Aniba, these had small chambers at the base and one had a stone libation table. Tomb 54 had the same structure, but there were two small pairs of projecting walls at the rear instead of the obelisks.[1]

There was no evidence for a date in the Thirteenth Dynasty for the shaft tombs at Aniba and Buhen, yet it would have been surprising if the standard type of tomb in Egypt was lacking in Nubia. It remains only possible that a few of the more irregular shaft tombs in Buhen Cemetery J were earlier than the date assigned them. They contained none of the characteristic pottery types of earlier times. The tombs with regular substructures tended to be New Kingdom, as they were here. In the Egypto-Nubian cemetery here evidence of the early Hyksos period was absent. None of the Yehudiyya ware imports that characterized the Egyptian burials at Aniba, Buhen and Mirgissa appeared.[2] We should, therefore, conclude that materials of the Hyksos Age were largely absent.

If the Hyksos Age was poorly represented in the Egyptian part of

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[1]Ibid., plan V.

[2]One globular red-painted juglet should not be confused with Yehudiyya ware, plate 36 D XVII b.

the cemetery, there were numerous Pan Graves in the southwestern part of the cemetery.[1] Though poor in objects, they should be dated with other Pan Graves to the Hyksos Age.

With the Pan Graves, we should mention the two Kerma tombs, 258 and 259. These had Kerma pottery placed in characteristic Kerma fashion. The wide-mouth, rapered beakers of the first tomb were characteristic of K III and IV; the second contained the tapered beakers, but with one rather wide base, K IV-X in date.[2] Other occurrences of the Kerma beakers were not clear indices of the presence of the people. Further, the drawings of these were distinctly inferior and unreliable for dating purposes. Some of these should be Hyksos Age in date however (Table 61, Kuban numbers 57, 53, 39, 23, 93, 73, 66, and 49).

From Kuban fort, the following pots seem to show the XIIth Dynasty or XIIth-XIIIth: Types IV (C-Group zir), V, VIII, XVII, XVIII, Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty, ambiguous: XII, XIX, XX, XV, XXIII and XXV. Hyksos Age pots seem to be VI, VII, IX, XIV (Kerma Beaker, profile IV-X), XI. The Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty forms seem to occur in many different places (see Table 26).

Southwest of House 4 was a base of black polished Yehudiyya ware (H6-5). Room 1 of house 2 had several "Nubian pots". Room 1, house 2 had a buff ware jar with studded decoration and scrabbles (D6-19). Type XXIV, also Kerma type occurred in House 3, room 1.

Though the contexts are questionable, to say the least, we can conclude that there was occupation in the fort of Kuban during the Hyksos Age. The Yehudiyya occurrence and the occurrence of Kerma beakers

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[1]Tombs 110, 201, 202-204, 281, 295, and 297 for examples.

[2]Ibid., plate 25 C.

TABLE 26

POTTERY OF THE XII-XIIITH DYNASTY FROM KUBAN FORT

Type	Location
VIII	North corridor, House 1
XIX	Room 2, House 1 Between Houses 1 and 2, bottom layer Pot store, House 4
XII	House 3 Between House 4 and east wall of Fortress, bottom layer
V	North-east of House 4, lowest level
IV	House 2, lowest level, in floor (this is the zir)
XIX	House 2 near stone furnace, scrabble pattery, wavy rim
VIII	Brick wall in passage between House 4 and fortress wall
V	Room 1, House 1, Second story House 4, Room 2, partly under corner wall

TABLE 27

POTTERY OF THE HYKSOS AGE FROM KUBAN FORT

Type	Location
VII	House 3
XI	Pottery store, House 4 House 3, room 6
VI	Room 2, House 3
XVI	(Kerma beaker) House 1 House 1, Room 2, Ground floor
IX	Room 7, House 1
VII	Room 1, House 1, Second story

in House 1 and another type in 2 are very clear.[1]

Kor

Kor, sometimes known as Buhen South, was a substantial walled town in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Periods. Precise dating of the various levels, fortification walls and cemeteries is not possible, as no complete publication of the excavations is available. The most substantial remains were of Fortification II, the earliest, which was probably built in the Twelfth Dynasty. A large administrative structure cut the second line of fortifications, and thus belonged to II.[2] Fortification III, on the same general plan, but enclosing more area, had a rubble bank with a serpentine retaining wall beyond.[3]

Fortification I was the last and crudest of these walls. It seemed to the excavator to betray signs of haste, possibly a rebuilding after a destruction. Kerma sherds from the surface indicate that the site was occupied in the Hyksos Age or later.[4] The fortification walls were not in the style of the Eighteenth Dynasty (with rectangular bastions), so it is likely that the town occupation ended after the great period of Kerma.

