

CHAPTER III

THE ITJ-TAWY REGION IN THE SECOND

INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Materials of Second Intermediate Period date were fairly abundant near the Middle Kingdom capital. We include under this heading all of the sites from the apex of the Delta to the entrance of the Fayum, the general area in which the pyramids of the Middle Kingdom pharaohs have been found.

Major Burials of the Thirteenth Dynasty

Materials from the large cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom have not been generally associated with the Thirteenth Dynasty. There are, however, a number of important burials of similar type which may help us to date materials of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The major tombs of this group are the tombs of Auibre^c Hor (XIII-14), Nubhetepi-khered, Khnemit, Ita and Senebtisi (Table 16, 56). Originally, these groups were dated to the Twelfth Dynasty because they were found in or near the pyramid enclosures of Amenemhat I, II and III respectively. There were also a number of important jewelry caches near the pyramids of Senwosret II and III. Because of the proximity of these caches and tombs to the royal pyramids, the occupants were considered dependents of the respective kings.¹ We have already discussed the date of cemeteries that were

¹Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 1916), pp. 114-116.

dated to the First Intermediate Period as a result of Mace and Winlock's Middle Kingdom date for the group of burials that resembled Aibre^c Hor.¹

Since this group of burials and caches is so important for our understanding of the Thirteenth Dynasty, we will begin the discussion of the Itj-Tawy area with a review of their dates and contents.

The tomb group of Senebtisi at Lisht was used some half-century ago to date the entire group of burials to the Twelfth Dynasty. Senebtisi had a shaft tomb with a chamber, excavated between the enclosure wall and the body of a large mastaba west of the pyramid of Amenemhat I (Fig. 24 a). There was no further evidence of date,² and, therefore, no chronological connection between the tomb of Senebtisi and that of Amenemhat I, save that her burial was later than the construction of the pyramid.

Aibre^cHor and Nubhetepti-khered also had shaft tombs, the first two in a row of shafts north of the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur. Aibre^c Hor was the fourteenth king of the Thirteenth Dynasty.³ There was no direct evidence for the date of Nubhetepti-khered apart from the position of her tomb in the row immediately west of the tomb of Aibre^c Hor.⁴ The tombs of Aibre^c Hor and Nubhetepti-khered had stone-built burial chambers and brick-built approaches to the shaft.

The tombs of Khnemit and Ita were a single structure of large stone blocks built in a pit⁵ (Fig. 22 a). In the offering chamber of

¹Ibid., p. 115.

²Ibid., pp. 4-5.

³Jacques de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894 (Vienna: Adolph Holzhausen, 1895), fig. 205; von Beckerath, Untersuchungen, pp. 234-5.

⁴Ibid., p. 86, 107-115.

⁵Ibid., p. 102, fig. 203; p. 103, fig. 204; de Morgan, Fouilles

Khneimit was the false door stele of a Prince Amenemhat-ankh of the Twelfth Dynasty, used as paving. There were other fragments of inscribed objects with this name, perhaps the same person, in the vicinity. Unless these fragments were removed from Lisht, they should be dated to the period of Twelfth Dynasty building activity at Dahshur, beginning with Amenemhat II. The reuse of the stele as paving should thus be considerably later and sever the tomb of Khneimit and Ita from any direct connection with the reign of Amenemhat II.¹

Of the group of tombs known to resemble that of Senebtisi in 1915, none can be directly linked to any king of the Twelfth Dynasty. One belonged to a king of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

More recently, an Egyptian expedition at Hawara discovered the tomb of Neferuptah. This tomb was a simple stone built chamber with no evidence of dromos or shaft. There may have been a brick superstructure. Some of the contents may be compared with those of the group under discussion. The tomb was dated by the occurrence of the name of Amenemhat III in it.²

If we abandon the assumption that tombs excavated or constructed

¹ Dahchour en 1894-1895, (Vienna: Adolph Holzhausen, 1903), p. 41, fig. 96 above; p. 2.

¹ Ibid., fig. 111 and p. 69.

² See Nagib Farag and Zaky Iskander, The discovery of Neferuptah (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1971), fig. 3-4 for the structure; fig. 2 contains the proposed pyramid; pp. 14-15 contain the vessels and inscriptions. These inscriptions included hetep di nesut formulae that invoked Amenemhat III with the gods Geb, Ptah Sokar, Sobek, Osiris, the Greater Ennead and the Lesser Ennead. It is known that formulae of the Middle Kingdom invoke kings as gods such as Snefru and Khufu. Whether a living king would be so invoked is another matter. Logic would seem to indicate that the nesut is not the same as the Nema^{at}re invoked. In any case, Amenemhat III is Terminus post quem for the burial of Neferuptah.

in a complex are necessarily chronologically linked to that complex, we must look elsewhere for evidence to date these tombs.

We may say generally that the burials of this group contained no models of wood, save for a few in the shape of offerings from the tomb of Aibre^c Hor. Further, there were no representations on the coffins. There might be two rectangular coffins with an anthropoid coffin inside. In some cases, there was a stone sarcophagus. Sacred scepters and staves were found, both in the rectangular coffin and separate boxes. Bows, arrows, maces and daggers, the latter of both metal and wood were all found in the tombs of both sexes. Rich jewelry, especially collars, bead bracelets, various necklaces, diadems and amulets, was a particular feature of the group. Large numbers of stone vessels were present in addition to the usual pottery vessels.

The outer coffins of Senebtisi were decorated with simple bands of hieroglyphs in gold leaf and a pair of udjat eyes (Fig. 25 f). Apart from a black coating inside, there were no other decorations inside or out. This contrasts with coffins from earlier burials which had elaborate painted decoration. This simple type of coffin was closely paralleled by those of King Hor, Nubhetepti-khered, Khnemet and Ita. There were, however, differences in the shape of the coffins. The coffin of Aibre^c Hor had a flat lid (Fig. 25 a). Those of Khnemet and Ita were arched, but did not have the rectangular ends (Fig. 25 c). The coffins of Nubhetepti-khered and Senebtisi were arched with rectangular terminals¹ (Fig. 25 d, f).

The canopic box of Senebtisi was more elaborate. The shape

¹Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, pp. 23-32.

paralleled that of Nubhetepti-khered (Fig. 25 e, h). However, it had more decoration, with four vertical columns of writing on each side and references to cloth offerings and deities on the ends. Since the canopic chests of earlier times were much simpler, it appears to represent a midpoint between those and the Seventeenth Dynasty type with Wepwawet over cloth offerings.¹

The anthropoid coffin of Senebtisi was very poorly preserved, but it was the only anthropoid coffin successfully restored of the group (Fig. 25 g). The deterioration of the wood was such at Lisht that the excavators thought at first that they were dealing with cartonnage. Therefore, the failure of de Morgan to find intact anthropoid coffins at Dahshur need not concern us, though he found some remains of plaster in the tombs of Ita, Khnemmet, and Nubhetepti-khered. There were some possible locking devices for anthropoid coffins found in the tomb of Neferuptah.²

One of the most important features common to Senebtisi and the Dahshur group of tombs was the series of scepters and sacred staves found in them (Figs. 19-21). In the cases of Senebtisi, King Hor and Nubhetepti-khered, these staves were deposited both with the body and in separate boxes.³ Though certain staves differed from burial to burial, such as hawkheaded staff of Hor, several were found in all of the groups.

¹Ibid., pp. 32-36; H. E. Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), plate 20.

²Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, pp. 36-49; Nagib Farag and Zaky Iskander, The Discovery of Neferuptah, pp. 62-67.

³Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, p. 77, boxes pp. 78-92, staves; de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894, fig. 253.

In the tomb of Neferuptah, there were remains of was and djam scepters, but no evidence of others.¹

Bows were common in all of these groups though they were not peculiar to the period. They occurred in tombs of the so-called Heracleopolitan type as well as the tomb of Nubkheperre Intef of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Maces, however, were more peculiar to this group, found in the tombs of King Hor, Nubhetepi-khered, Khnemet, and Ita as well as that of Senebtisi.²

The flail was one of the most distinctive features of this group of tombs. That of Senebtisi was made of wood, with carnelian and faience beads. Other flails were noted from the Dahshur tombs as well as the tomb of Neferuptah.³

The group of tombs that resemble that of Senebtisi is thus closely linked by a number of special features. The internal chronology of the group may also be traceable. The tomb of Neferuptah, with only two scepters, may not be much later than Amenemhat III. Since the coffin was not preserved, however, we cannot place it in the sequence described below. The burial of Auibre^c Hor was that of a king. Apart from the fact that his name was written in a cartouche and that he had the excellent naos and ka statue,⁴ there was nothing that distinguished it in class

¹Nagib Farag and Zaky Iskander, The Discovery of Neferuptah, pp. 81-82.

²Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, pp. 92-94, 102-3.

³Ibid., pp. 94-96; de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894, plate XXXIX; Nagib Farag and Zaky Iskander, The Discovery of Neferwuptah, pp. 83-85.

⁴de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894, figs. 214 and 215.

from the burials of Ita, Khnemet, Nubhetepti-khered and Senebtisi. Both the canopic chest and coffin had flat lids however, as did others in the Middle Kingdom. Though the arched lid was found on Early Dynastic coffins and on stone sarcophagi of various periods, its application to the wooden coffin here is chronologically important. No wooden coffin with arched lid was found that belonged with the so-called Heracleopolitan type burials discussed above. Neither were there any from the Haraga and Riqqa Middle Kingdom cemeteries, though coffins were few in these groups.¹ No other coffins were treated so simply. We know, however, that coffins with arched lids and rectangular terminals became common in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Many coffins of this type were found in tombs with New Kingdom material as well.² Canopic boxes had this shape in the Seventeenth Dynasty. The date of the change to the coffin with arched lid and terminals may perhaps be indicated by the ushabti coffin of Wah Neferhotep, which must be later than the king of that name (Neferhotep I, XIII-22) and which has the high arch and terminals on the lid.³ Together with the wooden models of offerings, the coffin with flat lid indicates that the burial of Aibre^c Hor was the earliest of the Dahshur group, followed by those of Ita and Khnemet with the arched lid, and finally by the coffins of Nubhetepti-khered and Senebtisi, with the arched lid and terminals. Since the canopic box of Senebtisi most

¹Engelbach, Riqqeh and Memphis VI, pp. 22-25, Engelbach, Harageh, p. 23-25.

²The Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, Five Years' Explorations in Thebes (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), plates LVIII, LIX, LX.

³William C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt. Part I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 349, fig. 229.

TABLE 16

THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR BURIALS IN THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

Pharoah	Major Burial	Distinctive Features
Amenemhat III	Sit Hathor	Amenemhat III Terminus Post Quem
	Neferuptah	Amenemhat III Terminus Post Quem
Auibre ^c Hor	Auibre ^c Hor	Flat-lid coffin, staves and flail
	Khemit and Ita	Low arch coffin, staves, flail
	Nubhetepti-khered Senebtisy	Low arch coffin with squared ends, staves, flail
Neferhotep	(Wah Neferhotep)	High arch coffin

resembled those of Seventeenth Dynasty date, we should put her burial latest in the sequence.

Since the special features that connected these burials were not common in the large cemeteries, the period covered by the group could hardly be very long. Further, the tomb of Nubhetepti-khered, which is probably to be dated toward the end of the period, was immediately west of that of Aibre^c Hor, the period could hardly have lasted more than a generation from about 1764 to the time of Neferhotep, 1740-30 B.C.¹ Sometime during or after the reign of Neferhotep, the fully developed arched lid appeared. Even were we to disregard the clear typological sequence of the coffins and canopic chests, the peculiar nature of these burials would require that we date them near the time of Aibre^c Hor in the mid-Eighteenth Century B.C.

Though the special features found in this group of tombs were rare elsewhere, they do occur. We have already mentioned the tomb of Neferuptah. Two tombs were probably earlier than the burial of King Hor, that of Hapi-ankhtifi at Meir and that of Sa-wadjet, tomb 166 at Riqqa. The coffin of Sa-wadjet had painted decoration inside. There were two scepters and a flail, as in the tomb of Neferuptah. The equipment of Hapi-ankhtifi resembled that of Senebtisi in most respects, but the outer rectangular coffin of two was painted.²

¹von Beckerath, Untersuchungen, pp. 222-223.

²Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, pp. 36, 47-50 and 94, other occurrences were noted by Mace and Winlock, including Itaweret and Sithathormerit at Dahshur, Tomb 134 at Beni Hasan, tomb 779 at Lisht (and some examples from Gautier and Jequier excavations); Engelbach, Harageh, plate XV, 3 and X, 1, Tomb 124 at Harageh had two sets of flail terminals (plate XV, 3 and pp. 15-16) and elaborate jewelry. The Royal name was Senwosret II; W. M. Flinders Petrie, The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh, BSAE, 21 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1912), plate XXXVI; C. M. Firth and Battiscomb Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries vols 1-2,

Establishing the date of Senebtisi with Ita, Khnemet, Nubhetepi-khered and the others in the mid-Eighteenth Century helps to clarify the situation in Twelfth Dynasty archaeology somewhat. The so-called court type of burial of the Twelfth Dynasty, which they represent, was in fact a burial type of the Thirteenth. There is thus no great difference between the burial goods of different regions in Egypt at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Both Middle and Upper Egypt made use of models as part of the normal burial equipment. There were even models found with painted coffins at Saqqara.¹

With Senebtisi removed from the archaeology of the early Twelfth Dynasty, there is no longer a barrier against dating the so-called Heracleopolitan group of sites at least partly to the Twelfth Dynasty. The later group of sites, exemplified by the Middle Kingdom cemeteries at Riqqa and Haraga, would then be dated to the later Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.

A second chronological change is in the date of Middle Kingdom jewelry deposits. In the past, the deposits had been dated on approximately the same basis as the tombs we have discussed. In fact, the tomb of Khnemet and Ita contained one of the most significant of these deposits. The remaining two major deposits in the capital area, that of Sithathorinet and the caches from the "gallery of the princesses", are dated by the occurrences of the name of Amenemhat III on scarabs and pectorals.

Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Excavations at Saqqara, vol. 7 (Cairo: l'Institut Français, 1926), 52, 228-30, plates 22-31. The tomb of Gemniemhat included early staves with models.

¹Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, pp. 114-116.

They may, of course, be later.¹

The group of burials we have discussed around the time of Auibre^c Hor is perhaps as significant for what it does not contain as for what it does. Though wealthy and important burials, they contained none of the faience figurines considered Middle Kingdom in date. Further, no figurines of this type were reported from the tombs of Hapi-ankhtifi, Sa-wadjet, Neferuptah or any of the other related burials.² These figurines must therefore be either earlier or later than this group of tombs. No faience figurines of Middle Kingdom type could be documented earlier than this group of tombs. A number of these figurines can be documented later however.

A faience hippopotamus was found with a rishi coffin in the tomb of a Neferhotep at Thebes, about the time of Mariette's discovery of the tomb of Nubkheperre^c Intef (XVII-1).³ Three faience hippopotami are reputed to have come from a tomb of an Intef in the Diraa Abu-n-Naga. These Intefs were all of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and these hippopotami may even have come from the tomb of Nubkheperre^c.⁴ A faience hippopotamus was found wrapped with a mummy in a coffin in tomb 25 of the Carnarvon-Carter expedition to Thebes. The coffin was resting on or near fragments

¹de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894, plate XX.

²MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, frontispiece; Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, p. 36; and de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894, p. 57.

³Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography; I, Theban Necropolis Part II, p. 604; Ludwig Keimer, "Catalogue des hippopotames en faience du Moyen Empire", Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne, 2 (1928), 222.

⁴Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography I, Theban Necropolis Part II, p. 605; the bibliography is complex, but the most complete discussion is that of Keimer in "Catalogue des Hippopotames". The Three Hippopotami are numbers 17, p. 220; 21, p. 222; and 29 (?) p. 224 respectively.

of a box that bore the name of Amenemhat IV.¹ The tomb in the Ramesseum which contained the Semna dispatches contained faience animals. Von Beckerath now dates this group of papyri to the period about the end of the Eighteenth Century.² The tomb at Abydos with the Kamares ware jar fragments contained numerous and excellent faience figurines, with cylinders that had royal names of the Twelfth Dynasty, including Amenemhat III.³ The Kerma tumuli contained numerous fragments of faience figurines, especially K III.⁴

The use of faience figurines in tombs was not a regional custom of Upper Egypt. There was a hippopotamus found in the tomb of Seneb at Meir, where Hapi-ankhtifi (and a Nephys) of our group were also found.⁵ Many faience figurines of humans and animals were found at Lisht, especially in tombs.⁶ We must conclude that the manufacture and burial of Middle Kingdom type faience figurines was later than the period from Aibre^c Hor to Senebtisi, probably close to the end of the Eighteenth Century B.C. We may then use these figurines to date such disparate

¹Carnarvon and Carter, Five Years' Explorations in Thebes, pp. 54-55; the toilet box is illustrated on plate XLVIII, the hippopotamus on plate LI, 1.

²von Beckerath, Abriss der Geschichte des Alten Ägypten, p. 29.

³John Garstang, "Note on a Vase of Minoan Fabric from Abydos (Egypt)", Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 5 (1913), 107-111.

⁴George A. Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, Part IV-V, Harvard African Studies, vol. VI (Cambridge, Mass: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1923), p. 173, fragments from K III, IV, X and XVI, and a few others. K III had 13 fragments.

⁵Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt I, fig. 142.

⁶Mace, "The Egyptian Expedition", BMMA, 9 (1914), 222, fig. 17; Mace, "The Egyptian Expedition 1920-1921", BMMA, 16 (1921), 12, fig. 12; Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt I, fig. 140.

groups as the tombs at Haraga with figurines and the deposit from the pro-cella of the Obelisk Temple at Byblos. This deposit contained the richest and most varied group of faïences of all.

Changing the date of Senebtisi from the time of Amenemhat I to that of the mid-Eighteenth Century thus has a number of effects on Egyptian archaeology, not all of them closely related. First, the type of tomb represented by Senebtisi is not a courtly type of the Middle Kingdom, but a normal wealthy burial of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Second, the tombs with models need not be regarded as Ninth to Eleventh Dynasty exclusively, or as anachronisms later, but may be normal burials of the Twelfth Dynasty as well. Third, the great jewelry deposits are not representative of the entire Middle Kingdom, but occur (except Tod) only at its end and in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Finally, the faïence figurines so generally dated in the Middle Kingdom cannot be of Twelfth Dynasty date, but belong to the late Eighteenth Century and later. They thus become evidence for dating archaeological groups of that later period.

Riqqa

We have already discussed the general character of pottery in the Early Twelfth Dynasty. The pottery from burials agreed closely with that represented on the painted tomb walls of Beni Hasan indicating that so-called First Intermediate Period types continued to be used into the mid-Twelfth Dynasty. The date of these pottery groups was reinforced by the foundation deposit of Senwosret I from Abydos.

Four major pottery types common at both Riqqa and Haraga were conspicuous by their absence or rarity in the Beni Hasan tomb groups excavated by Garstang. The fruitstand or drum shape was absent. The

flared-neck jar (BSAE series 38) was rare, and then generally pointed.¹ The small long-necked jar with multiple bulges in the neck, the corrugated neck jar or "salad mixer" was very rare,² and the flat-based tapered jar with low waist (67 series) was absent. As discussed above, Beni Hasan was a cemetery that was very much used in the Twentieth Century, with some overlap later.³ As we shall see, Riqqa was a cemetery with Middle Kingdom burials concentrated in the Nineteenth Century. The Middle Kingdom tombs of Haraga were primarily from the Eighteenth Century.

The tombs of Middle Kingdom Riqqa and Thirteenth Dynasty Haraga were particularly interesting since they occurred in large numbers. They were however badly mixed, since they generally had more than one chamber and were plundered. We cannot therefore take isolated occurrences in these cemeteries as characteristic of the periods under discussion.

The Sequence

From Riqqa, one hundred eighty-six groups with more than one pot were reconstructed for this dissertation, one hundred of which were classified into eight groups.⁴ The first groups were classified without large amounts of comparable materials available, so they are subject to change.

¹Garstang, The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt, plates XII-XVI, pottery types and pp. 211-244 register, types 17, 19, 14, there were a thousand or more tombs, of which 250 were specified as having pottery.

²Ibid., two occurrences, BSAE type 49.

³Above, pp. 36-42.

⁴Reginald Engelbach et. al., Riqqeh and Memphis VI, BSAE, vol. 25 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1913), plates XLI-XLII register XXVIII-XXXIII, pottery. Henceforth cited only by tomb number

The Middle Kingdom tombs from the Riqqa cemetery were not firmly dated by royal names of the Twelfth Dynasty, though these did occur. Rather the Riqqa cemetery can best be dated by the fact that pottery found there resembled the earlier material at Beni Hasan more than the pottery from Haraga. The Haraga groups were in turn dated by royal names of the Twelfth Dynasty. Later groups from Riqqa can be correlated with Haraga and dated by the evidence found there.

The Twelfth Dynasty: group A 1

Tombs from this group included 67, 92 B, 144 A, 145 A, 153 A, 163 A, 181 A, 182 A, 192 A and 518 A.

The major bases for classifying this group are the simple globular pots and various miniature vessels, whose variety is fundamental to the classification of the group. Larger globular vessels are of two types. The first of these has a narrow mouth with simple flared neck, and everted or bevelled rim (40 q 2, 40 r, 40 r 2, 40 u, 41 g 2, 391, and 401) or with a wide mouth (33 h, 33 o). Flat based ovoid jars with collar were found, but they are not common (60 b, 4; one quatrefoil rim 60 f).

Important miniatures include straight-sided, flat-based dishes and cups (series 2, 3, 5, curved, 20 d), piriform jars (56), sometimes with a spout, jars with everted rim (59 series), globular jars, some of which have flattened bases and straight necks (35 series) and the curious bottle with tubular neck (48 series). Round-based cups, dishes and sinuous plates are also present (7, 12 and 2 series).

Group A 2

Tombs belonging to this group are 15 A, 17 A, 71 A, 89 A, 96 A, 101 A, 151 A, 184 A, 188 A, 191 A, 212 B, 500 A, and 515 A.

The most important new addition to the repertoire in A 2 is the fruitstand or drum, with somewhat bevelled-out rim and flat base open to the top (90). The angular proportions, both outside and inside, are striking. Globular pots continue, with the addition of the interesting flared-neck jar (38 and simple type 38 G) and a medium-mouthed type with heavy rolled-out rim (42 q). The flat-based convex jar with high shoulder and rolled rim (62 series) is more important, including a piriform type with incised bands (62 m) and a flared-neck type (64 d). The simpler convex jar with quatrefoil rim (60 f) is much more common.

Miniature vessels continue as before, with the addition of a type with a sinuous side (58 x).

A conical pointed bowl or cup is new to the group (2 g 2).

Group A 3

Tombs assigned to A 3 included 3 A, 4, 6 A, 9 A, 10 A, 18 A, 22 A, 33 A, 56 A, 69, 74 A, 136 A, 147 A.

Changes in this group are mainly quantitative. The stands (90, with the tall 90 T) and the flared-neck jars are much more popular. Indeed they occur in most groups. The grooved jar in the 62 series is also much more important. New spouted forms occur (70 l, 70 v).

The Late Twelfth Dynasty: group B 1

Tombs assigned to B 1 were 5 A, 7 A, 16 A, 27 A, 32 A, 23 A, 34 A, 37, 58 A, 73 A, 88 A, 117 A, 132 A, 133 A, 134 A, 137 A, 149 A, 160 A, 179 A, and 180 A (Figures 27-31).

The largest group, B 1, represents three qualitative changes of some importance. The tapered jar with flat base (67 series) is introduced, appearing in large numbers and including the squat storage or

natron jar types (67 d - e). The globular jar 41 k with rope marks appears as does the stand open at the bottom (90 s). The jar with quatrefoil rim has disappeared (60 f).

Miniatures still occur, but are much less prominent; they are absent from many groups.

Bowls and cups are the same, but the first carinated cup appears (10 p). Because of the mixing problem, this group may contain some tombs that contained burials of A as well as B date.

The end of Dynasty XII and the
Early Thirteenth Dynasty 1:
Group B 2

This group contained tombs 14 A, 19 A, 54 A, 64 B, 76 A, 95 B, 97 A, 122 A, 150 A, 168 A, 186 A, 197 A, 203 B. (Figures 32-34).

New additions include the 41 p variant of the "water jar" (41 series), the same type as 41 j at Haraga in the latest Middle Kingdom. There is also a new jar, 42 q. Mixing from the A stage was much less in this group, giving a clearer picture of the repertoire, though the 60 series is still found.

