

CHAPTER VI

UPPER EGYPT FROM THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY

Though many sites in Upper Egypt produced materials of this period, there were only three sites where even a very flawed sequence could be assembled, Kubaniyya, Tell Edfu and Qau. Elsewhere, the materials were as fragmentary as they were at Thebes and Abydos. There is one fixed point, however, at Armant, where two large tomb groups were well published (Table 57).

Armant

Two large tomb groups from Armant were almost certainly contemporary with Haraga A. They demonstrate the types in use in Upper Egypt at the end of the Twelfth and in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Tomb 1213 was a multi-chamber tomb possibly with a shallow shaft or dromos. The chambers led north and south from a passage or corridor. In tomb 1214 four pillars supported the roof.¹

Although there are some minor differences between the two groups which permit us to say that one is earlier than the other, they are so similar that we will generally deal with them together.

Though the materials all generally agree with the Haraga Group A date of the tombs, certain materials are especially important for the

¹Sir Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, Cemeteries of Armant I, Egypt Exploration Society Memoirs, vol. 42 (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), plate VI.

synchronism. These include the carinated cups with vertical stripes, found in both tombs (Fig. 75 e), as well as the simple stand with convex bowl and rolled-over rim (Fig. 76 n). There is also a strainer lid present. Potstands with single and double rolled rims were found (Fig. 76 h-m), while tall miniatures with the bulge in the center are also characteristic (Fig. 76 e - f).

Other pots are less specifically dated to Haraga A, though they are common in both A and B. Large bowls are mostly convex, with round bases (Fig. 74). A few have flat bases and one has a disc. A few are slightly sinuous. They often have a pink coating. Some tend to have tapered bodies and pointed bases; this tendency was reflected in some of the hemispherical bowls as well.

Carinated bowls, with flat or disc bases, often have concave vertical sides. Some have the rim bent outward (Fig. 75 a - d).

The larger water pots have pointed bases, ovoid or biconical bodies, and cylindrical or flared necks with rolled or everted rims (Fig. 75 h - j). In 1213, the jars tend to have short straight necks, while they are longer and flared in 1214.

A number of the open bowls or platters are painted. All but one are from 1214 (Fig. 77). The patterns consist of rim bands of paint with spokes of lines or dots, arranged in squares, circles or rows; there is one different pattern. The sole decorated dish from 1213 contains irregular rows of dots and a bunch of them at the center.

Tomb 1213 also contains an incised pot with a pendant triangle filled with lines (Fig. 77 k).

This group of decorated pots remains unique. It does not affect the date of these tomb groups which is established by very specific

comparisons with materials from Haraga. The jars especially are limited to the Late Middle Kingdom water pot type; there are neither earlier nor later types intermixed.

Though these water pots were not of much help in the comparisons with Haraga, they have some parallels in Upper Egypt. The shorter water jar with ovoid profile belongs to 1213; it will be seen later at Kubaniyya in group B there.¹ Longer necked examples are found in C.

The bowls painted with spots occurred mainly in 1214. Painted spots will be seen later (Fig. 70 c). These distinct features give an order to this pair of tombs and the sequence at the end of the Middle Kingdom in Upper Egypt.²

Kubaniyya

Materials were found at Kubaniyya that closely resembled those of Armant. These came from cemeteries at both Kubaniyya South and North as well as materials from the so-called Mischgruppe of Kubaniyya South.³

¹Below, p. 179.

²Mond and Myers, Cemeteries of Armant I, p. 34. Of interest generally, but not discussed here, were a stele, offering table, and alabaster pot or traces of coffins from 1213. Contained in 1214 was a mirror; plate XIV below, and a statuette. There were also clay offering tables, plate XXII.

³Hermann Junker, Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhofen von El-Kubanieh--Süd Winter 1910-1911, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 62 Band 3 (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1919) pp. 159-209, including figures 79-84 on pages 178-182, plates XL-L and register pages 194-209; Herman Junker, Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhofen von El-Kubanieh--Nord Winter 1910-1911, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 64, Band 3 (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1920) pp. 108-128 (Mischgruppe), 129-60, Middle Kingdom, plates 8-16 and 21-24. The register for the Mischgruppe is on p. 123-28. That for the Middle Kingdom is on pp. 152-160. Citations will be made henceforth only by tomb number. These are in three elements, the prefix 14-17 are from El Kubanieh-Nord. Those from 22 to 29 from El Kubanieh-Süd.

As with the Armant groups, these groups have some internal differences which must be taken into account. They may however be treated together as a local entity. Perhaps the most difficult problem to be faced in dealing with these groups is a certain weakness in the classification, as different types were treated by Junker under one designation.¹

The Cemeteries

The tomb type used predominantly in both Kubaniyya South and North was a rectangular shaft, sometimes with a shelf for roofing.² Shafts with loculi are rarer.³ Brick tombs built in a shaft occur with flat⁴ or vaulted roofs. These have low shafts at the end. One of these has the latest contents in the series, 24.t.6. Another, from Kubaniyya North, is earlier, from the contents (14.1.1). We have, therefore, evidence that the brick vault set into a shaft with a smaller shaft for access is continuous throughout Dynasty XIII. We should note that the C-Group I B-II A cemetery adopted first the stone cist (also seen in the Mischgruppe⁵), then the brick vault set into a shaft. These burial types are unique in the sense that they were intended to accommodate single individuals. Most other chamber tombs of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period contain large chambers or many chambers intended to be used for several burials. In some cases, we have noted chambers in several stories. While there is no final proof in the case

¹Junker, El Kubanieh-Sud, fig. 78, p. 178.

²Ibid., figs. 65-7, pp. 163-4. ³Ibid., fig. 72, p. 169.

⁴Ibid., fig. 68-71, pp. 164-9.

⁵Junker, El Kubanieh-Nord, plate 8, fig. 62 and 64.

of Kubaniyya South, Kubaniyya North seems to be partly Nubian, partly Egyptianized Nubian, as seen in the New Kingdom in Nubia itself.¹ The single burial tombs at Kubaniyya South are probably also either Egyptianized Nubians or under Nubian influence.²

The Twelfth Dynasty: group A

Two tombs are earlier than the main groups of both cemeteries, 13.n.5a (Kubaniyya North) and 24.r.10 (Kubaniyya South). Both contain jugs with rope decoration.³ These have ovoid bodies, short, straight necks and thickened or rolled rims. The tombs also contained red polished sherds and "green polished" respectively.

The end of the Twelfth and beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty: group B

The next stage is represented entirely at Kubaniyya North and is the main period of the "Middle Kingdom" cemetery there. The tombs included are 14.1.1 (with a vault), 15.j.3, 13.n.4, 12.1.5 and Mischgruppe tombs 16.k.6 and 16.j.7.

The water pot, type I, has no rope decoration, remaining the same as before in other respects. There are, perhaps, other jars of type II. No miniature vessels were clearly shown to be part of the group.

Tomb 14.1.1 will serve to illustrate this group. It contained five type I red water pots, five large bowls, probably including the

¹See below, Nubia p. 533, Table 17, Figs. 151-152.

²Junker, El Kubanieh-Sud, plate XL-XLII, compare with those of note 6.

³Ibid., fig. 78, third from left--rope marks are not universal.

two with wavy rims.¹ Two smaller bowls of type VIII with wavy rim and incised wavy line decoration were found.²

The mid-to-late Thirteenth
Dynasty 1: group C

The next stage was the main period of Kubaniyya South, with perhaps some tombs from Kubaniyya North, though none could be clearly specified. Assigned to the group were 24.o.1, 29.o.1, 28.p.1, 29.p.5 and 28.q.2. The most important characteristic of the group is the water pot with long flared neck,³ clearly similar to those in Armant 1214. The repertoire has remained quite simple. The jugs, large round bowls and carinated cups make up the group.⁴ Though the miniatures, stands and decorated pots of Armant are absent, the known vessels are precisely similar.

The mid-to-late Thirteenth
Dynasty 1: group D

This group is made up of the later groups of Kubaniyya South and two groups from Kubaniyya North, 27.p.1 and 29.p.1, possibly 25.o.5. From Kubaniyya South came 13.m.8, 11.j.3, 16.k.3 (Mischgruppe) and 14.f.1.

There is an increased diversity in this group, possibly because of some mixture. A red-to-black ware is introduced in the Mischgruppe and a light grey ware also appears. The type I water pot from Kubaniyya

¹Ibid., plate 15, 16.

²Junker, El Kubanieh-Nord, plate 11, 87.

³Junker, El Kubanieh-Sud, fig. 78, p. 178.

⁴Ibid., fig. 80, p. 179.

South group C continues as does the carinated cups. One cup has scrubbed decoration.

New shapes are the globular pot with wide mouth and rolled rim of red ware,¹ and the flared-neck jug of grey ware.²

Tomb 24.t.1 possibly belongs to this group. It contains a grey bowl, red carinated cup and some unspecified sherds, with scarabs, various beads and an ivory needle. It also contains a cylinder with the name of Amenemhat III.

Later tombs: group E

Group E is less a group than a collection of tombs that are probably later than D.

Tomb 26.3.2 from Kubaniyya South contains a flared-neck water pot and a grey bowl with a knob and incised decoration in lozenges, as well as a light band at the rim.

Tomb 23.r.1, also from Kubaniyya South, contains a small flat plate, a globular or carinated (type I) bowl and a white-slipped stand with curved profile and rolled rim on the base.³

Tomb 16.k.3 from Kubaniyya North is possibly a mixed group. It contained a small cup with carination, two rounded red bowls of types II and III, sherds of a red to black jug, and a jar, called type I, but with four lugs instead of a roll at the rim and two wavy lines on the shoulder.

¹Junker, El Kubanieh-Sud, fig. 81; Junker, El Kubanieh-Nord, p. 180, BSAE type 33.

²Junker, El Kubanieh-Sud, fig. 83 a, 28.r.3; see below p. 189.

³Above, p. 176.

Tomb 24.t.6

One vaulted tomb contained materials so unique that it must be classified alone, probably at the end of the sequence. The pots are two pedestal bowls of "grey ware" with vertical rims. They had bases which are imitations of stands and alternating knobs and vertical lugs between the kink and the rim. The type will be seen again at El Kab (Fig. 87 o).