In the neighborhood were three cemeteries, two of them Egyptian. The West Cemetery seemed to be mainly simple pit graves, with some

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[1]Ibid., pp. 33-44, 58-69.

[2]Vercoutter, "Kor est-il Iken?", Kush, 3 (1955), pp. 4-19; H. S. Smith, "Kor--Report of the Egypt Exploration Society at Kor (Buhen South)", Kush, 14 (1966), pp. 187-243.

[3]Smith, "Kor--Report of the Egypt Exploration Society at Kor (Buhen South)", p. 203, figs. 16-17, X 9 a 9, X 9 c1, XII c 8; fig. 18, X 12, d 13. None of the pottery is diagnostic of the periods covered.

[4]Ibid., p. 242.

corbel-vaulted tombs. Some "Kena" ware was present.[1] There was no clear evidence of date, though the simple pits may belong to the Twelfth Dynasty.

A second cemetery in the northwest contained a few corbel-vaulted graves and some pit tombs. The excavator noted that there were few graves for so substantial a town and concluded that few Egyptians were buried here.

Finally, there was a group of tumuli to the South. It remains unknown whether these were C-Group or Kerma remains.

The Kerma pots cited above certainly show that Kor was settled in the Hyksos Age. Whether any of the fortifications can be associated with this period is a matter that awaits more published evidence.

Serra East

While no diagnostic pottery was published, shaft tombs with superstructures were found by the Oriental Institute Expedition at Serra East. One of these had a tumulus type superstructure with a large mud-brick court in front. Inside were two low-ceilinged chambers off the west end of a rectangular shaft. One of these had a pillar. Contents included a "Hyksos" scarab.[2]

Mirgissa

The fortress of Mirgissa received attention in both the Reisner excavations and the more recent French rescue. In the recent excavations, the entire area was studied, yielding more information about the town,

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[1]Ibid., p. 223.

[2]G. R. Hughes, "The University of Chicago Excavations 1961-62; A Preliminary Report on the First Season's Work", Kush, 11 (1963), pp. 121-130.

a Kerma cemetery, an Egyptian cemetery and a slipway which seems to have bypassed the rapids at this point.

From the occurrence of hemispherical cups, one with nearly a vertical side and a Palestinian dipper juglet of Middle Bronze type[1] as well as a biconical jar with wide mouth,[2] it is clear that materials of the Second Intermediate Period are present in the fort, including the later part.

Though they expanded our knowledge of the Mirgissa area considerably,[3] the French excavations are not yet fully published. It is therefore not possible to ascertain the date of occupation in the various towns and scattered habitations in the area.[4]

The Western Cemetery

The great Western Cemetery included dromos tombs of the types discussed at Buhen and Aniba.[5] Funerary masks and late Yehudiyya ware were also found.[6] There seem to have been two other types of burial. The first was the simple rectangular pit in the sand or decayed rock.

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[1]Dows Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, Second Cataract Forts, vol. I, Semna-Kumma, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), plate LXXXVII, B 8062, second row, and B 8023, top row, from room XIX-31/12/153.

[2]Ibid., p. 185, sheet C, jar XXI, room XV: 31/12/143.

[3]Vercoutter, Mirgissa I, Fig. 4.

[4]Ibid. There is some information on plate IX; on fig. 1, 21 and 23; fig. 5 and fig. 6, pottery included a baggy jar that should be of late Hyksos Age or early New Kingdom date. It may show that the slipway was in use at this time; see fig. 8 and figs. 12-15.

[5]Ibid., plate XI.

[6]J. Vercoutter, "Excavations at Mirgissa II", Kush, 13 (1965), pp. 69-72, plates VIII-IX.

The body was extended, with a few scarabs and a pot for offerings. A second type had a vertical shaft which led to chamber(s) in the rock between 1.5 and 3 meters down. At the bottom of the shaft were a single or double chamber arrangement of the vestibule with rooms around.

The dromos tombs belong to the first two stages of the materials discussed at Buhen. The shaft tombs with anterooms and chambers appear to resemble the third stage at Buhen.

