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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NUBIAN EXPEDITION
VOLUME III

EXCAVATIONS BETWEEN ABU SIMBEL
AND THE SUDAN FRONTIER

THE A-GROUP ROYAL CEMETERY AT QUSTUL:
CEMETERY L

CAMPAGNE INTERNATIONALE POUR LA SAUVEGARDE
DES MONUMENTS DE LA NUBIE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NUBIAN EXPEDITION
VOLUME III

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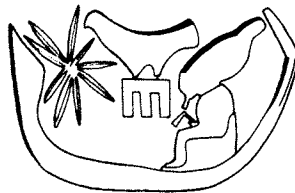
Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier

KEITH C. SEELE, *Director*

PART 1:
THE A-GROUP ROYAL CEMETERY
AT QUSTUL: CEMETERY L

by

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THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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“... *pour une histoire plus large et plus humaine.*”

Marc Bloch, 1941

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LIST OF TEXT AND REGISTER ABBREVIATIONS

ag.	agate
alab.	alabaster
am.	amethyst
bar.	barrel
bl.	black
ca.	circa
Cairo	Cairo Museum number
car.	carnelian
cont.	continued
cr.	crystal
cyl.	cylinder
dec.	decoration
diam.	diameter
dim.	dimension
dio.	diorite
disc.	discarded
E.	east
EB I	Early Bronze I
ext.	exterior
fai.	faience
fragt.	fragment
gar.	garnet
glob.	globular
hem.	hemispherical
hor.	horizontal
ht.	height
i.d.	identification
inc.	incised
int.	interior
irreg.	irregular
l.	left
lg.	large
ls.	limestone
mal.	malachite
med.	medium
N.	north
n/a	not available for study
no.	number
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum number
opp.	opposed
poss.	possibly
prob.	probably
ptd.	painted
qu.	quartz
r.	right
rect.	rectangle

rest.	restorable
S.	south
samp.	sample
sm.	small
st.	stone
tent. I.D.	tentative identification
tri.	triangle
unc.	uncertain
unk. loc.	unknown location
var.	variant
vert.	vertical
W.	west
wh.	white

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LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> , Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York
AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> , Liverpool
ArPo	<i>Archaeologia Polona</i> , Wrocław
ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
ArGe	<i>Archaeologia Geographica</i> , Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, Hamburg
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo
ʿAtiqot	ʿAtiqot (English Series), Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , Leiden
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , New York
EES	Egyptian Exploration Society, London
ILN	<i>The Illustrated London News</i> , London
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , Boston
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago
Kush	<i>Kush</i> , Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> (up to 1944: <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo</i>), Berlin, Wiesbaden (from 1970: Mainz)
OINE	<i>Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition</i> (Series), The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> , New Series, Rome
Qedem	<i>Qedem</i> , Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem
REcAn	<i>Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris</i> , Paris
Serapis	<i>Serapis</i> , Serapis Research Institute, Chicago
SJE	Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (see Nordström 1972)
SNR	<i>Sudan Notes and Records</i> , Khartoum
SAOC	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i> , The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago
WVDOG	<i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft</i> , Berlin, Leipzig
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , Leipzig, Berlin

*This work is dedicated to
Mrs. Diederika M. Seele
whose long years of devotion have given so much
to advance the study of the Nile's ancient civilization
and to
The Families
of Ballana, Qustul, Adindan, and Abu Simbel
who gave up their homes for the hope of a better world
and yet could still give the hospitality of a great people.*

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Mrs. Elizabeth Tieken did major work in comparing and repairing pottery. The conservator, Barbara Hall, and her assistant, Richard Jaeschke, did the same for stone vessel fragments.

Photographs of objects were made by Jean Grant, and some prints by Joanna Steinkeller. Helen Dates typed the manuscript for printing. Members of the Oriental Institute Museum staff who gave time, effort, and encouragement to the project in many ways are Raymond Tindel, Anita Ghaemi, and John Larson.

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Of special importance have been the extraordinary efforts made by the publications coordinator, Thomas Holland, and his assistant, John Palmer, in seeing this volume into print.

PREFACE

A. ADAPTED FROM THE PREFACE TO *ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NUBIAN EXPEDITION VOL. V*

THE Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition spent the years 1962–1964 in an entirely new area from those of the previous two seasons. When in 1960 Professor Keith C. Seele was appointed director of the Oriental Institute's program to participate in the UNESCO campaign to save the monuments of Nubia, he decided to explore the entire stretch of Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts in order to consider sites, prior to petitioning the Service des Antiquités for concessions; he became greatly attracted to the Qustul–Ballana area. After the expedition had completed its first season in the neighborhood of Beit el Wali¹ and Serra East,² Dr. Seele was granted a concession which included the area on both sides of the Nile beginning with Abu Simbel on the north and ending at the frontier of the Republic of the Sudan, thus including both Ballana and Qustul as well as Adindan.

Operations were financed by the United States Department of State Contract No. SCC 29633 from the Counterpart Funds in Egypt.

Qustul and Ballana were already well known, mainly from the excavations conducted there between 1931 and 1933 by (Sir) Laurence A. Kirwan and Walter B. Emery whose expedition discovered that the high mounds contained the burials of X-Group kings and nobles. Earlier a survey had been conducted by Emery and Kirwan.³ Later excavations carried out by Shewfiq Farid concentrated on large tumuli untouched or incompletely examined by Emery and some smaller ones. In 1961, the Egypt Exploration Society provided a "List of Sites with Recommendations" which had labeled some parts of this area "further excavation not recommended." Despite this pessimistic suggestion, Dr. Seele believed that there were many sites containing materials of considerable importance that deserved further exploration.

Because of the concession's extent and its inaccessibility, it was necessary to provide a movable base of operation. In the earlier seasons, the expedition had leased a houseboat, the *Memnon*. She had been equipped with an aged boiler which made the long journey a series of crises. In approaching the new season, Dr. Seele decided to improve the reliability of travel by purchasing a former Cook Steamer, the *Fostat*. She required extensive remodeling and repair in order to serve as living and working quarters in distant Nubia. Consequently the boat was put into drydock in Cairo, its rusted hull replaced in part with steel plates, its engines removed to make a workroom, darkroom, cabin space, and place for the Jeep. Building and construction materials were scarce in Cairo at that time and it was necessary to comb the city to find bits and pieces. Extensive documentation was required for every transaction. In this period of stress and strain, the assistance and advice of Mr. Aziz Eloui of Alexandria was of the utmost importance. Without his tireless help, Dr. Seele could never have overcome the many difficulties which arose. The Expedition owed him a tremendous debt of gratitude.

A tug, the *Elda*, was purchased in Alexandria, which could supply power of locomotion in Nubia and with the assistance of a government tug could propel the *Fostat* up the Nile in Egypt. The launch *Barbara*, already acquired in 1960 for the first season, and *Mona*, a small boat with outboard motor, completed the "fleet."

As the hectic pace of equipping the expedition continued, the staff gradually assembled in Cairo. In the 1962–1963 season, it consisted of Professor Keith C. Seele, director; James D. Knudstad, architect; Alfred C. Hoerth and Labib Habachi, archaeologists; Otto J. Schaden, photographer; Sylvia Ericson, recorder; and Mourad Abd el-Rezek, interpreter and assistant to the director; later in the season, Dr. Louis V. Zabkar joined the expedition as the third archaeologist. Fuad Yakoub was the inspector assigned to the Expedition by the Antiquities Service. The crew and household staff contained twelve members, and the excavation workers included experienced men from Quft and Illahun and one from Luxor, under the direction of Rais Hussein el-Sawaq and Rais Mohammed Hassan Unweis. The indispensable chief engineer was Ibrahim Salama Hassan of Alexandria. In Nubia, the Expedition employed sixty to seventy workmen at Qustul and Ballana.

Finally, on December 13, 1962, the Expedition sailed up the Nile. The voyage was not without incident. The Fostat ran aground on Nile silt as the pilot on the government tug searched for the channel; a large barge loaded with stone struck her broadside as it too maneuvered through the crooked channel. A very severe windstorm still further delayed navigation.

After Christmas at Chicago House in Luxor, the expedition continued its journey without mishap. Although passage through the locks at Aswan was always a tense proceeding, the Fostat left her mooring at 8:30 on a calm sunny morning and was through all the locks by 1:00.

By January 7, 1963, the Expedition fleet was moored on the east bank of the Nile at Qustul, close to the royal cemetery, 220, which had been so successfully excavated by Emery and Kirwan some thirty years before. At times in the course of excavations, Oriental Institute sites did not always coincide with the locations of sites as numbered by Emery, though they seemed clearly to be the same. Dr. Seele therefore identified cemeteries with letters of the alphabet: Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, J, K, L. Several of the sites were previously unreported.

Excavation was begun on January 9 at Qustul; the major part of the season was passed excavating the Meroitic and X-Group remains in the area of Cemetery Q. However, the expedition had an enormous area within its concession and an obligation to cover it as completely as possible before the rise of the water, though it seemed almost enough to be enjoying such success near the royal tombs of Qustul. Accordingly, while the excavation of Cemetery Q (220) was in progress, another division of the expedition set out to examine the more southerly portions of the concession near the boundary of Adindan, the southernmost village in Egyptian Nubia.

On one of the free days (as usual, Friday was the day of rest), members of the expedition, including Dr. Seele, walked south as far as the Sudan frontier searching for sites which seemed promising for excavation. There seemed to be such a wealth of graves and sites that lay about that it seemed there was enough material for several years' work, though only one season remained beyond the present.

The new project began in Cemetery R, at first with some isolated X-Group burial mounds considerably larger than those encountered in Qustul, continuing with graves containing New Kingdom material. Beyond Cemetery R, the Expedition crossed a wadi to the south, locating Cemetery S, then investigating further across the borderline between Qustul and Adindan. A short distance south of the line were found Cemeteries T and U, the first C-Group cemeteries.

Between these and Cemetery Q were a series of plots and cemeteries Dr. Seele designated V, and to the south of R was a plot he designated S. In these areas were the first A-Group remains found by the expedition. These burials and some circular cache-pits in Cemetery Q were the only A-Group remains excavated in the first season.

In the season 1962–1963, the Expedition registered 2634 finds; the Antiquities Service retained but 101 and allotted the remainder to the Oriental Institute.

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The second season in the Qustul–Ballana region began with excavations on the west bank of the Nile, south of Ballana and across the river from the sites of previous years' work at Qustul. A period of desperately intense effort was anticipated, for this was to be the last opportunity to excavate in most of the concession before the closing of the dam and the rise of the water level. Most of the areas in which remains might be found lay but a few feet above the present river level and so would disappear wholly or partially in the first flooding.

The Expedition staff was entirely new, excepting the director. The new members were Donald D. Bickford, architect; Carl E. DeVries, archaeologist; Duane Burnor, archaeologist, anthropologist, and photographer; Boleslaw Marczuk, archaeologist; and Simone Deprez, archaeologist and recorder. Fuad Yakoub continued as inspector for a part of the season, later replaced by Farouk Gomaa.

After Christmas, the Expedition moved across the river to the east bank, to an area slightly south of the most southerly point which had been worked in the previous season. The first site excavated in the new area was Cemetery K, the third C–Group cemetery with a nucleus of characteristic C–Group grave circles, Pan Grave, Kerma, New Kingdom, and even late tombs. Having successfully completed the excavation of Cemetery K, Dr. Seele decided to return to Cemetery T which had been started in the previous season.

The remainder of season 1963–1964 was devoted to the excavation of A–Group cemeteries (the incised stone cylinder with representations of barks and structures was found in one of these) and a partial exploration of the well-known monastery Kasr el–Wizz. It was in the last phase of this last season that the two major groups of A–Group remains were discovered, Cemetery L and Cemetery W.

The Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition of 1962–1964 ended on April 25, 1964. During these years, Dr. Seele led the excavation of sites which covered the historical periods of occupation in ancient Lower Nubia from the A–Group through the Christian period, some four thousand years of history. The Oriental Institute was grateful for the opportunity to salvage important information and material remains before the land was submerged. It is hoped that the results of Dr. Seele's and so many others' efforts will make a contribution to knowledge and lead to an increased understanding of the past of this ancient land.

As the Expedition sailed north for the last time, past the abandoned and demolished Nubian homes from whence their owners and livestock had been removed, the impending last departure from Nubia left its members with a sense of sadness. The mysterious land in which the mounds of Qustul and Ballana loomed up almost as a fantastic moonscape was soon to disappear under the water that would cover it from the awesome dawns and the sunsets which had also been part of the Nubian experience. Lost, possibly forever, these could only remain etched in memory.

The Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition wishes to express deep gratitude to Dr. Anwar Shoukry and the late Dr. Victor Girgis, as well as members of the committee on the division, for all their kindnesses to the expedition and especially for the generosity with which they treated the Expedition's efforts in Nubia by permitting the Oriental Institute to retain more than ninety–five percent of the finds.

Upon Dr. Seele's return to Chicago in 1964, study and evaluation of our findings continued. We wish to acknowledge the assistance of those who joined in this project. Ursula Schneider was responsible for the photography; Robert H. Hanson, museum preparator, was a constant supporter and set up the Nubian exhibits in the museum; Dr. Gustavus F. Swift, curator of the Oriental Institute Museum, and the museum staff, assisted in diverse ways. In July 1971 Dr. Carl E. DeVries came to assist in the publication program. Among the volunteers who contributed greatly to the work was Donald D. Bickford of Honolulu, who spent part of two winters in Chicago drawing our pots; Mrs. Theodore Tieken, whose experienced hands mended our pots and transformed fragments into complete

specimens; Mrs. Corsin Ellis, also a pot mender; and Mrs. John J. Livingood, whose enthusiasm inspired her Oriental Institute docents so that they in turn made the public aware of the Nubian exhibits and the expedition.

In February 1971 the possibility of a publication was greatly furthered by a generous gift from an anonymous donor. This gave tremendous encouragement. Mr. and Mrs. John Leslie also donated funds toward the cost of publication. The expedition is deeply grateful and also wishes to acknowledge with thanks other gifts to the Nubian expedition which have been mentioned elsewhere. It is our earnest desire that a worthy publication may come to pass.

The above brief account of the work of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition at Qustul, Ballana, and Adindan is based on the notes and letters of the late director, Professor Keith C. Seele. After his return from the field in 1964 he had devoted himself to an intensive study of the results of the excavations and the planning for the publication. Unfortunately he was not permitted to see his work completed. He died on July 23, 1971.

This volume is the second to be published of a series which in its entirety will be the publication of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition at Qustul, Ballana, and Adindan 1962–1964. The various periods of Nubian culture will be considered separately. The present volume is concerned with the A–Group material found in Cemetery L and has been planned and executed by Dr. Bruce Williams of the Oriental Institute.

B. THE DISCOVERY OF CEMETERY L AT QUSTUL

The Nubian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago that excavated in Qustul and Adindan in the season of 1962–1963 uncovered cemeteries of the early Christian, X–Group, Meroitic, New Kingdom, and C–Group peoples. At the end of the season, in an area that had been greatly disturbed by the construction of a *sakia* (later abandoned), some scattered large A–Group tombs were found. Thus, some three thousand years of history had been traveled in reverse. These tombs were badly damaged and did not contain any human remains. However, one tomb with a spacious side burial chamber did yield some stone palettes, one with four legs, some jewelry, and several types of pottery, including the delicate thin ware with the red painted basket weave pattern on a buff background and polished black interior.⁴ These pots, dating the tomb, are some of the most beautiful of this period.

The following season, 1963–1964, found the expedition digging through cemeteries of later periods of history, but then in February 1964 a new experience came to them. As Dr. Seele wrote:

When we started digging in an open region farther than usual from native dwellings and dominated by a single picturesque tree, we were trusting to luck. Yet we had more than luck; we had our trusted Gufti workmen, expert in finding graves even where there was no visible trace of them on the surface. Thus we opened our first A–Group cemetery which we designated L. If we knew enough about the A–Group people to reconstruct their social, economic, and political life we might claim that the L cemetery was a royal cemetery. The tombs were enormous rectangular shafts entirely different from anything reported by Emery in his survey from Wadi es-Sebu^ca to Adindan. They were huge in dimensions, several as much as thirty feet in length. They had been badly plundered in antiquity and many of the objects had been destroyed intentionally, while the richest ones had been carried off. Still the plunderers had left some things for us and we recovered several objects which we considered the most important ever found in Nubia.

The largest and the most exciting tomb (as we first opened it) consisted of an enormous

rectangular shaft with a row of eighteen or nineteen gigantic storage jars lined up against each of the long side walls. They were full of earth caked in almost cement hardness as these shafts have been repeatedly wet through their 5000 years of existence. All but one jar were cracked in such a manner that our men had to peel off the sherds like removing the shell of an Easter egg. The four tallest, almost cylindrical jars bore at the shoulder, waist, and near the bottom the modeled imitation of a rope such as sometimes is used by early potters to support the heavy weight of the wet clay before firing. The others with wide shoulders and nearly pointed round bottoms had in some cases incised pot marks, in others red painted decoration consisting usually of groups of wavy or zigzag lines, horizontal or vertical, reminiscent of the hieroglyphic word for "water."

This grave and the others in Cemetery L contained objects of great and in some cases even unique importance. In the empty burial chamber of the first grave there were sherds of an enormous bowl which proved to be of supreme importance because of the painted decoration that in certain details is similar to a famous jar in the British Museum.⁵ In another grave in this cemetery the sherds of a somewhat similar bowl are adorned with giraffes and a bubalis, precisely like those engraved on one side of the Louvre palette, also dating from the Predynastic period, and on the famous "Lion Palette" in the British and Ashmolean Museums. A third and most significant find in another of the graves in Cemetery L was the stone incense burner with the deeply incised relief that is discussed in detail in this volume. The Gerzean storage jar in the British Museum bears a painted decoration containing an identical bark as shown in the relief on the incense burner. Dr. Seele had suggested that the A-Group cemetery L might have been the burial place of chiefs or "kings." The grave that yielded that beautiful incense burner was largely and badly plundered but remains of a wooden burial couch with copper finials on the posts, much jewelry, necklaces of first class workmanship, unusual pottery, and a variety of objects pointing to wealth remained.

Jewelry was evidently much cherished by these A-Group people; in one grave where some of the original arrangement survived, not only was the body still wearing a substantial amount of jewelry, including a necklace of gold beads with a golden pendant in the form of a fly, but there was a basket or box-load of finished and unfinished shell jewelry. Most of these objects were shell hooks, tokens, and studs but there were also bracelets and beads.⁶

There were other outstanding objects in this cemetery, notably a decidedly foreign imported Egyptian pottery stand with its rectangular opening at the side and with three scaly serpents standing upright on their tails. In L 19 a terra-cotta hippopotamus head was found, part of a complete figure.⁷ It was affectionately dubbed "Perky" by the staff members because of its realistic, lively expression. All of these and the other finds are discussed in detail by Dr. Bruce Williams in this volume. They provide insight into this area about which only limited history has been available.

While in the field the push of the work leaves little time for contemplation. New material continually presses upon one's time and there is endless recording to be done day by day. And always the awareness of the necessity to cover as much of the field as possible, for the days of this land are numbered and all too soon it would be drowned. What remained in the ground would be lost forever under the great lake above it.

Finally, the expedition returned to the Oriental Institute headquarters and the objects that the Egyptian government had so generously granted to it were unpacked and housed. During the first years they were subjected to three moves to different storage areas allotted to them. Eventually the time came when they could be studied and researched. It was then that it was possible to see things that had only been hastily observed in the field. Broken pottery became whole in the hands of devoted and skilled volunteers. And unrelated pieces found at diverse times came together. As Dr. Seele has written:

It was an exciting experience at the time the objects were lifted out of the graves in the field but this emotion was possibly even surpassed when the exhibits were being set up and it was realized what treasures the expedition had brought home. . . . They continued to grow on us as the new exhibits took shape. During that hectic period we kept finding objects that we had shipped home in pieces not only fitted together but were in some cases astonishingly interrelated. Soon we began to realize that certain of our finds, especially among the A-Group objects, were destined to become world famous, attractions to draw scholars to our museum for years to come. . . . In the initial planning of the program for the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, hope was expressed that the results might bring to light new links between Egypt and inner Africa. Perhaps we shall enjoy some realization of this hope but we little dreamed that we should be fated to turn up fantastic links between 2nd Cataract Nubia and Mesopotamia.⁸

The results achieved by the excavation have continued to be the subject of study since Dr. Seele's death. Dr. Carl E. DeVries had been a member of the expedition in Nubia and he came to assist Dr. Seele in the task of publication just three weeks before the latter's death. He continued in charge of the program for some three years. Severe eye problems prevented him from completing this task and in time Dr. Bruce Williams undertook the project and has given his knowledge and dedication to it. Dr. Seele, who had been so aware of the significance of the A-Group material, was very concerned that it be published. Now it is hoped that this information may be shared with other scholars and so contribute to the knowledge of the history of Nubia—a land lying silent in its watery grave. Those who participated in the excavation and removal, as well as in the publication, of these treasures have preserved this land in the memory of man.

Diederika Millard Seele

NOTES

1. Ricke, Hughes, and Wente 1967.
2. Hughes 1963.
3. Emery and Kirwan 1935.
4. See below, pp. 27–60.
5. See below, pp. 152–54.
6. See below, pp. 304ff.
7. See below, pp. 150–51.
8. Personal communication (letter from Dr. Seele to Mrs. Seele), 1964.

INTRODUCTION

A. CEMETERY L AND EGYPTIAN HISTORY

IT is no easy task to describe events in the birth of the realization that Cemetery L at Qustul was not merely a group of contexts unique in A-Group Nubia, but at present, unique in the Nile Valley. The idea emerged over some months, hampered by the terrible destruction in the cemetery, the mixture of materials, and even the complex problems of archaeological chronology in the late Predynastic period. The process began with the discovery of Cemetery L in the last days of January 1964. Professor Seele immediately realized that L was of special importance, a context of unique wealth, that contained many objects of Egyptian origin and many objects unparalleled at other sites, especially the Qustul incense burner. The understanding that remained with him and with Professor DeVries after him was that L was the cemetery of important chieftains or “kings” in the A-Group period.¹ In the late summer of 1977, after the submission of the manuscript for *Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition*, vol. V, work began on the earlier material. The complete or restorable objects had been carefully catalogued by Dr. Seele, and most whole pots and objects were photographed. There remained, however, about fourteen boxes of painted sherds, numerous boxes of other sherds, and some piles of fragments from stone vessels that had been examined for joins but had not been matched by shape and texture; an accident in transport had destroyed some of their provenience labels. Mrs. Elizabeth Ticken, who had spent many years working with this pottery, and I joined in a procedure in which we separately examined and compared each sherd according to shape, decorative texture, and fabric with all others to distinguish individual objects. At the same time, the conservator, Barbara Hall, and her assistant, Richard Jaeschke, sorted the piles of stone vessel fragments seeking joins, and sorted the fragments to identify individual alabaster vessels by means of color, texture, and grain. A-Group painted bowls were uncommon and stone vessels were quite rare in Nubia; we expected to distinguish many fragments of a few painted bowls and a few stone vessels. This expectation was not fulfilled, and by the middle of October 1977, over a hundred stone vessels and over a thousand painted bowls were identified.

As incense burners with incised decorations were examined, some were found to have palace facades of the type that have been known to occur as potmarks before the First Dynasty.² The wealth in vessels (and many other objects) and these palace facades indicated clearly that we were dealing with royal tombs, and with this idea in mind, the Qustul incense burner was reexamined with a view toward its restoration. The major features of a correct restoration were immediately clear, reinforcing strongly the royal nature of this cemetery and placing this object in the select company of a few documents of political history in this period.

At this time, the “Protodynastic” date of the cemetery was hardly challenged, and many months were devoted to classifying and describing pottery and objects as well as research into the place of Cemetery L in the history of those cultures that occupied Nubia and the Sudan. Cemetery L was seen for the time as a cemetery of provincial royalty ancestral to great things in Nubia, but pale when compared to the first achievements of Egyptian political organization, art, and architecture. However, as the preparation of the manuscript progressed, from A-Group to Egyptian objects, persistent

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problems with the dating emerged. Only the latest tombs in the cemetery seemed to contain objects that ceased to be deposited in Egypt about the time of Djer, and they could be compared more precisely to materials from the time of Aḥa and earlier. Early tombs in the cemetery, such as L 24, contained pottery and stone vessels that had generally been dated before the First Dynasty. A group of painted bowls and a stand from slightly later tombs that belonged to the early and middle period of the cemetery also dated to the late Predynastic period. Other evidence from Tura, Beda, and elsewhere indicated that Cemetery L began well before the First Dynasty, and the scratched *serekhs* from the cemetery related directly, in date as well as type, to Kaiser's group of Predynastic palace facades.³ The cemetery was mostly earlier than the modest "Dynasty O" tombs of Ka, Narmer, and B 1/2 (Iry-Hor) at Abydos and not contemporary with the later great monuments of the First Dynasty. The larger tombs of Cemetery L actually equaled or exceeded these in size and elaboration.

Professor Seele had excavated a cemetery of fully royal tombs that equaled the elaboration of its counterparts in Egypt; L 24 was some generations earlier than any tomb in the B cemetery at Abydos.

Apart from other "firsts" in representation and art, the Qustul incense burner stands out at this writing, not as a provincial imitation of some unknown Egyptian monument but as the first self-evident pharaonic monument from the Nile Valley, the first unequivocal representation of a pharaoh in his person, the first definite linking of the pharaoh's figure with the Horus falcon, palace facade, and boat that later became the sacred bark, the first self-evident representation of an event linked with the royal sacrifice, and the first datable monumental-ceremonial object that compares with the slate palettes and maceheads of Egypt. The evidence is summarized below.

The great tombs in Cemetery L are to be dated sequentially, ending by the time of Abydos Cemetery B and beginning six generations or more earlier, L 24 being about four generations or more before Ka.⁴ The tombs are much the same as Abydos B 1/2 (Iry-Hor), B 7/9 (Ka), and B 18/17 (Narmer); the trench and associated chamber represent, perhaps, the double pit design of these pre-First Dynasty tombs at Abydos.⁵ Although fragmentary, the wealth was vastly superior to any contemporary tombs in Nubia or Egypt down to the Royal Cemetery at Abydos; this includes the thousand painted bowls, a hundred stone vessels from the cemetery, twenty-two storage jars in one tomb, and local objects in unusual numbers and quality.⁶ The Qustul incense burner and Horus of Nekhen incense burner are royal documents and other incense burners with *serekhs* are comparable with the prehistoric palace facades from Egypt. The Qustul incense burner clearly shows the *nesu* with Horus about four generations before Iry-Hor, and a series of roughly contemporary seals and sealings from other sites refer to the dynasty by the use of the same unusual form of palace facade.⁷ One sealing actually refers to the name Ta-Seti, the name used at this period on the plaque of Ḥor-Aḥa from Abydos, the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman inscription, as well as this sealing from Nubia, that connects this particular form of palace facade with the name Ta-Seti.⁸

B. THE CONCESSION

The geology, general observations on physical geography, flora, fauna, and recent theories on the ancient climate of Nubia have been repeatedly presented in various publications of research undertaken during rescue operations,⁹ and it is hardly necessary or desirable to repeat again what has already been said for both scholars and laymen elsewhere. In order to give some idea of the situation of the materials excavated by Dr. Seele and their relation to materials previously explored, a brief superficial description of the OINE concession in the Abu Simbel-Adindan area is in order (pl. 1). The southern concession

granted to the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition by the government of the Arab Republic of Egypt (then U.A.R.) extended on the west bank of the Nile from north of the Abu Simbel temples to the Sudan frontier (pls. 2, 3). On the east bank, the concession extended from Map Reference 960 also to the Sudan frontier. The area thus bounded included about twenty kilometers of the river from north to south (river direction) and the southern two-thirds of the village settlement of Abu Simbel (proper, not boundaries) with Qustul and Adindan on the left bank and the village of Ballana on the right bank.¹⁰

In many ways, the area of the concession did not appear much different from other stretches of the Nile in Lower Nubia. The basic aspect of the country south of Wadi es-Sebu^c mostly consisted of small, approximately crescentic, alluvial plains or terraces, each with its separate village (*omodiyya*), which alternated with desert that reached down to the river. In a few cases villages, such as Toshka, occupied more than one plain and some longer crescents of alluvium contained two villages.