The Early Thirteenth Dynasty 2:
Group B 3

Tombs assigned to this group included 8 A, 11 A, 21 A, 25 A, 39 A, 57 A, 79 B, 100 B, 141 A, 152 A, 169 A, 208 B, 513 A, 519 A, and 520 A (Figures 35-37).

Simplification is important in this group as well. The sinuous-sided bowl is much less in evidence. The stand, base open at the bottom, normally has a more rounded profile and more definitely rolled and bevelled rim. The "water jar" with flared neck (41 j) was well represented. There is one low stand. The necks are often very wide on the

flared-neck jars. Several carinated cups are found.

One or two of these groups may be later, but the occurrences of the stand and 41 j "water jar" as well as the cup indicate an approximate date contemporary with a group at Haraga which had Amenemhat III as a terminus post quem.¹

The mid-to-late Thirteenth Dynasty:
group C1

Tombs assigned to this group are 26 A, 115 A, 130 A, 183 A, 185 A, 507 A, and 511 A (Figures 38 and 39).

New appearances in this context were the truly wide mouth jar with a flared neck (38 o) and a variety of water jars with flared necks, often with painted bands (41 b, f, o, v).

Late tombs: group C 2

Tombs assigned to C 2 included 99 B, 146 A, 209 B, 210 B, 247 B, 260 B, and possibly 1 A (Figures 40 - 41).

This was not really a group, but a number of tombs that were contemporary with the later groups of Haraga. Wide mouth jars of the 33 series occurred as did the latest forms of the 38 series flared-collar jar with well marked rim and long ovoid body (tombs 146 A and 260 B).

Haraga

The tombs at Haraga that were called Middle Kingdom correspond in date to the later groups (B and C) of Riqqa. Though the tombs of Haraga are considerably more mixed, since the contents were not specified

¹Below, pp. 121-122.

by chamber in the report, but only by the tomb number, they are better dated. A number of cylinders with the name of Amenemhat III occur in these groups (Fig. 65), and faience figurines date the later groups of the Haraga series to the later Eighteenth Century. These faience figurines did not occur in the large and wealthy burials from the middle of the Eighteenth Century that we discussed in the first part of this chapter, so their date in the later part of that and the Seventeenth Century is clear.¹

The Cemeteries

The tombs from the "Middle Kingdom" cemeteries at Haraga are of uniform type. They have a rectangular shaft sunk to a depth where the gravel would safely take a chamber. This was dug again in rectangular shape, from one of the short sides of the shaft. Later, this chamber might be reused, or another chamber might be dug on the opposite side.²

The end of Dynasty XII and early Thirteenth Dynasty 1: group A 1

Tombs assigned to the first group include 31, 94, 112, 116, 120, 124, 133, 143, 159, 161, 172, 320, 328, 352, 357, 379, 380, 395, 614, and 640 (which contained the name of Senwosret II, see Riqqa tomb 124, with jewelry with the names of Senwosret II and III). Tomb 640 contained a cylinder which had the name of Amenemhat III (Figures 42-43).

The pot most characteristic of this group is the globular pot with

¹Above, pp. 113-114.

²Engelbach, Harageh, pp. 3, 9-10. The registers are on plates LVII-LXII for the "Middle Kingdom"; the plates for the pottery are XXXIV-XLI. Henceforth, pottery will be cited only by corpus number which if not found at Haraga should be in the Riqqa plates. Tombs will be cited only by tomb number.

flared neck, rolled and bevelled rim and rope marks (41 k) found in group B at Riqqa. A similar though taller pot with rolled rim, sometimes a partial wash, is also popular (41 m). This type did not occur at Riqqa, though it does in several other places in the Nile Valley as far as Nubia. Another jar characteristic of Riqqa B-C appears in the first group of Haraga, the tapered jar with flat base (67 series, especially 67 s). The natron jar 67 e occurs.

Platters with sinuous profile, carinated cups (10 m) and the conical or top-shaped cup (8 m) all occur.

Of somewhat lesser importance chronologically are the squat jar (33 l), the coarse necked jar (57 j) and one early form of the flared-neck jar (39).

Two stands with closed bases, or "drums", are present.

Miniatures are common, including shallow plates and bowls, sinuous-sided types, both squat (59 b 2), bulged-sided types (58 series) and piriform shapes (56).

The 41 k water pot and "drum" shapes indicate that Haraga A 1 corresponds in date to Riqqa B 2.

The early Thirteenth Dynasty 2: group A 2

Tombs assigned to this group include 4, 15, 20, 65, 67, 72, 80, 112, 115, 119, 131, 138, 171, 220, 250, 282, 296, 311, 312, 324, 346, 372, 603 (terminus post quem Amenemhat III). (Figures 44-47).

A 2 is characterized by three major changes in the pottery. First, the plain jar is introduced with wide flaring neck (41 j); second, the stand closed at the bowl, with open foot, occurs (90 e, s, v). Finally, the small corrugated-neck jar of "salad mixer" is introduced (49 series).

A special form of the stand which has a convex body is common here and is peculiar to the group.

Simple convex platters are found (2 e 2). Flat-based tapered bowls appear. Hemispherical bowls with some rim treatment were also found (7 l, 7 w). The flared-neck jars increased in number; these generally had pointed bodies, an early feature (38).

Miniatures continue, with the introduction of a tapered jar with flat base.

Some unusual features deserve special notice. The carinated cup appeared with vertical painted stripes (10 d). Jars are found with four spouts (70 g 3); the spouts seem related to the "salad mixer" jar. Another unusual feature was a strainer or lid with vertical slots cut out, from the same group (92 m).

One very important group was tomb 112, with the water jar (41 m), the tapered jar (67 s) which must belong to groups A 1 or 2. The tomb also contained a number of mud figurines and two four-spout lamp vessels. Whether these were actually used as lamps or not, the type is so specific that it establishes a synchronism between the latest Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty and the Early Bronze IV (EB - MB, I, B or old MB I) of Palestine.¹

The mid-to-late Thirteenth Dynasty group B 1

Tombs assigned to B 1 include 17, 19, 30, 33, 35, 36, 42, 43, 48, 51, 55, 56, 62, 66, 69, 70, 82, 92, 96, 111, 114, 128, 129, 139, 161, 235,

¹Ruth Amiran, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land from Its Beginnings in the Neolithic to the End of the Iron Age (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), plate 22, 11; plate 23, 9; plate 24-13; Engelbach, Harageh, plate XIV, 1 - center.

257, 293, 310, 329, 364, 369, 377, 389, 390, 391, 545, 626. Faience figurines occur in tombs 55 and 56. These indicate that this group extends at least into the later Eighteenth Century (Figures 48-53).

Several changes mark B 1. The globular jar with flared neck, bevelled rim and multiple rope marks is particularly popular in this group, though other types of "water jars" continue. Some variations of the tapered jar (67 series) appear, with everted rim and round or pointed bases (37 h, l). These, with the similar 67 z, appear with a single stripe below the rim. This new appearance of rim treatment on the 67 series is evident on other types (67 y). The alabastron-shaped jar with ribbed rim, a variant of which appeared in Tell ed-Dab^ea F, occurs here for the first time (46 m).

Fruitstands include a popular type with convex bowl, sinuous base and cylindrical impression or depression at the center of the base. Another common form has an inverted rim and poorly made base (90 l). There may be one example of an older type (90 t).

A common type of platter had a concave base.

There was only one taller miniature vessel; all the rest have the squat, tapered, bulged or piriform shapes seen before.

Since faience figurines are a major dating criterion, the occurrence of these in tombs 55 and 56 is important. In 55, there is a grotesque human faience figurine, while 56 contains a faience dog and a crude hippopotamus.

The mid-to-late Thirteenth Dynasty: group B 2

Tombs assigned here include 7, 16, 21, 25, 109, 260, 268, 284, 354, 375, 384, 543, 608, 613, 615, 616, and 641 (Figs. 54-56). This group also contains some faience figurines, and a single example of

Yehudiyya ware was found in tomb 354. The Egyptian pottery found in tomb 354 was of types not found at Tell ed-Dab^ea, though the juglet, with standing and pendant triangles, parallels F - E 2 (Fig. 61). We must, therefore, conclude that the presence of this juglet is due to mixture.

In general, this group is characterized by the extinction of many forms which were previously popular. The one truly common older form is the flared-neck globular jar with a very wide mouth (38 n - o series). The 33 series, a rather baggy jar, is again represented but not common. Few of the older "water pots" remain; those still present have simple bands of paint.

The fruitstand is represented by the type to be seen later, 90 s; there was only one potstand, with double rolled rims.

Since B 1 extended into the later Eighteenth Century, we should regard this group as extending from the latest Eighteenth into the early Seventeenth Century.

The phase of the conquest: group C 1

Tombs assigned to this group include 2, 5, 97, 162, 262, 286, 297, 302, 326, 327, 330, 358, 366, 382, 386, 396, 540, 544, 612, 620, 644, 645 (Figs. 57-59).

This group is characterized by the emerging dominance of types present in Tell ed-Dab^ea F, the jars 33 s and h. Globular pots with short necks and rolled rims are important here. The angular everted rim occurs (33 u, 36 l). Baggy shapes like those found at Rifa in the age that should correspond in date to the earlier Hyksos Age (38 b, c; 36 f, h; 33 a, and the unusual type 43 a).

A number of older types continue, but more rarely. These include the flared-neck jars, tapered jars and the crude 57 j jar. One globular jar has a narrow neck (40 r).

Fruitstands continue, with the common types seen earlier (90 s, e 2 and h), but new types with a sinuous sided bowl were introduced (90 p, 97, 90 l 2).

Of bowls, the hemispherical bowl alone seems to maintain its popularity; its shape is sometimes varied by folding in the rim four or more times (9 m. d. p). A somewhat similar practice is observed earlier at Beni Hasan, but the rims are not folded over, simply indented.¹ This last feature was seen on a carinated bowl, with a wavy rim (98 w), combined with painted bands. There is a red rim painted on another pot from this series, 98 c.

Tomb 299 is probably to be placed in this group, with the rather sausage shaped "Proto-Canaanite" dipper which has painted bands and two early Yehudiyya juglets as well as a cup with incised wavy lines (Fig. 62).

Later tombs; group C 2

Tombs assigned to C 2 are 38, 71, 105, 130, 340 and 362 (Fig. 60).

This is not really a cohesive group, but a few tombs whose contents corresponded in date to parts of the Hyksos age. The tapered jar (67) continues, probably due to mixture. The salad mixer is important (49).

The baggy pot with rolled rim is present (37 x) and a true bag type appears (20 f). An early form of the biconical collared jar that is

¹Above, p. 55.

later painted with "Ajjul" decoration in the New Kingdom appears (44 f),¹ as does the characteristic bag jar with everted rim of the later Hyksos and Expulsion ages (40 a).²

The Cemetery at Illahun

Thirty-eight multiple pot groups from the Middle Kingdom register were reconstructed from the Illahun cemetery. Twenty-four of these were assigned to groups. Of these groups, none clearly paralleled the earlier groups of Riqqa.

The Cemetery

A group of pots from the Pyramid of Senwosret II may be partially contemporary with pottery from Riqqa of the Group A.³ The end of the A stage of Riqqa should thus be after Senwosret II.

The end of the Twelfth Dynasty and early Thirteenth Dynasty 1: group A 1

Tombs assigned to this group are 106, 604, 903 and the "Dome".

These tombs seem to parallel Group A at Haraga and earlier. The simple tapered bowls and bulged miniature pot are typical of this phase, as are the hemispherical bowl and tapered jar (67 m). The strainer (91 d) has round holes, otherwise resembling that of Group A at Haraga. It is perhaps an earlier version. A tall stand is quite crude, but has the closed bowl and open base of Haraga Group A 2. An ovoid jar with straight

¹Engelbach, Harageh, compare the shape to Plate XLIV, 78 c, d, k.

²Ibid., plate XLII, XLIII, series 23-5 in the New Kingdom.

³Petrie, Brunton and M. A. Murray, Lahun II, BSAE, 33 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923), register, plate XLVIII, pottery LVI-LVIII; Brunton, Lahun I, BSAE, 27 (-----1920), plate XVIII, 5-13.

collar and rolled rim is similar to the taller bottle and jars of earlier times.

Early Thirteenth Dynasty 2: group A 2

Tombs assigned to A 2 are 2, 2 A, 136, 138, 914 and 916.

The second group at Illahun seems to be contemporary with group A 2 at Haraga. The types used to classify this group at Haraga, the plain jar with heavy rim (41 j), short stand (90 b), and tall stand (90 w 2 and 3) were present. There was one footed cup (2 t 3).