Uronarti

There was clear evidence of occupation in Uronarti Fort of the Hyksos Age. Three pieces of Yehudiyya ware were found, two with metopes (one also with triangles) as in the early levels at Tell ed-Dabʿa, and one with sloppy standing and pendant triangles, as in E 1 at that site.[1] Pottery from the so-called palace outside the fort was not found or published in sufficient amounts to say much about the date. The precise rectangular structure appears Middle Kingdom in type, as does the little pottery published.[2]

Some ten graves, two of which were rock-cut tombs, were discovered.[3] One of the rock cut tombs was of stepped dromos type, with broad vestibule and chambers at either end. The chamber to the east of tomb 2 contained four bodies, the latest with a biconical collared jar with painted decoration of New Kingdom type.[4] The pottery from the rest of the tomb, found partly in the vestibule and partly in the dromos, included hemispherical bowls, one of which had the rim bent in four

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[1]Dows Dunham, Second Cataract Forts, vol II, fig. 1, 28/11/470 was in F 32; also 28/11/352 was in F 26 and 28/11/382 came from the south passage.

[2]Ibid., sheets I-J, 30/3/136 and 30/3/132.

[3]Ibid., pp. 31-32, tomb 2.

[4]Ibid., 30/3/69.

places, and a conical bowl. The tomb should be dated at least partly to the later Second Intermediate Period, based on the bowls. The structure of the tomb resembles those of the first two groups at Buhen. Tomb 3 was a rock-cut tomb which contained a child burial with jewelry that included a gold and amethyst necklace of the type seen at Buhen.[1]

Other burials contained no datable objects. These were similar in orientation to the child's burial and were of the style of Middle Kingdom burials found at Buhen. They may indeed date to the Twelfth Dynasty.[2]

Shalfak

There were no clearly diagnostic materials of Second Intermediate Period date published from Shalfak. The Western cemetery, made up of simple rectangular graves with bodies on the side or back, contained some remains of wooden coffins.[3] Graves 11 and 18 contained hemispherical bowls.[4] These should be of Second Intermediate Period date, or Middle Kingdom. The type of burial parallels the simple graves from Buhen that we were able to date to the Middle Kingdom.[5] An Eastern cemetery with two stairway dromos tombs and three undatable pits was found. Though tomb 19 contained New Kingdom pottery, the structures could easily have been earlier.[6]

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[1]Ibid., plate XXIII A. [2]Above, p. 601.

[3]Dunham, Second Cataract Forts, vol. II, pp. 122-23, graves 9, 13, 17 and 18.

[4]Ibid., plate LXXVIII, b1 and 2. [5]Above, p. 601.

[6]Dunham, Second Cataract Forts, vol II, pp. 121-123, plate LVIII.

Semna

Materials from the fortress of Semna, in use from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom, included types of both periods and the Second Intermediate Period. There were many pots that could be assigned a date within the Second Intermediate Period, but whose date cannot be determined with any accuracy. Such types as the conical and hemispherical bowls,[1] late Kerma black-topped beaker,[2] biconical jars,[3] ovoid jar with incised decoration,[4] and flared-neck jars[5] were all common in the Second Intermediate Period. Most interesting was a hemispherical bowl with black, yellow and white geometric painted decoration.[6] There was one example of early Yehudiyya ware with many pendant triangles, which is clearly dated to the Early Hyksos Age.[7]

Cemetery S 500

Cemetery S 500 was the most significant of the Semna cemeteries. Of the 103 tombs explored, twenty-four were stairway tombs of one or more chambers. The rest were rock-cut rectangular pits or oval graves for babies. Of the rock-cut tombs, twenty had one chamber; Tomb 509 had six, 501 five, and 520 and 521 two chambers each. Many of these chambers contained only New Kingdom objects, but some contained objects that could only be earlier; none was a closed context. Tomb 500 had one hemispherical and a conical type bowl.[8] Tomb 501 had a jar with roll-rim, rather squat

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[1]Dunham, Second Cataract Forts, vol. I, fig. 9.

[2]Ibid., fig. 14, 28/1/444.

[3]Ibid., fig. 17, 28/1/234 and 29/1/255.

[4]Ibid., fig. 18, 28/1/586. [5]Ibid., fig. 20.