Rocky eminences bordered much of the valley in the concession area. In the east are the hills of the Abu Simbel plateau, made up of soft eroded Nubian sandstone preserved under harder caps, but so completely cut by *khors*¹¹ near the river that access from the desert is not at all impeded and the hills serve mainly to make a spectacular scenery. To the north and east, these hills are near the river, behind Abu Simbel village, and reach the river at Gebel Ada. South of Gebel Ada, they are more broken up by *khors* and located toward the east, leaving a low slightly domed desert plain east of Qustul and Adindan. On the the west side, from Arminna to the temples of Abu Simbel, the bank is essentially desert. The temples of Abu Simbel themselves are cut into an uplifted eroded spur of *gebel* that reaches the river from the west only at this point. The *gebel* retreats rapidly to the south-southwest, first to a line that parallels the Nile about three kilometers west, which makes a boundary north and west of the sandy low desert at Ballana. South of Ballana, this desert, too, is slightly domed, and the monastery of Kasr el Wizz is located at the edge of the cut made by the valley, opposite Adindan. This group of four villages belongs together, and, in a sense, is connected geographically with the plain of Faras to the south, but is separate from the rest of Egyptian Nubia, for between Abu Simbel and Arminna the valley is very narrow and the river is bounded by the desert for over ten kilometers.

Because of the nature of the concession, to explore Neolithic and later sites below the projected 180 m (river level) height of the reservoir, the larger features of the local geology were incidental to the actual operations of the expedition. However, the character of modern settlements in the area played a major role in the exploration and discoveries, and some consideration should be given to them.

The village of Abu Simbel (Fariq) on the east bank had a typical narrow crescent of arable land. As usual, a band of trees and vegetation lined the bank of the river. Behind the higher bank was a band of cultivation on either side with recent canals, but also containing the mostly abandoned houses occupied in Emery's day and some scattered trees toward the eastern edge. East of the second canal was a second, narrower and discontinuous row of fields. Beyond was the narrow crescent of the modern village, some four to seven houses deep, built on the low desert terrace at the mouths of two *khors* and in front of the low hill between.¹² One or two longitudinal alleys divided the village which was bounded on the north by a spur of *gebel* and on the south by a group of hills and again the high *gebel*. Although it was over fourteen kilometers long, the village proper, including the fields, was hardly a kilometer across at its widest point.

On the west bank, Ballana village began just to the south of the Abu Simbel temples opposite the southern end of Abu Simbel, and continued to the Sudan frontier; its southern seven kilometers were desert.

A large feeder canal opened to the river in the center of the plain and fed two systems irrigating respectively the area closest to the desert and an area just inside the banks of the Nile to the east. A

second, very small system picked up water just opposite Gebel Ada and, paralleling part of the main system, irrigated a small area of floodplain near the river.

The cultivable land of Ballana was in two strips, one, beside the river toward the north, the original alluvial terrace, and a second brought under cultivation with the help of pumps¹³ in a lower strip to the west. Between the two strips, and to the south, between the western strip and the river, was a higher area, about two by one kilometers, with patches of dunes, scrub, and to the north, cultivation, where the great royal cemetery of Ballana was located. Three longitudinal systems of dunes cut across the northern part of the village area from the northwest; before the High Dam, they contained houses oriented in rows that paralleled the axis direction of the dunes. Other groups of houses were found in a cluster near the north end of the village. Rows of houses straggled along the riverbank and the edge of the cultivation; a cluster was near the south branch of the canal that irrigated the western strip and a few groups appeared along the desert edge toward the south of the village. Although the topography of Ballana is somewhat more complex than most Nubian villages, the ancient remains were concentrated in two places. A- and C-Group sites and Cemetery B of the Meroitic period were found in an arc along the true desert edge, mostly at or on the low terrace but sometimes on higher ground. The X-Group cemetery was in the sandy area between the western band of cultivation and the river, occupying an area nearly two kilometers by one kilometer between the Nile and the desert.

South of the cemetery, the cultivation ended and the desert closed in on the river; the bank had hardly more than an occasional clump of vegetation or palm until the Sudan frontier was reached. Just to the north of the border, the low plateau angled southward toward the river, nearly reaching the bank and paralleling it for a kilometer or so as far as the eminence of Kasr el Wizz, where it retreated to the west.

Four islands or groups of islands were found in the river here. In the north was the remnant of Abu Simbel island, which in Emery's time was almost two kilometers long. Opposite Ballana and Adindan, respectively, were two islands in the middle of the river, each just under three kilometers long and over half a kilometer wide. Near the bank at Qustul was a group of small islands that has emerged since the 1930s. The two larger islands, Ballana and Adindan, were farmed. Adindan island also had structures in the fields.

The dramatic relief of the eroded Red Sea hills separated the southernmost houses of Abu Simbel from the northernmost of Qustul on the east bank. First the cliffs, followed by a lower eminence with the opening of the Khor el Ur, then Gebel Ada with its fortress and cemeteries, constricted the Nile. This was followed in series by two more small desert plains, each with a high bank ending in a rocky peak. In the north, the broad low desert of Qustul and Adindan ended close to the river. Toward the village of Qustul it was higher, like a half-dome, and, cut by *khors*, it formed a *gebel* face behind Qustul and Adindan, with a terrace situated above the cultivation. About two kilometers north of Qustul village proper, the great X-Group tumuli of Qustul were encountered. These occupied a compact area about a kilometer in length by about three hundred meters, divided by a small *khor*, directly opposite the much larger necropolis of Ballana.

Except for the small group of islands near the bank, the general aspect of Qustul was fairly typical of Nubian villages. The banks of the river were occupied by bush and palms, the slope away from the river by fields, followed by a row or pair of rows of large Nubian houses, some with gardens. Qustul changed after the 1930s; a larger group of houses was built at the eastern edge of the low sandy plain, backed up against the *gebel*, leaving the space of desert terrace between the two groups.¹⁴ Toward the southern end of the village the space between the two groups increased, the first at the cultivation, the second group close to the more and more prominent *gebel*, leaving a space nearly five hundred meters wide between.

Although the actual border between the two entities was nearly a kilometer to the north, the meager agricultural area of Qustul gave way to the more ample crescent of Adindan opposite the tip of Adindan island. A fairly large *chor* separated a part of Adindan which better belonged, geographically at least, to Qustul, from the rest of the Adindan village. Typically, the riverbank in Adindan was occupied by trees and brush, but more thickly than Qustul. The inner bank and floodplain were occupied by neat fields up to some hundreds of meters in depth; at their outer edge they were lined with more trees and brush. At Adindan, the *gebel* was close to the fields and only a few houses were found along its base. Most were built on the *gebel* itself, often in rows oriented east–west. Near the south end of the Adindan crescent, the *gebel* was lower, and the houses again were placed in the same two groups noted above for Qustul: the village settlement ended some five or six hundred meters north of the Sudan frontier.

Operations of the Expedition were concentrated in the village area of Qustul and Adindan, and their course and relation to the village are related below.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN THE CONCESSION

Although archaeological exploration began in this area with Belzoni, and was continued by the Lepsius expedition and later the Weigall survey, all of these concentrated on the visible pharaonic monuments and surveys of medieval remains. The expedition was launched to explore archaeological contexts of the late prehistoric and historic ages. Some early explorers and travelers, notably Burckhardt and Amelia Edwards, had observed the Qustul tumuli and even attempted minor exploration. However, the location and systematic excavation of sites in this region began with the survey led by Walter B. Emery and (Sir) Laurence P. Kirwan in 1929, the second Nubian rescue, in which all sites were to be recorded below 123 R.L., the maximum height of the new reservoir.¹⁵ In this area the contour includes a restricted area, and the area to be surveyed was small but this expedition noted some sites in areas adjacent to the designated reservoir. From Abu Simbel to the frontier, some thirteen sites were observed but only two excavated, the great royal cemeteries 219 and 220. In almost all cases this avoidance, apart from the mistaken impression that the sites were unimportant,¹⁶ was justified as the sites were not about to be flooded. However, only major tumuli in the great royal cemeteries were excavated and the C–Group settlement below R.L. 123, a significant site, was ignored and lost; other problems also resulted in an incomplete detection of sites. No sites were found (nor sought?) in the alluvium where flooding and agriculture had disturbed, or vegetation obscured, them.¹⁷ Sites were not found among or inside the huge Nubian house complexes. Thus, ancient sites were found only where there was little or no modern occupation and most of the area usable in ancient times for occupation or tombs was unavailable or simply not explored.¹⁸

The second major exploration of the area, concentrated between R.L. 130 and 180, was made under the direction of Professor Walter B. Emery and carried out and published by Professor Harry Smith. Areas previously surveyed, areas under cultivation or not accessible (inside houses), and areas already given in concession were avoided.¹⁹ At Adindan, south of the village, a large Christian cemetery was added to Emery's original list; behind Qustul, a number of C–Group plots and cemeteries were also found. In the northern plain of Qustul and among the hills of southern Abu Simbel behind Gebel Ada, a number of C– and X–Group cemeteries were discovered. Rock drawings were found on the *gebel* behind Adindan and in the hills south of Abu Simbel. However, no sites were located in the entire region of Abu Simbel village on the left bank, to the north.²⁰

On the west bank, in the area of Ballana, somewhat similar results were encountered. Just north of the frontier a Christian settlement, Meroitic building, and the complex of Kasr el Wizz, with associated buildings and cemetery, were surveyed. No new sites were found south of the main canal at Ballana,

but to the north a row of A-Group and C-Group settlements and cemeteries was encountered which followed the desert edge; some of these were of significant size, though all of the cemeteries had been heavily plundered. Three kilometers behind Ballana and on the *gebel* just south of Abu Simbel rock drawings were noted. With the completion of exploratory excavation, the major areas of early settlement known to exist, at south Qustul and Adindan on the east bank and north Ballana on the west, were understandably considered sufficiently known and labeled "further excavation not necessary," as were the great cemeteries of Ballana and Qustul.²¹

Apart from some excavations by Shewfiq Farid in the Royal Cemeteries, after a season of exploration in the winter of 1961, the area was assigned to the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition under the direction of Professor Keith C. Seele. In the fall of 1962, the expedition began to excavate private tombs in Cemetery 220 and to explore the area of Qustul. Here, the most productive area was found to be that just above the R.L. 123 contour, between the two major rows of settlement on the low desert terrace, the one area not previously intensively surveyed. Some thirteen new cemeteries were discovered and excavated in this lower area. One, Cemetery J, was below the high water mark. Virtually all of the newly found cemeteries lacked superstructures of any size. The area was, in fact, almost lined with cemeteries, and we cannot now be certain that they were all discovered. But Seele, like his predecessors, labored under handicaps, for he too could not work in the large Nubian house compounds, which effectively prevented exploration in the village areas most likely to have been settled or used as burial grounds in ancient times. The alluvium had also to be neglected. However, with the added advantage of time, he concentrated in a limited area, and the result he achieved in areas for which further exploration was not recommended reflects on the reliability of surface exploration in Nubia generally and especially in the immediate area.

A number of problems have affected the outcome of such explorations. The Nile has not always had its present channels and old islands have been reduced in size while new ones have appeared even in the last generation. The conditions of agriculture and settlement in modern times also made exploration difficult, for sites have not often been in cultivated land. Although evidence for such sites would be of doubtful coherence due to agricultural activity, a basic record of location and date would be indispensable for any direct understanding of ancient settlement. Moreover, the large, modern Nubian houses were often closely concentrated precisely where ancient settlements and cemeteries could be expected. In the last generation before the third rescue, the location of these houses expanded substantially toward the desert, further reducing the area that would normally require exploration. In this connection it should be noted that cemeteries were found on both sides of houses at Qustul.²²

Available techniques and necessary limitations of exploration may have interfered with discovery. In the second rescue, the first to affect this area, the specified mission was to find sites below R.L. 123, those threatened with inundation; those above were, in a sense, not in the direct line of consideration and the second survey in this area, part of the third rescue, avoided reexploration of areas covered by the first. Completed in two seasons in one year, there was little time to explore the area newly threatened, much less the area of the prior survey. Both surveys most successfully found loci with obvious surface features, the superstructures of C-Group and X-Group tombs, the large, concentrated cemeteries and superstructures of Meroitic times, debris from occupation, and recently plundered cemeteries. Thus, cemeteries without superstructures and untouched or anciently plundered tombs tended to go unnoticed. These, mostly of A-Group and New Kingdom dates, were primarily those newly discovered by the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (L and W of A-Group, S, R, and V a-h, substantially New Kingdom). As the maps show (pls. 2, 3), Seele's explorations were far from complete and done in only two seasons; we must assume that as much was left behind in the inhabited

areas he did not explore as in the uninhabited areas he could excavate, and north Ballana could have contained more sites buried under the dunes.

Although the intensity of exploration in the last rescue varied considerably according to the time, resources, and practices of the expeditions, the experience of the OINE in this concession fairly closely parallels that of others operating at this time. We must therefore consider the archaeological record in Nubia and its recovery far from satisfactory. The destruction of settlements, when the Nile adjusted its course, when the wind blew away debris, by agriculture and *sebakh*-digging, has considerably altered the archaeological record. The obscuring of sites under alluvium and wind-blown sediments, but especially under modern settlements, has substantially altered our knowledge of both settlements and cemeteries. The comparison between the number of sites found by the second survey in north Ballana, which had few or no houses in the usual arc, with the utter absence of sites in Abu Simbel village, where there were many modern houses in the equivalent location, is especially striking. Surface survey is inevitably prejudiced against discovery of sites without surface traces, most often A-Group and New Kingdom cemeteries,²³ and in favor of those, such as the X- and C-Group cemeteries, that left impressive surface remains. Because of these problems of preservation and exploration, it would be difficult to justify any but general statements about the relative intensity and location of ancient settlements and populations in Lower Nubia.²⁴ Where exploration was not rendered substantially incomplete by destruction or modern settlement, we can note the obscure or strong presence of sites in a given period. However, substantially refined population estimates can hardly be justified on the basis of the fragmentary and selectively identified evidence we have.²⁵

NOTES

1. Seele (1974, p. 38) refers to a prince or king "if such existed in Nubia at the beginning of the Egyptian First Dynasty." DeVries (1976, p. 55) refers to the tomb: "Cemetery L represents a higher economic or social stratum of Nubia than did Cemetery W."

2. Kaiser 1964, pp. 105–12, especially fig. 7; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14.

3. Kaiser 1964, p. 108 (Tura) and p. 112 (Beda); Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14, Horizon A.

4. See below, pp. 163–67.

5. See below, pp. 175–77.

6. See below, chapters 2 and 3.

7. See below, pp. 167–70.

8. See below, pp. 169–70.

9. Nordström 1972, pp. 3–4; Rushdi Said and Bahay Issawy 1965; Heinzelin and Paepe 1965; Butzer and Hansen 1968, fig. K (K:1 covers Adindan to Abu Simbel); and Rushdi Said, Wendorf, and Schild 1970. For a general summary see Adams 1977, pp. 20–42.

10. The concession excluded Abu Oda, Gebel esh-Shams, Gebel Ada, and the Abu Simbel temples. To some extent the village (*omodiyya*) designations are arbitrary since they include stretches of uninhabited desert between the villages proper.

11. In Lower Nubia the word *wadi* usually refers to a stretch of the valley itself, indicating some special feature of the region. Wadi Alaqi is an exception.

12. Comparison can be made between the landscape in 1960 and that about 1930. See Butzer and Hansen 1968, fig. K:1, and Emery and Kirwan 1935, pls. 68–69.

13. Smith 1962, p. 26.

14. Some of the changes are discussed by Bahiga Haikal (1966, p. 289) and Abdel Hamid el Zein (1966, pp. 298–322 *passim*).

15. Smith 1962, p. 3, and Emery and Kirwan 1935, pls. 60–69 for R.L. 123.

16. Smith 1962, pp. 5–45 *passim* and pp. 2–3 for limitations of the survey.

17. This excepts a settlement found near cultivation. See Smith 1962, p. 26 for the R.L. 123 limit on the Emery–Kirwan survey.

18. Ibid., pp. 2–3, 19, and 78–79 for further limitations.

19. Ibid., p. 19.

20. Ibid., pp. 5–45 passim. On p. 20, Kasr el Wizz was recommended as a concession with Meroitic building W and a Christian settlement nearby. Two small town sites on the west bank at Abu Simbel north of the concession were also recommended. No other sites in or near the concession were recommended for excavation.

21. Ibid., esp. pp. 11 and 26.

22. Seele 1974. The present discussion does not detail the potentially most important alteration in the archaeological evidence we have, deliberate human agency. *Sebakh* digging had already destroyed many sites by the time of the first Archaeological Survey of Nubia, and the destruction continued even as the archaeologists worked. Since *sebakh* digging has been closely associated with *saqiya*-irrigation, it was probably quite important in the more distant past as well. See Firth 1912, pp. 43–44.

23. Seele 1974. As noted below p. 9, the largest number of new sites discovered by the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition contained A-Group and New Kingdom remains.

24. Hellström and Langballe 1970, pp. 17–18, where a number of similar problems of exploration in Sudanese Nubia are discussed.

25. A problem of interpretation, that phases represented by highly distinctive remains are better documented than others, is a recurring theme in this series. See *OINE* IV, chapter 2; *OINE* VI; *OINE* VII, chapter 1; and *OINE* VIII (forthcoming).

1

THE OCCURRENCE, DATE, AND CHARACTER OF A-GROUP REMAINS IN CEMETERIES AND CEMETERY L

A-GROUP remains were found in both seasons 1962-63 and 1963-64 of the Oriental Institute excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan frontier, most often as tombs or small groups of tombs. Tombs and loci recorded in 1962-63 included storage pits in Cemetery Q, a few graves in S, and about eleven in V; in season 1963-64 a number of graves were found in T, thirty-three in L, and twenty-eight in Cemetery W.¹ The number of tombs and loci found in this part of the Nile Valley was thus comparable to, but not larger than, the numbers of contemporary tombs and loci found elsewhere.

A. THE OCCURRENCE OF A-GROUP

A-Group cemeteries have been found as far north as Kubaniyya and as far south as Melik en-Nasir in the Second Cataract² (pl. 2); the known area occupied was thus slightly more extensive than that occupied by the C-Group of Lower Nubia later, which did not extend to Gamai.³ On the other hand, the size of most A-Group cemeteries is smaller and we know of about the same number, so we might assume that the population was smaller in A-Group than in C-Group. However, even small children were often given the complete burial treatment given to adults in C-Group times, while during the A-Group, infants, when buried at all, were buried in pots⁴ and older children were often buried in small pits.⁵ Moreover, only one A-Group cemetery contained tombs with the superstructures that make cemeteries so much easier to find. Since the OINE discovered so much new A-Group material at Qustul, we should consider A-Group the most inadequately represented of all the post-Neolithic periods in the materials previously surveyed and excavated.⁶

In addition to the difficulties of discovery, A-Group cemeteries in Nubia do not reach the enormous size of some Predynastic Egyptian burial grounds. Many cemeteries contained fewer than thirty tombs, and isolated graves and small groups are common. The larger cemeteries are often in the northern part of Lower Nubia, Khor Bahan (Cemetery 17) with about eighty-five tombs,⁷ Metardul (Cemetery 50)⁸ with about eighty-seven, and Cemetery 166 with about the same number.⁹ The cemetery at Faras with over 150 tombs is actually two cemeteries.¹⁰

The distribution of A-Group cemeteries as known by 1965 was in three regions, the first between Kubaniyya and Dehmit, the second between Gerf Hussein and Mediq, and the third between Abu Simbel and Gamai, though isolated cemeteries and even important finds, such as the Afya houses, were located in the areas between.¹¹ Despite the fact that cemeteries and other sites must have remained undetected, the normal size of the cemeteries is clearly established and they give an impression, however misleading, of a short, rather sparse occupation.¹²

A-GROUP REMAINS

TABLE 2—Background for a Chronology of the A-Group

<i>Type-Groups*</i>	<i>Local Pottery</i>
1. ASN 1: Cemetery 17 at Khor Bahan (most groups)	Identical to Egyptian Naqada I
2. ASN 3: 99.6A; 103.11, .12	A-Group bulged-conical forms appear Early sinuous deep bowls
3. ASN 2: 76.105, .109; 79.142; 80.13 ASN 3: 102.304; 103.12**, .15, .24, .52 ASN 4: 136.3	Sinuous-sided deep bowls Broad shallow bowls Open conical bowls
4. ASN 2: 76.65, .67, .70, .133; 79.3, .11, .143, .166, .178 ASN 3: 101.547, .548; 102.160, .329; 103.9 ASN 4: 134.14; 136.13, .14 E + K: 206.18 SJE: 277.27 series with W24	Sinuous shape becomes slight bend at rim Globular forms appear First incised decoration on conical bowls
5. ASN 2: 76.112; 79.97, .138, .160, .165 ASN 3: 103.26 E + K: 166.24	Peaked-pointed bottom shapes First coloring of bowls Large pointed jars appear
6. ASN 2: 79.135, .139; 89.686, .768 ASN 3: 99.6***; 101.556, .639; 102.158, .289; 103.42 ASN 4: 111.20, .26 SJE: 95.42; 277.16, .18, .21, .22, .30, .29, .34, .37, .38, .44, .45, .56, .58, .60, .62, .66, .51; 292.23	Rocker patterns, overall incised, painted bands Decorated smoother profile Conical bowl with pointed base, rarely flattened
7. ASN 2: 79.147; 89.647 ASN 3: 101.605 ASN 4: 111.21, .60, .97; 137.1 E + K: 166.21; 204.9 most of Cem. W, L 28, L 29	Non-band decoration, incised-painted Flattened base fairly common Nearly carinated jars common
8. ASN 2: 79.48, .66, .92 ASN 3: 98.310; 101.589, .591, .611, .617; 102.256 E + K: 215.14, .23, .27, .59, .85 SJE: 277.49; 401.49 Cem. L, L 24, and after	Elaborate painted decoration Flattened bases Shape thin, incised common A-Group jars virtually eliminated

*Groups were selected for inclusion here because they contained evidence for placement within A-Group and could be synchronized with the Naqada period in Egypt. The abbreviations are: ASN 1 (Reisner 1910), ASN 2-4 (Firth 1912, 1915, 1927), E + K (Emery and Kirwan 1935), and SJE (Nordström 1972).

**103.12 cut Khor Bahan (1) phase pit.

***99.6 is the second interment in 99.6A (2).

CHRONOLOGY OF A-GROUP

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TABLE 2—continued

<i>Egyptian Pottery (as an occurrence in Nubia)</i>	<i>Events, Etc.</i>	<i>Totals</i>
	1. Occupation by Amratian	1
Rare—Naqada II imports	2. Spread to Wadi Alaqi-Sayala region	2
Rare—Naqada II imports	3.	3
Sudden and massive importation Often pots in majority of tombs	4. Establishment of intense trading with Egypt Khor Daud	4
Continued massive importation	5.	5
Continued massive importation	6. Occupation of the Cataract region	6
Continued massive importation	7. ///// Transition /////	7
Egyptian jars replace A-Group	8. Establishment of an A-Group Dynasty	8

Noticeable change—

Significant change—

Major change—

B. THE CHRONOLOGY OF A-GROUP

Tombs corresponding to the Predynastic period and the First Dynasty were discovered by Reisner in the first Archaeological Survey of Nubia and partly combined under the heading A-Group.¹³ Since then, this name, though sometimes modified to suit various archaeological and anthropological fashions, has remained the primary designation for this archaeological material, though the term was originally somewhat tentative. Heretofore, this period has been divided by major investigators into a number of roughly corresponding phases.¹⁴ The correlations cannot be made precise because no one since Reisner has published specific criteria for all phases or assigned specific tombs to them from all available areas of Nubia.

In order to ascertain the chronological position of the materials from Qustul, it was necessary to review the best-known A-Group materials to establish a chronology. No reliable independent standard of the kind normally used in Nubia—stratigraphy or the chartographic argument—could be used to date materials in these small cemeteries. The only effective method was to distinguish typological clusters and then ascertain their order by correlation with a sequence of some reliability, in this case that of Predynastic Egypt. Since Egypt provided A-Group Nubia with considerable amounts of pottery, evidence for correlation is frequently available.

The one chronology of Egyptian Predynastic material that has been tested by chartographic argument recognizes the essential continuity of that culture into the First Dynasty, while distinguishing a number of phases which are not duplicated precisely in Nubia. Using the dated Egyptian pottery to give order to the sequence, but basing the divisions on changes in A-Group materials and the way in which imports occur, about eight stages or phases can be recognized. The accompanying table 2 establishes major breaks and groupings among the eight chronological categories according to three sets of criteria: developments in A-Group and Sudanese pottery, the occurrence of Egyptian pottery,¹⁵ and archaeological events. The assessment of relative importance may seem somewhat arbitrary, but there is no neutral way of evaluating such changes.

According to the divisions on table 2, the most important division is between 7 and 8 and the second most important is between 3 and 4, dividing the period into Early, Middle, and Late A-Group. The Middle phase has two divisions at the next level of importance and the Early phase has one, at a slightly lower level. We therefore have an Early A and B and a Middle A, B, and C. Early B and Middle C seem to have divisions at a still lower level; we could use the designations Early B 1 and 2 and Middle C 1 and 2. For purposes of abbreviation, Early, Middle, and Late are interchangeable with I, II, and III.

In terms of the presently accepted divisions (table 3), some of those used here are not at issue: at the beginning of the A-Group, the Khor Bahan phase is indistinguishable from the Naqada I. Thereafter, the A-Group developed distinctive features, many derived from Khor Bahan, but features that clearly set off A-Group Nubia from Naqada II Egypt. Distinctions between I and II were spread across all three of the typological areas considered, for there were major changes in local pottery, imports, and the distribution of the culture. There was also a major change in local pottery between II A and B but not in the way Egyptian pottery was used nor in what events can be reconstructed. Sudanese incised decoration occurs at the beginning of II C 1, which coincides with the expansion of A-Group into the cataract region. Major changes in bowls, an important change in the use of Egyptian pottery, and evidence for political concentration separate the last phase, contemporary with Naqada III, from the preceding period. These phases or stages may have had a short duration, possibly covering a relatively

CHRONOLOGY OF A-GROUP

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Table 3—The Relative Chronology of A-Group and the Egyptian Predynastic

<i>A-Group</i>	<i>Egyptian Predynastic (Kaiser)</i>	<i>Material Evidence</i>
Early A-Group (I A) Khor Bahan	I B—II A	Naqada I black-topped vessels at Khor Bahan
Early A-Group (I B) Dakka	II A—C	Typical Naqada II painted pottery; convex wavy-handled jars
Middle A-Group (II A—C) Khor Daud, Mediq, and Sayala phases	II D 1—III A 1	Convex wavy-handled jars continue
Late A-Group (III) Qustul	III A 1—B	“Late Ware” very common, especially pithoi, tall jars, and “fancy forms”

short period, about two-thirds or three-quarters of a millennium.¹⁶ These divisions correspond to those used elsewhere, although here they have a basis in explicably designated materials, and boundaries may vary somewhat.