While there are some problems with the classification of these groups, they seem to be correlated with the Armant groups, B with Armant 1213 and C with 1214. D and E must be later, possibly lasting to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Tell Edfu

Excavations were carried out on the tell at Edfu by a Franco-Polish expedition in the late thirties. They were partially published in a series of three rather elaborate preliminary reports. Work was cut short by the war, during which records and most remains were mislaid or destroyed.¹ Though the reports were fairly detailed, containing many

¹B. Bruyère, J. Manteuffel, K. Michalowski and J. Sainte Fare Garnot, Fouilles Franco-Polonaises; Rapports; I; Tell Edfou 1937 (Cairo: Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale, 1937); K. Michalowski, J. de Linage, J. Manteuffel, J. Sainte Fare Garnot, Fouilles Franco-Polonaises; II; Tell Edfou 1938 (two fascicles) (Cairo: Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale, 1938)--pottery is on pp. 58-105 and figs. 29-158, the description of tombs is on pages 183-196, tomb groups from this volume were partly assembled from the list of object proveniences, partly from the tomb descriptions; K. Michalowski, Ch. Desroches, J. de Lineage, J. Manteuffel, M. Zejmo-Zejmis, Fouilles Franco-Polonaises; Rapports: III; Tell Edfou 1939 (Cairo: Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale, 1950) pp. 61-100 give tomb descriptions, 247-266 pottery, figs. 147-167 illustrate pottery. As in Tell Edfou, 1938, groups were partly assembled from the descriptions of tombs, but primarily from the object descriptions. See Michalowski et. al., Tell Edfou, 1939, plate I and II for plans of tombs. Henceforth tombs will be cited only by number.

reconstructible groups, there are some problems.

First, the excavations did not clearly distinguish reuse in the tombs. Many of them are seriously mixed. Second, the style of drawing was considerably different than that used by the BSAE, which leads to some confusion. Finally, different scales were used for different pots. Large vessels were published at one to five, smaller pots at two to five, and the smallest miniatures at one to one or one to two.

The Cemetery

Since the circumstances in which the groups were found are obscure, we can only remark upon the tomb structures themselves. Most of these were brick structures, probably intended for many burials. Two examples of shaft and chamber tombs were noted, very irregularly excavated.¹ The brick tombs correspond to the El Kab early Twelfth Dynasty tombs and brick-built tombs in the Delta (Kom el Hisn).²

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

Tombs assigned to this group are NO1 XXIII, XXXIII, No. XX, XXXVIII, XXXIV, XXVIII and XXXIII-IV (Figs. 78-79).

The first group to be discussed from the Tell Edfu excavations corresponds to the materials of Neferuptah and other Hawara groups in the It-tawy area. The water jar with short neck, rolled or bevelled rim occurs frequently in these groups as it did in Armant 1213 and Kubaniyya B. In addition, there is a tall-necked water jar with biconical body. Some chronological relationship with Hawara is attested by the ovoid jar

¹Michalowski et. al., Tell Edfou, 1939, plate II, XV and XXI. There are others less clear.

²Above, pp. 48-49.

with flared neck and wide, flattened rim.

There are flat-based small jars, sometimes with the broad rim of the Neferuptah group (Fig. 78 i), and larger jars with biconical body and less pronounced rim (Fig. 78 j).

Round based bowls or platters are wholly convex, not sinuous (Fig. 78 b, c).

Stands are present as at Armant (Fig. 79 f). One barrel-shaped jar has incised ornament (Fig. 79 f).

The mid-to-late Thirteenth
Dynasty: group B

Group B consists of tombs N01 XI-XII, XXVII, LIII, XXIII, XXXIV, XL, VIII and XXXIII (Figs. 80-81).

The most significant new introduction in this group is the "salad mixer" type jar (Fig. 80 j and l). The tapered jar appears here, later than in the North (Fig. 80 k).¹ Similar types with round or pointed bases (Fig. 81 a and b) occur, but there is some problem with the classification or the drawing. They could be Hyksos Age types whose presence here is due to mixing (Fig. 103 s).

Several types of water pots occur in this group. One (Fig. 81 d) probably owes its presence here to mixing.² The others include the flared-neck type (Fig. 81 g) and type with tall, straight neck that is brought up from the body in a smooth curve (Fig. 81 f). This type appears at Buhen in a dated context after Neferhotep I.³ Hemispherical bowls

¹BSAE 67 series.

²Above p. 53 for this type in the early Middle Kingdom.

³Below, pp. 601-602.

occur one with ribbed rim (Fig. 80 b, c), and carinated cups (Fig. 80 d-f). These are represented with pedestal type bases as in El Kab (Fig. 187 b).

Two different types of barrel shaped jars with incised decoration were cited (Fig. 80 g and h). One has holes below the rim (Fig. 80 g). One vessel, probably with a similar function, was a tripod pyxis with irregular combed decoration (Fig. 80 i).

The phase of the conquest: group C 1

Tombs assigned to C 1 are No I XVI, V, X, XLIX, IV, Vb.

If the previous group parallels the material from Buhen K 8¹ after the time of Neferhotep I, C 1 ends in the Hyksos Age, about the time of the Kerma tombs. This group is, however, plagued by many admixtures from earlier times (Fig. 82 j and k for example).

Tall ovoid jars appear with flared necks (Fig. 82 n); these do not occur in Middle Kingdom and Thirteenth Dynasty groups, but there are similar jars found at Kerma (Fig. 196). A baggy jar is present due to either admixture from the New Kingdom (Fig. 82 i) or to misclassification. Some small jars with wide, nearly biconical bodies (Fig. 82 d) preseege those of Kerma (Fig. 234 g) and the later Hyksos Age.

Later tombs: group E 2

Tombs assigned to C 2 are No. XXIII-XXV, XXIX, (XIII-XIV-XVI, XXVIII-IX XLV).

This group is, if anything, open to greater mixture than any of the previous groups. The latest tombs to remain open in this group,

¹Below, pp. 601-602.

really a subgroup, are NO XXIII-V, XXIX and XIII-XIV-XVI and XXVIII-XXIX. These contain a baggy jar with roll-rim and horizontal incision (Fig. 84 b). The tapered drop-shaped pot (Fig. 84 c) and alabastron as well as the hes-type jar may also belong. The water pots (Fig. 84 g - i) are all earlier.

Summary: The Sequence at Tell Edfu

There is considerable confusion in these groups at Tell Edfu. This confusion increased during the course of the Second Intermediate Period, as the earlier tombs had later and later burials added. There is some materials from all of the tombs that probably belonged to Groups A and B. Tombs assigned to the later period, C really only contained material of that period; the structures did not originate in that period.

The general date of the important groups, A and B, has been based upon parallels from the tomb of Neferuptah and from a tomb of Neferuptah and from a tomb at Buhen to be discussed below. We may seek only a general corroboration from the fact that a number of stelae firmly or generally dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty came from Tell Edfu, probably this area of the mound.¹

¹In addition to the pottery discussed here, both these sites have well known Second Intermediate Period connections.

The Thirteenth Dynasty materials at Tell Edfu, though not specifically connected to the pottery groups called Thirteenth Dynasty here, are considerable and show that there was much material of that date in the area. Porter and Moss list seven clearly dated objects with ten others identified as Thirteenth Dynasty, two almost certainly from Hyksos times and numerous Twelfth Dynasty objects. These last are less certainly dated than the Thirteenth Dynasty objects. B Porter and R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, vol. V. Upper Egypt, Sites (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1937) pp. 203-205.

El Kab

Had the groups from the Late Middle Kingdom cemetery at El Kab been reconstructible to any great extent, most of the problems of the Thirteenth Dynasty sequence in Upper Egypt would have been solved. Systematic research on the materials of the site now in the Petrie collection may in future add much to our knowledge.

We have already noted the dromos type tomb with brick arches characteristic of the early Middle Kingdom cemetery inside the wall. Outside, the later Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty cemetery was a group of shafts with chambers at either short side.¹

A few interesting objects may still be cited and related to materials from Tell Edfu and Kubaniyya.

Larger carinated bowls with wavy rims (Fig. 87 j - l) occur in Kubaniyya groups.² Flat based jars with straight necks may also be related to developments in the Twelfth Dynasty farther north (Fig. 88 c, d, j - m, Fig. 30 a) as could the hes type jars with no spout (Fig. 87 n - p).

The water pot with flared neck and painted or incised bands and lugs at the rim (Fig. 89 b, d, e undecorated Fig. 91) are surely to be paralleled by the example with lugs at the rim from Kubaniyya. The latter is simpler and perhaps typologically earlier (88 parallels the Kubaniyya jar closely). In two cases, jars of this type had C-Group decoration (Fig. 89 a and c--the drawing does not do justice to the creamy surface and excelled execution of 89 a).

¹J. E. Quibell, El Kab, BSAE, vol. 3 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898) 14-15, plates V, X and XIV-XVII, give the pottery and objects, Plate I for the tomb plans.

²Above, pp. 179-180.

There were other important Thirteenth Dynasty materials, such as the lug-footed pyxis (Fig. 87 i).¹ The footed bowl with incision and lugs is an important parallel to the latest examples from Kubaniyya (Fig. 131 o). In addition there were fruitstands (Fig. 92m) and barrel-shaped jars.

Pots of lesser cultural interest provide important evidence that the date of this cemetery did extend from the Twelfth Dynasty into the Hyksos Age. Water pots resemble those of Haraga A as well as those of the Armant tombs (Fig. 91). There are several examples of the salad mixer type (Fig. 92 d-g), as well as tapered jars of the BSAE 67 series (Fig. 89 g) and jars with flared necks (Fig. 90 j-1). There were drop shaped pots (Fig. 90 b-d, f) that were of types that continue into the Hyksos Age.

Pottery with important connections to the latest Thirteenth Dynasty and the Hyksos Age includes hemispherical cups with straight sides (Fig. 87 f, g), one with incisions below the rim, convex bag jar (Fig. 89 f), and baggy jar with roll rim (Fig. 88 f).

Though the materials from El Kab cannot be assembled into groups, individual pots clearly indicate that the date of this cemetery extended from the latest Twelfth Dynasty into the Hyksos Age. It further gives more accurate drawings for many types of pots seen at Tell Edfu.

Qau Before the Hyksos Age

Materials at Qau could be assigned to groups on the basis of both pottery and burial customs. Burial customs were used as a grouping characteristic only because there were so few pots from the cemetery.

¹Junker, El Kubaneh-Sud, plate 24, 31.

The Cemeteries

Tombs in this cemetery normally had only a shaft; only three tombs had a chamber, one of which belonged to group B.¹

"A"

There is one group with a tapered jar characteristic of the earlier Twelfth Dynasty, 33 l, with the open jar 33 m which was also present in tomb 7191. Group 322 was probably equivalent to earlier Riqqa, with the globular jar 40 q 2. (Fig. 28 k).

Undated group

Tombs assigned to the undated group are 409, 452, and 734.

These three tomb groups contain the curious pot 60 n, with baggy body, flared neck and flat or concave base. Pots of this type were found at Kubaniyya and in the Asasif, but they are no better dated. A considerable amount of jewelry was found in these tombs (for the rather poor tombs at Qau, not by the standards of Abydos). Burial positions varied, contracted, on the side extended, and on the back extended.

The mid-to-late Thirteenth
Dynasty 1: group B

Tombs assigned to group B are 7251, 1415, and 1453.

The major common characteristic of this group is the water pot of the BSAE 41 series. A second common characteristic is the stand closed at the bowl. There are also simple piriform (canopic?) jars. The date parallels Haraga A and B.

¹Guy Brunton, Qau and Badari III, plates II and III with citation of prior publication in the register on plate II.

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

Tombs assigned here are 815, 7182, 602, 5239, and 7247 (?).