The mid-to-late Thirteenth Dynasty:
group B

Tombs assigned to this group were 107, 126, 131, 134, 139, 143, 620, 900, 905, and 917. Group B 1 contained some pottery present in Haraga B 1 such as the tapered jar (67) with a definite rim, a variant of the baggy pot (37 j) and typical miniatures (58, 59 and 5 series). There were pot stands as well (88 a 2, 88 b 4).

In addition, some features of these groups are different from those of Haraga. For example, there is a variant of the piriform collar-ed jar of Haraga A 2 (55 h at Illahun). Flat based ovoid jars are found with hole mouths and thickened rims (54 v 2 and 54 s). Another resembles these without the flattened rim (40 s 3). The wide-mouth globular pots have a straight or angled-out neck and everted rim not characteristic at Haraga (33 f 4, 32 m). One of these has combing on the shoulder (32 m) and rope marks as well.

As said above, this group is probably contemporary with B 1 and 2 of Haraga.

Later tombs: group C

Tombs assigned to C were 124, 127 and 653.

This group contained the stands with sinuous sides and the drop pot (33 h) found in late Haraga groups (C).

Hawara

Of the three publications that refer to Hawara, only one discusses the pottery and most small objects of the Middle Kingdom.¹ We can, of course, take Amenemhat III to be a terminus post quem for everything found at Hawara. A number of groups are dated to the Twelfth Dynasty in the publication which are, in fact, from the end of it and the Thirteenth Dynasty.²

We may note the following groups. Tomb 58³ contains the flared-collar jar, two cups, a model of a bed, a late example proven later than Amenemhat III, a scarab, shell beads, a box and a wooden female figurine. This last presages those in faience in the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁴

Tomb 57 contains two jars inscribed with the name iw-nfr, a stone macehead and a staff. The coffin is that of an Akhethetep, so the group is mixed. Pottery from the tomb includes a convex-sided bowl,⁵ short carinated jar,⁶ carinated jar with high shoulder (89), tapered jar (67 series numbered here 79), natron jar and broken remains of an ovoid water

¹Petrie, The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh, BSAE, vol. 21 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1912), plates XXX, XXXIII-XXXVI.

²See note 1 above.

³Ibid., plate XXX, all but ushabtis.

⁴Ibid., 36, plate XXX, see below p. 155.

⁵Ibid., plate XXXIII, 22.

⁶Ibid., plate XXXIV, 57.

jar, probably of the 41 m type.¹ The group reinforces the impression to be gained from the poorly published pottery of Khnemit and Ita. Materials normally called Twelfth Dynasty occur in a context which is open at the time of Nubhetepi-khered and Senebtisi in the mid-Thirteenth.²

Other pots were not found in groups or were found in less important ones. These show the continuity of late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty pottery. They are shallow miniature dishes (13-24), high shoulder miniatures (30-36), and one with everted rim (49-56). Heavy potstands, very low and with large rolled rims, parallel stands from the tomb of Neferuptah. The low pedestal bowl (5) and the higher fruitstand (5, 6) are important pots later. The tapered jar (67) continued, (75-80) while carinated jars with high shoulders are also present (84-91). We noted the nearly biconical jar (94-95) above. The continuation of the late Twelfth Dynasty water jar in tomb 57, and the close relation of these (100-106) to the pottery of Haraga is important.

In all of these groups, there are no faience figurines noted. This again reinforces the conclusion that these belong to the later Eighteenth Century.³

The pottery of Neferuptah, also from Hawara, is a separate group. It contained the heavy-rimmed stand, not seen in other groups at Hawara, ovoid water jars with very heavy rims and wide platters also found in the Hawara groups. These last had a very wide band of dark paint on

¹Ibid., plate XXXV, 104.

²It must begin only at the time of Amenemhat III, see figure 62. Hereafter, pottery is referred to only by number in parenthesis.

³Above, pp. 113-115.

the inside of the edge.¹ Further, the basic types of miniatures mentioned at Haraga were present.

Dahshur

We have already discussed the major groups of Dahshur, though without referring to the pottery.²

Although much of the pottery was not published from groups, it is possible to identify a few interesting types. The tapered jar is here, as are miniatures.³ There are drop-shaped pots, as found in Senebtisi, and some nearly baggy forms.⁴

The Tombs

Tomb 22

Poorest of the Northern Mastabas, this contains the remains of a coffin with Hieratic texts and bronze fittings.⁵ The well-shaped baggy jars and short-necked globular jar are reminiscent of Haraga B - C.

Khemit

The pottery of Khemit is not noted in the discussion of her tomb with the major groups of the Thirteenth Dynasty. While poorly published, to say the least, we can note that jars of the BSAE 41 k - m type are present, confirming the presence of the water pot in this period (Fig. 23).

¹The pottery is published, but not the painted bands on the rims. These are Journal d'Entrée 90162 and 90163, with brown paint, faint, but clear.

²Above, pp. 103-112.

³de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894, fig. 82.

⁴Ibid., fig. 82, lower left and right. ⁵Ibid., figs. 73-75.

Lisht

The excavations of the Metropolitan Museum at Lisht are largely unpublished. Nevertheless, a very general impression of the various classes of materials is available from the preliminary reports and some more general publications.¹ Of the major classes of remains at Lisht, the royal pyramid complexes of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I, the mastabas of their officials, small pyramids in the complexes of Senwosret I, the shaft tombs and the village inside Amenemhat I's complex, the last two are of greatest interest. Since the site was occupied later than the Twelfth Dynasty, materials from the fill of any structure may apply to our period.

The shaft tombs are of normal Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasty type, usually north-south oriented shafts with a chamber at one or both ends. In some cases, these had three or even more chambers, arranged in stories.² These are in groups or rows near the mastabas and the pyramids. The general date of these shaft tombs can be determined by that of Senebtisi and similar burials in 799 and 490. Her tomb was made in the middle years of the Thirteenth Dynasty, as demonstrated above. Other tombs were shown to be later by the occurrence of faiences and Yehudiyya ware, neither of which occurred in the group of intact burials that resembled Senebtisi and Aibre^c Hor. Still later evidence from the shaft tombs

¹Arthur Mace, "Excavations at the North Pyramid of Lisht", Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 9 (1914) 2-7-222; Albert Lythgoe, "The Egyptian Expedition II; Excavations at the South Pyramid of Lisht in 1914" BMMA 10 (1915), 5-21; Ambrose Lansing, "Excavations on the Pyramid of Sesostris I at Lisht", BMMA, 15 (1920), 3-11; Mace, "Excavations at Lisht", BMMA, 16 (1921) 5-19; Mace, "Excavations at Lisht", BMMA, 17 (1922), 4-19; Wm. Stevenson Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958), fig. 48 d; Merrillees, Trade and Transcendence in the Bronze Age Levant.

²Mace, "Excavations at Lisht (1922)" 6-8, fig. 2.

remains unpublished. All or most of the shafts were entered later, so the date of the construction of these tombs is not reliably indicated by the latest material found in them.¹ The intact burials of Senebtisi, 799 and possibly 490, give a date in the mid-Eighteenth Century for these.

The village, built against the North Pyramid of Amenemhat I is clearly later than the shafts which it overlay. It would appear that the early Yehudiyya ware at Lisht originated in the village period, though it was found in many shaft tombs, even in the burial chambers. These include the outstanding examples of this pottery found in Egypt. It cannot be dated by its occurrence here, but only by comparison to the Asiatic sequence at Tell ed-Dab^ea. It parallels levels G, F, and possibly E 3 - 2 at that site. A discussion of some pieces and what passes for contexts at this rather confused site is in order.

The Tombs

Tomb 756

The only group with MB II pottery is tomb 756.² It contains a plump dipper with horizontal painted bands. There is also a bilobate-lip juglet of MB II B 1 type.³ Egyptian pottery from the group includes a jar with multiple spouts, hemispherical bowls, a 4l k water pot and large globular pots, one with a short straight neck. This last is characteristic of the Thirteenth Dynasty in Nubia.⁴ The tomb had more than one chamber; the contents were broken and scattered. We cannot, therefore, have much confidence in the group.

¹Ibid., on page five Lansing gives a good example, and the above-mentioned complex was also robbed.

²Ibid., pp. 53-57, fig. 5.

³Below, p. 891.

⁴Below, pp. 601-602.

Tomb 879 (North Pyramid, MB III A)

This tomb contains the famous dolphin jug, a shoulder-handled jug of Palestinian MB II C - III type with representational decoration in the form of birds and a dolphin. Middle Minoan III parallels for the dolphin were found at *Pachyammos in Crete*.¹

The jug was found in company with several other Middle Bronze juglets with and without Yehudiyya decoration. Those with Yehudiyya decoration includes an example with standing and pendant triangles, another with only metope decoration, a third with only pendant triangles preserved. These other juglets belong thus to the MB III A rather than the MB II C, and the dolphin jug should be dated with them to this period.²

Tomb 898 (North Pyramid, MB III A)

This tomb contains some miscellaneous stone jars, pieces of frit, a faience bowl, a stone palette of rectangular shape and an early Yehudiyya juglet with metope decoration. It must be at least partially MB III A in date.³

Pit near house (South Pyramid, MB III A)

Two wooden human heads from canopic jars were found in this pit with a wooden statuette of a man which had a long skirt. Pottery includes miniatures, two tall-sided hemispherical cups and an early

¹Ehrich et. al., Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, fig. 6. The red inside the figures and yellowish color outside is itself an interesting example of polychromy.

²Merrillees, Trade and Transcendence in the Bronze Age Levant. Fig. 44 gives the group.

³Ibid., fig. 46.

Yehudiyya juglet with standing triangles. The cups and the Yehudiyya juglet parallel Tell ed-Dab'a F - E 2, which is MB III A in date.¹

Pit 907 (North Pyramid, MB III A - B)

This tomb includes some juglets with "trumpet mouthpiece" rims, MB III A in date, as is a juglet with shoulder handle.² A cylindrical juglet has standing and pendant triangles arranged to leave a reserve zig-zag, unusual decoration for a cylindrical juglet, also MB III A. One large fragment of a punctate-decorated fish indicates that the pit was used in the MB III B.³

Other objects and materials

Some of the most interesting and important materials have not yet been published from any clear context. As some of these contexts would not be very reliable if published, the value of the sherds would probably not be especially enhanced. Some of these are early Yehudiyya ware of representational type. One represented a man or human with the arm upraised. The arm is in a sleeve. In the register above are a series of spiraliform or plume motifs, probably of Middle Minoan I - II type.⁴ A second example of that type of decoration is much clearer, from the area of the South Pyramid.⁵ Other experiments included

¹Ibid., fig. 50.

²Ibid., fig. 47. See below p. 895, comb 25 at Ruweise.

³Ibid., fig. 47.

⁴Ibid., fig. 42; J. D. S. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete (New York: W. W. Norton Library, 1965), figure 22, 14.

⁵Merrillees, Trade and Transcendence in the Bronze Age Levant, fig. 49.

quatrefoil s-scrolls,¹ and simple running s-scrolls.² There is one guilloche, a Syrian motif from glyptic. Several examples have floral decoration, lotus flowers or buds, and one example has a palm tree.³ There is one example of filled checks, and another interesting combination of bands filled with butterfly, vertical zigzag and scale motifs.⁴

Theriomorphs include the incised body of a hawk⁵ and a bird's head.⁶ There are some unpublished examples of grey ware in the shapes of cups and bowls from Lisht as well.⁷

Interesting objects include a clay statuette with an Egyptian crown, but with shape and treatment similar to clay statuettes from Byblos which we shall mention later.⁸ Limestone grotesque figurines also resemble the faience grotesques from the Byblos deposit from the "Pro-Cella" of the Obelisk Temple.⁹ Combs include two paralleled at Jericho in the MB III.¹⁰ Bronze implements considered rasps by the excavators closely parallel strainers from Baghouz and Sidon.¹¹

In addition to the Yehudiyya ware, some other MB II - III imports

¹Unpublished, in the Oriental Institute.

²Unpublished, in the Oriental Institute.

³Also unpublished, but the Palm tree has been published; Ibid., fig. 43.

⁴Ibid., fig. 49 ⁵Ibid., fig. 43. ⁶Ibid., fig. 45.

⁷Unpublished, in the Oriental Institute.

⁸Mace, "Excavations at Lisht (1922), p. 8, fig. 7.