The phases given on table 2 can be associated with sites where they are most clearly represented, I A with Khor Bahan (A), when materials in Nubia were indistinguishable from those of Naqada I; I B with Dakka (B), during which the A-Group pottery first acquired a distinct character. The first part of the second phase, II A, is well represented at Khor Daud (A), the great group of storage pits which was founded about this time near the mouth of the Wadi Alaqi and which contained some of the most important early information on the new Egyptian trade; II B is most clearly distinguished at Mediq and II C at Sayala. Subphases of II C are most important at Nag^ca esh Sheikh (Cemetery 132), stage 1 and Nag^cum Hagag (Cemetery 137), stage 2 respectively. Cemetery 137 may have contained evidence for political organization or class distinction in Nubia, in the rich tomb of a notable which contained important gold mace handles and slate palettes. Cemetery L at Qustul was the outstanding site of Phase III and it yielded the evidence of detectable changes in both material culture and political and social organization, changes that probably began near the end of II C. Almost all of the materials from this cemetery dated to the Late A-Group; remains from cemeteries that began earlier, Middle A-Group, will be dealt with in the next volume, *OINE* IV.

The chronology presented in table 2 is approximately as detailed as that of Bietak's C-Group. This sequence is based on fewer sites and contexts than were available to Bietak and the chartographic argument on which his sequence was based cannot be applied very well in the small A-Group cemeteries.¹⁷ However, numerous imports can be dated according to the Egyptian Predynastic sequences of Kaiser and Petrie, which agree largely in the dates indicated for A-Group phases; the Kaiser chronology was verified by the chartographic argument both at Armant and Tura. In fact, so many imports occurred, especially in the later phases, that the dates of Egyptian vessels are usable to distinguish the periods almost as well as those of the A-Group. Table 4 assigns tombs at Qustul and Adindan to A-Group phases.¹⁸

Table 4—The Chronology of A-Group Tombs and Deposits at Qustul and Adindan

	<i>W</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>Q</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>V</i>
II B (Mediq)	15, 16(?), 22, 23		631			
II C (Sayala)	5, 6, 8, 14(?), 21(?)	28(?), 29(?)	80		113(?), 128(?), 110(?)	
III (Qustul)	2, 9, 10, 11, 32	Entire cemetery		2, 3, 4		59, 67
Uncertain date	25, 26, 27, 31, 33, 38			1	75, 153, 243	

C. THE A-GROUP TOMBS

Tombs of the Late A-Group reflect clear evidence of class distinctions, unlike tombs from all but the late C-Group (fig. 1). Five types of underground loci can be detected in this material, including three major kinds of adult human burials. The largest type of tomb consists of a trench up to ten meters long, with an oval chamber dug from the floor and side wall, usually near one end of the trench (pl. 4). This chamber is up to five meters long by three meters wide and two to two and a half meters from floor to ceiling. These largest tombs have been found in A-Group Nubia only in Cemetery L at Qustul; one was found at Hierakonpolis in Egypt.¹⁹ A smaller version of this type of tomb has a trench up to five or six meters long with a correspondingly smaller chamber. Several were found in Cemetery L, two in Cemetery V, and one in Cemetery 142 at Sayala;²⁰ one was also found at Hierakonpolis in Egypt.²¹ This form of tomb had its origin in the rectangular pit and chamber grave shared by the early A-Group and Egyptian Naqada I. As discussed in greater detail below (see chapter 5, pp. 175–77), these tombs were probably parts of complexes like their counterparts in Egypt. Incense burners depict mat and post structures of the type that probably served as the cult center for these and the early Egyptian royal tomb. Some shafts in Cemetery S, to be published in *OINE* IV, fit the pattern of rectangular deposit shafts in Cemetery L; one of these contained part of a round-topped stela.

The second major class of tomb is less elaborate in structure and contents than the first, but nevertheless larger than most. Tombs of this group were originally distinguished by their wealth, which often included storage jars. Tombs of this type were found in cemeteries W and V; among them were long trenches with depressions at the corners, a feature that indicates a bed burial was made.²² Burials of this class generally occurred elsewhere in small numbers among tombs of ordinary size. Exceptions can be noted at Meris, cemetery 41.418,²³ which contained at least thirteen large graves to perhaps two ordinary tombs; one large tomb (298:4) had four pots arranged to make the plan of a bed burial.²⁴ Cemetery 292 was also largely of this class, containing eight of this type to three or four ordinary tombs; nearby storage pits contained child burials.²⁵ Most tombs of this type were found just north of the Second Cataract, indicating, with the cemeteries at Qustul, that the major center of A-Group wealth was in this area. The most common shape of tomb in this class was simply a large rectangular pit with rounded ends; less common were the bed burial and the trench with side chamber.²⁶

A-GROUP TOMBS

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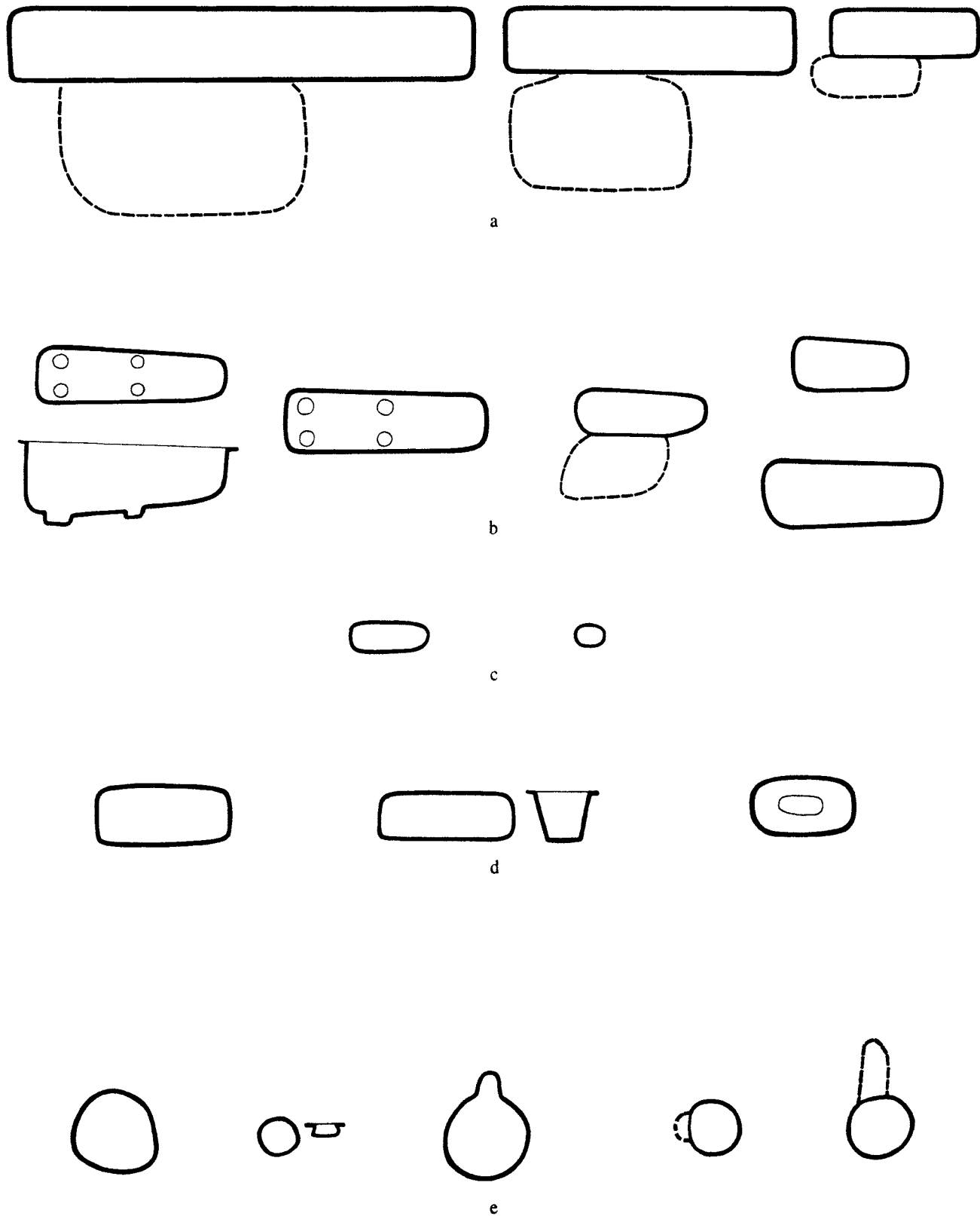


Figure 1. Classes of tombs and deposits in A-Group Nubia: (a) Royal tombs; (b) "Patrician" tombs; (c) "Commoner" burials; (d) Cattle-sacrifice burials; (e) Cache pits and circular burial pits.

Table 5—Register of Tomb Types at Qustul and Adindan

I. Royal and quasi-royal trench and chamber tombs	
A. Large	L 11, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29
B. Medium	L 2, 5
C. Small	L 1, 8, 9, 14, 15(?), 30
II. "Patrician" tombs	
A. Trench and bed-plan	W 11, V 61
B. Trench and chamber	V 59, 67
C. Rectangular shaft	L 12, 13, 16, 17(?), 31
D. Rectangular with rounded ends	L 7, 10, 18, 21(?), W 10, 19*, V 65
III. "Commoner" tombs	
A. Rectangular with rounded ends	W 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36
B. Oval	W 27, 30
C. Shaft or trench with chamber	W 12, 14, 20(?)
IV. Storage pits**	
A. Simple circular	L 32 (with niche), W 9 (pit), 14 (main chamber), unnumbered pits near 1 and 2, V 51, 52, 57, 80 (plural), Q 80, 140(?), 241, 457, 615, 616, 631, 656, 657 (plastered), 662, 671, 672, 673, 681(?)
B. Circular with depression in the center	Q 611
C. Oval	L 3(?), W 9 (main shaft), S 1
D. Convex sides, circular	V 78
V. Animal burials	
A. Rectangular shaft	L 27
B. Rectangular with rounded ends	L 3, 6, 20, 25, 26

*W 19 had two holes in the floor which might have been a bed burial.

**Remains of storage were found in pits Q 80, 631, and 657; two of these included pots. W 9 and V 57 were reused for burials.

Ordinary tombs were simple oval or straight sided pits with rounded ends about one and a half to two meters in length. The largest of them could be mistaken for tombs of the wealthier class, but in most cases, the two types are easily distinguished.²⁷

Two types of holes or pits were not originally intended for human burials. The larger of these, found at Qustul, was for cattle burials. They were three to four meters long, rectangular or rectangular with rounded ends. Sometimes deposits were made as well. Most cattle buried in Cemetery L had the heads removed; animals were buried in other cemeteries, often intact.²⁸

Groups of circular pits occur frequently in A-Group. The large fields of such pits found at Khor Daud were clearly intended as caches rather than burials. They were circular pits, often with bulging sides, the opening often narrower than the bottom.²⁹ Some of the pits found in sites farther north had secondary pits below the first, closed off with a flat stone. At Khor Daud, empty pots were discovered inside these pits, often upside down. Some pots in upright position were sealed with mud over a flat

A-GROUP TOMBS

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Table 6—Classes of Tombs and Loci in A-Group Nubia

	Kub.	7	17	14	23	30	41/101-124	41/142	200	40	43	44	45	22	41/418	47	49	50/1st	50/2nd-4th
Royal																			
Q-Royal																			
Patrician	*														++				
Commoner	****	****	****	?	*	**	**		***	***	****	**	****	++	+		++		***
Storage	****	***	++			++	**	**		*		++	**			++		****	++
Child	**																		
Animal							++		+				+	++					
	47/400	47	50	54	69	70	71/200	73	76	79	80	88	89/1	89/500	98/1000	101	102	103	
Royal																			
Q-Royal																			
Patrician							+	?		*			++			++			
Commoner	**				+	?	+		***	***	****	***	**	***		****	****	***	
Storage		++	?	+					**	****	***		**	++	?		****		
Child																			
Animal																			
	111	113/50	134	136	137	142	148	166	168	200	203	206	215	216	Far.	Aniba	Khor Daud		
Royal																			
Q-Royal						+													
Patrician				+	++	++		++							++				
Commoner	****	**		***	***	**	****	****	***	+	++	***	****	?	****	**			
Storage		**	****	++		*	++						***		++		****		
Child																			
Animal						+													
	95	187	229	230	277	292	298	308	332	401									
Royal																			
Q-Royal																			
Patrician				++	++	*	*	+	++	++									
Commoner	++			***	***	++	++	++	***	****									
Storage		***	++	++	++		++	***		++									
Child				++		**													
Animal						+													

Key:

+	Single occurrence or presence noted	****	
++	2-5	**	Special occurrence, ca. 180
*	5-10	****	
**	10-20	****	Special occurrence, ca. 400
***	20-50		
****	Over 50		

Notes to Table 6:

Kubaniya	About 20 of these pits were reused as tombs	Cem. 50	All used as burials in 50/1
Cem. 7	A number of pits were reused as burials	Cem. 102	Numerous pits, all empty
Cem. 40	Most pits were reused	Cem. 136	One pit reused
Cem. 30	Pits were reused as tombs	Cem. 149	Pits reused for burials
Cem. 41/101	Pits were reused as tombs	Cem. 215	Many pits used as tombs
Cem. 41/124	Two pits were reused	Khor Daud	Over 500 pits, none used as tombs
Cem. 45	Of the pits, six contained objects with no trace of bones	SJE 187	Three or four reused as tombs out of 35
Cem. 79	Some pits used for burials	SJE 230	Child burials in reused(?) pits
Cem. 88	Some pits used for burials	SJE 308	Many were altered to make tombs for common burials—originally a cache area?
Cem. 88/1	Some pits used for burials		

Sources:

Emery and Kirwan 1935
 Firth 1912, 1915, and 1927
 Griffith 1921
 Junker 1919
 Merpert and Bolshakov 1964
 Nordström 1972
 Piotrovsky 1967
 Reisner 1910
 Steindorff 1935

stone and contained various tools and household items. It is clear that the original intention of such pits was the deposition of goods, a reason why such pits are so often found alone, as at Khor Daud, Cemetery Q (220) at Qustul, and site 187 in the Scandinavian concession in the Sudan.³⁰ In most cases where these contained bodies, the burial was probably secondary; a convenient pit, perhaps one used for family storage but no longer needed, was appropriated for the purpose. In some cases, groups of pits actually contained entire cemeteries.³¹ Storage pits of this type were found by the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition in cemeteries W, V, Q, and L. They have also been found in small numbers in many of the A-Group cemeteries and in larger numbers (over 450)³² at Khor Daud and Kubaniyya (ca. 180, some reused).³³ Because of the large numbers found in these two places, the storage pits are probably to be connected with trade, at least in part.³⁴

Although the population seems to have been smaller and more dispersed than in Egypt, the varied size and elaboration of tombs indicate that social relations were more complex than might be expected in the circumstances. Tombs of ordinary people were much the same as in Egypt.³⁵ Tombs of the next class in size and wealth are also approximately comparable to tombs in Egypt.³⁶ However, were A-Group a simple society, a third group of tombs several times larger than either of the first two would not be expected. These occurred, but only in Cemetery L at Qustul, a circumstance that would by itself point to a centralization of politics or cult (in pharaonic terms, they are essentially identical). Their uniqueness and size are explainable by the fact that many of them are larger than somewhat earlier tombs that have been called royal in Egypt, and they are about the same size as slightly later, definitely royal tombs.³⁷

Tables 5 and 6 present the occurrences of several classes of burial by location and approximate intensity. For convenience, we are referring to the three major groups of human burials as royal, patrician, and commoner.

NOTES

1. Neolithic A-Group and late Archaic or Old Kingdom materials from Cemeteries S, V, T, K, W, and a cave near Cemetery K are to be published in *OINE IV*.

2. Nordström 1972, p. 17.

3. Bietak 1968, frontispiece.

4. See *OINE IV* (forthcoming) burials in Cemetery T, for example. See also Nordström 1972, p. 131; few children were identified by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition.

5. Nordström 1972, p. 152, pl. 70; cem. 292:2-5.

6. See above, p. 6.

7. Reisner 1910, pp. 114-40.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-94.

9. Emery and Kirwan 1935, pp. 168-82.

10. Griffith 1921, especially pl. II, plan.

11. Trigger 1965, pp. 66-79, fig. 1.

12. However, this impression of the organization is misleading. If one had to characterize the Kerma culture using only evidence from sites other than the great Cemetery K and Sai, the result would closely resemble the A-Group without Cemetery L. See Williams (1984, p. 111) for an occurrence of this type in Cemetery K at Adindan.

13. Reisner (1910, pp. 331-32) gives the Third Dynasty termination of A-Group.

14. The following chart is a table of designations for similar materials, not a relative chronology of these materials.

A few criteria are current in the literature for the two last subphases, but not for all of them. Of all the classifications, Nordström's is the simplest, corresponding approximately to Trigger's major divisions, and with slight alteration, to the Egyptian divisions for the same period. However, the terminology is flawed. The word *classic* means "of the first rank" or "setting a standard to be followed." In fact, the first rank of the A-Group is the last phase. Second, the word *terminal* refers

A-GROUP TOMBS

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Table 1—Chronological Designations in the A-Group

<i>Reisner*</i> A	B	<i>Trigger**</i>	<i>Nordström***</i>	<i>Adams†</i>	<i>Here</i>
Early Pre- dynastic	Early Pre- dynastic	Khor Bahan	Khor Bahan	A H	I: Early A-Group (A-B)
Middle Pre- dynastic	Middle Pre- dynastic	Early Nubian Ia	Early A-Group	O R I	II: Middle A-Group
Late Pre- dynastic	A-Group	Early Nubian Ib	Classic A-Group	Z O N	(A-C)
Early Dynastic		Early Nubian II	Terminal A-Group		III: Late A-Group
B-Group		Early Nubian III	No Local Inhabitants		See <i>OINE IV</i>

*Reisner 1910, pp. 5–6, 331–32.

**Trigger 1965, pp. 70–78.

***Nordström 1972, p. 1.

†Also see Adams 1970, for the use of the term horizon.

to reaching an end, a logical conclusion; this hardly describes the end of the A-Group, which fits the idea of absurd, that is, cut off suddenly in the midst of achievement without reaching any logical termination.

Trigger's chronological terms seem more neutral, but they include the term *Nubian* which refers to a specific modern people and language. The location-designation *Khor Bahan* is an anomaly in the Early-Middle-Late sequence. Although the Khor Bahan is simply Upper Egyptian Naqada I, it does lead into the rest of the sequence.

Reisner's second designation is unfortunately vague; while assigning some material to Predynastic and other material to the A-Group which he considered Early Dynastic in date, he failed to make the division. This vagueness stemmed from his belief in a cultural lag in Nubia, a lag which is not borne out by the evidence (see below, pp. 163–65). In any case, no positive evidence was ever presented for such a lag; the assertion was admittedly arbitrary (see also Reisner 1910, pp. 331–32, and Nordström 1972, pp. 28–32).

Reisner's first chronology, on the other hand, recognized the essential continuity of the A-Group from the Egyptian Predynastic divisions as then accepted.

15. This refers to the manner of occurrence rather than the typological-chronological implication of the vessels themselves.

16. Since this work is not an attempt at reordering the entire A-Group, no complete description of the pottery groups will be given here; they can be found illustrated under their tomb numbers in the appropriate publication as cited for table 2.

17. Bietak 1968, chapter I.

18. For the chronological relations of late A-Group, see below, chapter 5, pp. 163–65.
19. A tomb of this design was discovered at Hierakonpolis by Lansing and re-cleared by Hoffman (Hoffman, Lupton, and Adams 1982, pp. 48–49, Tomb 2). It was excavated directly into bedrock.
20. Firth 1927, pp. 213–17, Cemetery 142–47. Plan 12 shows a side chamber(?). Several burials of sheep and two of oxen were found in the cemetery.
21. Needler 1984 (see Burial 8, p. 111. This tomb also contained an exterior painted A-Group bowl and wavy-handled jars of Naqada IIIa).
22. See *OINE* IV (forthcoming).
23. Reisner 1910, pp. 221–22 (see plan XXV).
24. Nordström 1972, pls. 65 and 67 B.
25. Ibid., pl. 70.
26. Ibid., pls. 85, 86 (trench and chamber tombs 332:11–12, 332:22–23).
27. See above, fig. 1.
28. Firth 1927, pp. 213–17. Cemetery 142 contained two bovine burials.
29. Piotrovsky 1967, pp. 127–31, pls. 1–20; Merpert and Bolshakov 1964.
30. Nordström 1972, pl. 81. Many burials were found in the pits.
31. Ibid.
32. Merpert and Bolshakov (1964, p. 88) give 588; Piotrovsky (1967) gives 578.
33. Junker 1919, plan.
34. Cache pits of this type occurred in Egypt proper as well. See Williams 1982.
35. See, for example, Petrie, Wainwright, and Mackay 1912, pl. 13 below.
36. Ibid., pl. 2:142
37. See below, pp. 176–77, and Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 12.

2

THE POTTERY

POTTERY occurred in Cemetery L in much larger quantities and in a much greater variety than at other A-Group sites, and it was—apart from shell objects—the commonest artifact found in the cemetery. Since the number of objects was far greater than could actually be presented, some classification is clearly necessary. At the same time, a classification presently available is not usable here because it does not include the vast variety of the Qustul material in some groups and other groups are entirely absent from it. In addition, the groups were constructed as arbitrary complexes of observations, in an approach usually called taxonomic (class naming) but more appropriately designated taxothetic (class placing) which better indicates the actual process of constructing categories in one culture and imposing them on another without regard to the original intended meanings. This has resulted in associating objects that could not have been intended to belong together and separating objects that clearly were intended to be similar within the pottery.

Rejecting the taxonomic-taxothetic approach as detrimental to genuine understanding, i.e. identifying and describing actual intended categories and actions, the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition has extended the test of intention used to construct the phenomenological classification of C-Group in *OINE* V to the A-Group.

A more detailed discussion of problems in classification, including a critique of taxonomic-taxothetic classification and an approach to the identification of phenomenological categories, is found in the Appendix, pp. 191–95.

This critique produces a number of kinds of categories. In a descending hierarchy of size, these categories are tradition, form group (intentional group within a tradition), form (instrumental category), and other descriptive categories (decoration).

A. TRADITIONS IN THE POTTERY OF A-GROUP NUBIA

Two major groups of pottery vessels can be identified in Naqada period Egypt; in Nubia the situation is more complex, for Egyptian, A-Group, and other vessels are found there. Vessels made in Egypt and Nubia are readily separated, for the industrial techniques used to make Egyptian pottery are easy to contrast with the techniques and results obtained by potters in Nubia. In addition, the pottery of Nubia has three major traditions, that of A-Group, one related to vessels common in Sudan earlier, and another related to the well-known C-Group incised bowls later. Finally, a small group of vessels is made in shapes of Syro-Palestine EB I origins, often with the brown slip also characteristic of this and succeeding periods.

As expected, the largest group of pottery vessels belongs to the A-Group pottery tradition. Shape, surface, and basic manufacture closely resemble the Naqada I pottery found at Khor Bahan and pottery in neolithic Sudan. Although painted decoration may have been derived from Egypt and techniques of incised decoration came from Sudan with the fundamental patterns used for painted decoration, the various form groups of the A-Group tradition have an uninterrupted development.¹

Although made in much the same way as the A-Group pottery, pottery of Sudanese tradition is distinguished from that of the A-Group tradition by the temper used in the clay, by shape, by the overall or zonal-incised decoration, and by the brown-buff color of moderately fired alluvial clay. The pots of this group were probably made locally in a tradition that was understood to be different from the A-Group; Sudanese traditions of pottery making had existed in the Cataract region for some time before the A-Group was established there.²

The third tradition is less directly related to A-Group pottery. This pottery very closely resembles the most characteristic vessels of C-Group, a millennium later. Here it appears with very heavy walls, broad convex bottom, and sharply incurved side. It is decorated in a style and technique which appears to be ancestral to the C-Group and fired so lightly (in a strongly reducing atmosphere) that some sherds quickly softened when washed.³ A second form group of this tradition may be a local imitation, but it is clearly related to the first more than to A-Group pottery.⁴

Thus, the three major groups of local pottery probably can be attributed to different cultural origins, the A-Group proper, the simple Sudanese, and the black incised, which may be related to some development in Sudan and possibly to the west. Recognizing the relationship to C-Group and its possible origins in the west,⁵ it is tentatively called South-Western here. The two northern traditions are recognized as sharing an industrial tradition: the Egyptian,⁶ and a number of jugs that originated in the Syro-Palestinian Early Bronze I.⁷

B. BASIC CHOICES IN A-GROUP POTTERY MAKING

The finished product, assigned to categories here, was made in a complex sequence of intermediate products that resulted from choices made to give an intended result at a number of stages in manufacturing. General remarks on the nature of the choices faced by potters have already been made in this series (*OINE* V, chapter 2). It remains to review the choices of A-Group potters to ascertain their significance for classification.

CLAY

The description of clays and tempers made by Nordström was reviewed in *OINE* V.⁸ The descriptions tended to include many petrographic details not accessible to the ancient potter and thus not usable in a phenomenological classification. The clay used for all but one group of A-Group vessels was either a fine clay mixed with silt material or an alluvial clay from the valley which already contained it.⁹ Since virtually no vessels were studied that did not contain silt, we must infer that the materials were already mixed when collected and were thus alluvial in origin.

TEMPER

Apart from a shelly clay found in the Sahaba formation and not used for pottery found at Qustul, non-Egyptian pottery in this area was tempered with ash (irregular angular fragments of carbon and a finely fibrous texture), dung (finely divided straw or grass), chaff (carbonized rod-shaped particles or voids), or earth (grains of granitic rock, limestone, and organic particles).¹⁰ The finer A-Group vessels here were tempered with ash of a finely fibrous type, the larger with earth or dung, while most Sudanese vessels appear to have been earth-tempered, or tempered with a different dung than the A-Group vessels. South-Western vessels were dung-tempered. Thus, only ash and dung are common in the present material and ash is far the more common choice of the two.

SHAPING

We have already discussed reasons (*OINE* V) for considering the pottery of Nubia and adjacent regions to have been shaped by pressure against the ground,¹¹ which accounts for the simple shapes and the lack of breaks along imperfect joins which would indicate that coil construction was used. However, A-Group shapes differ considerably from C-Group, produced by different changes in contour that resulted from motions as reconstructed on figs. 2-4. The conical shapes and flattened bases of A-Group pottery are not as common in C-Group. A-Group jars rarely have necks. The nearly ovoid-pointed shapes of Sudanese vessels were also rather uncommon among contemporary Late A-Group shapes and the sharply incurved sides of South-Western pots were not used by A-Group potters.

DECORATION

A variety of decorative techniques was used in A-Group pottery, including ripple burnishing, irregularly brushed coatings, painting, dotted impressions, and incisions. The most elaborate decoration was the linear-geometric style of Late A-Group, but there was also a more casual style with broad masses of paint that occurs on the inside of open bowls in the latest A-Group. Incision and impression occur in at least three styles.¹² These include incised zone decoration that combines deeply incised vertical zigzags with lightly impressed rocker patterns, rolled-on rectangular impressions made with a toothed wheel, usually in diagonal zones surrounded by bands of paint, and the special incised-impressed decoration of South-Western bowls. These often have serpents outlined against deeply impressed backgrounds, sometimes with white filling. In addition to these basic styles there were two lesser groups, one variant, found on conical vessels, designated band incised (Form Group III, none in this collection) and a variant of the South-Western bowl, also with geometric or band incised decoration.