Group C was even poorer in materials. Globular pots of the BSAE 42 series are most common, with one example of the flared-collar jar (38 n) and a few rather globular drop-shaped pots with wide mouths (33 series and 44 d). One of these has an everted rim.

Burials in this group were extended on the back.

The phase of the conquest: group D

Tombs 307, 441 (?), 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 5250, 7118, 7119, 7152, and 7156 are assigned to the group.

The burial on the side is one of the main elements of cohesion in this group. This is the pose adopted in Tell ed-Dab'a F (Fig. 1).

The flared collar jars are fairly common here (38 n and o). Sinuous and convex round-based bowls are represented as are the tapered jars (67 l, 67 m, 67 q). Globular pots with wide mouths and roll rims are also common in these tombs (33 and 36 series). There is one example of scabbled decoration (33 h 3).

The group appears to be roughly contemporary with Haraga C.

The Thirteenth Dynasty Sequence at Qau

The problems in dealing with the Middle Kingdom and Thirteenth Dynasty groups at Qau are somewhat different from those at Edfu but somewhat similar to the problems encountered at Kubaniyya. The groups were well documented, but they were very small. Thus we were forced to enlist the aid of burial customs as a grouping characteristic. Nevertheless, the placement of many groups was tentative at best.

The most certain chronological correlation is the correspondence of Qau B with earlier materials at Haraga, A or B.¹ The latest tomb is probably 604, which contained a baggy jar of Hyksos-New Kingdom type.²

Matmar Before the Hyksos Age

Shaft tombs at Matmar yielded materials that Brunton called Middle Kingdom. These were shaft tombs, one with a chamber. Pottery includes mostly flared-neck jars of the BSAE 38 series and jars of the 33 series. Associated objects include a faience hippopotamus, silver fish pendant and a scarab with concentric circles on the base. The faience hippopotamus at least indicates that these materials were partly Thirteenth Dynasty in date.³

Upper Egypt in the Thirteenth Dynasty

The materials from Upper Egypt from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty to the Hyksos Age do not form a connected, coherent sequence. The fragments of sequences can be assembled into a picture of the archaeology of Upper Egypt only with the aid of the Riqqa and Haraga groups which are themselves flawed. Nevertheless, a sequence can be constructed that reflects the major developments.

The beginning of the sequence is clearly marked by the tombs 1213 and 1214 at Armant, Kubaniyya B and C, and Tell Edfu A as well as Qau B. Subsequent groups covered the time of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

¹The pot 41 m fig. 84 n.

²BSAE 33 h.

³Guy Brunton, Matmar, British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt 1929-1931, vol. 2 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1948) pp. 54-56, plates XLII-XLIII.

Kubaniyya D - E, Edfu B, possibly C 1, Qau C - D and a considerable number of pots from El Kab were assigned to this period (Table 57). The end of the Thirteenth Dynasty can be seen also at the end of these groups, Kubaniyya E, Edfu C 1, Qau D and some pottery from El Kab. Tombs 24, 25, and 31-34 at Thebes contained some materials of this phase.

Even the limited sequence of Upper Egypt is sufficient to document some regional differences between Upper Egypt and the region near the capital. The tradition of incised and plastic ornament popular in the earlier Middle Kingdom did not die out in Upper Egypt, but continues, though less commonly than before. The tradition of incised ornament flowered again in the Thirteenth Dynasty and was exported to the Itj-Tawy area by the end of that time. Certain types not found in the large groups at Armant, such as the "salad mixer" and the tapered jar (67 series), appeared later in Upper Egypt as well.

It should be noted that there was some regional variation in burial customs. Large shafts with chambers were found in the Itj-Tawy area, Abydos, Thebes and El Kab. Structural brick tombs of the type later used at Tell ed-Dab^{ca} were found at Tell Edfu and Kubaniyya. Shafts with single burials were recorded at Kubaniyya and Qau.

Weapons are extremely rare in these groups. Only one axe came from a burial that belonged to this period, from Kubaniyya. It is a flat semicircular plate with lugs at the sides, with three small holes for wire lashings.¹

¹Junker, El Kubanieh-Sud, plate 23, fig. 27.

CHAPTER VII

UPPER EGYPT IN THE HYKSOS AGE

Materials from Upper Egypt in the Hyksos Age were concentrated in the cemeteries of Middle and Northern Upper Egypt. Egyptian pottery from Tell ed-Dab¹ and Kerma helped to define the sequence. Two major archaeological assemblages were found at this time in Upper Egypt. Native Egyptian groups were primarily represented at Qau in a connected sequence. There were other occurrences at Matmar, Esna (not discussed), Abydos, Thebes (mentioned above), and Diospolis Parva. The sequences in these other sites are fragmentary, however, or incompletely published.¹ We must therefore rely in large part on the Egyptian pottery from the second assemblage, the Pan Graves which are probably to be identified as Medjay.² Though Pan Graves have been found in many places, we shall deal mainly with the sites of Mostagedda, Rifa, Balabish, Qau, and Hu. Because we must rely on the Pan Grave culture to some extent for the sequence, we must deal with the two ethnic groups together. Pan Graves will be identified, however, where they occur.

The framework of the chronology is based on major materials from Mostagedda, Deir Rifa and Qau with important materials from Matmar and Balabish. Down to the time of Qau C, we should not consider the sample of pottery complete. It is possible however that pottery was rather

¹There are notebooks in London that cover groups from Diospolis Parva cemeteries W and YS.

²Below, pp. 633-634.

simple during the earlier Hyksos Age; that of the Middle Kingdom is not too complex if the miniatures and house models are excluded.

Mostagedda

Materials from Mostagedda came from Pan Graves. About 24 of the graves were circular, 47 oval, and 32 rectangular.¹

Objects and Graves

In circular or oval graves, bodies were semi-contraced on the right side with the hands down and heads almost always to the north, facing west. In the rectangular graves, the face was east and the body was on the left side.² Almost all of the bodies were wrapped in leather garments, often with head embroidery. Cloth was sometimes present as an undergarment, sometimes present alone. In some cases, the limbs seem to have been bound with twisted thongs or rope. Skin garments rarely occurred in rectangular graves, and only once with a coffin. Bodies were often placed in a mat.³

Rectangular coffins are present, made of wood. These were found in 26 graves. Only one coffin, in the latest phase, is anthropoid. Colors were mentioned in 3123 (buff with blue) and 3143 (white). In tombs 3100 and 3143 there were remains of plaster and cartonnage masks.⁴

Rectangular shell plaques with holes at either end as in the Nubian Pan Graves were common.⁵

¹Guy Brunton, Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture, British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt, First and Second Years 1928, 1929 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1937), the registers for the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period and Pan Graves are on plates LXX and LXXI. Pottery and objects are published on plates LXXIII-LXXVIII, text pp. 113-134.

²Ibid., p. 123.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp. 123-4.

⁵Ibid., plate LXXVI, 54-57.

Eleven axe blades were found, one with a handle. These are all of the celt type with rather trapezoidal shape and lugs at the handle end of the blade; they all have fairly broad blades.¹ One, from a grave that could be dated only by its occurrence in the cemetery, has the name of Nebma^cacre^c as on the scarab at Haraga.² The single dagger has a broad blade with the flat midrib and the pierced circular pommel.³ There may have been a bowstring; there was certainly an archer's brace, with engraved lotus decoration (Fig. 106 a, c from Balabish).

Several deposits of horns and frontals were typical of Pan Grave cemeteries. Some of these came from the fill of tombs and were considered strays from the deposits by Brunton.⁴ Animal deposits in the shafts of tombs occurred elsewhere, however.

Although there were many deposits of animal skulls in round holes, only two were in order, 3226 and 3252, in rows from the northeast to the southwest. Brunton stated that most were skulls of goats and sheep with gazelle, ibex and ox, the last only in one deposit. Where the frontal bones were attached, they were probably painted in patterns of spots. One of these has a lotus with eyes painted on either side as if they were those of the animal. A second has a warrior in the center holding a shield with an inscription, Staff or weapon in the right hand and an axe over the shoulder. His garment appears to be hide. The inscription does not appear intelligible at present.⁵

The evolution in burial customs is rather clear, from circular to

¹Ibid., plate LXVII.

²Ibid., p. 127; plate LXXIV, 9.

³Ibid., plate LXXVII.

⁴Ibid., p. 131.

⁵Ibid., plate LXXVI, 66, but see p. 131 for Brunton's reading.

oval to rectangular graves. The addition of coffins in the last group was part of this process of Egyptianization, also illustrated by the frontal bone with the warrior painted on it. The painting is in Egyptian style, and the inscription is in hieroglyphs.

The Sequence

The early-to-mid Hyksos

Age 1: group A

Tombs assigned to the first group at Mostagedda are 3120, 3128, 3136, 3208, 3241, 3242, 3245, 3248.

In the first group at Mostagedda, the Egyptian type pottery is quite simple. Hemispherical bowls are made of red ware. Some of these have vertical sides (Fig. 97 k-n). Also present are a number of squat jars, usually buff, wider than high, with a medium size mouth, short neck and rolled rim (Fig. 94 c-f). There are slightly taller versions (Fig. 94 e-f) as well. A rather globular jar with corrugated or bulged neck (salad mixer, fig. 94 b) and a small globular jar with flared neck (Fig. 94 a) are the only other Egyptianizing pots. Squat jars of this type were not found at Tell ed-Dab^a but they were found at Kerma (Fig. 197 f).

A number of decorated hemispherical cups are typical of the Pan Grave assemblage. These are generally black-topped with a brown burnished body, though some are of normal Egyptian ware. The black-topped bowls have two forms. The first has a nearly vertical side with an emphasized, square-section rim (Fig. 93 f). A more rounded, shallow type has a groove at the rim, sometimes without the black top; this is the most common type in group A (Fig. 93 d-g, h-j). Over-hemispherical bowls with broad bands of decoration have decorated rims; the broad

bands below were filled with diagonal lines or panels with alternating diagonal lines. Sometimes there is a plain base (Fig. 93, a-d). Two oval bowls have a special extended rim at one end to make them dippers.

The early-to-mid Hyksos Age 2: group B

Tombs assigned to this group include 418, 3101, 3121, 3122, 3130, 3135, 3139, 3143, 3146, 3153, 3154, 3158, 3163 and 5211.

Changes in both the Egyptian and Pan Grave wares distinguish this group. There is one cylindrical juglet with a band of punctate ornament of MB III B (Fig. 96 c).

The bag-shaped jar, with long sinuous profile and nearly vertical rim occurs here (Fig. 96 e, f, BSAE 22 h). There are shorter jars with roll rims (Fig. 96 a, b). Similar types were noted at Tell ed-Dab^ea and Kerma,¹ (Fig. 12 a, 197 l-n). One of these has crude paint marks, the other a groove around the rim. Two bowls or lids may belong to the Egyptian wares (Fig. 95 l, y).