[6]Ibid., fig. 9, 28/2/260. [7]Ibid., 28/11/30. [8]Ibid., fig. 31.

profile and the biconical shape which appeared at Kerma.[1] Tomb 515 contained a number of conical bowls, two of which appear to be of Second Intermediate Period date or earlier.[2] Tomb S 523 contained two examples of Kerma beakers, with high polish and sinuous shapd (K IV-X), and ovoid jar and bag-jar with thickened rim and band of combing.[3] The tomb clearly belonged to the Second Intermediate Period, reused in the New Kingdom.

Cemetery S 700

Cemetery S 700 paralleled the rock cut tombs of S 500; there were only two shaft graves. Fifteen stairway tombs were found, four with two chambers, one with five chambers. One of the shafts had two chambers, the second shaft had eight.[4] Very little pottery from this cemetery was published; the date should be about the same as that of S 500.

Kumma

Objects from Kumma did not give clear indication of any Second Intermediate Period occupation at the site.[5]

The date of Cemetery H 200 nearby was likewise rather uncertain. A stone vessel and a pendant may be from that period.[6] A roll rim jar may belong to the Hyksos Age.[7] Most of the twenty-five tombs in this cemetery were of the rectangular pit variety which is most often New Kingdom in date.[8] At least one stairway tomb may be of Second Intermediate Period date.[9]

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[1]Ibid., p. 105.

[2]Ibid., fig. 36, 24/2/470,491.

[3]Ibid., fig. 46, 24/3/278.

[4]Ibid., p. 105.

[5]Ibid., fig. 67

[6]Ibid., 24/3/996 and 24/3/1001

[7]Ibid., fig. 68, 24/4/171

[8]Above, p. 532.

[9]Dunham, Second Cataract Forts, vol. I, no. 211.

Stairway	H 211, H 213?
Shaft	H 208

All other tombs were rectangular pits or of doubtful shape and New Kingdom date.

Summary: The Egyptians in Nubia

From this examination of Egypto-Nubian cemeteries it is clear that the Egyptian occupation did not cease with the end of centralized political control. On the contrary, permanent settlement seems to have begun in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. In the Hyksos Age, it intensified, with Egyptian military garrisons serving the Prince of Kush.

CHAPTER XVI

NUBIA IN THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

A Synchronism of the Archaeological Assemblages in Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period

The date of the four assemblages that occupied Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period ultimately depends upon the date of Kerma. The change in the C-Group from IIa to IIb can be dated by the occurrence of Kerma features in IIa. The Pan Graves are ultimately dated by the occurrence of pottery types in both Pan Graves in Egypt and in the great tumuli of Kerma. Finally, the tomb types in the Egyptian cemeteries were dated largely by the use of Yehudiyya ware; the date of this ware was set also by the occurrences at Kerma.

We have repeatedly discussed the fact that the Kerma tumuli must be dated to the late Seventeenth and Sixteenth Centuries, K III about 1620, K IV about 1610/00, KX at 1600/1590 and K XVI about 1570.[1] It is clear that there is very little room for these dates to be raised or lowered, due to the nature of the dating evidence.

C-Group and Kerma

Though the date when Ib of Bietak's chronology gave way to IIa is somewhat unclear, it was not a major problem of this thesis. The date of IIa in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty has been generally

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[1]Above, pp. 552, Table 19.

accepted.[1] The main points at issue were the date of the end of IIa and the end of IIb.

The clearest evidence for the date when IIa ended should be sought in the first appearance of Kerma influence in the C-Group. Since Kerma Cemetery N did not contain the bed burial, the occurrence of this characteristic feature of Kerma tombs should be chronologically significant. Cemetery 189, grave 186, contained this bed burial, with the four holes and the corners of a rectangular shaft. A IIa zir was found with the tomb.[2]

Other than a pot with grooved rim, this bed burial was the only occurrence of a Kerma trait in a IIa tomb; the chronological overlap between the phase IIa and the Kerma great tumuli should therefore be slight.[3] It should be noted, however, that most of the C-Group type decorated bowls found at Kerma had IIa type decoration.[4] If the overlap was slight, it should be clear.

Bietak noted a large number of comparisons between IIb and Kerma, including elaborate brick structures, burial of sheep in the shaft, and bed burials.[5] It is worth noting, however, that Kerma objects, such as the dagger or beakers do not occur in C-Group contexts of IIa or b date.

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[1]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 134-135.

[2]Ibid., p. 73, note 240.