SURFACE

Most vessels of Form Group II (Rippled) were coated with ochre, brushed unevenly over the surface. Otherwise, non-Egyptian pottery was almost never coated. Finer A-Group pottery was most often burnished. All vessels of Form Groups I (Exterior Painted), II (Rippled), and V (Interior Painted) were burnished to a fairly high luster. Sudanese vessels were not generally burnished, although a few pieces had surfaces that were compacted without luster. South-Western bowls were usually burnished outside before incision, and sometimes inside as well.

FIRING

Most A-Group vessels were given a moderate firing in a neutral or oxidizing atmosphere about 650° to 750°C.¹³ This produced vessels that were grey-black in the break and tan-buff on the surface with numerous blackened spots or fire blooms. When a black interior with black exterior rim, all black vessel, or unblemished surface was desired, the process could be modified to produce the intended result in a regular manner. Firing in a pit could produce the simple pottery, but selectively applying oxidizing and reducing atmospheres would require careful preparation and close observation. Firing, therefore, proceeded through a simple hardening stage with a somewhat irregular atmosphere to produce A-Group ordinary and Sudanese vessels, while special techniques or arrangements were used to produce the black interiors and red-buff exteriors of fine vessels (see below). South-Western bowls were fired in a reducing atmosphere throughout and so lightly that fibers of the chaff temper still remain and vitrification is far from complete.

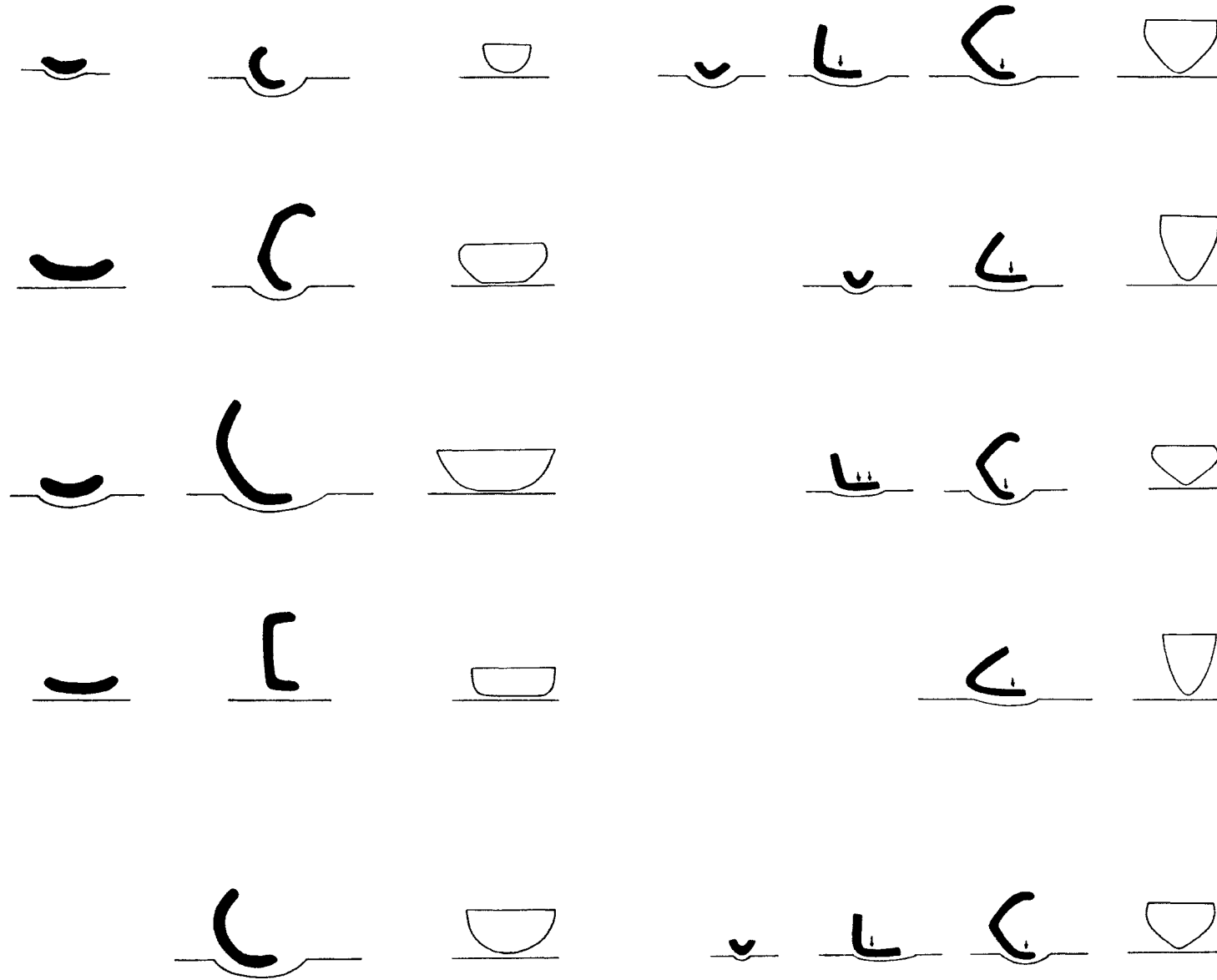


Figure 2. Shaping A-Group bowls.

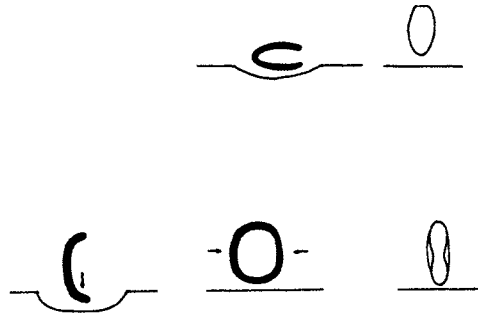


Figure 3. Shaping A-Group cups and "boats."

OTHER TREATMENTS

Almost all vessels of Form Groups I and II have black interiors, often accompanied by black tops (or mouths); few other vessels have this feature. This must surely have been done by the same process used to make all other partly black pottery in the Nile Valley, by bringing the area to be affected in contact with organic debris such as chaff, sawdust, or dry powdered dung. This can be done by heating the vessels for a second time to a sufficient temperature to carbonize the material (that this may have been a secondary procedure is demonstrated by the fact that it was omitted on some I and II bowls). The effect can be obtained by inverting the heated vessel in a layer of material. When only a narrow black band was desired, or none at all, the interior could be blackened by dumping a quantity of material into the pot, then turning it over, or by burying the vessel to a certain depth and filling it with the material.

In addition to the creation of black interiors, post-firing treatments for different vessels included a white filling occasionally added to incised vessels; some South-Western vessels had the incisions filled with a thick white paste. Sometimes white bands were painted over impressed areas on incised-painted vessels of Form Group III.

TRADITIONS AS REFLECTED IN CHOICE

The existence of three related but distinct manufacturing traditions can be confirmed at each step in the process of manufacture. Although the clays were the same, each tradition used different kinds of material to temper most vessels. Although made by similar techniques most shapes were distinct, especially those of the South-Western group. In decoration, the A-Group potters made frequent use of designs and motifs of Sudanese origin, but the use of paint was confined to the A-Group, the use of incision in zones was restricted to the Sudanese tradition, and the use of meandering reserve areas was unique to the South-Western vessels. Surface treatments were not confined to any one cultural tradition, probably because of the exchange of technique; ripple-burnished pottery occurred from Egypt to the central Sudan.¹⁴ Firing was even a point of distinction among traditions; South-Western pots were especially soft, paralleled by the softness of some Form Group I vessels (incised bowls) in the C-Group.¹⁵ Except for exterior painted vessels, A-Group pottery has the numerous fire blooms that made an almost mottled surface.

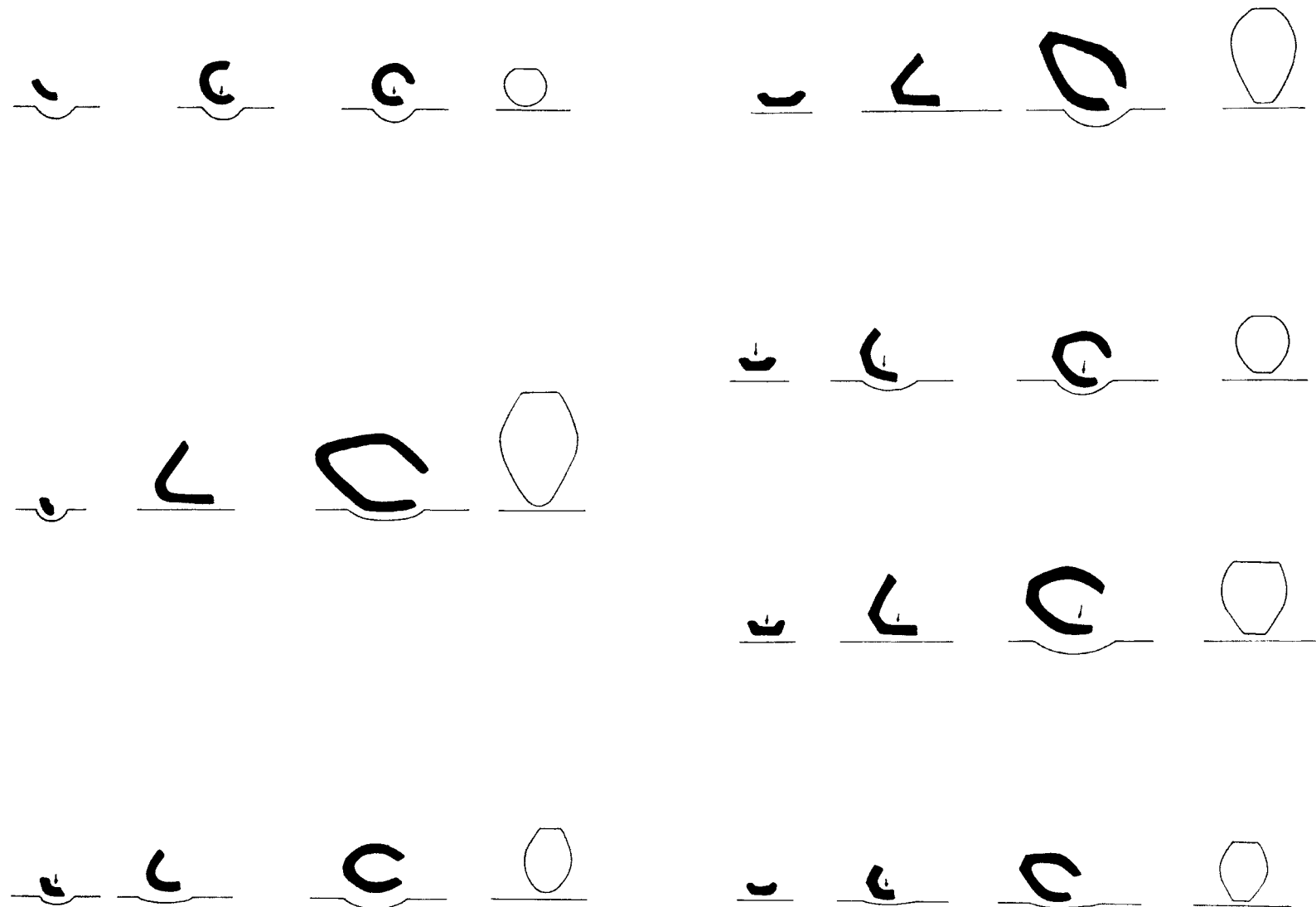


Figure 4. Shaping A-Group jars.

C. THE CLASSIFICATION

OINE V included a discussion of choices in pottery making and the order in which they occur,¹⁶ as well as the nature of each choice: categorical, gradated, or infinite. Choice-groups were presented as simultaneous, sequential, or mixed and the choices presented in order: paste, shaping, decoration, surface, firing, and post-firing treatments. From these choices, a hierarchical series of categories was derived, recognizing intentional similarities. The highest categories, traditions, were designated by a name of cultural or geographical significance. Below these, categories of major choice of appearance, or meaning, were each indicated by a Roman numeral, I–XII, and a name, intended to serve as a convenient designation rather than a description. Instrumental categories within the major intended meanings were based on shape, again with intuitive recognition of an intended similarity used as the basis for identifying the classes, each indicated by an upper case letter. Although most form groups contain a unique range of shapes, a number of shapes occur in more than one form group and correspondences are noted though the letters are not all the same. Lower levels in the customary outline form, here Arabic numerals, were used to indicate different decorative patterns, motifs, or devices. Although a number of these occur in different form groups or even traditions, each form group has its own *kind* of decoration.¹⁷

Table 7—Designation of Choice-Level in Classifying A-Group Pottery

I	Roman numeral: indicates form group and fundamental intention
A	Upper case letter: shaping choice
1	Arabic numeral: decoration choice

a. A-GROUP AND LOCAL POTTERY

POTTERY OF A-GROUP

Form Group I: Exterior Painted Pottery (tables 8, 9, figs. 5–19, pls. 5–9)

Exterior painted bowls and cups are of the most famous and distinctive products of the A-Group; they date to the last phase of the culture. This pottery is not particularly common in most cemeteries.¹⁸ The small total from the large Scandinavian concession [types AIIId.1(1), b3(2), and AVIII(16)] reflects the relative rarity of this pottery. Earlier explorations, less careful about recording fragmentary vessels, did not leave reliable counts of this delicate pottery, but nowhere was it common.¹⁹ However, in Cemetery L complete and fragmentary vessels numbered over 1000, some 600 from tombs we can identify, in a variety of painted patterns unknown elsewhere. The occurrence is unique.

Ten major choice situations were faced in the manufacture of exterior painted pottery. The first two choices, clay and temper, were much the same as in Form Groups II and III: alluvial clay with ash used for the temper.

Six major shapes can be distinguished in order of frequency (see figs. 5–7):

- A. A tall deep tapered-convex bowl with a narrow flattened base.
- B. A broad deep bowl with a sharp curve or nearly carinated bend below the rim; almost all bases are flattened.
- C. A tall narrow convex cup, almost always with a flattened base.

- D. An oval vessel with sides constricted to make a loop-shaped rim. A rare three-sided variant was sometimes made of a round bowl.
- E. A shallow convex bowl about twenty centimeters across; only two examples were found in Cemetery L.
- F. Unusual shapes, including one five-sided variant of D.

Generally, the walls of the vessels are relatively thin,²⁰ often indented with horizontal grooves, probably made with the thumb, which give the vessels so treated a ribbed profile. Most vessels belong to shapes A–C; D occurs commonly, E and F rarely. A few cups and bowls have pointed instead of flattened bases. The contours of the vessels superficially appear to resemble some of Form Groups II, III, and V, but the walls of the exterior painted vessels are generally thinner and the shapes more graceful. The convex cup and the boat occur only in this group.

The complex and elaborate decoration in red ochreous paint is the most significant feature of the group. After painting, the insides and outsides of the vessels were burnished, except in cases where the shapes rendered complete burnishing of the interior impossible (C, F). Generally, the burnishing smeared the paint. After burnishing, the vessel was fired, leaving the vessel with a light tan to orange surface. Most often, the interior was blackened, although occasionally the step which produced the black interior with its small black top or mouth was not taken, leaving it tan to orange as well.²¹

Painted decoration on the outside of the vessel was in either an overall pattern of interlocked brush strokes, blobs, or solid color, or, more often, linear-geometric patterns in horizontal, rarely vertical, bands. None of the common decorative patterns or devices was restricted to any one shape.

Virtually all painting on these vessels was done with three types of strokes. Most common is the line, a solid band of color a few millimeters wide. Second, a stroke leaves a roughly triangular area of solid color with an opposite triangle below; individual strands of the brush leave filaments of paint between and often there is only one elongated triangle with filaments below. Rarely there are more or less oval blobs of solid color. The first stroke is used for the banded linear decoration, the second for overall painting and occasionally filling opposed-hatched rectangles, and the third only in overall and woven-type pattern decoration. Lines were drawn individually; most often strokes were made with five or more brushes at once in aligned and even alternated patterns.

The simple line was used horizontally, vertically, angled, and, rarely, curved. Horizontal lines were primarily used to define bands, which generally also defined the upper and/or lower edges of the motif they contained. Less often, they were as filling elements. Vertical lines were used primarily as filling elements in checks, but also to outline motifs or bands. Horizontal and angled lines were most often used to construct decoration, outlining and filling various motifs. Angled lines only rarely outline a band. Curved lines very rarely outline bands and sometimes the bodies of birds.

Combinations of lines used to fill space are also simple. They consist of hatching, most often angled, but also vertical and horizontal, crosshatching, usually angled but also sometimes horizontal and vertical, and lines that follow the outline motif. Sometimes the simple elongate-triangle stroke or solid color is used to fill space.

Strokes are most often used horizontally, aligned or alternated. Sometimes they are alternated horizontally and vertically to make a woven or opposed-rectangle decoration. Occasionally longer strokes are arched. As noted above, the paired/opposed strokes were used only in overall or zoned decoration.

This simple variety of lines and strokes was used to create patterns and designs of remarkable variety in a complex catalogue of linear-geometric and overall decoration. Figure decoration occurs only rarely, and it almost always consists of bands of birds incorporated into a normal pattern of bands. Like

the Sudanese bowls, vessels were conceptually divided into two horizontal zones and the base. If the same decoration was used for the entire vessel, it could be either linear or overall. If they were combined, the linear decoration was put in the upper zone and the overall in the lower; the base was given linear decoration only if the entire vessel was so decorated. Linear decoration consisted of simple shapes, primarily triangles, squares, and horizontal lines, but sometimes lozenges and other shapes. These shapes, filled as indicated above, were organized in bands, almost always horizontal. Decorated bands are either contiguous or they alternate with open bands. Often, adjacent bands contain the same decoration, directly opposed. Often, two or three patterns are alternated in adjacent or separated bands. When the upper and lower parts of the vessel have linear decoration, the same design is continued from the rim to the base, in regular order. Just over half of these vessels were painted in one of eight most common designs with their major variations. Thus, most of the vessels were painted with patterns that are covered by less than twenty numbers in the register of decoration. Most entries in the list, over a hundred numbers, are represented by a single vessel.

Table 8—Designation of Elements Used to Classify Form Group I

I. Horizontal lines
A. Outline bands
B. Fill areas (uncommon)
C. Used as an element of crosshatching (uncommon)
II. Vertical lines
A. Fill areas, primarily checks
B. Outline motifs
C. Outline bands (very rare)
III. Angled lines
A. Outline motifs
B. Fill areas as hatching or crosshatching
C. Outline bands (very rare)
IV. Curved lines (very rare)
The essential motif-shapes in banded-linear painting are:
I. Bands
II. Triangles
III. Rectangles
Other shapes are <i>very rare</i> .
Filling is by:
I. Hatching
II. Crosshatching
III. Using following or parallel lines, e.g. nested shape
IV. Solid

The overall and linear-geometric painting represent two opposite styles of decoration; they occur not only in the same pottery, but often on the same vessel. The combination of banded linear decoration on the upper side with overall decoration below was probably derived from Sudanese decoration. However, the curious strokes used for the overall decoration may have been derived from the technique of brushing used to coat ripple-burnished pottery.²² Most of the rippled vessels have an ochre coating that was irregularly brushed on the outside, leaving streaks of paint and uncoated areas, and often producing the effect of a number of broad arches or swags and bands.²³ The resulting irregular but

vaguely patterned coloration was enhanced by the frequent fire blooms that mottled the surface black, yellow, and red.²⁴ It would appear here that the overall painting was an attempt to imitate the results of that combination of surface treatment, coating, and firing techniques in paint alone. The second major organization of painting, geometric-linear, may be a representation of a woven sling put over the vessel,²⁵ which would account for the fact that when the two styles of decoration are combined on the same vessel, the geometric patterns are almost always above.

The following table 9 is arranged according to decorative motifs and combinations; certain important motifs that occur as subordinate parts of many different designs are cross-referenced. Remarks in parentheses identify significant vessels whose shapes are other than A or B, significant ribbed vessels, examples where the bands of decoration are separated, and other special features.

Form Group II: Ripple-Burnished Pottery (table 10, fig. 20, pl. 10a-c)

Ripple-burnished pottery, one of the most important groups of A-Group pottery, generally precedes the painted pottery. A few sherds occurred in Cemetery L, but no whole or restorable pots were found; ripple-burnished pottery probably almost disappeared by the time Cemetery L began. Ripple-burnished pottery was made in Egypt during the Badarian but disappeared by Naqada I,²⁶ when the Khor Bahan settlement was founded in Lower Nubia. The Abkan Neolithic culture of the Second Cataract region had ripple-burnished pottery, as did part of the Sudanese pottery tradition from the time of the Khartoum Neolithic²⁷ to the Shaheinab Archaic and the graves at Omdurman Bridge still later.²⁸ Ripple-burnished pottery reappears in A-Group Nubia during the Middle A-Group. It is conceivable that this was an independent development (burnishing after combing), but pottery²⁹ and objects³⁰ were also being brought into the A-Group area at this time as it spread southward into the Second Cataract region. Since ripple-burnish was such an important and long-lasting part of Sudanese pottery making, it is difficult to believe that the technique of ripple-burnish in the A-Group is not a reintroduction from Sudan. Ultimately a few A-Group rippled pots found their way again to Egypt.³¹

Several shapes of the ripple-burnished pottery were antecedents to those used for painted vessels (Form Groups, I, IV, and V). These include tall, nearly conical bowls with pointed, rarely flattened bases, shallower variants, also sometimes with flattened bases, and tall cups with rounded or pointed bases; these seem to be antecedents of shapes A, B, and C in painted pottery; some cups even have horizontal painted bands. Other vessels, such as wide shallow bowls, resemble the shapes of the later interior painted bowls. However, the form group includes numerous shapes not continued in Form Group I, namely hemispherical cups, flat-bottomed bowls, nearly carinated bowls, and globular to ovoid jars.³² Although important shapes among the painted pottery did not occur in this group, nor did flat-bottomed jars, rippled pottery included the entire instrumental range of A-Group pottery.

Choices of clay and temper seem to have been the same as in Form Group I. Shaping choices, as discussed above, were much wider, however, and they include several of the procedures shown on figs. 2 and 4. The sequence of post-shaping situations is simple—vessels were almost always ripple-burnished, almost always given an exterior red coating. Interior burnishing was simple in contrast to the elaborate rippling outside. Because of the coating and a neutral or oxidizing atmosphere in firing, the basic color of the exterior is red, infrequently brown, and once black; the interior is black, infrequently brown or red. Most vessels with black interiors also have black tops or mouths. Frequent fire blooms occur on the surfaces of almost all vessels. Since the manufacturing was closely controlled in all other respects, we must conclude that this effect was intentional.

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Table 9—Register of Form Group I, Exterior Painted Pottery

1. Simple hatching	fig. 8a
L 19 P	
L 22 BB	
2. Simple opposed-hatching	fig. 8b
L 1 W	
L 9 BT, CH	
L 11 AA (ribbed), CS (ribbed), DU (ribbed), ED (ribbed)	
L 13 Z (bands)	
Unattributed HC and JA (alternated strokes), KH, QW (vertical), QX, RE, SB (very long lines)	
3. Hatching, opposed, in separated bands	fig. 8c
L 9 AY, BM, EH (wide bands)	
L 11 DC	
4. Opposed-hatching in contiguous bands or pairs of bands	fig. 8d, e
L 2 A, C (D), E, H, I (ribbed), J, K, L, AI, AU, AW, BI, BS (D—ribbed), BU? (C), CU?	
L 5 B (ribbed), H (ribbed)	
L 8 N (carination), U, Y, AI	
L 9 BI (bands), BK, BQ (bands), BR, BS, BV, BW, BX, BZ, CD, CO, ER	
L 10 H	
L 11 M, AE, CQ, CU (ribbed), CV (ribbed), CW (ribbed), CX, CY, DA, DD, DE, DF (bands), DH, EJ (ribbed), FF, FL (ribbed), FM (ribbed)	
L 13 L, P	
L 17 F (no. 23)	
L 19 BD, BE, BP, BT (C—vertical), BV, CF, CG, CI	
L 22 C, W (C?), AL, AM, AN, AR, AS, AZ (D), BK (vertically ribbed)	
L 24 A (bands?), C, O, U	
L 29 B	
Unattributed W, X, BC?, IB, IC?, IE (bands?), IF (bands?), IG (bands), IH, II, IK, IN, IO, IP, IQ, IR, IT, IU, IV (bands), IY (bands), JC, JE (D), JI, JL (bands), JM, JO (bands), JR, KA, KB, KG, KZ?, LR, LS, MX, QY, QZ, RA?, TA, TK, TL	
5. Simple crosshatched bands or areas	fig. 8f
L 1 T (carinated)	
L 2 BM, BO	
L 8 B, D (contiguous), F (narrow and wide bands), X, AJ, AK (contiguous), AO	
L 9 AV, AZ, BB (contiguous), DE, DJ, DL, DQ?, DR?, DW, EK, EM	
L 10 E, G	
L 11 DW, DX, DY, EA, EE, EG (C), EI?, EX (C)	
L 13 W	
L 17 B (C—no. 15)	
L 19 L (contiguous), Q, U (broad contiguous), AC, AN, BF, BJ?, CC (narrow), CD, CO	
L 22 T, BA, BD, BE (contiguous), BF	
L 24 B, K	

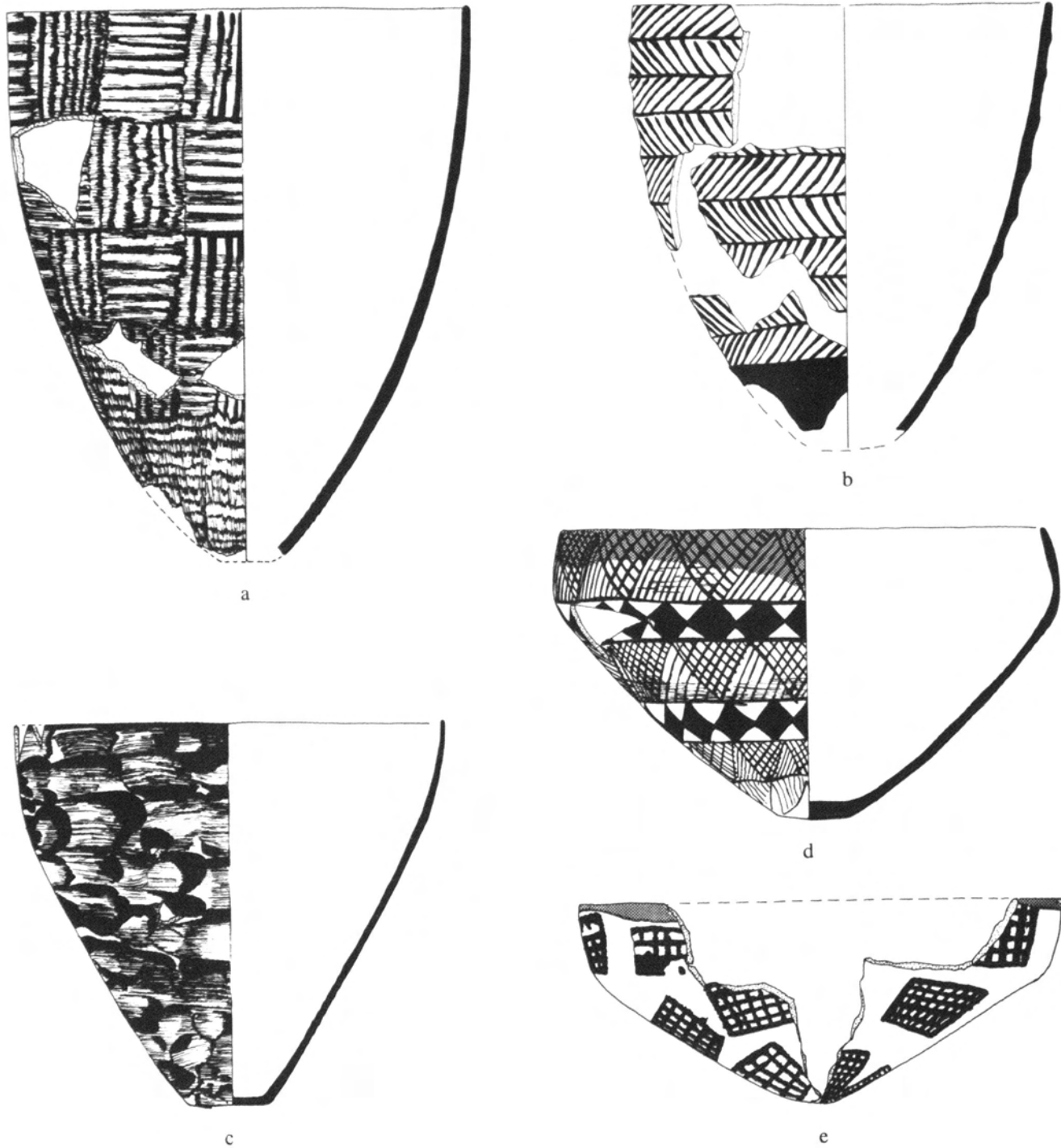


Figure 5. Shapes A and B of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery: (a) A, L 19, T; (b) A, L 11, CQ; (c) A, L 17—32, H; (d) B, L 13, X; (e) B, L 9, ES. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