⁹Mace, "Excavations at Lisht (1921), p. 6, fig. 3. See below p. 870.

¹⁰Ibid., fig. 5, top row, second from left and third from left.

¹¹Ibid., fig. 4, above, second from the right, four pieces; see below p. 1123.

were found at Lisht. These include undecorated juglets, dippers (both tall and short types, with horizontal painted bands), and at least one juglet with elaborate painted decoration (slashes on the rim).¹

Faience figurines and vessels were found in various forms in both the tombs and apparently the village, though this last is not so clear from the reports.² These included vessels on a tray,³ a lion.⁴

Scarabs included the royal names⁵ of Kha^cneferre^c Sebekhotep (XIII-24), Merneferre^c Ay (XIII-27), and Sewadjenre^c (Nebiryerai I XVII-6).

We have, therefore, the following groups of materials, probably with the following dates. First, the shaft tombs were dug and occupied certainly later than Amenemhat I, most likely about the time of Senebtisi in the mid-Eighteenth Century. Burials in these shaft tombs continued throughout the Hyksos Age, with plundering, and possibly re-use, disturbing the remains. Though the village built against the North Pyramid may have been built slightly earlier, the main period of occupation seems to have been in the MB III A, extending into the earlier MB III B, or the early Sixteenth Century. There seems to have been fewer faiences from the village, indicating a date later than the time when these were most common.

¹R. S. Merrilles, "Syrian Pottery from Middle Kingdom Egypt", Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology, 2 (1973), pp. 52-54, figs. 1-4; pp. 56-57, figs. 67.

²There is no clear discussion of faiences from the village proper, but there were some from the pit tombs below, to be considered at least partly contemporary.

³Mace, "Excavations at the North Pyramid at Lisht", fig. 17, p. 222.

⁴Mace, "Excavations at Lisht (1921)", fig. 12, 4 and 5.

⁵Mace, "Excavations at Lisht (1922)", p. 16.

Khendjer Complex

As in the pyramid complexes of the other kings of the Middle Kingdom and Thirteenth Dynasty, Jequier found later shaft tombs excavated in the Khendjer enclosure. One of these contains a juglet of late Yehudiyya ware and another a flared-neck jar of mid-to-late Thirteenth Dynasty type at Haraga. This jar is decorated with horizontal and zig-zag bands, a pale parallel to the remarkable example from Buhen K 5.¹

The Town at Illahun

Though poorly concentrated,² important materials were found at Illahun in the town, usually known as Kahun. This was the largest of a group of towns near the capital on the desert edge at this time.

Dating the materials from the town is full of pitfalls. Though the reasons Petrie gave for dating the contents of the dumps to the Twelfth and the contents of the town to later Dynasties sound plausible, there is no corroboration for these dates. Indeed there could be no corroboration for the date of a rubbish heap save sealing by a later level. Since there is no stratigraphic evidence for the dates of these dumps, we cannot regard them either as dated or as contexts. Their materials must be dated solely by comparisons to better quality contexts.³ However, all of the material from the town or the area must be later than Senwosret II, who built the pyramid here. The town certainly flourished as late as the Thirteenth Dynasty as the papyri showed and was an open

¹G. Jequier, Fouilles à Saqqara; Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire (Cairo: Institute Francais d'Archeologie Orientale, 1933) fig. 34 b, c.

²Above, pp. 22-23.

³The publications that concern us here are: Petrie, Illahun, Kahun and Gurob 1889-90 (London: David Nutt, 1891); Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara (London: Kegan Paul, Trubner and Trench, 1891).

context well after the time of Neferhotep I and Wahibre^c Ibya^e.¹ The objects with these royal names merely show that the context was open as late as about 1700; the imports show that it was open substantially later.

There are a number of important groups. First, a deposit was placed in a large hole in the middle of the temple area. Though the nature of the deposit is clearly ritual,² its date is not necessarily that of the foundation, Senwosret II, but anytime thereafter. Pottery from this group includes two examples of the tapered jar (67) and two other similar types as in early Riqqa B. A second deposit contains cylinders with the name of Senwosret III, a drop pot of 33 series and two small jars with wide flaring necks, pinched mouths and disc bases.³ These seem to resemble early versions of the Asiatic dipper juglet without handles. A third major group from room 9 is a deposit of tools, stone vessels, a mirror and a torque of classic MB II type. The mirror had a Hathor column for a handle; the stone vessel was of the flared cylindrical type common at the end of the Twelfth and in the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁴ The torque, one of only a few from the Nile Valley, is interesting and helps give a general date to the type.

Although a few objects shown may belong to the Twelfth Dynasty before Haraga A 2,⁵ the larger part seems to be datable to the Thirteenth,

¹F. Ll. Griffith, The Petrie Papyri; Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898). Plate X contains a reference to Dynasty XIII-3; plate IX refers to XIII-4; and Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, plate X, 15, Neferhotep; 72 Wahibre^c Ibya^e.

²Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, 22, plate XIV, fig. 1.

³Ibid., plate XIV, 18-20.

⁴Petrie, Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, plate XIII, 1-17.

⁵Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, plate XIII, 12, a drum or stand; plate XIII, 90 and the Senwosret III group plate XIV.

beginning with Haraga A 2. (There were some New Kingdom burials also.) The multi-spouted jar XIII 53 and strainer seem to belong there. The jars with painting on the neck found in a separate dump which also included shallow dishes may also belong to this general period.¹

A reasonable idea of the occupation date in the Thirteenth Dynasty of the town may be obtained. The scrabble cup has already been noted in Haraga C 1² as has the indented-rim cup³. The straight-sided or carinated stand⁴ and potstands with double rolled rims have counterparts in that group as well as the baggy vessel⁵ and another variant⁶. Imports included a jug with shoulder handle and ring at the neck from the MB II - III, Representational early Yehudiyya ware with designs of cattle or goats in a tree⁷ and early Yehudiyya ware with standing and pendant triangles⁸ of MB II C - III A. There is an undecorated juglet of similar date, and a bowl with four heads, both less clearly dated.

The foreign pottery published in Illahun, Kahun and Gurob is generally later in date, though the narrow striped dippers resembled one from Kahun, Gurob and Hawara somewhat and could be as early as MB II A 2.⁹ Later incised ware include one light-faced and two black examples of Early Yehudiyya ware (I, 17, 20, 21). Number 17 has the rim folded inward as common at Lisht. Petrie noted that all of the pottery

¹Ibid., plate XIII, 53 multi-spout jar; XII, 22 painted neck jars.

²Ibid., plate XIII, 40, 41.

³Ibid., plate XIII, 93.

⁴Ibid., plate XII, 17.

⁵Ibid., plate XII, 16.

⁶Ibid., plate XII, 11.

⁷Ibid., plate XXVII, 199, 200.

⁸Ibid., plate XXVII, 201, 202.

⁹Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, plate XII, 57.

published on this plate was found outside the town in the dumps.¹

Faiences included an alabastron of MB III B type and a female figurine. There are a number of ivory animals which can be paralleled from the Lisht material. Further evidence of late use includes White Painted jugs from Cyprus.

One of the most important features of the town at Illahun was the occurrence of many pieces of Middle Minoan pottery. These were of MM I - II date.² Their relative date here must be set by comparative materials elsewhere, as in the case of Yehudiyya ware.

The town at Illahun seems to have been in use not only in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty, but well into the Hyksos Age as well. The royal names indicated the Thirteenth Dynasty date, as did the faiences and the Egyptian pottery. Yehudiyya ware, both early and late as well as the Cypriote imports, clearly indicated that this town was occupied in the Hyksos Age as well.³

Haraga - Occupation Sites

Two main areas were reported in the Haraga publication where debris or architecture were recovered.

Eleventh Dynasty House Ruin

This curious group contains fishing implements, a sculptured head, and a number of implements and pots. They were found in a house ruin in

¹Ibid., p. 9.

²Petrie, Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, plate XIII, 19-20; plate VIII, 1, 2; plate I, 18. See below pp. 1196-1197.

³Ibid., plate I; Kantor, "Egypt and its Foreign Correlations", p. 21.

the desert at the lowest level. Pottery types are crude.¹ A scarab has the name of Nebtawire^c, considered by the excavator to be one of the Eleventh Dynasty Mentuhoteps. The style, however, clearly resembles two others from Haraga, one with Nebma^catre^c, the second with Nebdjeserre^c from a single tomb.² Von Beckerath placed a Nebma^catre^c in the Sixteenth Dynasty,³ known also from an axe found in a Pan Grave at Mostagedda. Second, we should not think that names compounded of Neb . . . re^c were particularly common in the Fourteenth Dynasty.⁴ This scarab is thus likely to belong to the later Fourteenth Dynasty, with the other names of similar construction or the Sixteenth. The Eleventh Dynasty can be ruled out. Consistent with this date was a sherd of Yehudiyya ware from this group.⁵

Sherd Deposit Over Cemetery C

While there were three additional deposits of sherds between cemeteries A, C 2 and C 3, a large deposit of sherds covering cemetery C was the only one described. Pots included the large natron jar (67 e), spouted bowl (70), and an ovoid water jar with flared neck, sometimes with painted bands (41 b). This last may, especially in sherds, be confused with the 38 series flared collar jar and may even be a development from it. Also found were a block of Senwosret II, a fragment of Yehudiyya ware and about twenty pieces of Kamares ware. Several of these are in

¹Engelbach, Harageh, p. 17, plates XXIV, XLI, 7 n, 13 m, 33 m, and 36 b.

²Ibid., plate XX, 6, 12, and 12 a.

³von Beckerath, Untersuchungen, p. 280.

⁴Ibid., p. 263, plate XIV, 4; p. 264, plate XIV, 8; p. 265, plate XIV, 15.

⁵Engelbach, Harageh, plate X, 15; see below pp. 1214-1222.

Oxford and seem to confirm the identification. As with the Aegean sherds from Illahun, the date will have to be set by comparative materials elsewhere.

Tarkhan

Tomb 1895 at Tarkhan contained a biconical burnished juglet of MB III B type and two baggy Painted Yehudiyya Ware juglets. These are painted in an imitation of Cypriote Pendant Line Style decoration but with two horizontal lines on the body. Tomb 821 contained part of a jug decorated in Cross Line Style; it appears to be a Cypriote import.¹

¹Petrie, Tarkhan II, plate XIII, "XVth Dynasty?", IX, 20-25, including two small faience cups and the straight-sided hemispherical bowl.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THEBES IN THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The archaeology of Thebes in the Second Intermediate Period is as complex as that of the Itj-Tawy region. The problems fall into three basic categories. The site of Western Thebes has been and is being explored by many different excavators, and is published in widely scattered volumes of highly variable value for study. Second, the material itself was scattered from the Tarif to the Ramesseum. Second Intermediate Period materials were found in earlier structures, such as the Saff tombs. Later structures were built over Second Intermediate Period tombs. During the Second Intermediate Period itself, and the New Kingdom, there was continuous plundering that makes the analysis of groups difficult at best.

Middle Kingdom Groups in Thebes

Though Thebes was occupied in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, the burials of these ages, scattered mainly along the edge of the desert from the Tarif to the Asasif, were later built over by royal temples of the New Kingdom. Materials of Middle Kingdom date were found by some of the major expeditions to Thebes, from the Northampton through Quibell, Petrie, Carnarvon and Carter, Winlock to the present German excavations. Only Petrie's excavation has been fully published.¹ None

¹Petrie, Qurneh, BSAE 16 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1909) pp. 2-4.

None save Petrie's and Arnold's were very wisely excavated, especially when the groups showed some sign of confusion. We are thus in a situation where we have very few real groups. Otherwise, we have numbers of isolated objects that are more or less instructive. I shall proceed then along the chronological principle, selecting those groups that seem to me most useful.

"Pottery of Uah-ankh Antef"

This is a collection of pottery found by Petrie with two stelae of the Eleventh Dynasty.¹ The pottery is in fact mixed. While a few pieces might be early,² most of the pottery compares well with that of the later Middle Kingdom from Riqqa and Haraga. The water pots especially compare with those of Haraga,³ though the bodies are much longer at Thebes. There are also some shallow miniature dishes,⁴ hemispherical bowls,⁵ a fruitstand⁶ and a "salad mixer".⁷

Middle Kingdom Pottery from the Asasif

Pottery from recent excavations in the Asasif included some forms similar to the so-called "Wahankh" group discussed above. Of special interest are the flared-neck jars of developed type⁸ not present in the former group and the water pots. These had rope marks and a much shorter body than those from the group found by Petrie.⁹ The Asasif water

¹Ibid., plate XIII.