[3]Emery and Kirwan, The Excavation and Survey Between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1929-1931, p. 393, cemetery 209. A pot with grooved rim has a general resemblance to Kerma RW XI.5. It occurred with IIa materials. See also Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, pp. 79-81.

[4]Above, p. 573.

[5]Above, pp 529-30 , traits 3-6, and 11.

The C-Group and the Pan Grave or Medjay Assemblage

There was rather more Pan Grave influence on the C-Group in IIa. This included the burial of animal heads, rectangular plates joined as bracelets or armlets, the bowl with thickened rim and band of cross-hatching, and the bowl with opposed hatched triangles.[1] The pottery also occurred in C-Group settlements.[2] There is fairly solid evidence that the Pan Graves began to appear in Nubia in IIa. In Egypt, the tombs were dated to the earlier Hyksos Age by comparison with materials from Kerma and Tell ed-Dabʿa.[3]

As with the Kerma relations, the bulk of Pan Grave comparisons were with the IIb stage of C-Group. Since the relative date of Pan Graves and IIb is hardly at issue, we will not consider the specific occurrences.[4]

Egyptians in Nubia

Tomb K 8 gave the date for an important variant of the "water pot" that occurred in Nubia. This dated a number of tombs at Kuban to the later Thirteenth Dynasty.[5] Otherwise, the general dates for the Egyptian cemeteries in Nubia was set by the occurrence of various types of Yehudiyya ware there. As with the Pan Graves, the dates were largely of the Hyksos Age. Egyptian burials in Nubia before the later Thirteenth Dynasty were few and poor.[6]

Relations betweeen the Egyptian and C-Group assemblages in IIa were few and poorly dated; such C-Group tombs as contained Egyptian

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[1]Above, p. 527.

[2]Above, pp. 542-544.

[3]Above, p. 222.

[4]Above, p. 530.

[5]Above, pp. 601-602, 614-616.

[6]Above, pp. 601, 611.

objects tended not to contain C-Group objects.[1] C-Group bowls did not occur in Egyptian tombs or contexts at all; though Pan Grave pots occurred in some Egyptian settlements (Lisht), they did not occur in Egyptian tombs either.[2]

There was more Egyptian pottery in IIb than IIa, though less than that found in Ib. These pots were mostly bag-jars including the simple bağ-jar,[3] the plump bag-jar with everted rim and grooves at the rim,[4] and the bag-jar with roll-rim.[5]

The most important conclusion to be raised by this change in the chronology is that the major changes in Nubian archaeology took place in the early Hyksos Age, and not over a wider range of time earlier.

Historical Problems and the Archaeology of Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period

By the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt had established a control over Lower Nubia based on the following: first, the outer fortifications at the South end of the Second Cataract were centered on Semna-Kumma and were designed to keep out infiltration from the South.

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[1]Steindorff, Aniba; Erster Band, p. 157, tomb N 487.

[2]This judgment is based largely on Nubia. Petrie's remarks on the occurrence of Pan Grave pottery at Rifa must be taken on faith.

[3]Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, plate 13, IIb 20 a.

[4]Steindorff, Aniba Erster Band, plate 60-18, with a brick chapel.

[5]Ibid., plate 62, 15; N 715. Similar pots can be found in Aniba cemetery C (Pan Grave) with Yehudiyya ware, so the comparisons interlock. The Pan Grave pottery from C contained no examples with opposed hatched triangles, so another element of the sequence is confirmed. Cemetery B, also of the Pan Grave assemblage, appears to be later still.

Intermediate works in the cataract area protected communications, the fortress towns at the inner side of the cataract, Mirgissa, Kor and Buhen. The bulk of the trade was carried out there and they probably contained the largest garrisons. These could assist either the fortresses of the cataract region or the series of fortresses found in the major centers of C-Group population (one was apparently intended to control the Medjay at Serra East). These were Faras, Aniba, Kuban and Ikkur. Kuban may have been designed to control the Wadi Alaqi as well. The final element has a system of desert patrols which kept out overland infiltration by Medjay.[1] This complex of defenses protected lower Nubia probably until near the end of the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. It ensured a steady flow of gold and trade goods to Egypt, some of which probably found its way to Levantine ports.[2] Despite the clearly intensive Egyptian occupation, there are few burials that can be dated to the period before the later Thirteenth Dynasty.