Pan Grave pottery is more complex than it was in the previous group. The black-topped bowl with the groove at the rim appears, but it is less common. It is often changed to a groove below the rim, making a ridge (Fig. 95 f-h, m-o). The bowl with square rim is somewhat more common (Fig. 95 i-j). There is also a simple form with sinuous side and everted rim. Decoration is somewhat more careless than in the previous group. It still includes the band of incision, in hatching, cross-hatching, or alternating bands of slanting lines. There is overall decoration as well, in hatching and alternating panels of hatching (Fig. 95, s-e). One rectangular bowl (Fig. 95 aa) has incised lines

¹Below, pp. 572-574.

and another has four undulations in the rim.

The late Hyksos Age: group C

Tombs assigned to this group include 1834, 1898, 3146, 3146, 3157, 3217, and 3230.

Egyptian pottery in group C is not much different from that of B. One wide-mouthed jar occurs, a descendant of the BSAE 36 series drop pot with everted rim (Fig. 97 m). The simple jar with the baggy shape continues, as do the shallow convex bowls. One bowl of hemispherical type with the straight side has a groove around the body below the rim (Fig. 97 a).

Pan Grave pottery is simplified. There are no decorated bowls. Black topped bowls continued, without any elaborate rim treatment, generally with a rather bell-like shape (Fig. 97 d and e), or a straight side (Fig. 97, c and f). There is one poor dipper bowl (Fig. 97 l).

The age of the expulsion: group D

Tombs assigned to this group are 1621, 1810 A, 1821, 1895, 3141, 3210, 3211, 3220, 3221, 3223, 3243, and 3246.

A number of tombs at Mostagedda are contemporary with the end of the Second Intermediate Period at Qau and part of the earliest New Kingdom.¹ There may even be some later materials in this group at Mostagedda (Fig. 99 f and g).

Egyptian pottery in this phase includes tapered bowls with disc bases (Fig. 98 f-h) and convex bowls also with disc bases (Fig. 98 i-k) as well as carinated types (Fig. 98 l-n). Some of these were decorated

¹Below, pp. 208-210.

with incised grooves, sawtooth rims and scrabbles. The biconical jar or some variant appeared before; it is truly common in this group (Fig. 98 p-u). Baggy jars appear here with rims which were everted from a bend just below the rim (Fig. 98 v, 99 a-c). There is one sausage-shaped jar with a neck of a type extremely common at Qau (Fig. 99 e). Jars are decorated with scrabbles as well; two of these have rather odd shapes, with very long necks (Fig. 99 d, k, and l).

There are only one or two Pan Grave bowls, which black tops (Fig. 98 a, b).

Belonging to the next stage, properly New Kingdom, is 1810 A, probably also 3243 and 3220. The latter two tombs contain everted rim bag jars with incised necks (Fig. 99 f and g). Tomb 1810 A contains similar polished red bag jar, with an ovoid jar probably descended from the cylindrical or ovoid jars of Qau (BSAE 28 h at Qau). Two baggy pithoi have everted rims and a broad band of white on the rim and neck. A crude black-topped brown hemispherical bowl indicates that the burial probably belonged to the Pan Grave culture.

Deir Rifa

In the introduction to this part, we discussed the significance of Deir Rifa in the Middle Kingdom. Only a few groups indicate that the cemeteries at Deir Rifa were used in the Thirteenth Dynasty.¹

¹W. M. F. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, plate XIII A-D give the pertinent pottery. Tomb numbers are identified by the number on the lower right of each pot, hereafter materials will only be cited by tomb number.

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties

Tomb 55 (The end of the Twelfth Dynasty)

This tomb contained a stand, a tapered jar of the hes type, and a jar with carinated shoulder characteristic of the era of Aibre^c Hor and later (Fig. 26).

Tomb 62 (Age of the conquest)

Still later, tomb 62 contained a tapered jar with round base and everted rim, a ring stand and two hemispherical cups which have straight sides (also found in tombs 130 and 43). This represents the period of the conquest, as this type of cup is common at Tell ed-Dab'a (Fig. 10).

Other tombs

Other pottery was not found in groups large enough to give very clear dates. Some pots are specific to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Early Hyksos Age. These pots include 171, 174, possibly 182, 184 (which could be later in the Hyksos Age), 189, 191, 192, 194, and 196. The late Hyksos Age is represented by 178 and 179.¹ There are, therefore, a fair number of Egyptian tombs of the Hyksos Age at Deir Rifa outside the Pan Grave Cemetery. Without larger groups of material, we can only say that the first groups are Conquest and Early Hyksos, the last, Mid-to-Late Hyksos or Expulsion.

Deir Rifa in the Hyksos Age

There was little found at Deir Rifa in the Pan Grave Cemetery to correspond with Mostagedda A. Native and Pan Grave Pottery seems to begin with B; only a few groups are earlier. Since there is no register

¹Ibid., plate XIII D, from tombs 97 and 98.

for the groups from this cemetery, we are unable to tell whether there were any truly Egyptian groups here. From the description, the graves were all Pan Graves.

Petrie described the tombs of this age as irregular pits, five to six feet deep, grouped in a cemetery south of the other cemeteries. In addition to Pan Grave pottery, skulls of oxen and goats painted red or black were found, sometimes in the graves.

Petrie cited leather as the most interesting component of the assemblage along with the beads and matting.¹

The early-to-mid Hyksos Age: group A

Tombs assigned to group A at Deir Rifa are 33, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 60, 72, 73, and 77.

The tall jar with sinuous side is present in this group in some numbers, with a related tapered type (Fig. 101 a-1). Baggy jars with rolled rims are also common (Fig. 101 n-r and related m). The jar with bulged neck (Fig. 101 w, x) and a jar with flared neck and folded over rim are also present (Fig. 101 v). Two jars have straight necks (Fig. 101 t, u).

Both tall and short potstands occur, the former with a single rolled rim and the latter with double (Fig. 102), as well as the fruit-stand, and a carinated bowl (Fig. 102 e).

A large globular jar has a vertical collar, bevelled rim (that is, with an angular section), and alternating incised bands and wavy lines (Fig. 101 a, b).

¹Ibid., p. 20. An ivory wand was cited as an especially fine example as well as limestone figurines. On plate XII there are some axes of the long narrow type seen in the Ahhotep treasure, including one from tomb 97 with the baggy jar 179-also plate XII. Pan grave pottery is on plates XXIII-XXVI, henceforth cited only by tomb number.

Hemispherical bowls are common, many with the straight side found at Tell ed-Dab'a and Mostagedda (Fig. 100, n-dd).

Pan grave bowls include a few with the grooved rim (Fig. 100 g, h), many with square rims (Fig. 100, b, c, e, f, i, j) and some with straight or sinuous sides (Fig. 100 k, l). One over-hemispherical bowl is decorated with diagonal bands or chevrons (Fig. 100 a). There are two four-sided or cornered bowls (Fig. 100 d, e) one of which had short lines on the outside.

Five tombs in this group contained Yehudiyya type vessels. These were probably all piriform (Fig. 101 y, z, cc, dd, and ee). Where the full shape survived, this was clear. One juglet has the incised vertical panels of punctate chevrons characteristic of MB III B. The others are undecorated. Presumably these were burnished.

There is one clay hippopotamus, descended from the faience figures of the immediately preceding period (Fig. 101 x). A knobbed conical lid with ridges also occurs which we shall see at Kerma (Fig. 101 aa and Fig. 194).

The late Hyksos Age: group B

Groups assigned to B are 35, 40, 47, 49, 59, 66, 71, and 242.

Little change is detectable in native pottery from A to B at Deir Rifa. The sinuous and tapered jar continued, as did the roll-rim jar (Fig. 103, p, q, s). The example here has a spiral incised around the body. One jar has a rather constricted neck (Fig. 103, r). There are also squat forms of jars present; one of these has the biconical shape and collar ancestral to the decorated jars of the New Kingdom (Fig. 103, v).

Potstands and fruitstands continue. A bowl from one of the

latter has a strongly incurved side with wavy lines (scrabbles) below the rim and many lugs at the bend (Fig. 103 z, stands and fruitstands, aa, bb, cc).

Most bowls of the hemispherical type are sinuous in shape or straight sided (Fig. 103 b-n). Only a few resemble the original hemispherical shape at all (j-1). One tapered bowl had a disc base (Fig. 103 o).

Though the drawings might be deceptive, there appears to be almost no Pan Grave type pottery in B, or possibly only one piece (Fig. 103 a).

Three piriform (actually biconical in two cases) juglets were of Yehudiyya type. One had painted horizontal lines, dark on a light face (Fig. 103 w). The other two are biconical, black, with horizontal zones of punctate chevrons which are upended above and below the waist (Fig. 103 x and y). Several more examples of Late Yehudiyya ware were found on the surface, without context.¹ Both A and B are thus synchronized with the MB III B, at least in part, since all of the juglets from Rifa belonged to that phase.

The age of the expulsion: group C

Tombs assigned to this group are 1, 3, 132, 139 and 163.

The phase of the Expulsion at Deir Rifa is defined in these few tombs by the presence of disc-based convex bowls and biconical jars with straight necks which were later given Ajjul decoration. One jar has groups of incised slashes. A bag jar has a folded or pushed-out rim (Fig. 104).

¹Ibid., plates XXIII-XXVI.

Balabish in the Early to Mid Hyksos Age

About eleven of the tombs at Balabish have more than one pot. Nine of these, all Pan Graves, belong to a single group, corresponding to Mostagedda A-B in date.

Large, squat jars resemble those of Mostagedda;¹ one of these has a straight neck. Baggy descendants of the globular Middle Kingdom BSAE 33-36 series jars occur with both angular and simple everted rims. One has a folded and bevelled rim.

Pan Grave pottery includes bowls with grooved or square rims. One has only a line below the rim. Black or red bowls with overall incised linear decoration occur in combinations of diagonal lines, diagonal bands of alternating scales triangles with diamonds and triangles with diagonal bands. Irregular lids or shallow bowls may belong to either Pan Grave or Native pottery (Fig. 105).

The types of burial are the same as at Mostagedda, round or oval and long or rectangular. Some offering deposits were in separate holes. In the round or oval graves, the burials were contracted, often bound with leather strips or cords.² Cloth was also found. No coffins were mentioned.

The graves at Balabish are poorer than those of Mostagedda, with fewer weapons and fewer horn sets. Plaque bracelets are present as are small amulets. Archers' braces are decorated with lotus plants and bows (Fig. 106).³

¹G. A. Wainwright, Balabish, Egypt Exploration Society, Memoir 34 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1920), pottery plate XIV, Register XVI-XVII. Henceforth cited only by the number of the pot or figure number, see above p. 194.

²Ibid., pp. 4-5, plates XVI-XVII. ³Ibid., plates III, VI.