²Ibid., no. 21.

³Ibid., nos. 25-28; see fig. 78 t and u.

⁴Ibid., plate XIII, 1-6.

⁵Ibid., nos. 8, 9, and 11.

⁶Ibid., no. 13.

⁷Ibid., no. 19.

⁸Dorothea Arnold, "Weiteres zur Keramik von el-Tarif", fig. 5, 11, from the Asasif.

⁹Ibid., fig. 5, 9, also from the Asasif.

pots come from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty; those found by Petrie should be somewhat earlier, perhaps dating to the time of Riqqa.

Second Intermediate Period Materials

We are concerned here primarily with finds from the Late Middle Kingdom and Thirteenth Dynasty in the Asasif and in the plain below the Diraa-Aby-n-Naga, scattered to the Tarif. It would seem that in the later Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, this plain area was the primary area for burial in Western Thebes. During the Seventeenth Dynasty, tombs were excavated in the higher slopes of the Diraa-Abu-n-Naga, occasionally put even on the high spur. These are distributed, with the royal tombs from the Diraa just south of the Valley of the Kings toward the Asasif, the latest tombs of the era bordering or perhaps found in the Asasif. Latest of these were burials in the Asasif which continued into the New Kingdom, covered later by the Hatshepsut causeway.

Royal Tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty

We possess some direct evidence for the burials of the following kings in the Seventeenth Dynasty: XVII-1, Nubkheperre^c Intef, discovered by Mariette; XVII-10, Sekhemre^c Shedtawy Sebekemsaf II, only possibly found by Northampton; XVII-11, Sekhemre^c Wepma^cat Intef, coffin F in a cache; XVII-12, Sekhemre^c Herherma^cat Intef, coffin E in the same cache; XVII-14, Seqenenre^c Ta^co, mummy and coffin from the great cache at Deir el Bahri; XVII-15, Wadjkheperre^c Kamose and Queen Ahhotep, found by Mariette. In addition, there was the tomb of a Neferhotep, found about the same time as that of Nubkhepere^b and possibly his contemporary. A "queen" of the period usurped the canopic box of king Sekhemre^c Sementawy Djehuty (XVII-4). Finally the great treasure of

Ahhotep from the end of the Seventeenth and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty provides important information on weapons, art and possibly historical events.¹

A fairly substantial number of coffins and other funerary equipment is known from the Seventeenth Dynasty, far more than any other dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period. There is evidence for only one intact group, that of Nubkheperre^c Intef.

Nubkheperre^c Intef

This tomb was discovered by Mariette in 1860. He described it as a hemispeos cut in the abrupt slope of the hill with a pit leading to the tomb. In front were two small obelisks 3.5 and 3.7 meters high, respectively. The Abbot papyrus referred to the tomb as a pyramid, which is generally accepted.² This pyramid is generally placed above on the hill. This remains a likely restoration, but it appears to be rather unusual when compared to superstructures of this period that we shall see near the Egyptian fortresses of Nubia (Fig. 236).³ Since the chamber was cut into the abrupt slope of the hill, it would seem plausible that what superstructure existed covered the entry (Fig. 66). Part of the chamber could have been constructed in brick. Thus Mariette should be able to refer to it as a hemi-speos. Simple vertical

¹H. E. Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes" JEA, 10 (1924), 217-277; H. E. Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes (New York: the Macmillan Company, 1947), pp. 91-170.

²Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes", pp. 228-9.

³Substructures shown in Figs. 229-240 include stairways and vertical shafts as typical in Egyptian Nubia. So far in Egypt we have generally seen shafts, rarely dromos tombs.

wooden coffin. Inside this they found two bows, six flint-tipped arrows, a diadem on the corpse and a heart scarab.¹ They may have found more, as there is some jewelry in the British Museum with his name. Three faience hippopotami may also have come from his tomb; they are attributed to the tomb of an Intef in the Diraa-Abu-n-Naga. Since the Intefs in the Diraa were all from the Seventeenth Dynasty, these hippopotami may all be attributed to that period. One of them is standing on a base.² The others were standing and recumbent, respectively. The first was painted with lotus decoration and birds, the second with lotus and a hatched or decorated X on the back.

The anthropoid coffin of Nubkheperre^c is of some interest, as it is the earliest dated rishi coffin. It was covered by gold leaf, with a slot for the uraeus on the forehead, part of a normal royal headdress. There was probably a vulture pectoral represented on the breast. Two vulture wings stretched down the front on either side of a broad shallow groove, as though they were the outstretched arms of the deceased. The feathers covered the entire upper surface of the coffin below the headdress.³

For the next several reigns, we have only the arched-lid and gabled canopic boxes of Sekhemre^c Wadjkhau Sebekemsaf (XVII-3) and Sekheperre^c Sementawi Djehuty (XVII-4).⁴

¹Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes", p. 230-231.

²Above, p. 113, n. 4.

³Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes, plate 17.

⁴Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes", plate XV.

pits to the burial chambers were in use from the Middle Kingdom to the Late New Kingdom and one should be expected here. The pyramid shape may be corroborated by the existence of a pyramidion of a later Seventeenth Dynasty King.¹ It is not necessarily required by the description in the Abbot Papyrus, as any mud-brick structure could deteriorate into a pyramid-like mass.

The obelisks Mariette found in front of the tomb may have parallels elsewhere. There were mud obelisks erected in front of many tombs in the Egyptian cemeteries of Nubia at this time (Fig. 231 b, 233, 234 c). These had small offering trays in front for libations. These trays may be related to the Middle Kingdom offering tables, trays and soul houses.² As a parallel to the Egypto-Nubian tombs of Aniba and Buhen, I have restored the obelisks with small offering trays.

I have reconstructed the tomb's architecture on the basis of parallels in Nubia, especially Buhen Cemetery K. The chief point to be made about this architecture as described by Winlock and restored here is that the tomb of Nubkheperre^c Intef was less a royal tomb in design than a large private tomb of the period. Pyramids had been constructed at Memphis in the Thirteenth Dynasty along the standard plan of the Twelfth Dynasty.³

The fellahin who found the tomb in 1827 referred only to one chamber in the tomb, probably the burial chamber. They found in this chamber a stone sarcophagus cut from the living rock which contained a

¹Below, p. 150, Sekhemre^c Wepma^cat Intef (XVII-10).

²Above, pp. 50-51. Note these were put above the tomb, not in it.

³Jequier, Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire, plate I.

Sekhemre^c Wepama^cat Intef (XVII-10)

Both a canopic box with high arch and a coffin are known for this king. There is also a mutilated pyramidion.¹ The coffin parallels that of Nubkheperre^c in almost every respect, except that the Uraeus seems to have been an integral part of the headgear. The proportions of the coffin seem to be more regular and the groove down the front of the coffin is more clearly marked. The vulture pectoral was also clearly present. There is a single line of inscription in the groove.

Sekhemre^c Herherma^cat Intef (XVII-12)

The coffin of this king is a fully rishi type, though the painted feathers around the head merely cover a normal headdress. The coffin is simply gross; it must have been put together in extraordinary haste. The flaps of the headdress and pectoral (not a vulture) are shown.²

Seqenenre^c Ta^co (XVII-14)

Though found in the great cache, the coffin of Seqenenre^c Ta^co seems to belong in the Seventeenth Dynasty series. Much wider and far more imposing than the known coffins of his predecessors, it is of the same general type. It had the same broad groove and the same feathered pattern, but the gold leaf has been stripped away.³

Ahhotep

The coffin of this queen was found with that of Kamose in a

¹Ibid., pp. 234-237; The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes, plate 18.

²Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes, plate 19.

³Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes", plate XVI.

cache that included some of the most important objects found in Egypt. The coffin resembles that of Ta^co closely, especially in the wide proportions and the high quality of the shape. The feathers were clearly present as was the groove down the front. The Hathor type headdress is especially interesting.¹

Kamose (XVII-15)

The coffin of Kamose was found in a cache, as was that of Ahhotep. It belongs to the same class as the coffins of Seqenenre^c Ta^co and Ahhotep, with the same features.²

Of all the tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty kings, only that of Nubkheperre^c was found by Europeans.³ Some idea of the burial type was obtained from the Fellahin who had discovered the tomb intact earlier. It appears to have been only slightly different from that of Aibre^c Hor discussed above.⁴ There was no mention of a ka statue, however, nor was there mention of jewelry other than the diadem (now in Leiden?). The three faience hippopotami complete what is known or conjectured

¹Ibid., plage XVI.

²Ibid., plate XXI. It is painted and there is no uraeus.

³The Northampton excavation group thought they had found a pyramid of Sekhemre^c Shedtawy Sebekemsaf II on the grounds that they found a robber's tunnel from the tomb of a Nebamun nearby (see Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes", pp. 237-240). There are too many tombs of Nebamuns to be certain, since this pyramid was not explored. Even more robbers' tunnels were dug. Many Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty pyramids were built on the Diraa as well. A second mud-brick structure was excavated by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition between the causeways about 1915-17 in the Asasif. There was no corroboration for an identification of this tomb with that of Kamose; Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), p. 7, fig. 1.

⁴Above, p. 104-110.

about the group. If the list of objects found is anywhere near complete, this was a modest burial even by the modest standards of Aibre^c Hor. What is known about the superstructure completes this impression (Fig. 66).

By the end of the dynasty, considerable wealth was available for burial with the members of the Royal House. Some points can be made about the weapons from the Ahhotep cache--even their large number is instructive. The standard axe of the Middle Kingdom, the epsilon axe, had given way to the simple trapezoidal lugged plate that was lashed to the haft. The axes of this deposit included one of this type with the fairly broad blade.¹ In addition, a type appeared with a very narrow profile, and very concave sides.² The trapezoidal axe of Egypt had been changed to emphasize the penetrating power of a narrow cutting edge. There was a similar development in daggers. While the fairly broad dagger of earlier times is also present, one narrow type stands out. This has a long, narrow blade with a nearly diamond-shaped section. The hilt is almost nonexistent, but there is a large, circular pommel.³ We shall see the type of blade again in Nubia, and occasionally in Egypt; it probably was used in a special type of fencing which emphasized thrusting rather than cutting. Since the type of blade was especially common in Kerma graves, we should credit them with the development, if not the innovation, of this type of fighting.⁴

A dagger and one axe preserve evidence of influence from another

¹von Bissing, Ein Thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des neuen Reichs (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1900), plate I, actually medium width.

²Ibid., plate III, 1, 4.

³Ibid., plate XII, 20.

⁴Below, p. 560.

direction. The dagger had a rib in the blade decoration in niello with carnivores in the flying gallop pose. Both the type of the pose and the placement on the dagger are Aegean in origin, best seen in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. An axe had an Aegean sphinx represented on it.¹

The cart model with four-spoke wheels is well known. Similar wheels are represented on the stelae of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.²

The cache of jewelry and weapons thus reflects three major types of foreign influence. Each of these has been more or less naturalized to Egypt, however. Perhaps the influences that were least digested of these were from the Aegean.

Major Private Groups

Neferhotep

This tomb group was found in 1860 by Mariette, in the same season as the discovery of the tomb of Nubkheperre^c. It is possible that the two were contemporary. It was described as a rock tomb in Porter and Moss.³ Important finds are a walking stick, faience hippopotamus, ivory wand with mythological animals and a rishi coffin. This last indicates that the tomb was of Seventeenth Dynasty date. It thus reinforces the date for these faience figurines indicated by their occurrence in the tomb of an Intef in the Diraa-Abu-n-Naga.

¹Helene J. Kantor, The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C. (Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, 1947), pp. 63-65, plates XIII, and XIV; von Bissing, Grabfund, plate II. Plate I contains the sphinx.

²von Bissing, Grabfund, plate X.

³Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography I Theban Necropolis Part II; Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries, pp. 604-5.