Only at this late date, in the mid to late Thirteenth Dynasty have we found large tombs being constructed, intended probably for many burials. These were the resting places of persons who had come to Nubia to stay. If the contents of the tombs found at Buhen are any clue, the people were rather prosperous when they died. The number of tombs indicates that permanent settlement increased considerably in the Hyksos Age.

Written records at this time indicate that these fortresses had

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[1]Paul Cecil Smither, "The Semna Dispatches", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 31 (1945), pp. 3-10.

[2]Below, pp. 870-871.

come under the sway of the princes of Kush.[1] It is interesting that the Egyptian settlement not only continued, but increased in this period, with Egyptian governors or fortress commanders taking orders from Kushite princes.

The Egyptians living and being buried near the fortresses continued to share Lower Nubia with the C-Group people. Despite the complete political dominance of Egypt, this people had retained recognizably the same culture from the end of the Old Kingdom, when they first appeared in the archaeological record, to the fall of Egyptian political power in the Hyksos Age. Most remarkably, the period from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty to the early Hyksos Age was covered by only one phase of that culture, IIa, with a single general type of decoration on the black bowl. The Egyptian presence had sealed off the C-Group from influence from Africa. More remarkable is the fact that there is so little Egyptian influence on the C-Group assemblage. Despite their overwhelming presence, it would appear that the Egyptians did not interest themselves much in the local inhabitants beyond keeping them under control. For their part, the C-Group people did not seem much interested in the alien culture, but kept to themselves and their own interests. Even such simple innovations as the use of mud-bricks in rectilinear architecture were not adopted by the C-Group in IIa.

The C-Group continued to live in this age in round or irregularly polygonal stone huts of the orthostat construction. These generally had

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[1]MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, p. 113; Wolfgang Helck, Historische-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1975), pp. 80-81, 99. This stela is most important, since it clearly states that Sopdher built the temple of Horus lord of Buhen for the Prince of Kush.

several elements or modules. Sometimes, the huts were in groups as at Aniba, Areika and Sarras, but they were often alone. Although there have been some corrals found in an early settlement, the later ones did not seem to have pens.

Animals, mostly cattle, seem to have been a focus of C-Group life, or at least representational art; they occurred incised on bowls, jars and the stelae. Women were also represented on the bowls and jars, often steatopygous, clothed from the waist down. Some figurines of women showed signs of tattooing. The only other material focus that has survived of the C-Group was pottery, the day-to-day bowls and jars which were made indifferently and the black incised bowls which were made superbly. These last betrayed an interest in textile-like patterns that may further indicate development in crafts that have not survived.[1] Weapons were conspicuous by their absence. In death, the closely-packed circles of the cemetery replaced the closely-packed huts of towns. In the phases Ib and IIa, no tumulus was substantially larger than any other, and no grave's equipment was substantially different from that of any other. The C-Group deceased went from a humble but substantial life to a humble but substantial death. This settled, apparently peaceful people contrast with the Mudjay.

It has been proposed that the Medjay should be identified with the Pan Graves. If this is true, the Medjay do not appear in the archaeological record of Lower Nubia as soon as they are known from texts.[2]

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[1]Elaborate bead work found at Kerma may reflect this development (Reisner, Excavations at Kerma Parts IV-V, pp. 94-106).

[2]For knowledge of the Medjay in the Sixth Dynasty see Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe, p. 144, and Bietak, Sayala, pp. 73-78.

These last mention them from the Middle Kingdom and even earlier. They may appear in Cemetery N at Kerma. Several occurrences of Medjay or Pan Grave objects and practices are to be noted in C-Group IIa; the date in Egypt for them was Hyksos Age.

When the Medjay or Pan Graves appear in the archaeological record, they are an archaeologically simple people. They have a distinctive pottery bowl, first with hemispherical shape, with cross-hatched band of opposed hatched triangles, later with the vertical side, incised, thickened rim and black top. Other pots they obtained from others, rarely the C-Group, mostly the Egyptians. In Egypt, there were remains of equipment other than pottery, especially military gear such as axes and wristguards. It seems clear that they were a mobile people. In Nubia there were possibly two settlements known, Maharraqa and Wadi es-Sebuᶜa, the latter ominously fortified. In Egypt, there were the hut-circles of Qau.