Unattributed HV, MQ, MR, MS, MT, MY, MZ, NC, NE, NF, NH?, NI?, NK?, NM, NN, NP, NQ	
Variations:	
1. Bands as shown	
2. Contiguous bands	
a. As shown	
b. Broad	
3. Narrow bands	
4. Mixed narrow and wide bands	
6. Horizontal lines or bands filled with horizontal lines	fig. 8g
L 2 CN (groups of 4), CQ (base)	
L 9 BJ, CK, CM, DS	
L 11 Z?, DL (base), DM, DN, EQ (D)	
L 19 AI (D), CA	
Unattributed NW, NX, OU, OV, OW, OX, OY (wide bands), OZ, PB (very narrow), PC, PD, PE, RS	
Variations:	
1. Evenly distributed	
2. Groups of 4	
7. Hatched triangles, pendant unless noted	fig. 8h
L 1 S	
L 2 BF, BG, BH, BJ	
L 8 Z, AA (small, in bands)	
L 9 AD (uncertain direction), AH, AT, BU (bands), EC, ED, EE, EF, EG (2 groups of bands)	
L 11 AW (C), AX, DO, DT, EL (C—standing)	
L 13 AA	
L 19 C	
L 22 R	
L 24 W	
Unattributed A, G, K, N, S?, U, AI, AJ	
Variations:	
1. Pendant	
2. Standing	
3. Bands	
a. Evenly spaced	
i. Normal size	
ii. Small	
b. Groups of bands	
8. Hatched triangles, opposed in adjacent bands	fig. 8i
L 2 BD (bands in pairs)	
L 9 C, CN (bands in pairs)	
L 10 C	
9. Hatched triangles, opposed in the same band, tip to tip	
Unattributed QP	
10. Opposed-hatched triangles in the same band, side to side	fig. 8o

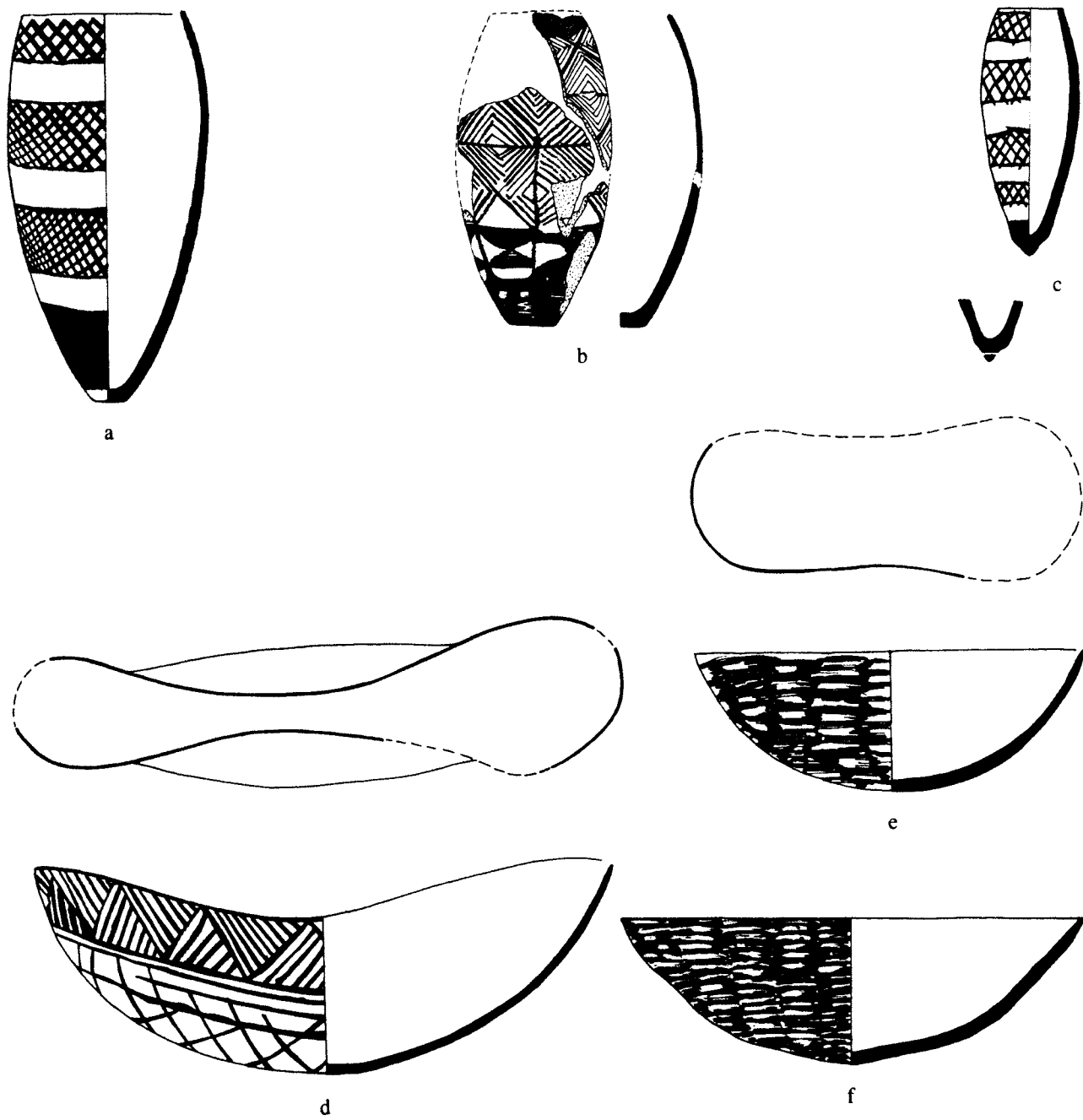


Figure 6. Shapes C–E of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery: (a) C, L 11, EX; (b) C, L 11, FQ; (c) C, L 17–15, B; (d) D, L 17–20, C; (e) D, L 19, AH; (f) E, L 17–21, D. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

L 1 R?	
L 2 AR, AS, AT, AX, AY, AZ, BA, BB, BE, CD, CF, CG, CH (registers not aligned), CI, CJ (carinated), CP	
L 5 E	
L 8 G, M, T, W, AL, AP, AR	
L 9 P, Q, W, X (bands), AB, AC (bands), AE, EA (alternate upper triangles empty)	
L 10 B (bands)	
L 11 AS, AT, AV (bands), BA, BD, BE, BF, BU, BX, BY, BZ, CZ, DB, DG, DS?	
L 13 C, Q	
L 19 I, J, AO, CB, CM	
L 22 M, U	
L 23 E	
L 24 Q, Y	
L 29 C	
Unattributed D, P, R, AF, AK, AV, AY, AZ, BH, BM, BN, BO, BR, BV, LY, MB (bands), MC, MD, MH, MI, MJ, MK	
Variations:	
1. Contiguous	
2. Bands	
3. Alternate upper triangles empty	
4. Registers not aligned	
11. Same, right corner of each triangle left empty	fig. 8j
L 2 F	
L 9 BL	
L 10 F (bands)	
L 11 BS, BV, FA	
L 19 BX	
Unattributed V, AD, QG	
12. Same, single opposed line in empty corner	fig. 8k
L 13 V	
13. Hatched triangles, opposed in adjacent bands; upper open triangle filled with horizontal hatching	fig. 8l
L 22 S, V	
Unattributed BE	
14. Hatched triangle with broad outline	fig. 8m
Unattributed LT	
15. Crosshatched triangles	fig. 8n
L 2 CT	
L 9 B, DC, DK, DU, EJ, EN, EQ	
L 13 I	
L 19 CH	
L 22 Y	
L 24 AC	
L 29 D	
Unattributed HJ, HO	

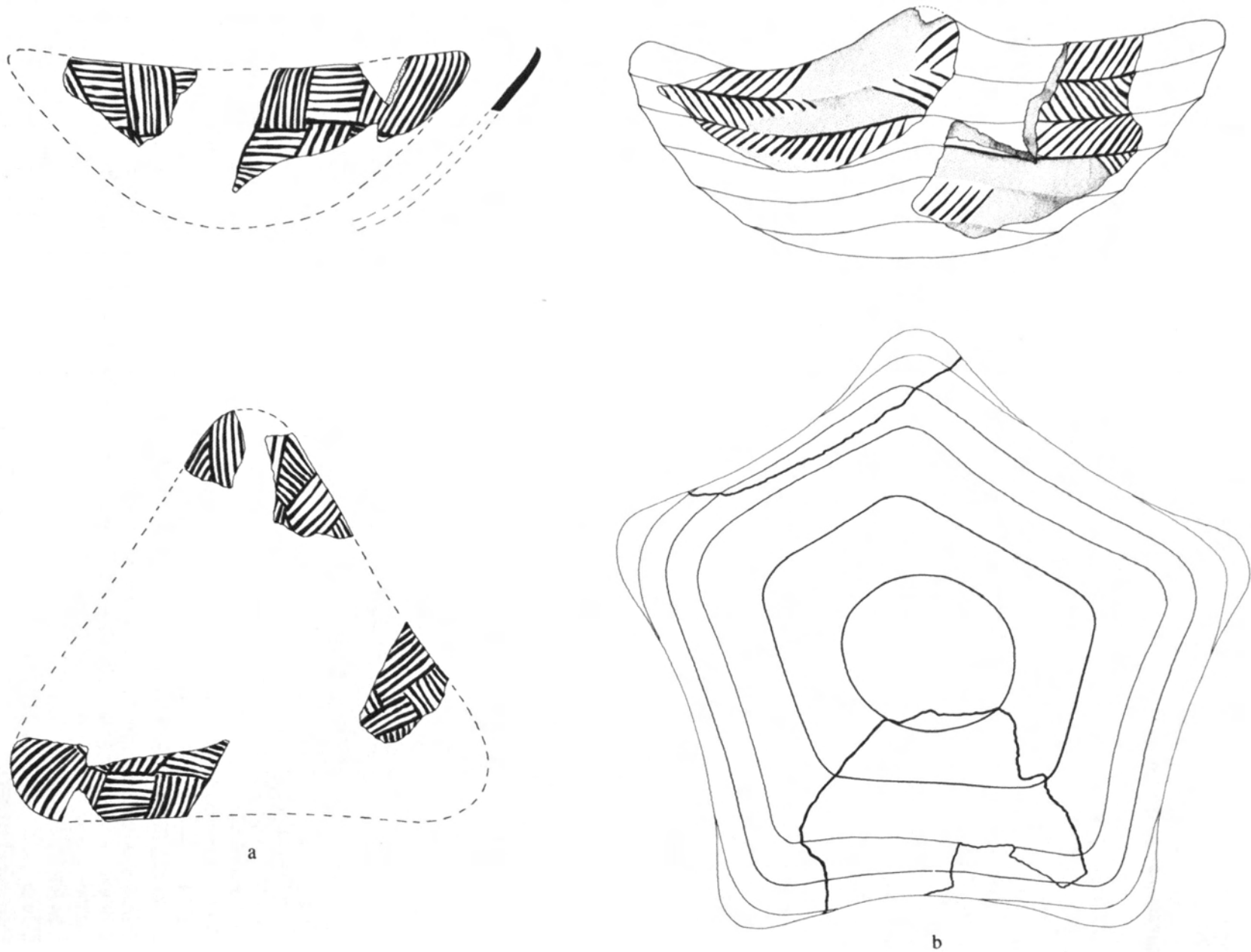


Figure 7. Shape F of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery: (a) F, L 9, CF; (b) F, L 2, CU. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

16. Triangles, upper crosshatched diagonally and horizontally, lower hatched opposite the upper L 9 BP (positions reversed) L 11 CJ L 13 H, N L 19 E, BC, BM (lines lean opposite direction)	fig. 9a
17. Standing crosshatched triangles (diagonally), upper triangles horizontally hatched L 19 F, AG Unattributed PH	fig. 9b
18. Diagonally and diagonal–horizontal–hatched opposed triangles L 19 Z Unattributed HH	fig. 9c
19. Paired nested triangles or parallel zigzag lines L 19 A Unattributed AN, IM, SG	fig. 9e
20. Same, broad and shallow Unattributed PZ	
21. Standing nested triangles with diagonally hatched triangles above L 11 AQ	
22. Standing nested triangles with crosshatched triangles above L 2 AQ (inverted) L 22 O	fig. 9d
23. Opposed nested triangles or cut–off zigzags L 1 Q L 9 Y, Z (bands) L 11 AR (bands), AZ, BT (bands), CK (bands) L 13 E (also solid diamonds) Unattributed H, AC (bands), HT (bands), LM (bands?), LU	fig. 9f
24. Same, solid triangle at the center Unattributed BB	
25. Same as no. 23, but impaled Unattributed LO, LQ, LV	fig. 9j
26. Impaled nested triangles above, crosshatched below L 22 BI	fig. 9g
27. Solid triangles L 2 X, AA, AE, AG, AH, AK, AM, AO, AP, CE (tall), CS (tall) L 5 A L 8 H, R, AC L 9 AI, AU L 11 BG, BI, BK?, BM, BN, BO, BR, CE? (base only), EK, EV (C—upright), EW, EZ, FJ L 13 B, Y L 19 H, N (D), O (C), AD, BK?, BU, CL (D) L 22 X, BJ L 24 F, G, AB Unattributed BZ, CA, CE, CF, CG, CH, CJ (bands), CK, CL, CM?, CP, CQ,	fig. 9h

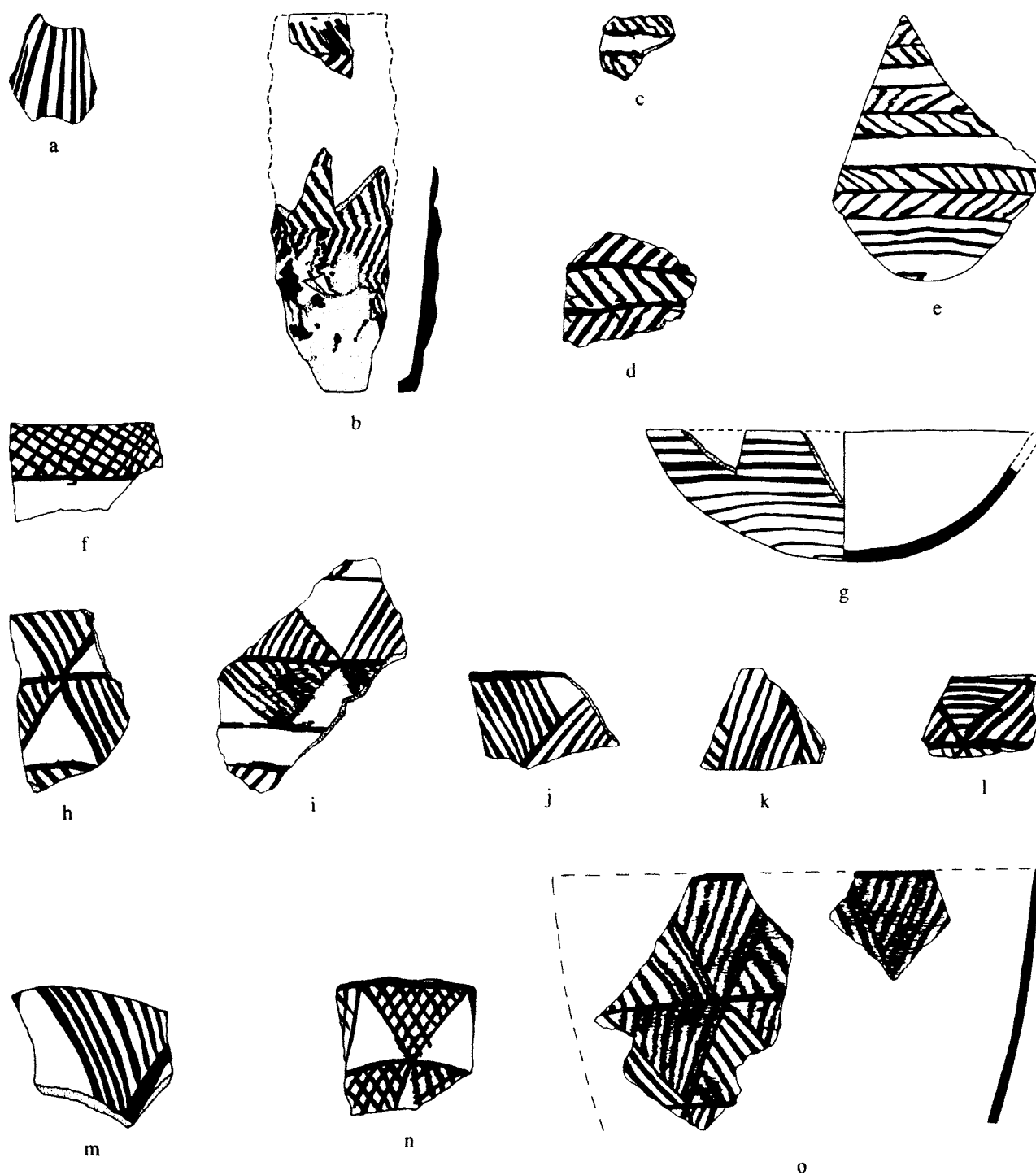


Figure 8. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 1-8 and 10-15: (a) 1, L 19, P; (b) 2, L 11, CS; (c) 3, L 9, BM; (d) 4, L 22, AM; (e) 4, L 9, BI; (f) 5, L 9, AZ; (g) 6, L 19, AI; (h) 7, L 11, AW; (i) 8, L 9, CN; (j) 11, L 11, BS; (k) 12, L 13, V; (l) 13, L 22, S; (m) 14, unattributed, LT; (n) 15, L 9, DC; (o) 10, L 9, P. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

CU, CV, CW, CZ, DC (standing, bands), DD, DE, DF, DG, DH, DI, DJ, QM		
28. Solid triangles, lower triangles diagonally hatched		fig. 9k
L 19 CK		
L 23 A (every second group of lower triangles empty)		
29. Solid triangles, lower triangles hatched horizontally		fig. 9l
L 13 F		
Unattributed PR (large and sloppy)		
30. Solid triangles, opposite triangle crosshatched		fig. 9i
L 5 D		
L 13 K		
Unattributed HJ (D), MN		
31. Opposed rectangles in adjacent bands, vertically hatched		fig. 10a
L 9 DM		
32. Opposed-hatched rectangles in the same band; the rectangular weave pattern		fig. 10b
L 1 A, M, O, P		
L 2 M, N, CO		
L 9 G, L, M, N, O, AJ?, AK?, AL (D), AM, AN, CF (F), CJ (tall checks in bands)		
L 10 A		
L 11 AD, AF, AG, AH, AI, AJ, AK, AL, AP, CP?, DK, EO (C—long checks), ER (tall checks), ES, FN		
L 19 K, T, X, Y, AX, BO (small checks), BY		
L 22 Z (tall checks), AA, AB, AC, AD (tall), AE, AF, AG, AH, AI, AJ, AK		
L 23 B, C, G (small checks), H, I		
L 24 S, T (long checks)		
Unattributed L (tall), BF, CH, GW, IA, JR, JS, JW?, JX, JZ, KC?, KE, KF, KI, KJ, KM, KN, KP, KR, KT?, KW, KX, KY, LA, LB (D), LC (D), LD (large checks), LH, LI, LJ, LK, LL (tall), RG, RH, RJ (D?—small checks), RK, RL, RM, RN, RO, RP, RQ, RR, SF		
33. Crosshatched rectangles		fig. 10c
L 8 C		
L 9 ES (floating free on surface)		
L 13 M (D—crosshatching at angles)		
34. Solid rectangles		fig. 10d
L 2 AB (small), AC, AF, BV (D)		
L 9 DA		
L 11 CM		
Unattributed CY?, DA		
35. Checks divided diagonally, one-half solid, arranged to make “pinwheel”		fig. 10e
L 8 O, AQ?		
Unattributed CR		
36. Diagonal checks or lozenges		fig. 10f
L 5 G		
L 11 FG		
L 19 BI		
37. Parallelogram		fig. 10g

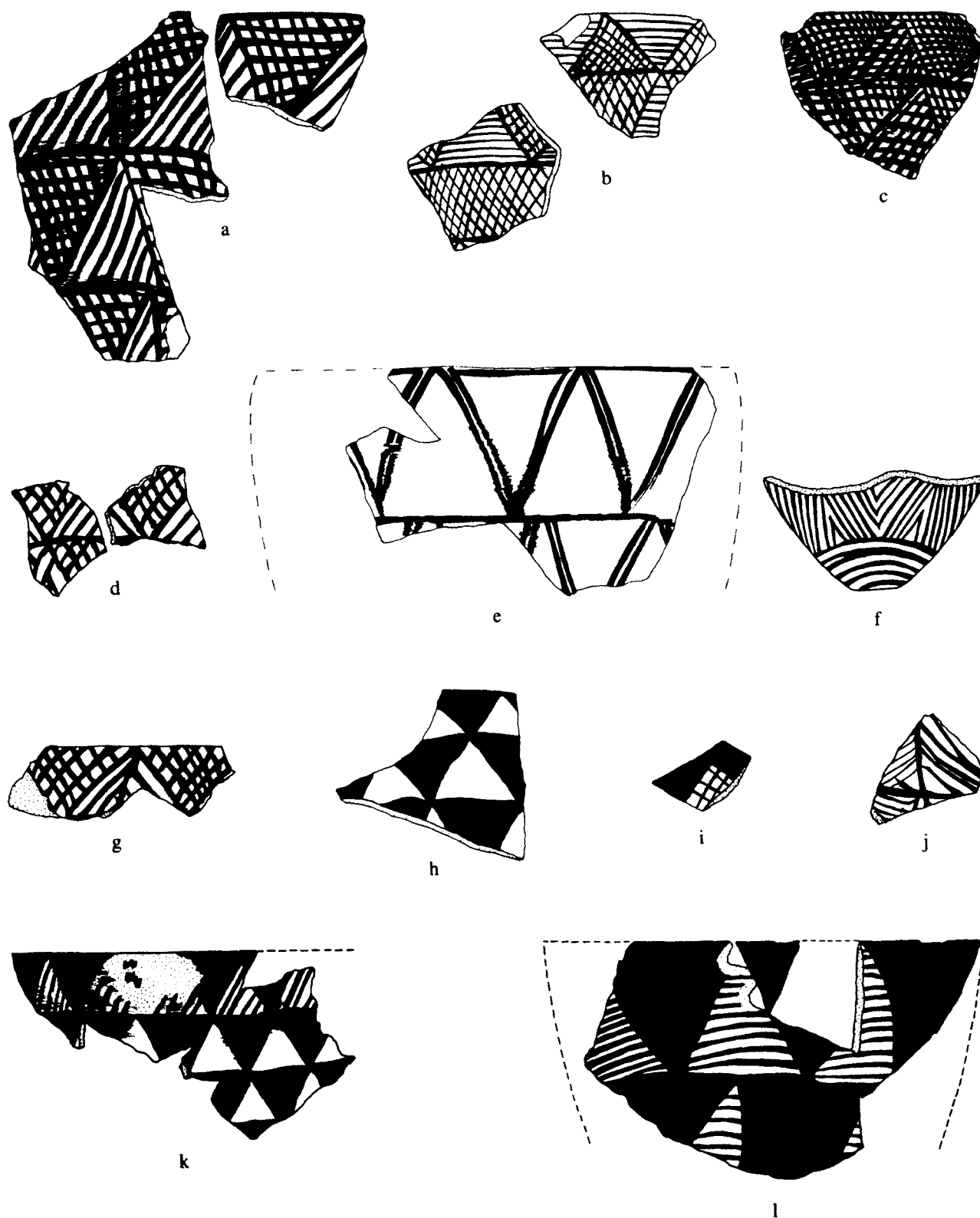


Figure 9. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 16-19, 22, 23, and 25-30: (a) 16, L 19, E; (b) 17, L 19, F; (c) 18, L 19, Z; (d) 22, L 22, 0; (e) 19, L 19, A; (f) 23, L 11, AR; (g) 26, L 22, BI; (h) 27, L 11, BI; (i) 30, L 5, D; (j) 25, unattributed, LV; (k) 28, L 23, A; (l) 29, L 13, F. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

L 19 BZ	
L 22 F	
38. Long feathered strokes, aligned	fig. 10h
L 1 D, H, J, K?	
L 2 Q, T, CC, CR, CV	
L 8 AF	
L 9 BH, CL, DO	
L 10 I	
L 11 C, N, P, W, EM (C)	
L 19 AR, AU (vertical panels, multiple brush), AV, BA, CE, CN	
L 22 A, B (multiple brush), H, I (D), K	
L 24 R (C)	
Unattributed BA, DU, DW, DZ, EI, EJ, EN, EO, EP, EQ, ER (vertical), ES, ET, EU (vertical), EX (vertical), EY, EZ, FA (vertical), FB, FC, FD, FE, FG, FH, FI, FJ, FL, FM, FN, FP, FQ, FR, FT, FU?, FZ (special), GT, GV, HX, HY, HZ, JY, KS, LZ, NU, NV, OA?, OB?, OD?, OE? (D), OF? (D), OI?, OL?, OM?, OP?, ON?, OO?, PS?	
39. Long feathered strokes, alternated	fig. 10i
L 1 E	
L 2 R	
L 11 E, F, H, I, Q, T, X, Y, AB, AC, CL, CO, DR	
L 17 D (no. 21)	
L 19 W, AH (D), AJ, AK, AP?, AY, AZ (vertical multiple brush), BB	
L 22 D, E	
Unattributed BP, DB, DM, DO, DP, DQ, DR, DS, ED, EE, FF, EH, EL, EW, GR, GU, OT, PA, PI, SR	
40. Short strokes, aligned	fig. 10j, k
L 1 B, G	
L 9 J	
L 11 B, G	
L 19 AW	
L 24 I (arched moderately, vertical, multiple brush)	
Unattributed DK, DL, EC, EJ, OJ (long tail), RZ (arched downward), SQ (long tail)	
41. Short strokes, alternated	fig. 10l
L 1 C, I	
L 2 P	
L 11 L, O, R, S, U, BJ	
L 19 AM (high curve to give semicircular effect)	
L 22 J, AQ (high arched)	
Unattributed DK, DT, DV, EG, FH (arched), FS, GS	
42. Vertical strokes, to the right and down	fig. 10p
L 1 F	
L 8 AG (arched)	
L 9 K (alternated)	
L 11 CH	