Qau and Badari

The tomb groups at Qau contain the most interesting and varied native pottery in Egypt of this period. The relative wealth in pottery and number of these tombs might cause an investigator to assign them a longer period than they seem actually to have and. We have seen, however, that much of the Qau Middle Kingdom material was actually probably Thirteenth Dynasty;¹ materials that correspond to Tell ed-Dab^{ca} and Tell el Yehudiyya have been found at Deir Rifa nearby and they are incompatible with a fully Second Intermediate Period date for the tombs given this designation at Qau. We shall see that the bulk of the materials called Second Intermediate Period at Qau represent a development of the Deir Rifa materials rather than being contemporary but culturally different pottery groups.²

The tombs at Qau are largely east-west pits, rarely with chambers as in the Thirteenth Dynasty. When chambers were found, they were generally on the south side of the shaft; one was on the west side.³ Burial was generally on the side, rarely on the back. The latter position was found most often from D onward. Narrow rectangular coffins were found; they extend into D (7121, 7412, 7419 and 7430).⁴

Weapons are axes of the same types as those of Mostagedda and Balabish. At the end of the sequence at Qau, axes are much narrower than before, resembling the narrow axe found in the Ahhotep deposit.⁵

¹Above, pp. 189-190.

²Brunton, Qau and Badari III, pp. 3-12; the register is on plates V-VIII, pottery is on plates IX and XII-XVIII. Henceforth materials are cited either by tomb number or by figure.

³Ibid., p. 10.

⁴Ibid., p. 10.

⁵Ibid., plates IX and XXI.

Objects other than pottery are rather rare in this cemetery. Our knowledge of the materials is reduced by the fact that those burials which had several objects often had no pottery with them. Thus we are rarely able to judge the date of the tomb by objects other than pottery.

In the groups below, Pan Grave and Egyptian burials will be considered together, but Pan Graves will be individually identified.

The Sequence

The early-to-mid Hyksos Age: group A 1

Tombs assigned to this group are 1303 (Pan Grave), 1989, 5462, 7497 and 7552. This Group A 1 is rather small and does not contain strictly homogeneous materials, but the materials can be compared with those of the earlier Hyksos Age. Egyptian pottery include wide, nearly biconical jars of the type found in Mostagedda A, with everted rim; one carinated jar has a rolled rim (Fig. 107 i-k). One ovoid jar has an angled-cut neck (Fig. 107 h).

Pan Grave pottery includes hemispherical bowls, some with straight sides. In one case the entire surface is covered with a group of spirals (Fig. 107 a). Two other bowls, with vertical sides, have grooved rims (Fig. 107 e, f). There is one dipper bowl (Fig. 107 c).

Unusual materials include a miniature amphora with red and black painted decoration (Fig. 107 l) and a faience potstand with a band of cross-hatching (Fig. 107 g). A faience potstand is found also at Kerma (Fig. 107 h).

The early-to-mid Hyksos Age 2: group A 2

Tombs assigned to this group include 1038 (below), 4854, 5268, 5503, 7277, and Pan Graves 1305 and 5462 which is either A1 or A2 in date

Tomb 1305 contains a rather bulbous modification of the old Middle Kingdom type 46 (Fig. 108 e). Tomb 7277 contains two rather crude squat jars, one with tall neck (Fig. 108 f, h). There are examples of the small jar with bulged neck (Fig. 108 h, i). The simple bag jar appears (Fig. 108 d) as does the bag jar with rolled rim (Fig. 108 l). There is one crude sausage-shaped jar (Fig. 108 k).

Little Pan Grave pottery is present; one bowl had a grooved rim. A second bowl with angular profile may belong to the Pan Grave assemblage as well (Fig. 108 a, c).

The late Hyksos Age (1): group B

Tombs assigned to this group include 438 B, 1114, 1306 (Pan Grave) 4506, 5280, 5460, 5477, 7045, 7162, 7405, 7430, 7437, 7609, 7634. Two tombs that generally resembled tombs of B, but had no pottery may be dated to this period, 4508 and 4523.

Group B contains materials similar to those of Deir Rifa B. There are variants of the roll-rim jar (Fig. 109 q and 110 a) with incised bands. Jars with bulged necks appear ("salad mixer", Fig. 109 s). The cylindrical jar is better made in group B with a well defined neck and rim (Fig. 109 p). Bag-shaped jars are common with straight, or slightly everted rims (Fig. 109 p). Also significant are jars with conical or cylindrical necks and almost biconical shapes (Fig. 110 c, g, h). Several hemispherical type bowls are mostly rather wide; one has grooves at the rim (Fig. 109 c-h).

There is only one clearly Pan Grave cup, with a crude baggy shape and black top (Fig. 109 b).

Two faience vases were found in this group (Fig. 111 e, f).

The late Hyksos Age (2): group C

Group C includes tombs 749, 780, 909, 7006, 7014, 7137, 7108, 7112, 7129, 7132, 7138, 7139, 7145, 7150, 7151, 7163, 7193, 7401, 7419, 7462, 7491, 7688, 7826.

Group C includes those groups that appear to date to the transition from the Second Intermediate Period to the New Kingdom in Upper Egypt. There is little preparation for the exuberance of the group's characteristic incised pottery. Antecedents occur at Mostagedda and Deir Rifa, but none are as elaborate as the decorated pottery of Qau C.

Although many forms change, there are a number of types that continue from previous groups. The bag jar (Fig. 115 m-p) is common, sometimes with everted rim. The "salad mixer" continues (Fig. 117 c, i), and hemispherical bowls, which are most often quite wide (Fig. 115, g-k). There are also shallow convex bowls (Fig. 113 e, f).

New in the group are conical or bulged conical bowls with flat or disc bases (Fig. 113 g) and carinated bowls (Fig. 113 d). Tapered jars appear, with flat or disc bases, everted or folded rims (Fig. 117 i-h, j-k). Characteristically, they are decorated with a single group of combed scrabbles at the shoulder or where a shoulder would have been.

A second major new type of jar is the fully developed cylindrical jar. This varies from a nearly ovoid to nearly cylindrical shape with a folded, nearly rectangular rim (Fig. 116 b, d; Fig. 117 b).

Ring stands and fruitstands continue, but a low form of the latter became the outstanding feature of the period (Fig. 113 h, l, m; Fig. 114). This is decorated with concentric bands of combing, scrabbles and slashes, or loose groups of incisions. The rims are often treated with patterns of indentations or small lugs (Fig. 114, a, c). The

outside of these carinated bowls or stands is sometimes decorated with scabbles and/or slashes (Fig. 113 h; Fig. 114). One stand has the entire surface above the carination covered with small knobs (Fig. 113 l).

Bowls are sometimes given a relatively modest form of this treatment, with sawtooth rims (Fig. 113 i), combing outside (Fig. 113 f), or even small animals' heads (Fig. 113 k).

Although incised decoration had been present in Egypt from the time of the Middle Kingdom, there was little preparation for this elaborate development in prior groups in Upper Egypt, or the simple pottery of contemporary Lower Egypt. We should not be deceived, however; the simple bag jar and the tapered bowl or platter with bulge and disc or flat base are the basic features of the repertoire at Tell el Yehudiyya (Fig. 18 a-c).

The age of the expulsion: group D

Tombs assigned to this group are 314, 420, 426, 860, 1019, 1033, 3406, 3712, 3763, 3918, 3912, 4521, 4850, 7003, 7024, 7048, 7049, 7052, 7101, 7103, 7104, 7110, 7113, 7119, 7121, 7122, 7123, 7125, 7141, 7151, 7164, 7192, 7240, 7241, 7243, 7254, 7268, 7404, 7408, 7409, 7410, 7412, 7414, 7415, 7418, 7420, 7421, 7423, 7429, 7442, 7443, 7438, 7439, 7465, 7482, 7490, 7492, 7496, 7578, 7700, 7758, and 7959.

Most of the major types of pottery continue from the last group. Carinated bowls are more common, with the incised ornament (Fig. 119 t; Fig. 120 a, c, g, h). The elaborately decorated stand has disappeared, and is replaced by these bowls with more modest scabbled and combed decoration. The saw-tooth rim especially continues well into the New

Kingdom (Fig. 120 h). Wide convex bowls often have a band of combing below the rim (Fig. 119 q-t). A number of fruitstands were found, including the tall stand with open bowl and red polished surface of the New Kingdom (Fig. 125 c, d, g). A rather convex version of the hes jar (without spout) appears in this group (Fig. 124 i-k). The biconical jar with straight neck occurs in group 7578 (Fig. 127, 48 p - 59 p).

New to these groups is a version of the bag jar, with nearly biconical body and well-everted rim (Fig. 112, i-j). The shoulder is covered by groups of combed bands with scabble decoration and slashes between. The bodies of these jars varies somewhat in shape, but always has a more constricted neck than was popular before, with a rim that began to flare from the narrowest part of the neck.

Painting is occasionally used on pots of this group, in broad white bands on baggy pots (Fig. 121, j, k) or spots on a bowl (Fig. 121 c).

A multiple scarab-seal from 7492 is inscribed on the face (Fig. 126 b). The drawing of the inscription is unfortunately unclear, and the seal could not be located in the Petrie collection; the entire group's whereabouts is unknown. If the first vague area of hatching were to be taken as the first element in a throne name, the second and third elements would be difficult to read in any way other than Djeser-ka-(Re^c), Amenhotep I. This reading would require that we date some point in phase D at Qau to the time of the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty.

A second object, a polished globular jar with ribbed neck, gives an important correlation with Kerma, in the late Kerma groups K X-XVI (Fig. 123 f, i; Figs. 205 c and 209 c).¹

¹One mud hippopotamus is illustrated on Fig. 125 j).

Matmar in the Era of the Expulsion

Pottery from the cemetery at Matmar included some characteristic types found in Qau D. These include the rudimentary biconical jars with straight necks and cylindrical or ovoid jars. Baggy jars with spirals below the rim are also found at Tell ed-Dab'a slightly earlier (Fig. 12 e, f).¹

Abydos at the End of the Hyksos Age

Two large groups from Abydos illustrate part of the later Hyksos Age.

D 78

Tomb D 78, though partly mixed, contains some materials that should be considered mid-Hyksos Age in date (Fig. 69). A bag-shaped jar has a roll rim and a spiral incised around the neck, a similar jar with flat base, and a potstand with a single roll-rim. Small jars include one incised convex jar with grooves, scrabbles and a lid. There are two wide hemispherical bowls, one with a white rim band. A bulged-neck jar (salad mixer) had a painted white band and a convex jar has a red band. Painted bands are not described at Qau in the Second Intermediate groups. However the bag jars with the incised spiral appear in Qau A - B; the convex jar with incision has been discussed at Tell Edfu in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Fig. 80 g, h).

D 21

A second group contains materials that should be dated largely to Qau C and D (Fig. 68). Though jars with rim and neck-bands were found in

¹Brunton, Matmar. Pottery is on plate XLIII, objects are on plate XLIII and the register is on plate XLIV.

this tomb, (these are generally wider than those bands painted in the New Kingdom), the roll-rim bag jar has been replaced by the jar with an everted rim. Convex jars were also found but they are only simply decorated if at all. Key types include the hemispherical bowl with the band of combing below the rim and the tall, ovoid jar of BSAE 28 type. (Fig. 68, 14 and 8). A biconical Yehudiyya juglet of MB III B type had two zones of punctate ornament above and below the waist (Fig. 68, 13). The most interesting features of the group is painted decoration on two bag-jars with everted rims. These have hatched vertical panels, triangles and solid triangles painted in red, with what appears to be a symbol (Fig. 68-16, 17). The date of the group is that of Qau D.