"Ak Hor"

This collection of objects was found by Vasalli in 1863. It may be the earliest publication of a tomb group in Egypt. The coffin at least has the name of Ak Hor on it; it is of rishi type. There are throwsticks one of which had the name of a son of Seqenenre^c Ta^{co}, a chest of wood and ivory with the name of Minemhet, a stone vessel of Idi, an overseer of prophets from the Old Kingdom, a gameboard and several other objects. There are six objects with names from this collection, with no two names the same. Since the reuse of coffins is known, it would be difficult to justify even calling the coffin the burial of Ak Hor.¹

The Ramesseum

In the course of excavating the Ramesseum, Quibell found a number of shaft tombs, normally with chambers at either end of the rectangular shaft. The shafts themselves frequently opened partly under the walls of the Ramesseum and were askew to the plan, in contrast with later pits.²

Sehetepibre^c

By the name, the tomb should at least be Twelfth Dynasty or

¹Auguste Mariette, Monuments Divers Recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie, pp. 16-17, plate 51. It would hardly be of value to discuss or describe every object that came out of the ruthless pillage of Thebes. For a good list, see Porter and Moss, pp. 605, 611-615, 616, 618-619, and 624-625. The rishi coffin "of so-and-so" p. 625 (MI A photos and Cairo 55189). Of some interest is a faience box of one Nebemiunu with a scene of a lion trampling an antelope and a cartouche of an Ameni (Mariette, Notice des Principaux Monuments [Bulaq, 1864] pp. 207-8.) Porter and Moss credit this to the Twelfth Dynasty as Ameni is short for Amenemhat. It seems far more likely that this Ameni is one of those in the Thirteenth Dynasty such as XIII B Ameni Qemau.

²Quibell, The Ramesseum, pp. 2-3.

later. It was apparently originally of vaulted dromos type, with a long decorated passage built in mud brick leading to a rock-cut chapel with shaft and chambers. It could be either Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty, since we have so little evidence for Thirteenth Dynasty painted tombs for comparison. The general tomb type is the same as that found in the Egypto-Nubian cemeteries of the Second Intermediate Period (Table 57).¹

Tomb with the Semna Dispatches

The papyri found in this tomb indicate that some or all of the contents and probably also the construction of the tomb are to be dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Von Beckerath has compared the Onomasticon to Papyrus Bulaq 18 of Sebekhetep II. Recently, he has dated the archive as a whole to the time of Kha^chetepre^c Sebekhetep V (XIII-25).²

The tomb is a vertical shaft with chambers at the bottom opening from the short sides of the shaft. A heap in the middle of the shaft enclosed a plaster wooden box where the papyri and some reed pens were found. A number of objects were found scattered around.³

There are four ivory wands, and a bronze uraeus imbedded in hair.⁴ An ape and a cat in green faience are of some importance for dating these animals. A faience object compared to some from Giza and El Kab; the interpretation is obvious and needs no discussion. There is also a faience female figurine, similar to one in limestone. A third in wood holds serpents in her hand, and wears lion's ears on her head. An ivory

¹Ibid.

²von Beckerath, Abriss der Geschichte des Alten Ägypten, p. 29.

³Quibell, The Ramesseum, p. 3. ⁴Ibid.

hand and a box with a lion incised on the side complete the list of objects of interest to us.¹

The date of this tomb in the later part of the Eighteenth Century is of some further help in dating the faience objects to this age. It should be clear, however, that the context may have been open earlier or later. We should note that the ivory wands are found in company with the faiences here.²

None of the contents of the other tombs need be discussed here save the lid from another tomb in the cemetery which had the name (. . . wadjtawy), the throne name Sebekhotep III.³

Northampton Excavations

Very little of the material collected by this expedition is relevant to our present inquiry; none of it is well documented. They claimed the discovery of the pyramid of Sebekemsaf (XVII-10), because they found a robbers' tunnel leading to it from the tomb of a Nebamun. Considering the large number of Nebamuns in the cemetery and the even larger number of passages of plunderers, this is not proof or even much of an indication.⁴

¹Ibid.

²Hartwig Altenmüller, Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittel-ägyptens; Eine typologische Untersuchung der sog. "Zaubmesser" des Mittleren Reichs (Munich: NP, 1965); Anna Maria Bisi, "Bastoni Magici inediti del Museo Egizio di Firenze", Revisito degli Studi Orientali, vol. 40 (1965) 177-195.

³Quibell, Ramessum, p. 5, plate XVIII, lower left.

⁴The Marquis of Northampton, Wilhelm Spiegelberg and Percy E. Newberry, Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis During the Winter of 1898-9 (London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1908), pp. 13-15.

Qurna Intact Burial

This group was found by Petrie on a high spur north of the entry to the Valley of the Kings. It is the only intact tomb group published from Thebes of the Seventeenth Dynasty. In many ways it is the most interesting group from Seventeenth Dynasty Thebes.¹

Kerma cups

The nearly conical shape of the Kerma bowls is deceptively similar to the regular type of K III. However, a nearly conical type persisted into K X; these two cups do not have the extremely high polish characteristic of the K III cups. These pots would thus appear to be later than the early Kerma groups, most likely K X in date² (Fig. 186 e - f).

Egyptian jars

The broad, nearly biconical jars are paralleled in later Second Intermediate Period groups at Qau and Kerma and are ancestral to the painted jars with straight necks of the New Kingdom.³

The taller baggy jars have everted or nearly roll-rims. There are similar types in the early New Kingdom. The difference between a jar of this type from the latest Second Intermediate Period (Expulsion) to the earliest New Kingdom is rather subtle, the difference between a baggy and an almost pointed shape.⁴

¹Petrie, Qurneh, pp. 6-10, plates XXII-XXIX.

²Ibid., plate XXII, 24 and XXVIII, 24.

³Ibid., plate XXII, 11-14.

⁴Ibid., 15, 18, 22; see below, p. 219.

Stone vessels

There are two kohl pots which are quite comparable to examples from Kerma, but not too specific in date. The anhydrite or blue marble dish with the monkeys in relief resembles one from Abydos, which this generally dates.¹

Other objects

The coffin is a characteristic rishi type with normal Egyptian headdress.² The headrest is of the same type as those found at Kerma; more were found in the Carter-Carnarvon excavations in mixed contexts.

Although intrinsically extremely interesting, the furniture, baskets, slings and simple jewelry have little to add to the chronology of the deposit.

The deposit clearly shows that Kerma ware occurred in Egypt in native Egyptian contexts as an import. Though the tomb group is large, it is clearly a single burial tomb group. The Egyptian pottery indicates a date near the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

Carter and Carnarvon Excavations in the Asasif

The following tombs were published by Carnarvon and Carter in the volume Five Years' Explorations in Thebes. They are large, often very mixed groups. They have, however, a number of interesting features as the following paragraphs will indicate. There is more than one major point to be derived from them. They have no consistency and no sequence, so their discussion is inevitably disjointed.

¹Ibid., 1, 2, 9.

²Ibid., plate XXII.

Tomb 24

Materials from this tomb were found mixed and robbed, often found in fragments. With eight chambers and long passage, it is also quite large.¹ Near the entry was found a statuette of an Ankh, while in the doorway was a wooden statuette of an unknown woman.²

In the hallway were two faience bowls, one hemispherical, with indented rim and lotus decoration, the other with an offering formula. Nearby were portions of an alabaster bowl, faience pendant and the forepart of a faience hippopotamus. There was a substantial amount of jewelry in addition to the usual mummy beads.³

Pottery of interest from this tomb includes a stand, platter and jar painted in white, a tall jar with tapered neck, salad mixer, two small jars painted in red, black and yellow,⁴ convex bag jars, flared collar jar and a vertical-sided hemispherical bowl. Two pottery trays are subdivided into compartments. These last appear to be developed forms of the tray found in the tomb of Senebtisi. The flared-neck jar, with its long body, seems to be a very late form of the Thirteenth Dynasty type discussed at Riqqa and Haraga (Fig. 41). The hemispherical cup with straight side is the type found at Tell ed-Dab^ea (Fig. 10 a - d). The polychrome painted jar may be related to the painted decoration at Kerma.

While the small objects, other than the hippopotamus, may be less than distinctive in date, the pottery clearly belongs to an age

¹Carnarvon and Carter, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes, pp. 51-52.

²Ibid., plate XLIV, 1, 3.

³Ibid., plate XLIV, 2.

⁴Ibid., pp. 53-4, plate XLVII.

when the Middle Kingdom forms of the Thirteenth Dynasty were giving way to those of the Hyksos Age. Though we have no Theban sequence to which this can be compared, a late Thirteenth Dynasty to early Seventeenth Dynasty date seems clear for the group.

Tomb 25

This shaft tomb with chambers is also a large mixed group of many burials. Latest of these, in the shaft, was that of Renseneb, found in a coffin with cartonnage mask, beads, mirror and faience hippopotamus wrapped in the bandages.¹ Remains of a toilet box from the entrance to the southern chamber give a terminus post quem for the burial above, probably the tomb generally. The top was inscribed with the name of Amenemhat IV. The front had the same name garbled (\overline{N} M₃^c hrw-R^c) with a representation of a ritual scene. Though a garbled text may come from the reign of this ruler, it would be more likely later; the burial, complete with hippopotamus, was made after the tomb had suffered some pillage and should be still later.²

Pottery included a globular flared-neck jar and hemispherical cups as seen in the Thirteenth Dynasty groups at Haraga (Fig. 54). There is also a large bowl with broad rim band like the bowls of Neferuptah. Small baggy jars with flared rims are present as at Tell ed-Dab^a. One lid resembled those found at Kerma (Fig. 194).

Tombs 31-34

These tombs were a series of interconnecting chambers. They

¹Ibid., p. 55, plate LI, 1.

²Ibid., p. 56. Note also the famous gaming board. They discuss an example in pottery from Illahun town.

contained dug-out and Rishi coffins and scattered pottery. This last includes the flared-neck jar and tall-sided hemispherical cup like those of tomb 24.¹

Tomb 29 A and B

Tomb 29 proper was actually three tombs. It contained three dug-out anthropoid coffins. Tomb 29 B contained parts of furniture and a cartonnage mask. Pottery includes the convex bag jar, remains of a vase that resembled the hes jar and a hemispherical bowl with nearly sinuous side. There is a globular jar with a lid. The bag jar and the hemispherical cup with sinuous side indicate that the date is similar to that of tomb 24.²

Tomb 37

This tomb is a multi-chambered portico tomb.³ It was clearly constructed long before its final use. It was finally built over by the Hatshepsut causeway. The date when this tomb was closed in the reign of Hatshepsut thus becomes one of the few termini ante quem in our inquiry. Since the tomb is largely New Kingdom in date, its discussion will be brief.

One of the chambers was almost certainly sealed in the reign of Thutmose I, as the seal claimed.⁴ Though it was a fairly large group with many burials and little pottery, it contained no imports.

¹Ibid., plate LIII, 2.

²Ibid., p. 61, plate LIII, 5. Stelae with such names as Iymeru, Sihather and Sebekhocep were found. See also page 63.

³Ibid., plates XXX and LV.

⁴Ibid., p. 65.

Two areas, chamber B and hall C, seem to have been filled rather rapidly in a rush to be buried under the causeway. Burials found quite deep in the shaft contained the name of Thutmose III which indicate that very little time elapsed between the first burials and the last in this enormous group (burial 53).¹

Imports include a few Base-Ring I and lustrous black globular juglets of the Late Bronze Age. Burial 59 had a Base Ring juglet in the coffin, with scarabs with the names of Thutmose I and II. Burial 78 had two more. Burial 63 from chamber E below pit D had a black lustrous juglet.

Native pottery from B, E and G was of normal New Kingdom types, and can be taken as a group from the time of Hatshepsut, with other chambers less reliable.

It should be clear from this group that coffins of types called Thirteenth Dynasty, Seventeenth Dynasty and New Kingdom were all in use during the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Whether they were being manufactured at this time is another matter. Rectangular coffins had the terminals characteristic of Senebtisi, but with higher arches or secondarily a flat top. They might have fancy false door decoration on the outside or they might be plain. Burial 78, with Base Ring I juglets, had a plain rectangular coffin.²

Rishi coffins were also in use in the New Kingdom. Burial 63 contained the black lustrous juglet.³ Coffin 59, of this type, contained objects with the names of Thutmose I and II. Variants of the Rishi

¹Ibid., plate LXXII.

²Ibid.

³If the type is Late Bronze Age, it must indicate that the burial was made in the New Kingdom.

coffin were manufactured in the early New Kingdom for the royal burials; Meritamun had such a coffin.¹

The newer type of anthropoid coffin was already being manufactured, decorated with simple bands on a light ground; examples were found in the chamber sealed by Thutmose I.²

The Tomb of Yuy

The tomb of this vizier was cleared by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition. Objects from the tomb included a number of fragments and a statuette of hardwood. Three coffins were found, one of which had been a gilded rishi coffin inscribed with Yuy's name and titles. Near the entrance to this tomb were found two examples of Early Yehudiyya ware. One was a theriomorph, a well-made goose. The second was a double juglet, with lotus and running s-scroll decoration.³ It would be difficult to claim that Yuy had anything to do with these juglets. He could be taken as a terminus post quem for the juglets, since it would be difficult to consider them earlier than the construction of his tomb. Since his coffin was a rishi type, and his burial was at Thebes, he must at least be associated with the Seventeenth Dynasty in date.⁴ This does not rule out the possibility that these little vases were re-deposited, abandoned plunder from some earlier tomb. As a terminus post

¹Carnarvon and Carter, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes, plate LXXII.