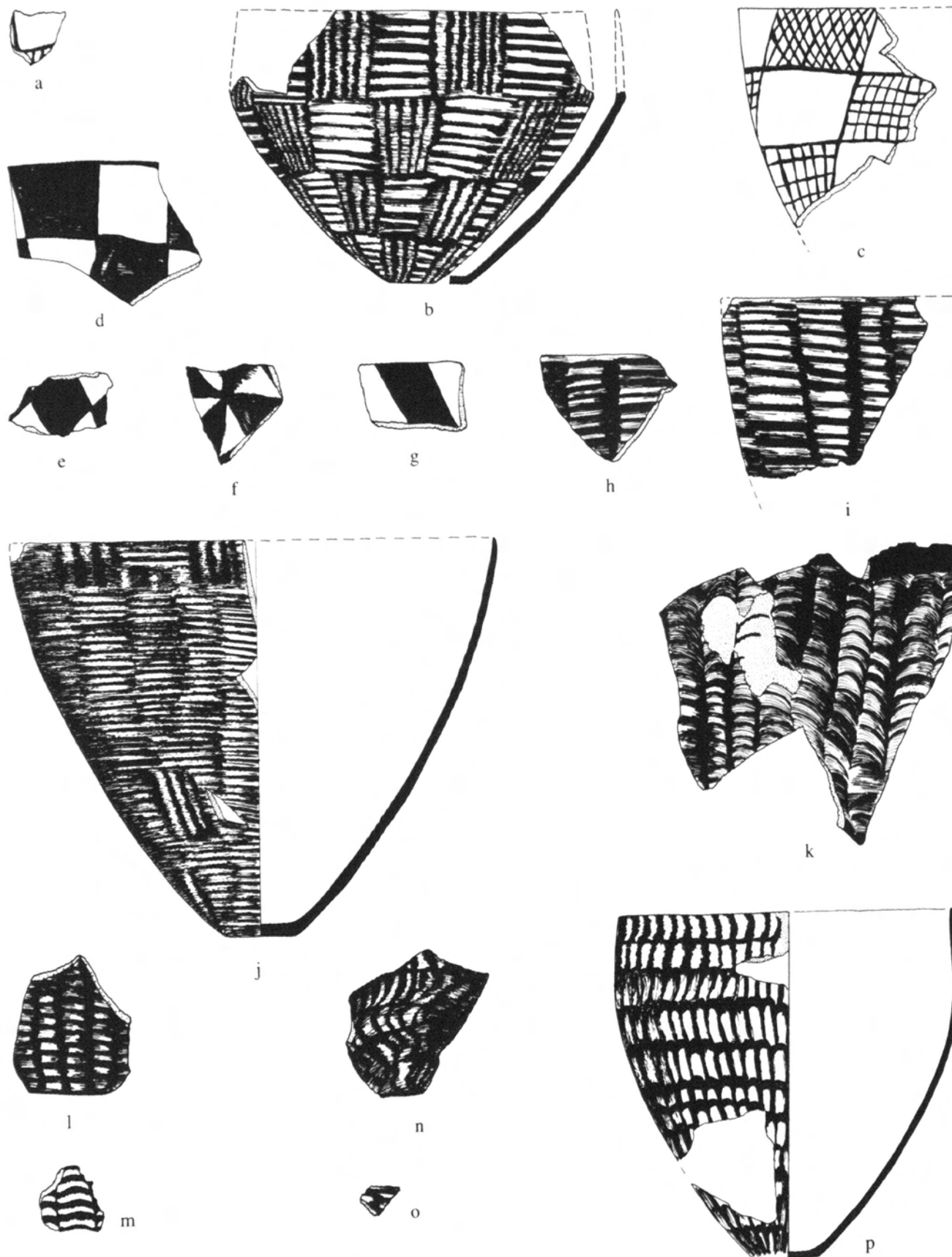


Figure 10. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 31-45: (a) 31, L 9, DM; (b) 32, L 19, K; (c) 33, L 8, C; (d) 34, L 2, AC; (e) 35, L 8, 0; (f) 36, L 19, BI; (g) 37, L 19, BZ; (h) 38, L 22, A; (i) 39, L 11, E; (j) 40, L 11, B; (k) 40, L 24, I; (l) 41, L 11, U; (m) 43, unattributed, GG; (n) 44, L 9, BY; (o) 45, unattributed, UY; (p) 42, L 11, CH. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

L 13 G	
L 19 AS	
L 22 AP	
Unattributed FY, OC	
43. Wavy horizontal strokes	fig. 10m
Unattributed GG	
44. Vertical arched strokes in alternating directions	fig. 10n
L 9 BY, CC	
45. Strokes at an angle painted vertically, the tail of the above leading to the head of the stroke below	fig. 10o
Unattributed UY	
46. Herringbone, strokes alternated	fig. 11a
L 2 O	
L 9 H (long strokes), I, CA, EL (long strokes)	
L 11 K	
L 19 AB (C), BG (vertical, well organized)	
Unattributed FF (long), HB, JF, OB	
47. Joined double strokes, feathered in the center; large	fig. 11b
L 1 U	
L 2 U	
L 8 AD	
L 11 BL, CB	
L 17 A (no. 7), H (no. 32)	
L 23 D, F (special painting—almost rectangular elements, wiped away)	
Unattributed GI, OH, PU?	
48. Same, medium–small	fig. 11h
L 2 V	
L 8 AE	
L 9 CE	
L 11 CC, CD, EH?, FD	
L 19 M (rows)	
L 24 P	
Unattributed NT, NZ, OL, PG, PJ, QD, QL	
49. Blobs, alternated	fig. 11c
L 8 L	
Unattributed RX	
50. Solid	
L 1 L	
L 2 BR	
L 11 AO (nearly rippled), CF, CG, CI, EP (C)	
L 17 E (C, no. 22), G (no. 16)	
L 24 Z	
COMPLEX DESIGNS: A. BANDS AND AREAS	
51. Matched bands, different densities in different bands	fig. 11e
L 2 BN (uncertain)	
Unattributed HR	

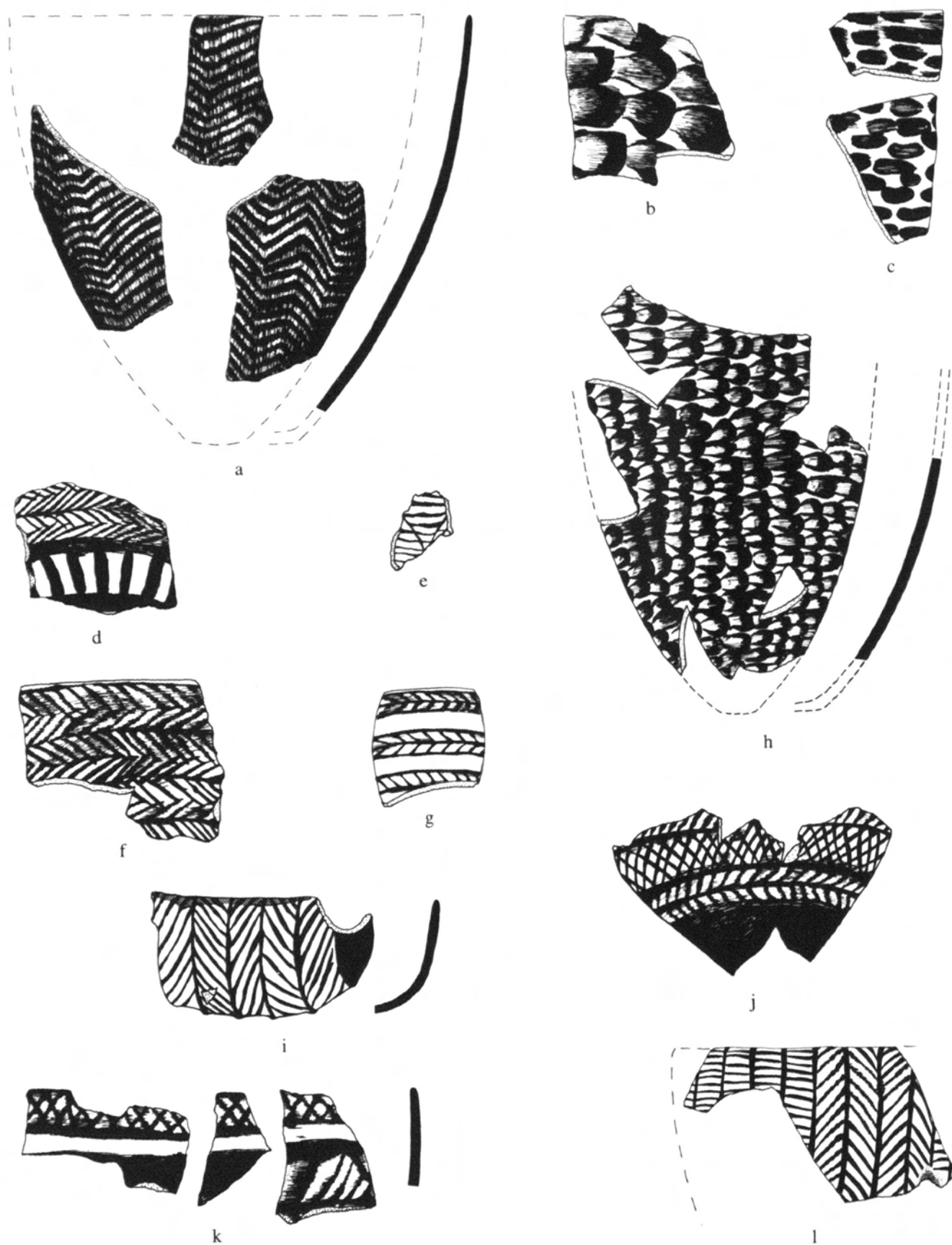


Figure 11. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 46–49, 51–54, and 56–59: (a) 46, L 9, H; (b) 47, L 11, BL; (c) 49, L 8, L; (d) 53, L 9, BN; (e) 51, unattributed, HR; (f) 52, L 9, CB; (g) 54, L 9, BO; (h) 48, L 2, V; (i) 56, L 2, BX; (j) 57, L 8, E; (k) 58, L 22, BC; (l) 59, L 8, A. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

52. Opposed diagonal strokes in bands above, long strokes below L 9 CB	fig. 11f
53. Opposed diagonal strokes above, broad vertical bands below L 9 BN L 11 CR (horizontal bands separated, bands below unknown)	fig. 11d
54. Opposed-hatching in contiguous pairs of bands mixed with simple hatched bands L 9 BO (C)	fig. 11g
55. Vertical combination opposed-hatching in contiguous bands and horizontal lines crossed with vertical L 9 DI (D)	
56. Curved bands with opposed-hatching L 2 BX (D)	fig. 11i
57. Combinations of opposed-hatching in contiguous bands and crosshatching L 2 B, D, G L 5 F L 8 E, V L 9 BD, BE, DN (C), DZ (D) L 11 CT, DV, DZ L 13 J L 19 AF, BS, CJ L 22 AO (D), AT, AX, AY (C) Unattributed HR, JB, NS?	fig. 11j
58. Crosshatching or opposed-hatching in contiguous bands, and horizontal bands L 11 BW L 19 BL L 22 BC Unattributed M, LR, RC, TI	fig. 11k
59. Opposed-hatching in vertical bands above, horizontal strokes below L 8 A (alternating)	fig. 11l
Hatched bands and hatched triangles (see no. 77)	
Hatched bands and opposed-hatched triangles (see no. 81a)	
Hatched bands and crosshatched-hatched triangles (see no. 102)	
Hatched bands, crosshatched-hatched triangles, hatched-crosshatched rhombs (see no. 108)	
Hatched bands and solid triangles (see nos. 126, 129)	
Hatched bands and hatched-crosshatched rhombs (see no. 153)	
Hatched bands and reversed-opposed nested rectangles (see no. 147)	
Hatched bands and solid rhombs (see no. 154)	
Hatched bands and birds (see no. 159)	
60. Crosshatched bands and horizontal bands or lines L 9 EO	
61. Broad crosshatched bands and a band of vertical zigzags L 8 K	fig. 12a
62. Crosshatched bands with horizontal lines crossed by verticals L 2 BW	fig. 12b

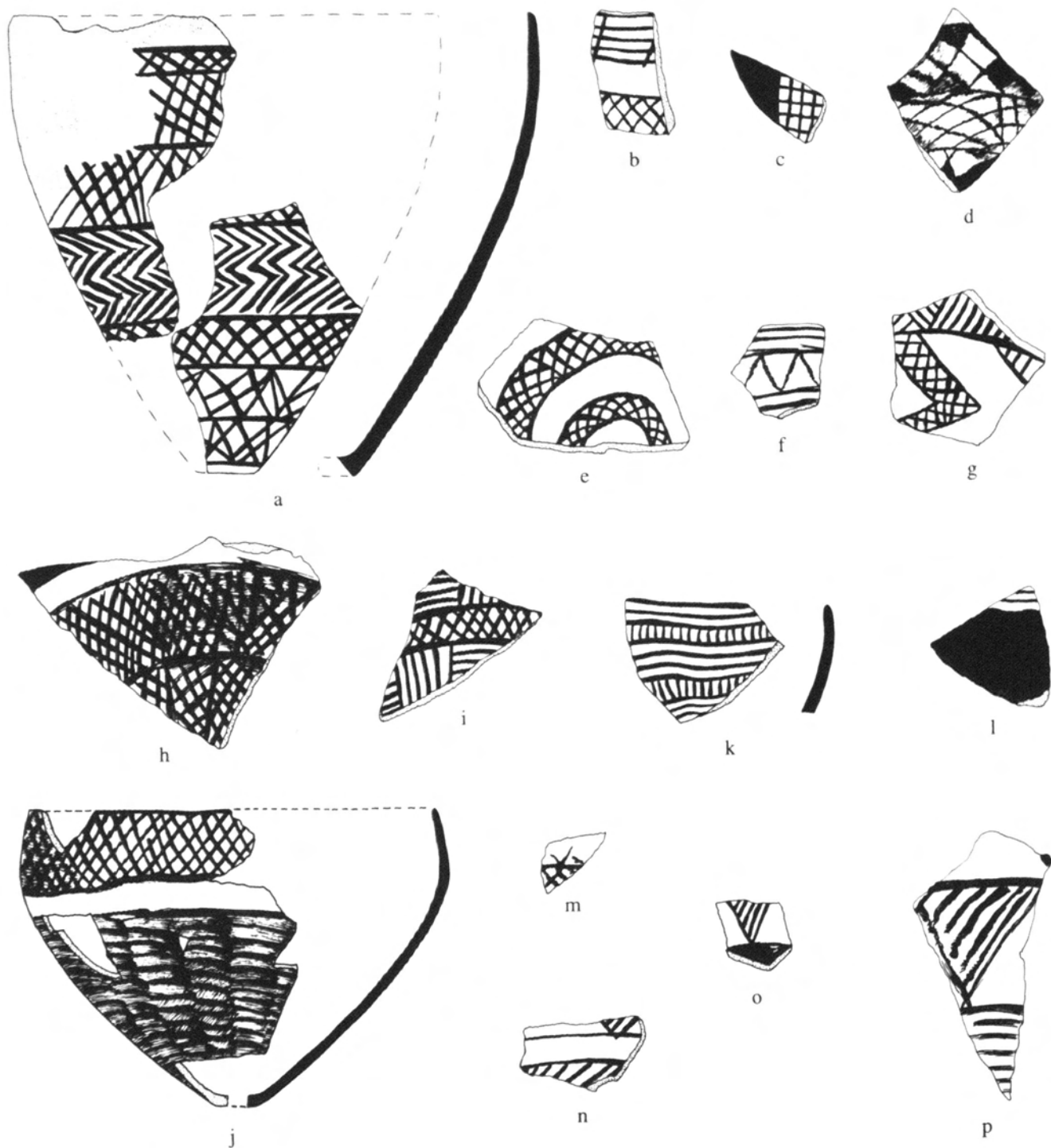


Figure 12. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 61–67, 69, 71–74, and 76–78: (a) 61, L 8, K; (b) 62, L 2, BW; (c) 63, L 11, EC; (d) 64, L 9, BF; (e) 65, L 2, BL; (f) 66, unattributed, BJ; (g) 67, L 2, S; (h) 69, L 13, O; (i) 71, unattributed, QE; (j) 72, L 24, J; (k) 73, L 2, BT; (l) 74, L 9, CP; (m) 76, unattributed, BW; (n) 77, L 9, EB; (o) 78, unattributed, AL; (p) 78, L 19, AL. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

63. Crosshatched bands mixed with horizontal bands and/or lines	fig. 12c
L 2 AV	
L 9 EP	
L 11 EC, ET	
L 24 AD	
Unattributed AH, AS, NL, NO, QI	
64. Diagonally crosshatched bands with some areas filled with crosshatched bands	fig. 12d
L 9 BF	
Unattributed ML, MP? (both without second element)	
65. Circular crosshatched bands	fig. 12e
L 2 BC, BL	
66. Diagonal crosshatched bands	fig. 12f
Unattributed BJ	
67. Zigzag crosshatched bands with irregular opposed-hatched triangles	fig. 12g
L 2 S	
68. Zigzag crosshatched bands	
L 9 BC	
69. Vertical and horizontal crosshatched bands and solid bands	fig. 12h
L 13 O	
70. Very irregular crosshatching	
L 9 CI	
71. Crosshatched bands and opposed-hatched rectangles	fig. 12i
L 22 AU	
Unattributed QE	
72. Crosshatched bands, both diagonal and rectilinear, above long strokes	fig. 12j
L 2 BK	
L 8 AM	
L 24 J	
Crosshatched bands with empty triangles (see no. 76)	
Crosshatched bands with opposed-hatched triangles (see no. 82)	
Crosshatched bands with no. 13 (see no. 80)	
Crosshatched bands with opposed triangles and opposed-hatched rectangles (see no. 83)	
Crosshatched bands with hatched standing and crosshatched pendant triangles (see no. 103)	
Crosshatched bands with horizontal bands, opposed-hatched, and crosshatched triangles (see no. 102)	
Crosshatched bands with a. alternate hatched and crosshatched pendant triangles,	
b. opposed-crosshatched and impaled nested triangles, and c. hatched triangles	
opposed in adjacent bands, remaining triangles crosshatched (see no. 106)	
Crosshatched bands with pendant crosshatched triangles and solid triangles in separate bands (see no. 125)	
Crosshatched bands with parallel crossing triangles or zigzags (see no. 114)	
Crosshatched bands with nested triangles (here innermost impaled) (see no. 121)	
Crosshatched bands, hatched bands, and solid triangles (see no. 130)	
Crosshatched bands and solid triangles (see no. 128)	
Crosshatched bands interrupted with a vertical hatched band, solid triangles (see no. 131)	

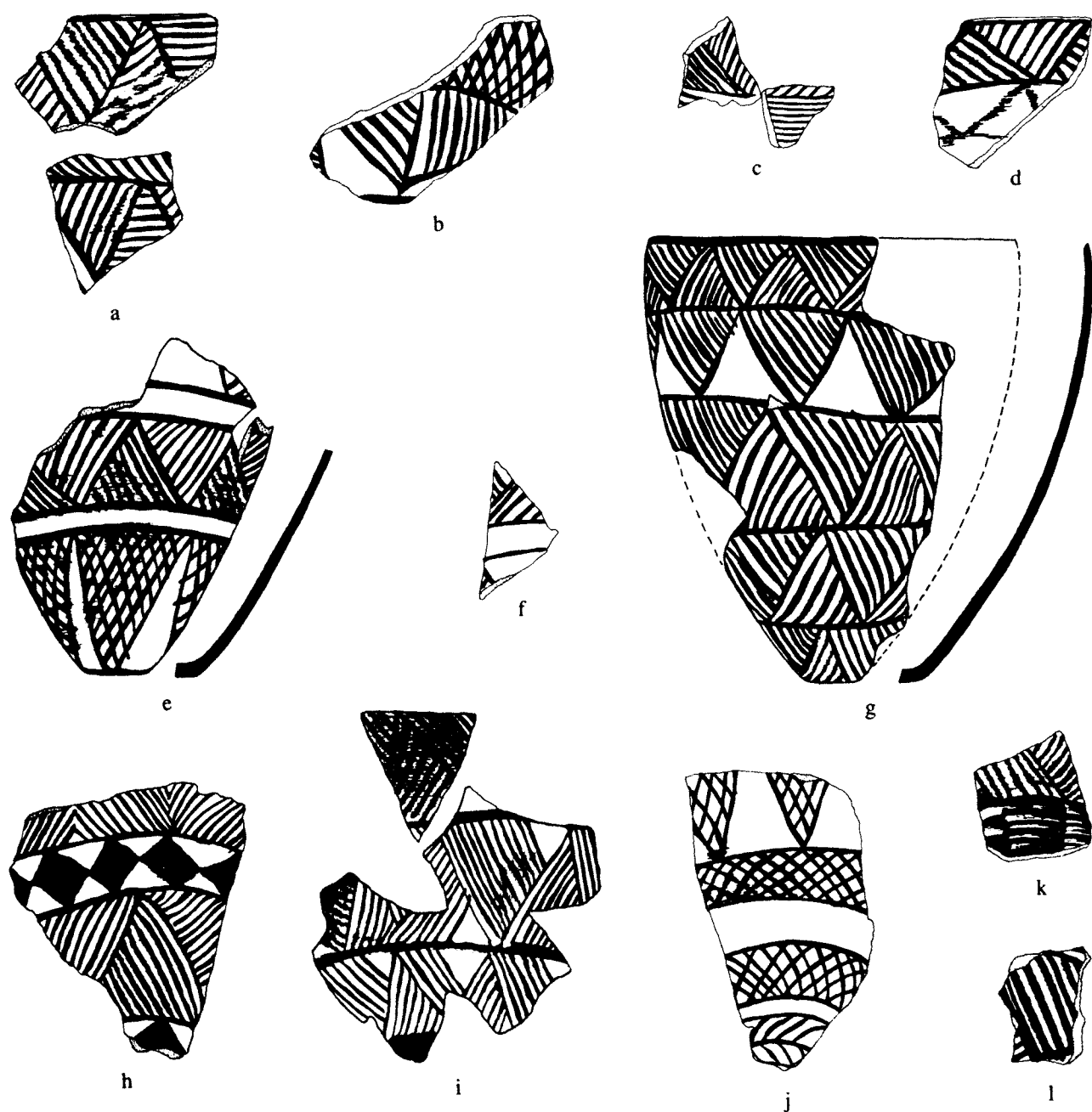


Figure 13. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 81a, 82, 84, 85, 87, and 89-95: (a) 81a, L 9, DB; (b) 82, L 2, BQ; (c) 84, L 19, BW; (d) 85, L 9, V; (e) 89, L 9, F; (f) 90, L 9, AG; (g) 87, L 9, CU; (h) 91b, L 19, BR; (i) 94, L 11, BC; (j) 95, L 9, DX; (k) 92, unattributed, BL; (l) 93, L 2, CL. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

Crosshatched bands, solid triangles, and narrow band (see no. 129)	
Crosshatched bands, solid triangles, and opposed-hatched rectangles (see no. 138)	
Crosshatched bands with checks (see no. 152)	
Crosshatched bands with filled lozenges (see nos. 155, 156)	
Crosshatched bands and tall birds or falcons (see no. 160)	
Crosshatched bands, birds, and long strokes below (see no. 165)	
Crosshatched bands and irregular representational shape (see no. 168)	
73. Horizontal lines with vertical hatched bands	fig. 12k
L 2 BT	
L 9 CG (D), DD	
74. Horizontal lines and solid band	fig. 12l
L 9 CP	
Horizontal lines and empty triangles (see no. 75)	
Horizontal lines and opposed triangles (see no. 84)	
Horizontal lines and opposed-hatched triangles, right corner empty (see no. 93)	
Same, left corner empty (see no. 94)	
Horizontal bands, a vertical band, hatched triangles, crosshatched triangles, and a crosshatched area (see no. 95)	
Horizontal bands, crosshatched, standing hatched with pendant crosshatched triangles (see no. 102)	
Horizontal bands, crosshatched bands, a. alternate pendant hatched and crosshatched triangles, b. opposed-crosshatched and impaled nested triangles, and c. hatched triangles opposed in adjacent bands, remaining triangles crosshatched (see no. 106)	
Horizontal band and nested triangles (see nos. 110, 116, 118)	
Horizontal lines and solid triangles (see no. 124)	
Same, with crosshatched band (see no. 129)	
Horizontal bands and solid triangles (see no. 132)	
Horizontal lines and filled checks (see no. 150)	
Horizontal lines and filled checks (see no. 151)	
Horizontal bands and irregular representations (see nos. 167, 171)	
75. Empty triangles and horizontal lines	
Unattributed BU	
76. Empty triangles with crosshatched bands	fig. 12m
Unattributed BW	
Empty triangles with vertically hatched checks (see no. 140)	
77. Hatched triangles with hatched band	fig. 12n
L 9 EB	
78. Hatched triangles with solid band	fig. 12o, p
L 19 AL	
Unattributed AL	
79. Point-to-point hatched triangles, not adjacent or beside other triangles	
L 11 BB (D)	
80. As no. 13 with crosshatched band	
L 9 D	
81a. Opposed-hatched triangles; every second pendant triangle hatched horizontally	fig. 13a

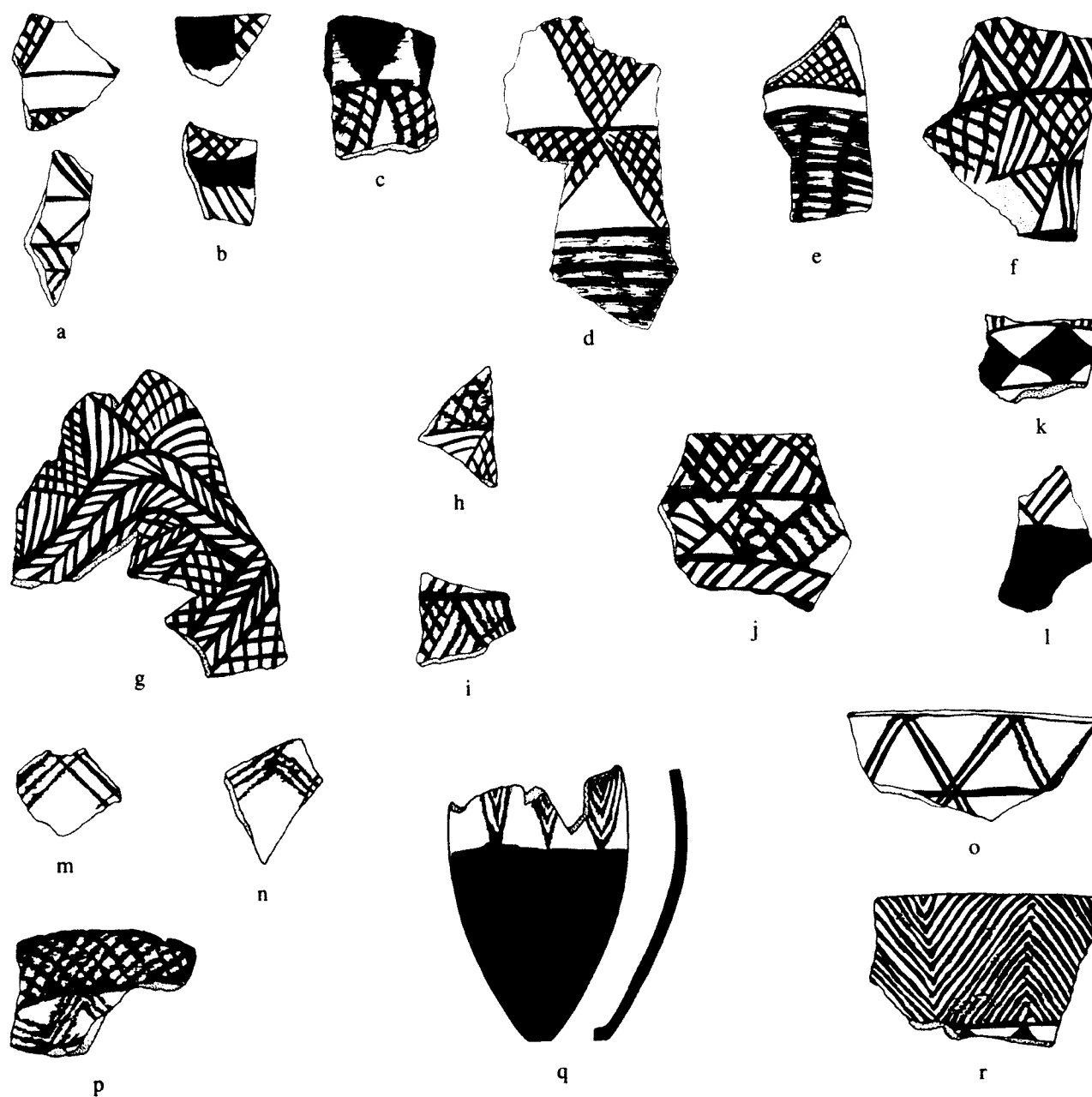


Figure 14. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 96–102, 104, 105, 108–114, 116, and 117: (a) 96, L 9, DY; (b) 97, L 22, G; (c) 98, L 22, P; (d) 99, L 22, N; (e) 100, unattributed, HG; (f) 101, unattributed, HT; (g) 102, L 8, I; (h) 104, unattributed, HE; (i) 105, unattributed, HS; (j) 108, L 11, EN; (k) 109, L 11, FC; (l) 110, L 9, R; (m) 111, L 9, AF; (n) 113, L 9, BG; (o) 112, L 24, M; (p) 114, L 9, DF; (q) 116, L 24, AA; (r) 117, L 11, FB. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