Diospolis Parva

Materials of Second Intermediate Period date came from three cemeteries in the area known as Diospolis Parva. Cemetery W contains materials that dated from the Twelfth through Eighteenth Dynasties, mostly from the Thirteenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties. Cemetery Y S contains pottery from earlier times, but the pottery assigned to the Twelfth through Eighteenth Dynasties is mostly to be dated to the later Hyksos Age and earliest Eighteenth Dynasty. In addition to the native Egyptian materials, there are Pan Graves in a separate cemetery, X, and probably one Kerma burial, E 2. The pottery and objects from the foreign graves are published in groups, but the native Egyptian cemeteries are published only as collections of objects. For this reason, it is difficult to assign dates to objects from these cemeteries with any degree of accuracy. Indeed, the notebooks in London indicate that the groups were in rather poor condition when found.

Cemetery W

Tombs of Second Intermediate Period date are generally rectangular pits with east-west orientation, sometimes with a chamber at one or both ends.¹ Since few groups are published in the text, very little information of value can be obtained. For the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty and earlier, we can only note semicircular axes and a dagger with a veined midrib.²

W 32

Tomb W 32 contains a number of shallow bowls and ovoid water jars with flared necks.³ The pottery resembles that of Armant. Other objects include a mirror, Hathor pendant, flared-cylindrical stone vase and a two-part globular stone jar.⁴

W 38

This tomb has two or more chambers. It contains jars that closely resembled those of W 32. Objects include three scarabs of "Middle Kingdom" type and a shallow oblong stone palette with a spout. Similar palettes have been found at Abydos, Illahun and Tell el Yehudiyya (Fig. 15 c, d).

W 72

Objects from W 72 include some stone vessels and pottery models, including an ass with packs.⁵

¹Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 43-44.

²Ibid., plage XXVIII, 131; XXXII, 4.

³Ibid., plate XXXIII, type 22.

⁴Ibid., 43, plates XXIX, XXVII, top and XXXI.

⁵Ibid., p. 44, plate XXIX, bottom left.

W 161

Objects cited from this tomb include some stone vessels and a faience hedgehog.¹ The date of this tomb is late Eighteenth Century B.C. or later.

Other pottery

The separate pots published on plates XXXIII and XXXIV could be dated only by comparison with better dated groups elsewhere. The approximate date of many groups is given on Table 57.

Cemetery Y S

Tombs of Second Intermediate Period date in Cemetery Y were mostly rectangular pits, almost never with a chamber.² Remains of stuccoed and painted rectangular coffins were found; two coffins are of pottery.

None of the pottery published from cemetery Y resembles that of the Twelfth Dynasty. The earliest Egyptian pottery is the baggy jar with roll rim; the earliest date for the type is early Hyksos.³ Other pottery types appear at Qau later and should be dated to the later Hyksos Age and the era of the Expulsion.⁴ One Pan Grave pot may belong to the earlier Hyksos Age, while three Late Yehudiyya juglets are also later.

Weapons from this cemetery include daggers which resembled the example from Balabish. One has the name Sewadjenre^c (Nebiryerau) of the

¹Ibid., plate XXIX, lower right.

²Ibid., p. 51.

³Above, pp. 77-78.

⁴Ibid., plates XXXV, XXXVI, 146-8, 153, 103, 109; Pan Grave pot number 185. Late Yehudiyya ware, numbers 186-8.

Seventeenth Dynasty on it (Fig. 135). Axes are of the same types as already noted, and varied from medium width to very narrow (Fig. 134).

Scarabs included examples with the names of Senwosret I, Amenemhat III, Sheshi, Jaqubher, and possibly Rahotep.¹

Abadiya Tomb E 2

Mace excavated this tomb; no information about the burial or construction of the tomb is furnished. The most important materials from this tomb are five Kerma beakers. Their dull finish, nearly vertical sides with a rounded carination at the base belong to the K X stage of the Kerma culture.² Baggy jars have roll rims, one with incision at the neck. In addition, a simple Kerma jar and a small, nearly biconical jar with short neck and roll-rim were found. There may be some sherds of Pan Grave pottery as well.

If tomb E 2 was a single burial, it was probably of a Kerman and dated to the time of tumulus K X, or about 1590 B.C.³

Hu, Cemetery X

Pottery and objects are published in groups on the plates of Diospolis Parva. Although these are small groups, some evidence for relative chronology could be derived.⁴

X 43

This is the earliest tomb in the cemetery; it is also the only Pan Grave known to me to contain Early Yehudiyya ware.

¹Ibid., plate XLI, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 16.

²Ibid., plate XXXVIII.

³Below, p. 566.

⁴Ibid., plates XXXIX-XL.

X 62

This tomb contains one pot, a nearly biconical jar with a medium sized mouth and roll-rim.

X 49, 36, 25

These tombs contain hemispherical bowls with bands of incision below the rims, or incision in large opposite fields of hatching.

X 47, 58, 63 (21)

Jars with cylindrical necks are found in these tombs, as in Kerma K IV. One of these jars is biconical. The other three should be dated to Mostagedda A.

X 48, 22 (1, 35, 29, 7, 74)

These tombs contain either baggy jars of the late Hyksos Age or jars that somewhat resemble the ovoid or cylindrical jar of the earliest New Kingdom. One Pan Grave cup is rather flared and has a band of incised decoration at the rim.

X 8, 46, 25

Ring stands occur in these tombs.

Cemetery X gave the name Pan Graves to the entire cultural assemblage. This is the only cemetery in which the graves were so shallow.¹ This feature was probably due to denudation. The cemetery began in the Early-Mid Hyksos and ended in the Late Hyksos Age.

¹Ibid., p. 45; cemetery YS was also shallow, see p. 50.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AREA NEAR THE FAYUM AT THE END

OF THE HYKSOS AGE

The great cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom Haraga and Riqqa, as well as the smaller cemeteries, contained few materials of the Hyksos Age proper. Toward or at the end of the Hyksos Age, however, there were a number of new cemeteries started in this area. Most important of these were the cemeteries of Sedment-Mayana and Gurob. Slightly later cemeteries at Abusir el Melek, Haraga, Riqqa and Meidum began a period of intensive use in the early New Kingdom. After the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty, materials were found in most of the sites that have been excavated.

Sedment

The groups of Sedment were small, except for 1300, which can be clearly dated by the Painted Yehudiyya ware imports.¹

The Sequence

Group A 1

Tombs 1297, 1298 and 1315 are assigned to this group (Mayana).

We are very poorly informed about the mid-late Hyksos period in

¹Petrie and Brunton, Sedment I, BSAE 34 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1924), pp. 16-20. Pottery is on plates XL and XLIII-XLV; the register is on plate XLVI. Henceforth materials are cited only by tomb number or figure.

this area. It would be difficult to be too specific about these groups. The bag-shaped jars are more irregular than those of Tell el Yehudiyya (Fig. 136).

Group A 2

Tombs 1300 and 1320 belong to this group, from Mayana.

The bag jars of A 2 are more closely resembling those of Tell el Yehudiyya. Two larger jars with rolled rims are also present. One convex bowl with disc base (Fig. 137 b) may indicate a date contemporary with material of Qau C - D (really D). A blue faience jar and three painted Yehudiyya juglets indicate a date still in the Hyksos Age (Fig. 139, 15-18). One of these juglets contained imitation Pendant Line Style painting (Fig. 139, 16).

Group B

Tombs 562, 1259, 1265, 1269, 1287 and 1288 are assigned to this group, again mostly from Mayana.

This group is characterized by the plump, nearly biconical jar with everted rim that was a defining characteristic of Qau D (Fig. 138). The group also contains convex bowls with blar or disc bases (Fig. 178 a, b). None of the pottery of Sedment has the elaborate decoration of Qau, however.

Gurob: Group A

Tombs assigned to this phase are 12, 19, 56, 75, 82, 88 (terminus post quem Amenhotep I), 89, 245, and 270 (Tomb 82 is terminus post quem Ahmose).

The remains of this phase agree with Sedment in simplicity.¹ The two termini were found in single pot tombs; 82, however, has a very typical pot of the period, while 88 is consistent as well.²

All of the tombs but 88 contain a rather ovoid bag jar with pointed base and flared rim in the BSAE 26 or 38 series. This would appear to be only a slightly pointed version of the pot from the same period at Sedment. There are also longer, pointed bag-jars (89), the straight-sided bag jar (22 n, 19) and examples with everted rims (25 a, 56). The flat-based jar with everted rim occurs (91 j-89).

There was one carinated bowl with rim band (10 k-75), a concave-sided bowl (13 v-12) and a bulged-sided bowl (3 e-56).

¹Brunton and Engelbach, Gurob, BSAE 41 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1927), pp. 9-17. Pottery is on plates XXXIII-XXXIX; the register is on plates XIV-XVIII. Henceforth materials are cited by tomb number alone, but see plate XXI, 6-8.

²Ibid., plate XXI, 53-63.

CHAPTER IX

EGYPT IN THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The chronological argument above was made in order to determine which materials to compare with the tombs of Tell ed-Dab^a.

The Sequence

The first step in the creation of the chronology was the establishment of fixed points and the order of Yehudiyya Ware. Since Tell ed-Dab^a provided a stratified sequence of tombs, the evolution of Yehudiyya ware was not difficult to discern.¹ The essential evidence for the absolute chronology of Yehudiyya ware was furnished by the tomb group K 334 at Kerma. The stone vessel of the Mayor of El Kab, Sebeknakht, found in that tomb not only dated the Kerma cemetery to the later part of the Seventeenth and Sixteenth Centuries, but it also dated the sequence of Yehudiyya ware found in tumuli K IV, X and XVI to the same period. Thus the comparable juglets and strata of Tell ed-Dab^a can be dated to the Hyksos Age; Bietak's provisional date is confirmed (Tables 54 and 55 summarize the arguments).²

A second major fixed point was established by the burial of King Auibre^c Hor, fourteenth king of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The series of important groups and unlooted burials that resembled his tomb became an important typological fixed point in the mid-Eighteenth Century B.C.³

¹Above, Chapter II.

²Above, pp. 88-97.

³Above, pp. 103-114.