Another people, related to the C-Group and Medjay, had a meteoric career that overshadowed them both. We have discussed the Kerma assemblage at some length. It, like the Pan Grave assemblage, appears to have had its origin in Cemetery N at Kerma. The Kermans' taste for the superb black-topped pottery has been noted, as has the importance of Egyptian influence in their culture. They seem to have shared Upper Nubia with a contemporary group that may be identified as Pan Graves; the Kermans must surely have been the social and political superior of the two. The first great tumulus, with the accompanying striking materials, was constructed in the Hyksos Age.

The collapse of the Thirteenth Dynasty then probably played a key role in the sudden appearance and expansion of Kerma. It may account for

some other changes in turn. First, the fortresses and towns left the orbit of Egypt and fell under the control of Kush. Second, the Pan Graves began to appear in the valley in Lower Nubia and Egypt. Since people were freer to move around between Upper and Lower Nubia, influences spread more rapidly. The once somnolent C-Group culture changed rapidly. IIa gave way to the elaborate polychrome decoration of IIb soon after the start of the Kerma necropolis; Egyptian features were adopted in the tomb architecture, such as vaulted burial chambers and chapels. Such foreign customs as animal sacrifice became common. The tumuli themselves became much larger in certain cases, indicating a tendency to copy the Kerma tumuli and the rise of classes or class-awareness. Not long after this change, the C-Group began to disintegrate as an assemblage; in III, later in the Hyksos Age, burial customs, pottery and weapons became heavily intermixed with Pan Grave and Kerma customs. The pottery of this age showed little of the customary care and skill of the C-Group pottery of IIa and b. In the Early New Kingdom, the burial customs and materials of Nubia rapidly Egyptianized, to the extent that they can no longer be distinguished from Egyptian burials by the goods, but only by their location in old C-Group cemeteries.

However important the Kerma domination of Lower Nubia might have been to the history of the peoples found there, it left very little of its own remains. There were a number of imports of Kerma vessels to the Egyptian settlements and the rather rare Kerma burials. Mirgissa M III was the northernmost Kerma cemetery; it contained less than twenty tombs. In Lower Nubia, Kerma graves occurred alone or in small numbers in cemeteries of C-Group, Pan Grave and Egyptian type. Since the Kerma tombs were of rather uniform type and often contained many pots of Kerma

type as well as such alien features as sacrifice burials, we have inferred that there were many Kermans present at the interment to guarantee that the burial was carried out in proper Kerma fashion. This was most likely during campaigns, when the ships of the Prince of Kush (as represented at Kerma) carried the full equipment of the Kerma culture into Lower Nubia. We have noted that these burials occurred in Egypt, at Abadiya and Abydos.

There was considerable difference in the way the three native cultures or assemblages reflected or adapted to Egyptian civilization.

Though ruled for three centuries by Middle-Kingdom and Thirteenth-Dynasty Egypt, the C-Group was very little influenced by Egyptian civilization. All phases of native art remained beyond Egyptian influence. The only major feature of C-Group culture Egypt was responsible for was its conservatism. By protecting the C-Group, Egypt embalmed it; when the protection was removed, change and disintegration were rapid. The relatively peaceful C-Group was overwhelmed in the fierce age of the Middle Bronze - Late Bronze transition.

Kerma culture, on the other hand, would be inconceivable without the influence of Egyptian crafts. Except for the Egyptian pottery, these crafts were adapted to Kerman tastes, ideas and needs. Egyptian ideas were virtually absent.[1]

When Egypt reconquered Nubia, the C-Group rapidly took on the material culture of Egypt. Kerma, on the other hand, became more and more isolated, with interior manufactures that indicate that the source

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[1]They parallel the Hyksos to some extent in this. The Hyksos took over convenient features of Egyptian civilization, especially glyptic, and adapted them to Asiatic ideas and tastes. See Williams, Representational Scarabs from the Second Intermediate Period.

of Egyptian arts had dried up.[1]

Because of the lack of habitations and poor grave goods, the Medjay or Pan Grave assemblage is harder to characterize. These features indicate that the people were very mobile, as does the range from Upper Nubia to Middle Egypt. They also rapidly adopted Egyptian materials and many burial customs by the end of the Hyksos Age, as we have seen in Upper Egypt.[2]

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[1]This is a curious reversal of the situation in the Thirteenth Dynasty and early Hyksos Age, when the C-Group refused to accept Egyptian culture and the Kermans embraced so much of it.

[2]Above, pp. 194,198 -199, Mostagedda D.