L 9 AA, DB (with band of hatching), DG	
81b. Opposed triangles above vertical opposed-hatching in bands	
L 22 Q (D)	
81c. Same, with horizontal bands	
L 9 T	
82. Opposed triangles with crosshatched bands	fig. 13b
L 2 BQ (hatched triangles), CK	
L 9 S (C), DH	
L 11 DJ, FI	
Unattributed AG, BK, BR	
83. Opposed triangles (band), band of crosshatching, and band of opposed-hatched rectangles	
L 22 AV (C)	
84. Opposed triangles and horizontal lines	fig. 13c
L 19 BW	
85. Opposed triangles and empty triangles	fig. 13d
L 9 V	
L 11 AY	
86. Opposed triangles and empty triangles in separated bands	
L 2 CM	
87. Opposed-hatched triangles with one band of pendant hatched triangles	fig. 13g
L 9 CU	
Unattributed MG (bands not adjacent)	
88. Opposed triangles with two bands of hatched standing triangles, strokes below	
L 19 V	
89. Bands of opposed triangles and pendant crosshatched triangles	fig. 13e
L 9 F	
90. Opposed triangles with bands of standing hatched and pendant crosshatched triangles	fig. 13f
L 9 AG	
91a. Opposed triangles and solid triangles	
L 11 EF	
91b. Opposed triangles and solid lozenges	fig. 13h
L 19 BR	
92. Opposed triangles above long horizontal strokes	fig. 13k
Unattributed BL	
Opposed triangles and zigzag crosshatched bands (see no. 67)	
Opposed triangles(?) and irregular painting, both sides of sherd (see nos. 157, 168)	
93. Opposed triangles with the right corner empty and horizontal lines	fig. 13l
L 2 CL (D)	
94. Opposed triangles with the left corner empty, horizontal bands	fig. 13i
L 11 BC	
95. Crosshatched pendant triangles and crosshatched bands	fig. 13j
L 9 DX	
96. Crosshatched pendant triangles, hatched pendant triangles, and crosshatched bands	fig. 14a
L 9 AW, DY	

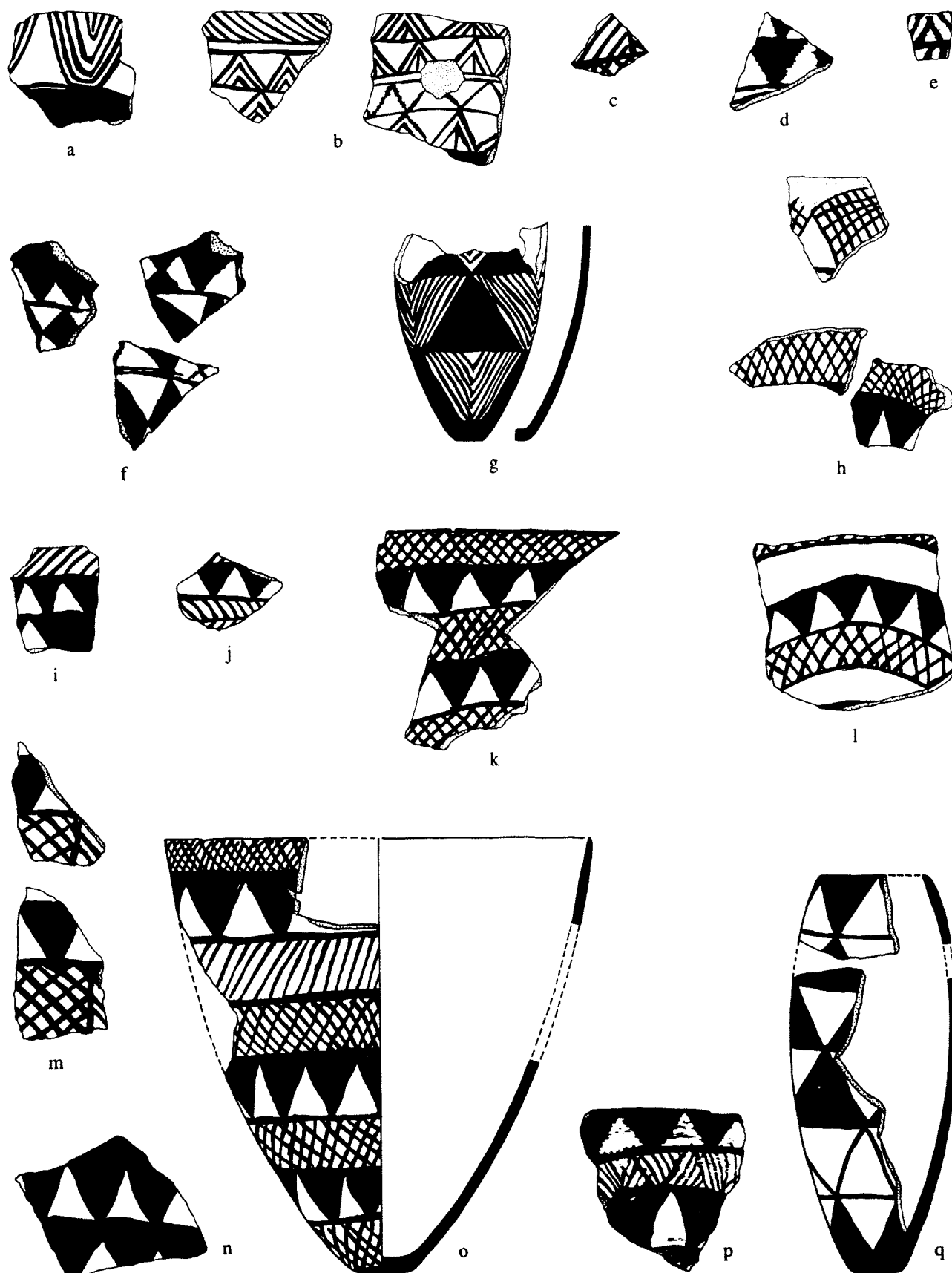


Figure 15. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 118–131 and 133–135: (a) 118, L 9, CY; (b) 119, L 5, I; (c) 121, unattributed, HW; (d) 124, unattributed, CT; (e) 120a, unattributed, G; (f) 123a, L 2, AL; (g) 122, L 11, EU; (h) 125, L 24, L; (i) 126, L 8, AB; (j) 127, L 9, E; (k) 128, L 13, A; (l) 129, L 13, R; (m) 131, L 22, BH; (n) 133, unattributed, BY; (o) 130, L 9, A; (p) 135, L 2, W; (q) 134, L 8, J. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

97. Crosshatched triangles, hatched triangles in adjacent bands, solid bands, and vertical zones with crosshatched zones L 22 G	fig. 14b
98. Crosshatched triangles and solid triangles L 22 P	fig. 14c
99. Pendant crosshatched triangles above long strokes L 22 N	fig. 14d
100. Standing crosshatched triangles above long strokes Unattributed HG	fig. 14e
101. Standing crosshatched triangles with adjacent hatched triangles with opposed-hatched bands Unattributed HT	fig. 14f
102. Pendant crosshatched triangles, standing hatched triangles adjacent with opposed-hatched bands and crosshatched bands L 8 I (F—tricorn boat)	fig. 14g
103. Same, triangles with crosshatched bands L 11 EB? Unattributed HD	
104. Standing crosshatched triangles with adjacent horizontally hatched triangles and hatched bands Unattributed HE	fig. 14h
105. Pendant crosshatched triangles with adjacent hatched triangles Unattributed HS	fig. 14i
106. a. Crosshatched band, b. pendant crosshatched triangles alternating with concentric triangles, c. pendant crosshatched triangles with adjacent standing impaled concentric triangles, d. pendant crosshatched triangles with standing hatched triangles, e. same, reversed Unattributed HF	
107. Pendant crosshatched triangles with adjacent hatched triangles; solid triangles in separate bands L 11 EF	
108. a. Pendant crosshatched triangles with adjacent hatched triangles, b. alternating hatched and crosshatched rhombs, c. reversed hatched bands L 11 EN (D)	fig. 14j
109. Pendant crosshatched triangles with adjacent hatched triangles, solid rhombs L 11 FC L 13 X	fig. 14k
Crosshatched triangles and birds (see no. 162)	
110. Nested (2) triangles and solid bands L 9 R	fig. 14l
111. Triangles paralleled on the two diagonal sides by single lines which cross L 9 AF	fig. 14m
112. Same, in bands L 10 D? L 24 M	fig. 14o
113. Same as 111, but with three lines L 9 BG	fig. 14n

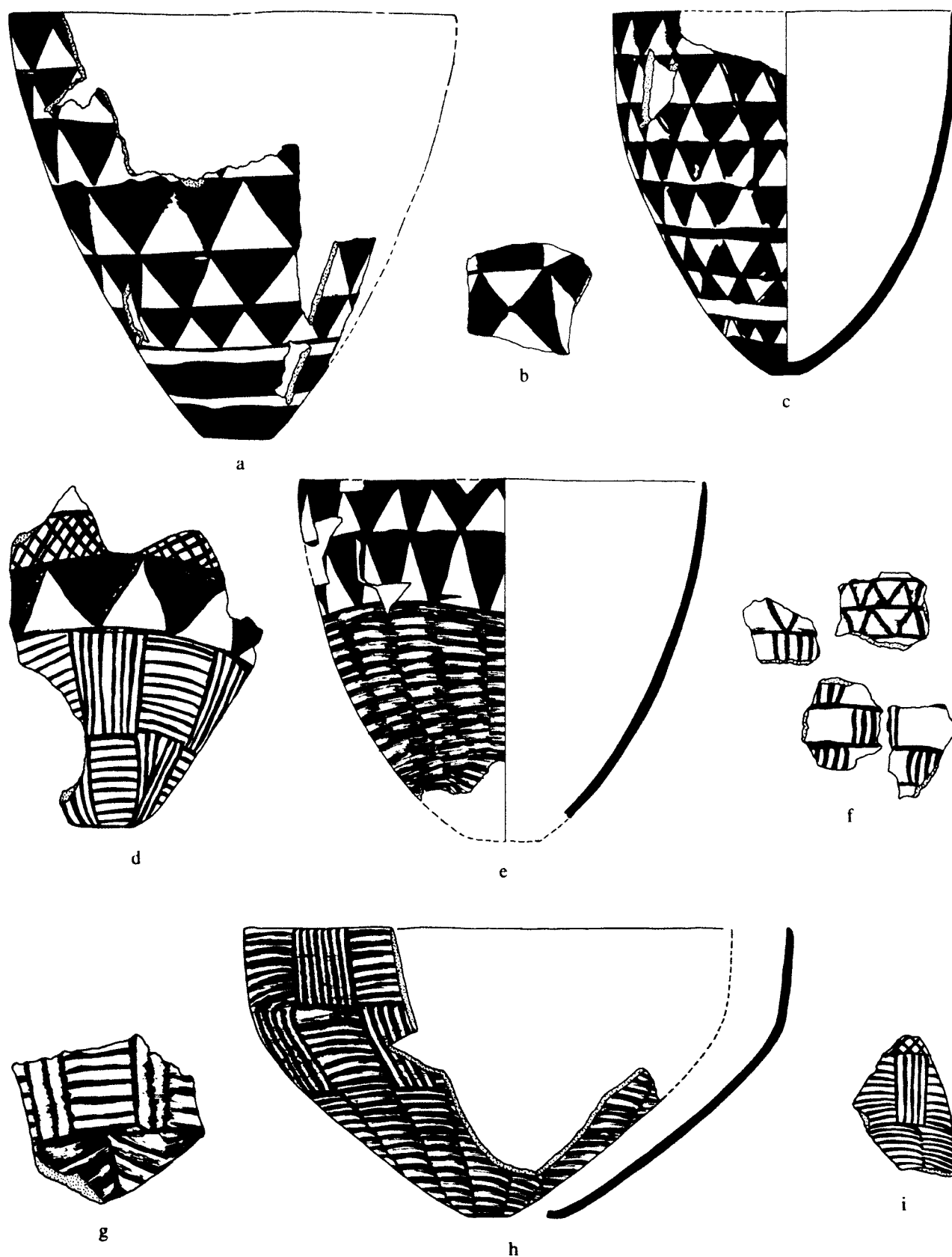


Figure 16. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 132, 136–140, and 142–144: (a) 132, L 22, L; (b) 136, L 8, Q; (c) 137, L 19, B; (d) 138, L 24, D; (e) 139, L 24, H; (f) 140, L 22, AW; (g) 143, L 11, BH; (h) 142, L 11, V; (i) 144, unattributed, LE. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

114. Parallel crossed triangles or zigzags and crosshatched bands L 9 DF	fig. 14p
115. Two nested triangles(?) and empty triangles Unattributed ME	
116. Several nested triangles and solid bands L 11 EU (C) L 24 AA	fig. 14q
117. Several opposed nested triangles or cut-off zigzags and solid triangles L 11 FB	fig. 14r
118. Blunt nested triangles with solid center and solid bands L 9 CY	fig. 15a
119. a. Several nested triangles (standing) with impaled centers, b. two, same, c. empty triangles L 5 I	fig. 15b
120a. Several opposed nested triangles and double nested triangles Unattributed G	fig. 15e
120b. As 120a, with opposed solid triangles L 11 FQ	
121. Nested triangles (with impaled centers), crosshatched bands Unattributed HW	fig. 15c
122. Several pendant nested triangles with adjacent solid triangles L 11 EU (C)	fig. 15g
123a. Solid triangles and solid lozenges L 2 AL	fig. 15f
123b. Solid triangles and solid squares L 2 BP L 11 BP	
124. Solid triangles and horizontal lines Unattributed CT	fig. 15d
125. Solid triangles, crosshatched triangles in a separate band, and a crosshatched band L 24 L	fig. 15h
126. Solid triangles and hatched bands (various combinations) L 2 Z L 8 AB L 9 AX L 11 DQ Unattributed TB	fig. 15i
127. Solid triangles and opposed-hatched bands L 9 E	fig. 15j
128. Solid triangles and various hatched bands L 2 Y L 13 A, D, S, T L 19 D, G, R, AQ L 24 E, V, X Unattributed CS?, IZ, LS	fig. 15k

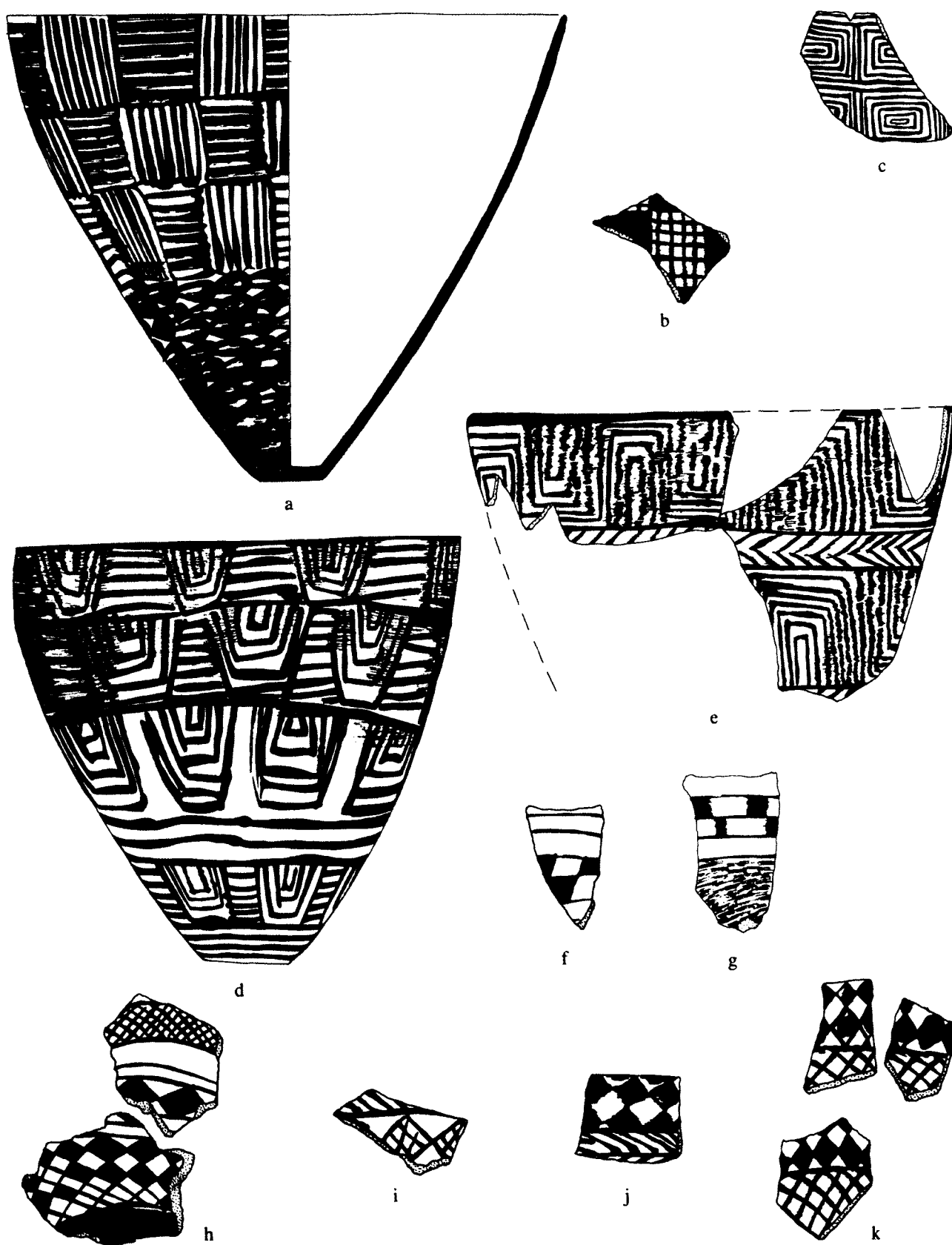


Figure 17. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 145–155: (a) 145, L 11, A; (b) 146, unattributed, NA; (c) 148, L 11, FH; (d) 149, L 11, FK; (e) 147, L 11, DI; (f) 151, L 9, CZ; (g) 150, L 2, AJ; (h) 152, L 9, CW; (i) 153, L 5, C; (j) 154, L 9, CX; (k) 155, L 9, CV. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

129. Solid triangles, crosshatched bands, and horizontal bands L 13 R	fig. 15l
130. Solid triangles, crosshatched bands, and hatched bands L 9 A	fig. 15o
131. Solid triangles, crosshatched triangles, crosshatched and interrupted by a vertical hatched band L 22 BH	fig. 15m
132. Solid triangles and solid bands L 22 L	fig. 16a
133. Solid triangles attached to solid bands Unattributed BY, PT	fig. 15n
134. Solid triangles, standing and pendant with empty triangles L 8 J	fig. 15q
135. Solid triangles with opposed-hatched triangles L 2 W	fig. 15p
136. Opposed solid triangles, tip to tip L 2 AN L 8 P, Q, S L 9 DP Unattributed CB?, CO, PW	fig. 16b
137. Opposed solid triangles with solid bands between L 11 AU L 19 B Unattributed CD?	fig. 16c
138. Solid triangles, crosshatched band, and opposed-hatched rectangles L 24 D, N	fig. 16d
139. Solid triangles and horizontal strokes (long) L 24 H	fig. 16e
140. Vertically hatched checks (or rectangles) and empty triangles L 22 AW	fig. 16f
141. Opposed-hatched rectangles above medium aligned horizontal strokes L 11 D L 19 AT	
142. Opposed-hatched rectangles with medium-alternated strokes below L 11 V, AN	fig. 16h
143. Opposed-hatched rectangles with strokes in herringbone pattern below L 11 BH? L 19 BH	fig. 16g
144. Opposed-hatched tall checks above long strokes Unattributed LE	fig. 16i
145. Opposed-hatched rectangles above short small double-strokes L 11 A	fig. 17a
Opposed-hatched rectangles above crosshatched band (see no. 71)	
146. Solid rectangles, vertical, with rectilinear crosshatched rectangles in check pattern Unattributed NA	fig. 17b
147. Opposed nested rectangles (meander) with opposed-hatched bands in pairs L 11 DI	fig. 17e

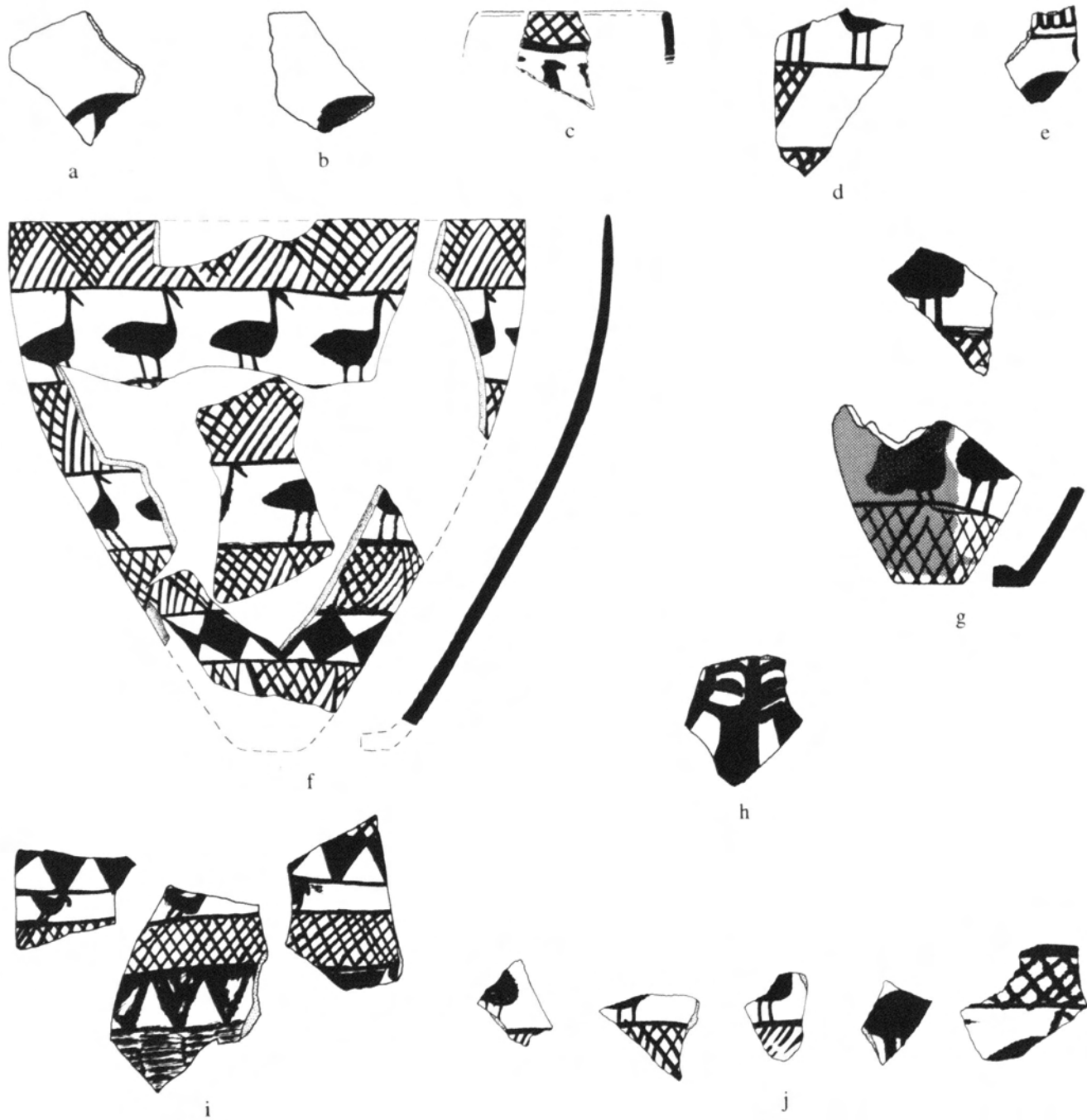


Figure 18. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 157–166: (a) 157, L 8, AH; (b) 158, L 19, S; (c) 161, unattributed, QH; (d) 162, L 2, CA; (e) 163, L 2, BZ; (f) 160, L 8, AS; (g) 164, L 19, AE; (h) 166, L 2, CB; (i) 165, L 2, BY; (j) 159, unattributed, SP. Scale 2:5.