Since there were no faience animals or vessels in the large and wealthy tomb groups that resembled king Hor, and since the figurines occurred frequently in such later groups as Kerma K III, the tomb of an Intef in the Diraa Abu-n-Naga, and the tomb of Neferhotep, these were dated to the latest Eighteenth century and later. The occurrence of faience figurines became another item of evidence used to date groups of the Thirteenth Dynasty at Haraga and Abydos (See Tables 56 and 57).¹

Other termini post quem appeared and helped to date such groups as Haraga A² the dates when the towns at Illahun and Lisht were in use,³ Early Yehudiyia ware at Thebes⁴ and Buhen tomb K 8, which may help to date materials in Upper Egypt.⁵ The multiple scarab from Qau D dates materials at the end of the Hyksos Age.⁶ Termini of lesser importance were an axe with the cartouche of an otherwise unknown (except for the scarab from Haraga) king found in tomb 3135 at Mostagedda. Von Beckerath put this king in the Sixteenth Dynasty.⁷ Also there was a dagger with the cartouche of Nebiriyerau I found at Diospolis Parva, but not clearly associated with other materials.⁸

The dating evidence given above was applied to a chronological structure based on the sequences of pottery types. Since the Delta did not provide materials of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the sequences were constructed from two groups of sites. For the Thirteenth Dynasty, the most important sequence was constructed with materials from the large

¹Above, pp. 113-14, 164, 170-71. ²Above, p. 121, tomb 640.

³Above, pp. 137, 139.

⁴Above, pp. 163-64.

⁵Below, pp. 601-602.

⁶Above, p. 210.

⁷Above, p. 195.

⁸Above, p. 314.

cemeteries near Itj-Tawy.¹ A lesser sequence was constructed from materials in Upper Egypt, especially sites south of Thebes.² Both of these sequences were weakest at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and in the earliest Hyksos Age. We have attributed some of that weakness to the lack of pottery in groups of that period. There may have been other problems such as mixture and poor publication that contributed to the weakness however. Sometime before the end of the Seventeenth Century, materials from Kerma, Tell ed-Dab^{ca} and Upper Egypt again provide us with a sequence. For the period between about 1630 and 1600, Pan Graves are the main source of information in Upper Egypt.³ After 1600, the large cemeteries of Qau began to offer considerable information; the materials from this cemetery are most important for illuminating the end of the Hyksos Age.⁴ The cemeteries of the area near the Fayum offered a little evidence for the beginning of the Hyksos Age, almost nothing thereafter. At the end of this period, materials again appeared, which we can date by comparison with Qau and Tell el Yehudiyya.⁵

The major phases we have designated included a phase from the end of the Twelfth into the earlier Thirteenth Dynasty. This phase, including Riqqa B 2 and 3, Haraga A 1 and 2, Lahun A 1 and 2, and the group of burials that resembled that of King Hor, was most clearly seen in the Itj-Tawy area (see Table 34). Other materials from Upper Egypt could be dated to this phase, however. The phase was dated at Haraga by the occurrence of the name of Amenemhat III; there were signs of

¹Above, Chapter II.

²Above, Chapter V.

³Above, pp. 194-204, including Mostagedda, Rifa and Balabish.

⁴Above, pp. 205-210.

⁵Above, Chapter VII.

relations with the Palestinian EB IV Period.¹

Materials from the next stage, the mid-to-late Thirteenth Dynasty, were found also in the Itj-Tawy area in Haraga B, Lahun B and Riqqa C 1. The phase was dated there by the occurrence of faience figurines. In Upper Egypt, part at least of Armant 1214, Tell Edfu B, Kubaniyya C and D, and materials from El Kab and Thebes as well as other places (Table 56) are to be included in this period, sometimes even dated by the occurrence of faience objects, as at Thebes and Abydos.²

The next stage was that of the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos. The phase was represented at Tell ed-Dab^{ca} in G and F, and part of E as well (Table 54). There are not many well defined groups available from this period at Haraga C 1 and Lahun C (Table 56). There were rather more groups from Upper Egypt, dated only by comparison to the groups from Tell ed-Dab^{ca}, however (Table 56). New in this period was Early Yehudiyya ware in its various forms.³ Many important groups which had no pottery must be dated here.⁴

The next stage consisted mostly of Tell ed-Dab^{ca} E 2 and E 1. The most flourishing period of the Hyksos Age is covered by this time. The Kerma tumuli begin about the same time (Table 55). Many tombs without pots in native Egyptian cemeteries are probably to be dated here. However, Egyptian pottery was amply represented at Kerma, Tell ed-Dab^{ca}, in the early Pan Graves, and represented on the wall of tomb 10 at El Kab. Though there was Egyptian pottery of this period from native

¹Above, p. 123.

²Above, pp. 113-114, 149, 155, 159-60, 170, 173.

³Above, Chapter I.

⁴Above, pp. 166, 207.

groups, these were badly mixed or plundered. The change from Early to Late Yehudiyya ware is to be dated to this period (Tell ed-Dab^{ca} E 1); the Yehudiyya ware from Mostagedda, Rifa and Balabish that can be assigned to this period is Late Yehudiyya ware. Only the Pan Grave at Hu in cemetery X contained Early Yehudiyya ware. Also to be dated to this time is the Kerma tomb at Abydos, which came from the early Kerma phase and contained a sacrifice burial (Table 59).

The period of the Late Hyksos here was covered by Tell ed-Dab^{ca} D 3 and Qau C. This was the age when a remarkable growth in the pottery repertoire of native Egyptian groups took place at Qau. This growth was reflected elsewhere to a lesser extent. The Pan Grave cemeteries were still in active use though very much on the decline. During this period, some new cemeteries were started in the area near the Fayum, at Sedment and Gurob.

The last period we deal with is the phase of the Expulsion. This was best represented by Qau D. Tell ed-Dab^{ca} (D 2) and Tell el Yehudiyya were still active, as were most of the Pan Grave cemeteries. These were, however, rapidly Egyptianizing. There were very few Pan Grave type pots in them, and such Egyptian features as coffins had appeared at Mostagedda (Table 56). The phase was dated by the occurrence of the multiple scarab in Qau D that should be read Djoserkare^{c.1}

The six phases that overlap the Second Intermediate Period have varying typological validity and historical value. Transitions from one phase to another are often somewhat ambiguous; the phases are based on Egyptian materials that do not translate precisely into Palestinian divisions.

¹Above, p. 210.

It is somewhat ironic that the dates for the various stages of Yehudiyya ware can be set somewhat more precisely than the dates for contemporary Egyptian pottery. This is due to three factors. First, Yehudiyya ware was found in contexts that were essentially unmixed at Tell ed-Dab^{la} and Tell el Yehudiyya. The ware was dated by reference to unmixed contexts at Kerma. Thus considerable precision was possible in the dating. Though Egyptian pottery was found in the same contexts, there was some typological ambiguity; the contexts for Egyptian materials elsewhere were often very mixed. Finally, toward the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, well into the Hyksos Age, there were many groups that contained no pottery at all. We were thus required to rely more on the Pan Graves, Kerma and Tell ed-Dab^{la} for the sequence of Egyptian pottery in this period than would be desirable.

Whatever ambiguities exist in the chronology of Egyptian materials, the synchronisms are close enough to compare the various groups. Two of the foreign groups found in Egypt during the Hyksos Age were easy to identify; the Pan Graves have been identified by means of the leather garments and the shape of the graves as well as the curious pottery. This rather obvious identification was made a long time ago in Egyptian archaeological tradition. A second group, the Kerma culture, has not been clearly identified, though Emery hypothesized its appearance in the two tombs at Abydos. One of these tombs can clearly be identified as Kerma, by the shape of the grave and the sacrifice burial as well as the contents. The second tomb and a tomb at Abadiya were more difficult to identify since the tombs were not themselves described, but were probably later Kerma. Since Kerma ware has been known as an import in Egyptian groups for some time, the identification was more difficult.

Since, however, the nature of Kerma burials has been clarified, the identification of these groups in Egypt as Kerma and their separation from groups that contained Kerma ware as imports is also clear.

The identification of the third foreign group to appear in Egypt at this time, the Hyksos, is more controversial. The tombs at Yehudiyya have long been either identified as Hyksos or had the identification denied. Without a systematic chronology of the Egyptian materials, it was impossible to say whether the peculiarities in pottery, weapons and burial customs were in fact foreign or whether they were regional or chronological variants of Egyptian tombs. The question was bound up with certain historical issues as well, such as whether the Hyksos were thoroughly Egyptianized or not.

Archaeology and the Hyksos

With the excavations at Tell ed-Dab^a, the issue has been raised anew, with new opportunities offered for a sound solution. It can hopefully be arrived at by comparing the pottery, weapons and burial customs found in the complex of sites in the Eastern Delta with those found elsewhere in Egypt. If these differ systematically from the materials found in Egyptian, Pan Grave and Kerma groups, it would be reasonable to say that the tombs of Tell ed-Dab^a and Tell el Yehudiyya belong to none of these groups; if the traits can be identified elsewhere, we can say that the place of origin has been found as well.

Pottery

As discussed under the Delta heading, the pottery of Tell ed-Dab^a and Tell el Yehudiyya was of three types. These were the luxury ware of Palestine-Syrian MB II - III shape, the non-luxury pottery of

MB II - III origin and the "table service" of Egyptian origin.

Yehudiyya juglets

The luxury pottery of the Delta sites was almost always juglets, beginning with MB II shapes, ovoid with upraised spout, or ridge-neck. They ended in the MB III B with piriform, ovoid, or biconical juglets which had simple rims. (In the MB III A juglets often had a ridge-rim which died out by III B, juglet shapes were piriform rather than ovoid.)¹

The decoration of these juglets began with narrow bands of decoration in MB II C (Tell ed-Dab^la G - F), which continued. The next type to appear had broad bands of decoration in metopes and standing and pendant triangles in MB III A (Tell ed-Dab^la F - E 2), or early Yehudiyya ware. It coexisted not only with burnished juglets, but juglets with representational decoration as well. Early Yehudiyya ware ended and in MB III B was replaced by simple zone decoration, both horizontal and vertical (Tell ed-Dab^la E 1 - D 2). There were also types with overall punctate decoration and painted juglets, chocolate-on-cream. This was Late Yehudiyya ware.²

Occurrences of Early Yehudiyya ware were far from frequent in the Nile Valley. They included Illahun, Lisht, Haraga, Abydos, Abadiya, Thebes, Tell Edfu, Buhen, Mirgissa and Kerma. (There were sherds in the Ashmolean from the Pan Grave hut circles at Qau). Only at Kerma were Early Yehudiyya ware juglets well dated. Another occurrence at the tomb of the Vizier Yuy in Thebes included a double juglet of representational Yehudiyya ware and a theriomorph. The MB II form of the pottery was most common in the Itj-Tawy area at Lisht, Illahun. The MB III A form

¹Above, pp. 74-77.