²Ibid.

³Wm. C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt; Part II, The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom 1675-1808 B.C. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 58, fig. 28.

⁴Ibid., pp. 56-57.

quem, this occurrence supplements that of Kerma, but it is unimportant and relatively unreliable in comparison to that high quality context.

Summary: Chronological Evidence from Thebes

Dealing with the archaeology of Thebes in the Second Intermediate Period is necessarily most difficult for both researcher and reader. The material is scattered and mixed. Some points, valuable for our later discussion, have been derived.

The date of faience statuettes, especially hippopotami in the later Thirteenth Dynasty and the earlier Hyksos Age, can be fairly well settled on the basis of the occurrences in the tomb of (Nubkheperre^c ?) Intef in the Diraa Abu-n-Naga, the tomb of the Semna Dispatches and tomb 25. They belong to the later Eighteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. As said above, there were none in the large groups that resembled the tomb of Senebtisi. We have seen them frequently here, and will see them again at Kerma in the Seventeenth Century. Since they occur in the deposit from the pro-cella of the Obelisk Temple at Byblos, they will also date the end of a major phase of the Middle Bronze Age.

The history of coffins is somewhat further elucidated by the Theban material. The simple rectangular coffin gave way to a simple arched type with rectangular terminals by the time of Senebtisi and Nubhetepti-khered (with a simple arched type intervening in the burials of Ita and Khnemit). After Neferhotep (Wah-Neferhotep), the coffin obtained a truly high arch and elaborate panelled decoration which it kept off and on throughout the Hyksos Age into the New Kingdom. Making the arched lid requires skill and care; sometime, the flat lid was re-introduced, but it retained the terminals which betrayed its secondary origin. The rectangular coffin was often undecorated at this time.

The inner anthropoid coffin made a rare appearance by the end of the Middle Kingdom at Rifa and Meir; by the time of Senebtisi, it was rather elaborate, and at least sometimes gilded. The first rishi coffin we can date was that of Nubkheperre^c. This type with gilding was used at least for royalty and high officials. Sometime before the reign of Herherma^c at Intef, the painted rishi coffin appeared. On the bottom of the coffin there were sometimes painted scenes as though the coffin was intended to take the place of the entire tomb and chapel of earlier times. The rishi coffin was common at Thebes. Coffins were rarely preserved elsewhere; they are, however, occasionally mentioned. None were definitely of rishi type. The forms mentioned from Qau are rectangular. We cannot be certain at this time that the rishi coffin was a type used only at Thebes.

CHAPTER V

ABYDOS

Like Thebes, Abydos is very complex in this period. Under consideration here are Garstang's cemetery E, Peet's cemeteries B, O and D, and Randall-MacIver's cemetery D.

As in Thebes, there were serious problems with mixing in this material, since many of the shafts had several chambers with many burials. Further, relatively little pottery has been published from these tombs, so a connected sequence is not available. We must often be satisfied with very general dates.

Pottery Groups of the Late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties

There are very few pottery groups of this general period. Peet's D 111 contains three pots, including one similar to the water pot at Haraga, but with the small rolled rim.¹

From Garstang's Cemetery E, two groups deserve notice, E 311 and E 319 (Fig. 72). Group E 311 contains a flared-neck jar and a stand with rolled rim base, regular profile and simple closed bowl. E 319 contains two similar stands. These are probably later than Haraga A, probably B.²

¹T. Eric Peet. Cemeteries of Abydos III, EEF Memoir 35 (London: EEF, 1914), plate V, 28-30. The water jars resemble the BSAE 41 m type with rope marks, but no slip. This group is probably earlier than the Armant group; below, pp. 175-177.

²Above, p. 118; Figs, 49, 53.

Groups of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the
Hyksos Age

The relative paucity of pottery groups from the Thirteenth Dynasty and Hyksos Age at Abydos has two possible explanations. Garstang excavated necropolises of this date and was not too interested in the publication of pottery. Pottery may not have been too popular in these groups as we shall see.¹ Like other materials from Abydos, the Tomb Groups from Cemetery E were largely mixed; no tomb can be taken to represent a very specific date.

The earliest dated object from the cemetery is the stela of Khusebek. This individual's career is well known from the time of Senwosret III. The stela was found in tomb E 11 on the Eastern or Nile side of the cemetery. Other inscribed objects included a variety of names characteristic of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Hyksos Age.

E 102

In addition to the two groups discussed above from the Thirteenth Dynasty, there is one major group of pottery from the Hyksos Age, E 102 (Fig. 71, Table 57). The biconical jars from this tomb are similar to those from the intact burial at Thebes, as are the bag-shaped jars with everted rims.³ There are potstands with a single rolled rim, which we shall see later at Rifa (Fig. 102 a and b). One polished red jar may reflect continued use of the tomb in the New Kingdom.

¹While tombs of this period are of frequent occurrence in the various volumes of the Abydos excavations, materials of this period appeared primarily in Garstang's Cemetery E, partially published in El Arabah, BSAE, vol. 6 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1901), and mostly unpublished, as the projected volume "Thousand Tombs at Abydos" was never completed.

²Garstang, El Arabah, pp. 40-43.

³Above, p. 157.

E 282

Tomb 282 contained a mask, flared-cylindrical stone jar and a cylinder seal with seven lobes. This has the names of Senwosret I and III and Amenemhat III.¹

E 108

Tomb 108 contained one of the most important groups from Abydos. This is a group of jewelry found in the southern chamber of a shaft tomb. It includes a set of electrum cowrie shells, two ribbed bracelets of gold, gold shell pectoral,² two fishes with bodies of feldspar set in gold and a scarab with the name of Chancellor Har. There is also an electrum cylindrical charm case which was made to contain a piece of papyrus (found inside). A second scarab has a "scroll pattern" and hieroglyphs. Beads include blue glaze, garnet and amethyst.³

Other tombs

Other tombs are similar; jewelry and objects were published, but only unusual pieces of pottery. E 45 contained three undisturbed burials of similar date. Cylindrical stone vessels of limestone and serpentine, kohl pots, glaze, garnet and amethyst beads, two scarabs, mirror, palette, gold disc and two tooth pendants were found.⁴ Two statuettes were also present.

Tomb E 10 contained a bag-shaped late Yehudiyya ware jug, and

¹Garstang, El Arabah, plates IV, XIV.

²Ibid., frontispiece. There is a shell pendant of this type in E 230. The jewelry of the Middle Kingdom deposits included many such shell pendants.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 5, plate III.

incised ivory wand, a stone figurine of a monkey holding a jar and two kohl pots.¹ The use of tomb most likely extended into the New Kingdom.

Though they were not large groups, E 243, 156 and 320 are of interest because they contained daggers with narrow profiles and elongate pommels (Fig. 75, c - e). We have already discussed the example from the Ahhotep treasure at Thebes. These have less exaggerated profiles than the classic dagger of Kerma type, but are clearly related to it, as is the Ahhotep dagger.²

Without pottery contexts, we can merely say that the material we have not discussed is from the Second Intermediate Period. Most of the groups we have discussed had to be dated from comparative materials elsewhere.

Placing Khu-Sebek and tomb 30, possibly tomb 281, at the head of the sequence, many of the stone vessels and all of the faïences may be put in the Thirteenth Dynasty and early Hyksos Age. The group of jewelry that contained the name of Chancellor Har must be at least Thirteenth Dynasty in date.

Later Garstang Excavations

Some later excavations by Garstang were to be published in a volume called "A Thousand Tombs at Abydos". Though the publication never appeared, three important groups have been at least partly published.

E 416

The most important of these was tomb E 416.³ This tomb was in

¹Ibid., plate XVII. ²Ibid.; see above p. 152, fig. 118.

³John Garstang, "Note on a Vase of Minoan Fabric from Abydos

fact a group of six tombs dug side by side, consisting of shafts and chambers so close together that the partition walls had been broken down. The tomb contained a cylindrical bead with the names of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, in faience.

The tomb as a whole contained a remarkable collection of beads, mirror (with handle), rectangular palettes, stone vessels of schist, anhydrite, and alabaster in the shapes well known at this time, the tapered cylindrical jar, squat kohl jar and baggy jar. The group also contained limestone models and fanciful faience figurines which included lions, hedgehogs, cats, apes and a hippopotamus.¹

The third chamber contained a slate mortar, diorite mortar, kohl jar, faience "Draughtsman holder" and fragments of a Kamares ware vessel. Except for the latter, remains from this chamber are similar to those from the rest of the tomb.²

The object with the name of Amenemhat III would indicate by itself an Eighteenth Century date. The faience figurines, on the other hand, refine this date considerably, since they do not occur before the later part of the same century.³ The Kamares jar is thus to be dated in the later Eighteenth or earlier Seventeenth Centuries.

E 694

Two more important tombs from this cemetery were published by Emery.⁴ These were tombs 694 and 524, and they contained Kerma ware.

(Egypt)", Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 5 (1913) 107-111, plates XIII-XIV.

¹Ibid., plate XIV. ²Ibid., pp. 107-9. ³Above, pp. 113-115.

⁴W. B. Emery, "Two Nubian Graves of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos" LAAA, 10 (1923), 33-35, plates VII-VIII.

we have already seen some examples of Kerma ware in a clearly native Egyptian context at Thebes. A few more will be cited below. These tombs, with one tomb at Abadiya, are the only ones that have been discovered that may be Kerma burials in Egypt.

Tomb 694 was the earlier of the two. It contained eleven Kerma beakers with sinuous or nearly straight sides and very high polish. A second Kerma type was the spouted jar with ribbed neck and long, straight spout.¹ This Kerma pottery may be related to the earliest tumulus of the Kerma cemetery, K III. Egyptian pottery included a large bag-shaped jar with angled-out collar and ovoid jar with straight collar. There was a stone kohl vase and a baggy stone jar with ribbed rim (Fig. 175 q - t).

The grave was a key element of the identification. The photograph shows part of a roughly rectangular shaft with two bodies in contracted position. At least one of them appears to have had the hands close to the face. Since the tomb was undisturbed, the burials must have been simultaneous, the one a main, the other a sacrifice burial of classic Kerma type.²

E 524

The second tomb, 524, was much later. There were five Kerma pots published, including four beakers. The finish was cited as duller than that of the beakers from 694. Two of the beakers had almost trapezoidal shapes with nearly carinated flattened bases. A third had a bell

¹Ibid., plate VIII, figs. 178 and 179 contain beakers, fig. 188 illustrates a number of spouts, but not the ribbed neck.

²Ibid., plate VII, 2; see below p. 575.

shape, but with nearly vertical side.¹ These shapes are characteristic of K X at Kerma. The amount of flare in the flat-based beakers is not constant from base to rim as in K XVI; the earliest possible date for the group is K IV (Figs. 182-183). As at Abadiya, there was no information on the burial, but the large number of Kerma pots in one place may well indicate the presence of a Kerma tomb.

Other Materials

Only a few more pieces need to be cited from this confused site at this time.

From Randall-MacIver's cemetery D came a wand with the cartouche of a Sebkai, otherwise unknown.² A group from D 94 has masks, scribal palette, kohl jar, a stone figurine of a harper, and a sherd of Kerma ware.

From cemetery B came an example of Early Yehudiyya ware in B 13.³ Kerma beakers of early type were found in tomb O 4, with faience vessels and a jar.

There are, further, several pottery groups of some importance from Abydos. These are to be dated to the latest Second Intermediate Period. Since materials of that date in Upper Egypt are dependent on the mass of materials from Qau for comparisons, the discussion of these groups⁴ follows that of Qau and Badari.

¹W. B. Emery, "Two Nubian Graves of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos", LAAA, 10 (1923), 33-35, plate VII, 1.

²D. Randall-MacIver and A. C. Mace, El Amrah and Abydos special extra publication of the EEF, (London: EEF, 1902), tomb D, 78.

³T. E. Peet, The Cemeteries of Abydos II, EEF Memoir 34 (London: EEF, 1914), plate XIII, 8.

⁴Below, p. 211-212.