²Above, pp. 74-77., and 64 note 4.

occurred at these sites and at Haraga. Buhen was the only other place where there were several juglets of this type.¹

Late Yehudiyya ware (and painted Yehudiyya ware) is more common in Upper Egypt and Nubia, occurring there in single pieces in most cemeteries of our period. We may note Saqqara, Gurob, Mayana, Rifa, Mostagedda, Balabish, Qau, Abydos, Abadiya, possibly Hu, Thebes, Aniba, Buhen, Mírgissa and Kerma. Though common at Buhen and Aniba and occurring at Mírgissa, all in Egypto-Nubian cemeteries, it was extremely rare in Egyptian groups in Egypt. The occurrences at Saqqara, Meidum, Sedment, Qau, Abydos and Hu were single occurrences or in twos and threes. The occurrence of three juglets at Mayana was in a single tomb. Only at Rifa were there several late Yehudiyya ware juglets, but associated with Pan Graves as at Mostagedda, Balabish and Hu. In the vast Egyptian cemetery of this age at Qau, there were no documented occurrences of Yehudiyya juglets (one scrap was found, possibly in a Pan Grave).²

We may offer the following generalization about the occurrences of Yehudiyya ware in the Nile Valley south of the Delta. It occurs very rarely in Egyptian burials south of Illahun (Table 78). It is rare or absent from Egyptian groups everywhere south of the Delta after MB II. It is common in Egypto-Nubian groups in both the MB III A and B. It occurs, though not commonly, in Pan Grave burials, and was common only at Rifa. In native Nubian groups, it occurs, relatively rarely, at Kerma. It never appears in C group contexts or in Pan Graves in Nubia, nor has it been found in Kerma burials other than the royal tumuli of Kerma. When compared to the distribution of Kerma ware (Table

¹Above, pp.83-88.

²Above, pp. 83-88.

79) a clear picture emerges. Yehudiyya ware and burnished juglets were found in the vast majority of tombs in the Delta mentioned here. They were found in very few Egyptian tombs of the same date in Egypt away from the Itj-Tawy region. Where Yehudiyya ware does occur elsewhere in the Nile Valley it does so in far smaller numbers and far less variety than in the Delta. It should be clear that there is a substantial difference between the Delta where Yehudiyya juglets occur universally and everywhere else in the Nile Valley where they occur only as imports.

Asiatic pottery

Non-luxury pottery of Asiatic origin gives a similar picture (Table 80). After a period of importation to Itj-Tawy in the MB II A - B, it is not much seen even in this area. By the end of MB II it was virtually restricted to the Delta sites.¹

Egyptian pottery

The situation with Egyptian pottery is entirely different from that of the luxury wares or imports. Egyptian wares dominate the non-luxury pottery of the East Delta, that of Egyptian tombs in Egypt and Nubia, and of the Pan Graves in Egypt and perhaps even at Kerma. Egyptian pottery occurred in C-group contexts. No purely qualitative judgment of ordinary type would therefore be of much use in differentiating between the various cultures on the basis of Egyptian pottery. Since we have such an uneven sample of material from each of the four cultures present in the Nile Valley, quantitative analysis would be rather futile as well.

¹MB III long dippers did not occur in upper Egyptian groups, though Late Bronze dippers do, see tomb 37 at Thebes, even some bronze or copper examples.

Diversity might offer some clear grounds for differentiating the various groups. Comparing the Delta sites with Qau C, we obtain a very clear contrast between the repetitive forms of the Delta and the exuberant diversity of the Qau pottery of the same period. This relative lack of diversity may be traced in all groups not resident in Upper Egypt or native to that region. Kerma had the greatest variety of Egyptian pottery types in the Early Hyksos Age, followed by Egyptians in Nubia, Kermans in Nubia, Pan Grave and C-Group, in that order (Figs. 9-13, 112-127).

Pottery, conclusion

The dominance of Yehudiyya juglets and the occurrence of non-luxury Asiatic pottery in the East Delta in MB III clearly indicates a major difference between the East Delta sites and the other regions and cultures of the Nile Valley. Elsewhere, Yehudiyya ware occurred rather sporadically, clearly as an import, even in Buhen, where it was most common outside the Delta.

To some extent, native Egyptian wares may reinforce this impression as they were so much more diverse at Qau than they were at Tell el Yehudiyya or Tell ed-Dab^a D 3 - 2. We must however be cautious in the use of Egyptian wares, as these are also not so diverse at Sedment. (However, many tombs at Sedment may be of Egyptianized Pan Grave types.) There remains the possibility of regional rather than cultural variation in the Egyptian pottery.

For the Yehudiyya ware, the evidence is so strong that a merely regional variation can be ruled out. In the MB III, it is at home only in the East Delta.

The weapons known from Tell el Yehudiyya and so far known from Tell ed-Dab^ea were Asiatic (Table 41). In the MB II, Tell ed-Dab^ea G-F, the rectangular-section battle axe with a notch in front of the socket came from L/12/5 (Table 82, Fig. 2). Later there appears the axe with the narrow blade, which had an oval or hexagonal section, raised flanges in front of and behind the socket and a molding at the socket. Finally, the axe with broad blade, moldings at the socket and a hook in front of the socket occurred.¹

Tomb L/12/5 contained a veined dagger like the ones found at Ajjul and Megiddo in the MB II B - C as well as at Lebea (Fig. 2 d). Thereafter, the dagger had a tang and flat midrib (Fig. 3 a, b). This last type occurred at Tell el Yehudiyya together with a curved-bladed knife also common in Palestine-Syrian MB III (Fig. 15 e-g).²

Contemporary weapons from Upper Egypt included no axes of Asiatic type. Egyptian axes (Fig. 134) were long plates of bronze, with a broad back for lashing to the haft, concave sides and a convex cutting edge. None had sockets. A well-documented sequence is lacking, but it would appear that the truly narrow type was latest, occurring in the treasure of Ahhotep at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.³ This state of affairs is rather curious since there were Asiatic weapons and persons represented on the walls of Middle Kingdom tombs and weapons of Asiatic type of that date were found at Kom el Hisn, Helwan and Abydos.⁴

Daggers from Upper Egypt likewise differed from those of the East Delta. The earliest examples (Fig. 135 e) tended to have the

¹Below, pp. 1181-1183.

²Below, p. 1183-1184.

³Above, p. 15.

⁴Below pp. 862-865,

closely set group of veins found on daggers from the Byblos deposits. Most others have no midribs at all. The peculiar hilt with four spikes running along the blade and pommel is of some interest. This dagger tended to become longer and slimmer, culminating in the exaggerated Kerma dagger with a nearly trapezoidal pommel and blade that was almost a spike. In Egypt, this type was found in the Ahhotep treasure, but with a large circular pommel. By this time, the blade had acquired a nearly diamond-shaped section leaving a line down the center of the blade. Kerma daggers occurred in Pan Graves, while less exaggerated types occurred in cemetery Y and YS at Hu (Fig. 135 f, g).

There was, therefore, a clear difference in both axes and daggers between those of the East Delta and those from the rest of the Nile Valley. As with Yehudiyya ware, the East Delta weapons were Asiatic.

Burial Customs

Just as in the case of the Pan Graves, so also in the East Delta there appears to be a difference in burial customs between Tell ed-Dab^{ca} and Tell el Yehudiyya on the one hand and Upper Egypt on the other (Table 83).

Position

Tell ed-Dab^{ca} contained burials in cists or tombs constructed of mud brick with arched roofs. The interments were normally on either side with the knees flexed, hands before the face. The orientation was not strict, but in the cemetery of Temple I at Tell ed-Dab^{ca}, the head was often southeast, facing southwest. In two cases, M/11/4 and N/12/7, the knees seem to have been flexed upward, collapsing upon disintegration

of the body. These statements about burial customs are also true of Tell el Yehudiyya.

At Qau, in the late Hyksos Age, the burial position of Egyptians was generally on the left side with legs straight and arms extended before the pelvis (8 A9). Common variants included a slight flexing of the legs (7 B9), or burial extended on the back (8 F9). True flexing was limited to Pan Graves. There was no case where a full-grown Egyptian was buried with both hands before the face at Qau. The same common burial positions were characteristic of the so-called Middle Kingdom burials, which should include the Second Intermediate Period down to the Hyksos Age.

Animal burials and human sacrifice

The second important feature of the Tell ed-Dab^ca tombs is the burial of donkeys in the dromos. There are parallels in Asia, especially at Ajjul, but none in Egypt or Nubia. The burial of animals or parts of animals in the tombs or in special graves is well known from Pan Grave and Kerma burials, later adopted by C group. None of these included donkeys, however, and none were made in the dromos of a tomb.

Tomb L/12/5 had the remains of two humans in the dromos with the donkeys. By parallelism to the donkeys with which they were buried, these should be sacrifices. Human sacrifice in this period is well known from Kerma;¹ it was noted in the Abydos Kerma tomb E 694.²

¹Bietak, "Vorläufige Bericht über die dritte Kampagne", fig. 3.

²Above, p. 171.

Vaulted brick superstructures

While the burial of the donkeys and the position of the burials is clearly Asiatic in the East Delta, other features of the burial are less so. The use of brick vaulted tombs has been noted here at Kom el Hisn in the Eleventh-Twelfth Dynasties,¹ at El Qatta in the Twelfth to Thirteenth, Tell Edfu² in the Twelfth to Thirteenth and Hyksos Ages, El Kab³ in the Twelfth to Thirteenth, and Kubaniyya⁴ in the Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasties in Egypt. In Nubia, tombs of this type were found in cemetery K at Buhen in the Thirteenth Dynasty and Hyksos Ages.⁵ Kerma K X contained such a structure for the main burial,⁶ and such structures were found in C-Group Tumuli of II B period,⁷ the later Hyksos Age. The vaulted tomb is not, therefore, an Asiatic feature, though the adoption of it may reflect the adaption of the Middle Bronze Age cist burials to Egypt (Table 84).

The mortuary temple

A fourth feature may also not be entirely Asiatic. This was the use of a temple as a ritual focus for a cemetery of many burials. In Egypt, the practice of the wealthy was to have the burial and funerary chapel in the same building or contiguous to each other. These were definitely separated only in the royal tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which may itself be revealing. It is possible, though, that the large number of wealthy shaft tombs with no visible superstructure in the earlier Thirteenth Dynasty may have something to do with this custom

¹Above, p. 48.

²Above, p. 183.

³Above, p. 57.

⁴Above, p. 178.

⁵Below, p. 604, tomb K44.

⁶Below, p. 557.

⁷Below, p. 529.

of separating chapel and burial. In Asia, there were possible funerary temples at Byblos (the Obelisk Temple), Megiddo (4040, and a small cenotaph, probably some Masseboth and an enclosure in "level X") and at Ajjul (the "Palace": around the Courtyard Cemetery).

The Identification of Hyksos Burials in the Eastern Delta

There is a clear difference between the pottery, weapons and burial customs of Tell ed-Dab^ca and Tell el Yehudiyya on the one hand and the rest of the Nile Valley on the other. Taken together, these features should be everywhere a key to cultural identification. At the Delta sites, these features were clearly Asiatic, of MB II and III date. We have also seen that the date of these sites closely corresponds to the dates given for the invasion of Egypt from Asia in the Second Intermediate Period. We have, therefore, every reason to identify the people buried in Tell ed-Dab^ca F - D 2, Tell el Yehudiyya, Inshas and Farasha as Hyksos.¹

¹This identification was undertaken without the aid of the scarab from tomb L/12/5 of the Deputy Overseer of the Treasury ^cAm, or the door jamb of Apophis, above, pp.66-70.