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Table 9—Continued

148. Horizontal complete nested rectangles L 11 FH	fig. 17c
149. Inverted nested rectangles with rectangles between, horizontally hatched L 11 FK	fig. 17d
150. Filled checks and broad bands L 2 AJ L 8 AN (C)	fig. 17g
151. Slightly diagonal checks and narrow bands L 9 CZ	fig. 17f
152. Diagonal checks and crosshatched bands L 9 CW (D)	fig. 17h
153. Crosshatched rhombs and hatched bands L 5 C (D)	fig. 17i
154. Solid rhombs (with some empty in the same band) with opposed-hatched pairs of bands L 9 CX, DV? (no empty lozenges)	fig. 17j
155. Solid rhombs with crosshatched bands, contiguous bands L 9 CV L 19 AA	fig. 17k
156. Solid rhombs with crosshatched bands, each in separated bands L 19 BQ	
Alternating hatched and crosshatched rhombs, pendant crosshatched triangles with opposed-hatched triangles and hatched bands (see no. 108)	
Solid rhombs, crosshatched band, and crosshatched band with some areas filled (see no. 64)	
Solid rhombs, pendant crosshatched triangles with opposed-hatched triangles (see no. 109)	
COMBINATIONS WITH OVERALL PATTERNS BELOW	
Alternating long strokes with opposed-hatching or herringbone (horizontal) in bands (see no. 52)	
Long strokes with vertical bands of opposed diagonal hatching (see no. 59)	
Long strokes with crosshatched bands (see no. 72)	
Long strokes with opposed-hatched triangles (see no. 92)	
Medium-long strokes with crosshatched triangles (see no. 99)	
Standing crosshatched triangles above long strokes (see no. 100)	
Solid triangles above long strokes (see no. 139)	
Long strokes below long opposed-hatched rectangles (see no. 144)	
Strokes in herringbone pattern below opposed hatched rectangles (see no. 143)	
Strokes below opposed-hatched rectangles (see nos. 141, 142)	
Strokes below birds and crosshatched bands (see no. 165)	
Vertical strokes below birds (see no. 163)	
Strokes, double, short below opposed-hatched triangles and standing hatched triangles (see no. 88)	
Double short strokes below opposed-hatched rectangles (see no. 145)	
157. Curved shape inside and hatched triangle with empty curved shape outside L 8 AH	fig. 18a
158. Curved shape inside with opposed-hatched triangles outside L 19 S	fig. 18b

Table 9—Continued

159. Birds above simple crosshatching or hatching in bands L 19 AE Unattributed A, C, D, SP	fig. 18j
160. Birds, tall waders or falcons, crosshatched pendant triangles with opposed-hatched triangles L 8 AS	fig. 18f
161. Birds or falcons below crosshatched band Unattributed QH	fig. 18c
162. Birds with crosshatched triangles L 2 CA	fig. 18d
163. Birds below groups of vertical strokes L 2 BZ	fig. 18e
164. Opposed birds L 19 AE (C—hatched band) Unattributed TJ	fig. 18g
165. Long-beaked birds, solid triangles, crosshatched bands above horizontal strokes L 2 BY	fig. 18i
166. Tree(?) L 2 CB	fig. 18h
167. Irregular representational(?) object with solid band Unattributed SL	fig. 19a
168. Curved representational(?) object below crosshatched band L 9 BA	fig. 19b
169. Pointed object above solid band L 9 U	fig. 19c
170. Irregular blobs joined in arrangement of uncertain significance L 11 J	fig. 19d
171. Vertically hatched horizontal band above blobs with interior hatching L 29 A	fig. 19e
172. Squares divided diagonally by nested triangles above solid opposed triangles L 11 FP	
173. Crosshatched bands above vertical crosshatched panels, with one band of rosettes or asterisks See <i>OINE</i> IV	
174. Standing hatched triangles above separated vertical bands of strokes See <i>OINE</i> IV	
175. Opposed triangles, above hatching, below filled with lines spreading from the apex, pendant triangles with hatching and solid point, and horizontal lines See <i>OINE</i> IV	
176. Band with birds below opposed-hatched triangles See <i>OINE</i> IV	

Form Group III: Band Incised Bowls

This group of pots includes black conical bowls with incised decoration organized in bands. Both the shapes and decoration are related to but distinct from Form Group VII. Most bowls are nearly conical and shallow pointed, though a taller example and one with inturned rim are also known. The chief

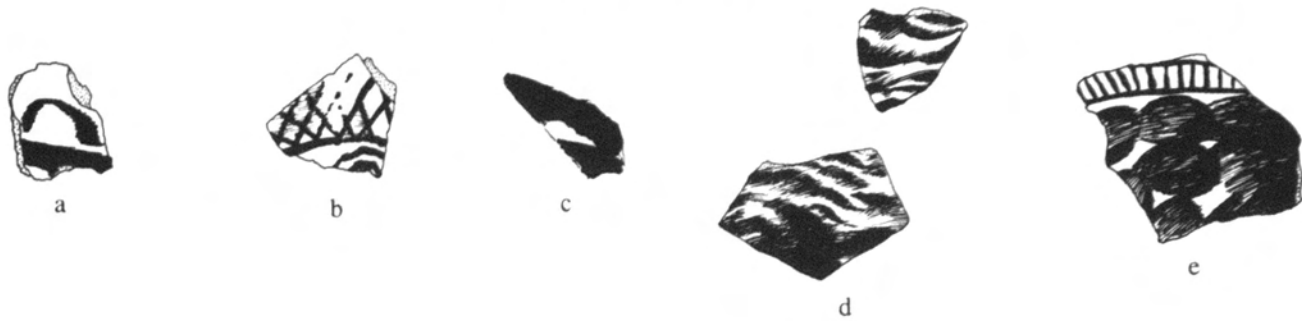


Figure 19. Painted designs of Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery, styles 167–171: (a) 167, unattributed, SL; (b) 168, L 9, BA; (c) 169, L 9, U; (d) 170, L 11, J; (e) 171, L 29, A. Scale 2:5.

decorative characteristic is the impressions, chiefly of rectangular dots, whatever their orientation, arranged in bands.

Although it occurred fairly often in contexts just to the south, no members of the group were found at Qustul.³³ The shapes and the narrow horizontal bands of decoration indicate that the vessels belonged to the A-Group culturally, but the technique of decoration was Sudanese-Saharan.

Form Group IV: Painted and Incised-Impressed (table 11, fig. 21, pl. 11)

Except for the mixed techniques of decoration, this form group would belong with the exterior painted vessels; all but one are tall bowls of shape A in that group. It is, however, clearly distinct, with well-developed decorative patterns partly derived from Form Group I and partly derived from the Sudanese tradition though they are simpler. The decoration consists of broad bands of paint that separate diagonal zones of impression; these zones are sometimes covered with white paint. The interior and the painted parts of the exterior are burnished.

Form Group V: Interior Painted Bowls (table 12, figs. 22–27, pl. 12)

Bowls with painted interiors were rare elsewhere but relatively common in Cemetery L. Although the clay used was the same the temper contained chaff, clearly visible on the exterior surfaces of the pots. Two major shapes were used, an open shallow convex bowl and one with a flat or slightly curved base. Often the top of the rim was flattened. Painting on these vessels, most often confined to the interior, generally consisted of groups of parallel lines, simple bands or stripes, swags, or zigzag patterns, always in red. The exterior was often partly coated. Vessels were close-burnished inside and out, though not to a high luster. Though black in the breaks the surfaces were fired to a light red-orange color on both sides, with frequent fire blooms outside. One unusual vessel from L 17 has a narrow flat base, nearly straight sides, and a flattened triangular everted rim. The clay appears much heavier and lacks the usual signs of chaff. A crosshatched band covers the top of the rim and there are irregular groups of vertical zigzags. The outside rim is painted as is the base. Four pendant triangles are painted on the side, each with a line that extends to the bottom.

Form Group VI: Simple Pottery

Three very different groups of vessels are collected under this heading. All of them are undecorated

Table 10—Register of Form Group II, Ripple-Burnished Pottery*

L 9	A. Uncertain, greyish B. Uncertain, greyish C. Uncertain, greyish D. Rim sherd	
L 11	A. Uncertain	
L 13	A. Uncertain, carinated B. Uncertain C. Uncertain	fig. 20e
L 14	A. Uncertain, carinated B. Uncertain C. Uncertain	
L 29	A. Conical vessel rim sherd, black inside and on exterior of rim B. Same shape C. Flat-bottomed bowl base sherd; ochre-coated black top D. Uncertain body sherd of biconical jar? E. Uncertain body sherds, painted vertical stripes on grey, two sherds	fig. 20c fig. 20d fig. 20b
L 30	A. Rim sherd, bulged bowl or pot B. Uncertain C. Uncertain D. Uncertain	fig. 20a
L 31	A. Bulged jar sherd B. Low bowl with broad bottom C. Uncertain shape, vertical painted stripes	

*Because of the small number of examples, as well as incomplete shapes, no typology code is given here for this form group.

and all were made in essentially the same manner, though their purposes were clearly different; we have divided the group into alpha, beta, and gamma.

Form Group VI alpha: Simple Fine (tables 13, 14, figs. 28–30, pls. 10d, 13a–c)

Most vessels from this group were made in simple versions of the shapes used for Form Group I, except that they were unpainted. Perhaps the most interesting was a vessel made of four cups (G) joined at the base (L 9 A). Often burnished, they also frequently have fire blooms.

Form Group VI beta: Miniature Cups (table 15, fig. 31, pl. 13d–j) Small drop-shaped cups, some five to seven centimeters high by about five wide, were fired grey-buff with blooms. They occurred throughout the cemetery.³⁴

Form Group VI gamma: Simple Coarse (table 16, fig. 32) In the Scandinavian concession, this unsmoothed pottery occurred in a variety of shapes for both bowls and jars.³⁵ Many of these shapes were paralleled in the earlier Cemetery W at Qustul.³⁶ In Cemetery L, vessels of this group were all bowls, mostly like the interior painted, but with a few deeper examples. One coarse bowl was oval.

POTTERY OF SUDANESE TRADITION

Form Group VII: Overall and Zonal Incised–Impressed Pottery (table 17, fig. 33, pl. 14)

The use of earth temper, the pointed, sometimes round, bowl shapes, and the zonal pattern of incision

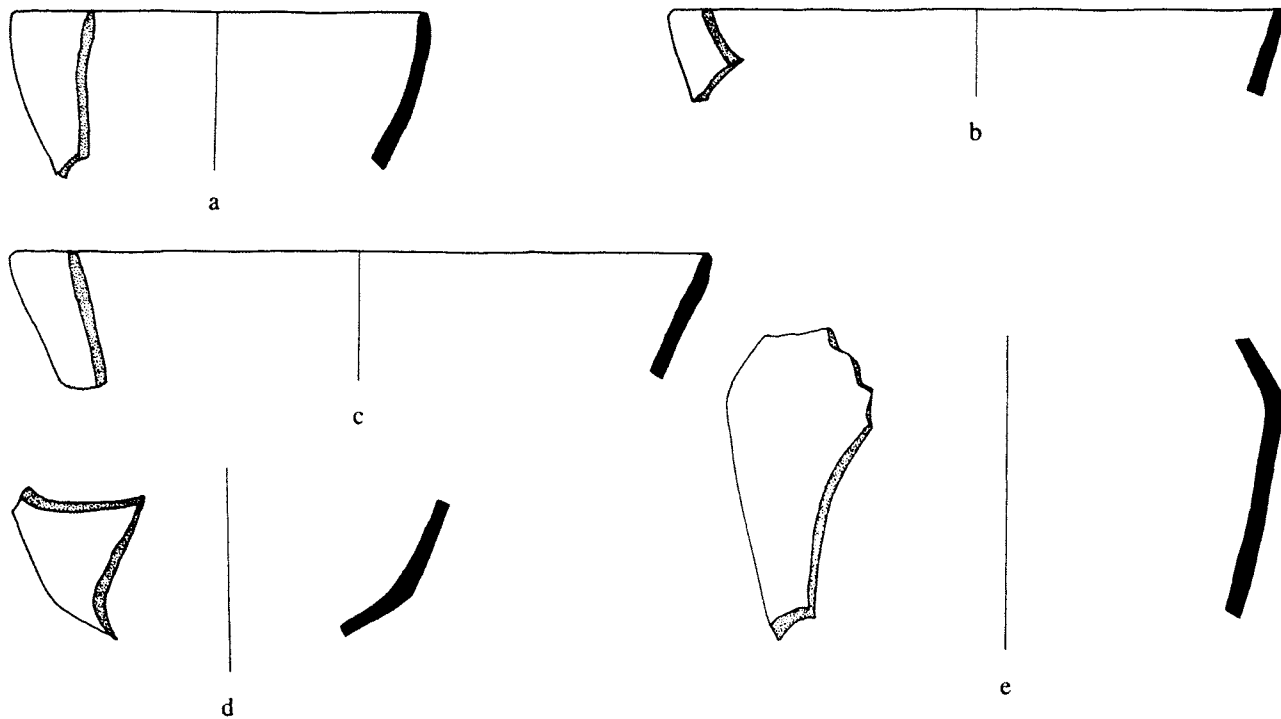


Figure 20. Uncertain shapes of Form Group II, Rippled pottery: (a) L 30, A; (b) L 29, E; (c) L 29, A; (d) L 29, C; (e) L 13, A. Scale 2:5.

all contribute to a major distinction of tradition.³⁷ Late A-Group linear patterns are well organized into narrow bands, even when the decoration of the entire vessel is organized into zones. This decoration covers the entire upper side of the vessel or at least a broad band. Some of the designs are related to A-Group designs, but the most typical, vertical zigzags (1), is only rarely copied in A-Group pottery.³⁸

IMPORTED POTTERY OF PROBABLY SOUTH-WESTERN ORIGIN

Form Group VIII: Heavy Incised Bowls (table 18, fig. 34, pls. 15,16)

As in the case of the Sudanese pottery, a group of distinctions separates this and the next group from the main body of A-Group and all of the other traditions at Qustul. The clay, apparently alluvial, was heavily tempered with coarse dung and the vessel was formed with heavy walls. The bottom is slightly convex, and most often the sides are so sharply curved inward that the rim is parallel to or curved downward toward the base, giving the vessel a very squat appearance. One vessel here has a flat bottom and rather straight tall sides, but has the sharply incurved rim typical of the group. There is one taller vessel. The inside of the bowl was sometimes burnished, but usually only smoothed or wiped with the same grass or shell used for the interior of C-Group incised bowls. The outside was burnished and covered with complex incised and deeply impressed designs which often surround a curved shape or a segment left in reserve. Although a few vessels have geometric decorative elements as were typical later in the C-Group, including the diagonal checkerboard or vertical bands, most have more irregular

Table 11—Register of Form Group IV, Painted and Incised–Impressed Pottery

1. Zones with diagonal reserve bands	fig. 21a
L 2 A (white areas), B, C (white areas)	
L 9 A (red and white)	
L 13 A	
L 19 A, H	
2. Diagonal bands	fig. 21b
L 9 G	
L 19 B, C	
L 24 A	
3. Diagonal bands below a horizontal band	fig. 21c
L 24 C	
4. Diagonal rows of dots	fig. 21d
L 9 C (red and white)	
5. Vertical bands from base	fig. 21e
L 9 E (cup)	
6. Radial bands of opposed diagonal hatching in paired bands	fig. 21f
L 9 H	
7. Crossed bands	fig. 21h
L 9 B	
8. Horizontal bands with diagonal filling	fig. 21g
L 9 F	
9. Narrow horizontal bands	
L 22 A	
10. Horizontal bands with horizontal filling	fig. 21i
L 19 F	
L 24 B	
11. Opposed–hatched triangles	fig. 21j
L 9 D	
12. Zigzag reserve bands	fig. 21k
L 19 D	
13. Narrow zigzag bands	fig. 21l
L 19 E	
14. Reserve bands outlining reversed triangles(?)	
L 11 B	
Uncertain	
L 10 A	
L 11 A	

decoration. This consists of open or reserved areas with incised outlines, often in the form of serpents, or meandering curved areas, surrounded by impressed triangles or semicircular toothed impressions in various arrangements. Often, these toothed semicircular impressions are the entire decoration. Firing was usually sufficient to harden the vessels, but the pots were sometimes only mud slightly cooked in a smoky fire. This group of vessels is clearly antecedent to C–Group incised bowls; the major decoration,³⁹ filling elements, the often wiped interior, and light firing are important evidence of the relationship.

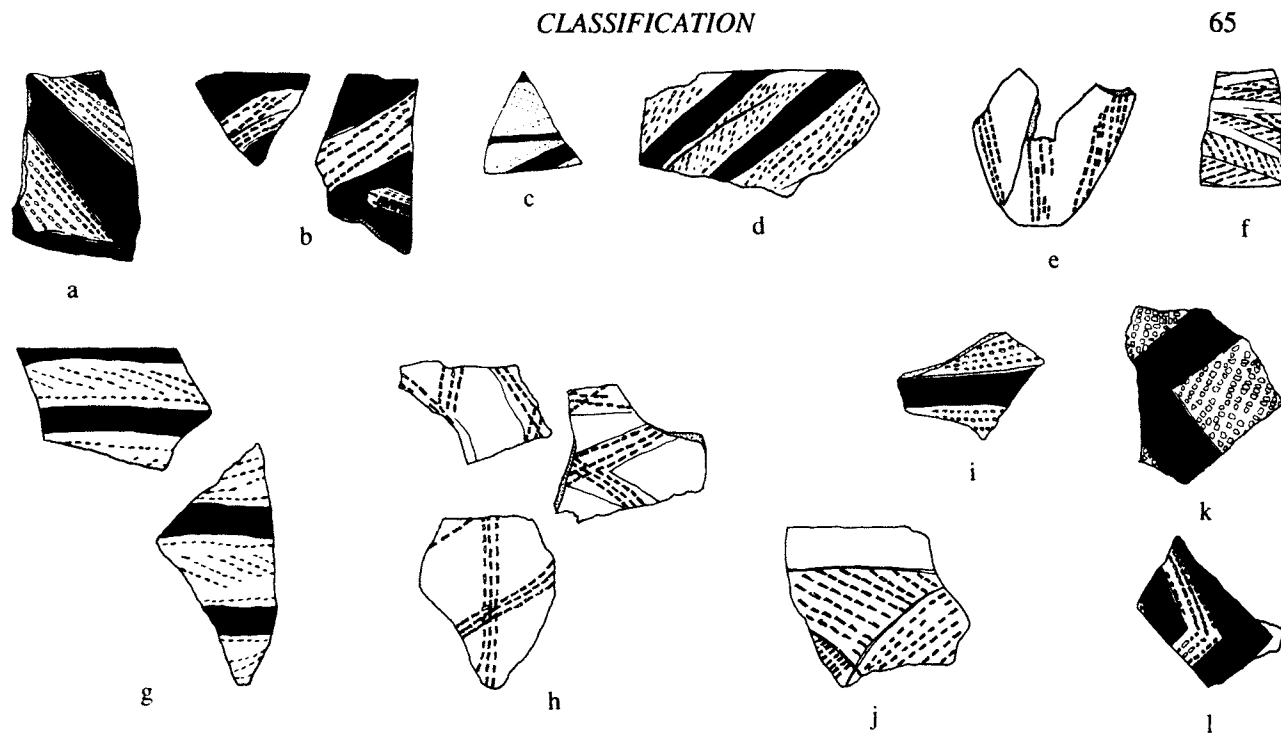


Figure 21. Decorations of Form Group IV, Painted and Incised-Impressed pottery, styles 1-8 and 10-13: (a) 1, L 19, A; (b) 2, L 9, G; (c) 3, L 24, C; (d) 4, L 9, C; (e) 5, L 9, E; (f) 6, L 9, H; (g) 8, L 9, F; (h) 7, L 9, B; (i) 10, L 24, B; (j) 11, L 9, D; (k) 12, L 19, D; (l) 13, L 19, E. Scale 2:5.

The large amounts of coarse cattle dung, very heavy shapes, and deeply impressed decoration in very distinctive patterns indicate this pottery belongs to a separate tradition. Pottery of this general description, mostly belonging to the next form group, has been found in Egypt. It appears as distinctive in Egypt as it is here.⁴⁰

Form Group IX: Geometric Incised

A second group of dark-faced incised pottery of this tradition is more closely related in shapes and decorations to the A-Group pottery. The thick-walled shapes include bowls with flat bottoms and angled sides, overhemispherical bowls with incurved rims, and simple overhemispherical bowls. Incised patterns include a band of parallelogram-shaped zones. Sometimes the vessels are red-coated outside, never inside, but burnished red on both sides with black interior, red or brown exterior, and sometimes a black top.⁴¹ No vessels of this group were found at Qustul.

SUMMARY: THE RELATION OF EGYPTIAN AND NON-EGYPTIAN POTTERY

We have noted that the pottery of Form Groups I-IX belongs to three related traditions, A-Group, Sudanese, and South-Western. The shaping process, sometimes the shapes, color combinations, and firing all resemble each other enough for us to recognize that the techniques and styles were shared.

Table 12—Register of Form Group V, Interior Painted Bowls

1. Vertical bands	fig. 22a
L 9 D	
L 10 D, E	
L 13 B, E, H	
L 19 B, C	
2. Vertical zigzags	fig. 22b
L 17 A (no. 30, exterior has solid triangles with bands depending from the apex)	
3. Opposed diagonal hatch marks	fig. 23b
L 9 A	
4. Very large swags, one with solid area at center	fig. 23a, c
L 10 B	
L 9 M	
5. Ladder	fig. 24a
L 10 A	
6. Shorter swags or strokes	fig. 24c
L 9 L?	
L 30 A	
7. Vertical line-groups	fig. 24b
L 9 K	
8. Pendant triangles at the rim	
L 1 A	
9. Checks	fig. 25b
L 2 A	
10. Uncertain crossed groups of lines	
L 9 C	
11. Alternating strokes	
L 9 F, G	
12. Double strokes (as in exterior painted) and blobs	fig. 24d
L 1 D	
L 22 B, D, E	
13. Solid; a. overall, b. zones	fig. 24e
L 1 F?, G?	
L 9 E, H, J (rounded areas)	
L 13 A, C, G	
L 22 C	
L 30 F, G	
14. "Trees"	fig. 25a
L 9 B	
15. Birds with "trees" or uncertain motifs	fig. 26a
L 11 B	
L 19 A, D	
16. Vertical lines leading to triangles	
L 9 N	
17. "Sunburst"	fig. 26b
L 13 D	
18. Broad band	fig. 26c
L 22 A	
19. Linked circles	fig. 26d
L 22 I (see exterior painted BH)	

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Table 12—Continued

Uncertain:

L 1 B, C, E
 L 5 A, B
 L 9 I
 L 10 C
 L 11 A
 L 13 F
 L 19 E, F, G, H
 L 22 F, G, H
 L 30 B, C, D, E

Within the A-Group, various form groups can be distinguished most readily by their decoration and surface treatment, rippled, incised-impressed, and painted, but each group has its own distinctive repertoire of shapes; the different traditions were separated by other differences in manufacturing as well. Techniques and styles shared among various groups in Nubia were also shared with some of the earlier phases of pottery making in the Tasian-Badarian and Naqada cultures. However, in the Middle Naqada period, new clays (marly or desert), new tempers (limestone and sand), new, more complex techniques for shaping and more elaborate shapes, and new methods of firing were introduced to make the pink-buff pottery that became typical in Egypt. The new pottery began to replace the dark-faced polished vessels and entered the export trade to Asia, and, to a much greater extent, Nubia. This pottery coexisted for a time with the local, or non-Egyptian, closed containers, but by the late A-Group, it had become so easily available that local closed containers practically disappeared.

b. EGYPTIAN POTTERY

Based upon their paste (essentially clay plus temper), investigators have divided early Egyptian pottery into two major groups, corresponding to the Myers-Mond "Desert Wares" and "Nile-Mud Wares" respectively. Nordström divides the first group into uncoated polished, red coated polished, and grey coated (slipped) unpolished. The second group consists of coarse (Nile ware, rare), red coated (some), polished brown (polished red and white-cross lined), polished black (including black incised), and polished red and black (black-topped).⁴²

Since a complete series of Egyptian pottery was not excavated here, this publication is not the place to reclassify the pottery of the Naqada period. The second group of "wares" seems to reflect recognition of valid distinctions from the first group and from each other, despite the fact that the material found near the Second Cataract did not reflect the full range of the material.

Form Group X: Hard Pink-Orange Pottery (table 19, figs. 35-41, pls. 17-22)

Nordström's "hard pink wares" are problematical. It would appear that some of the manufacturing and decorating processes are not exclusive; the distinction between vessels with polished exteriors and those with overall polish is at least partly due to the shape; for example, a narrow-necked jar cannot be polished inside. Although this group has been divided into a number of "ware" categories, we shall consider this entire group of objects to be a single form group, with certain pots (small jars and bowls) eligible to be burnished, others (medium-size jars) to be coated, and others (medium and large jars) to be painted. Over time, however, there was a considerable variation in color; here most of the bowls and jars have a fairly bright pink-orange color, accentuated by burnishing.

THE POTTERY

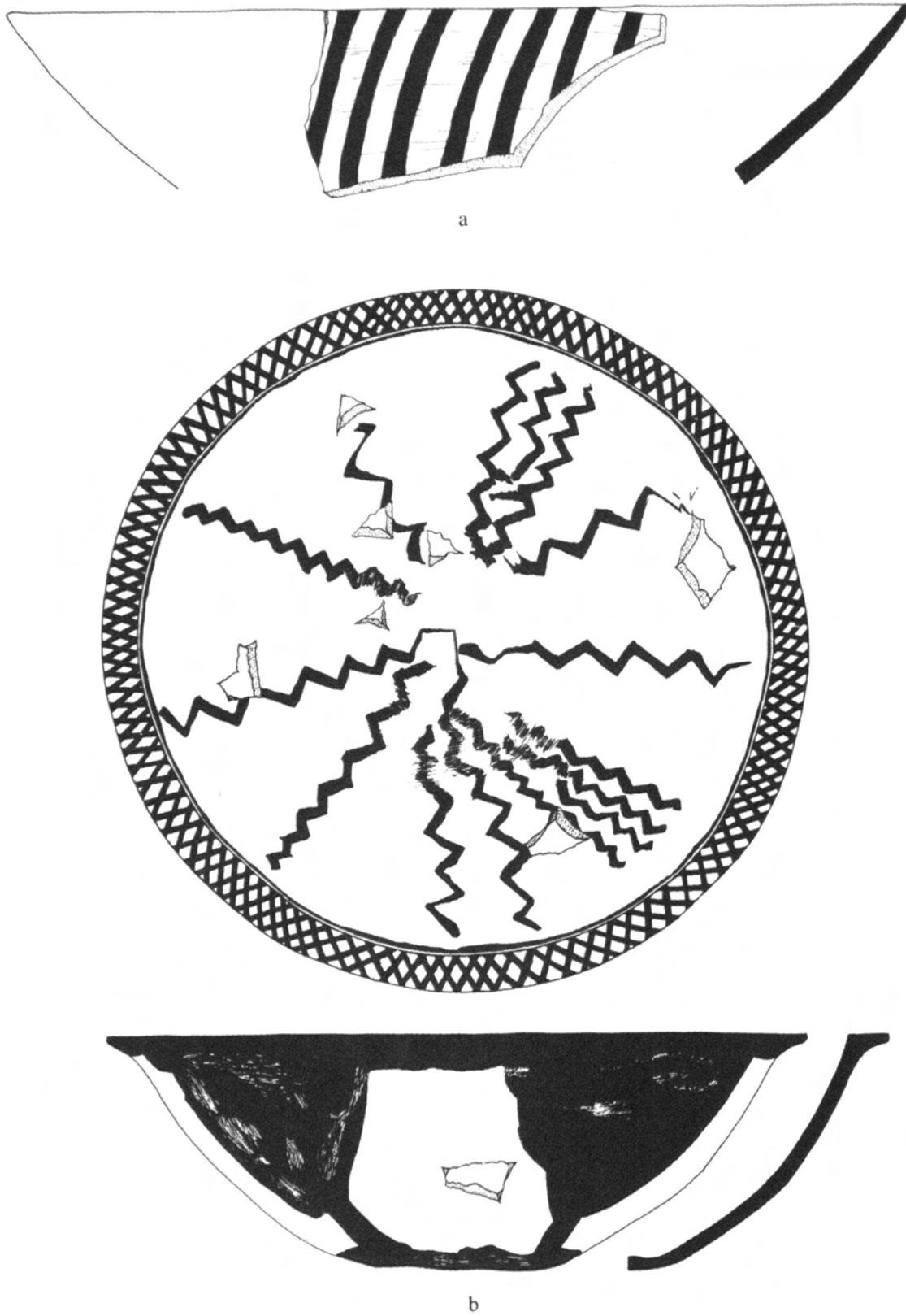


Figure 22. Decorations of Form Group V, Interior Painted pottery, styles 1 and 2: (a) 1, L 13, B; (b) 2, L 17—30, A. Scale 2:5.

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Figure 23. Decorations of Form Group V, Interior Painted pottery, styles 3 and 4: (a) 4, L 10, B; (b) 3, L 9, A; (c) 4, L 9, M. Scale 2:5.

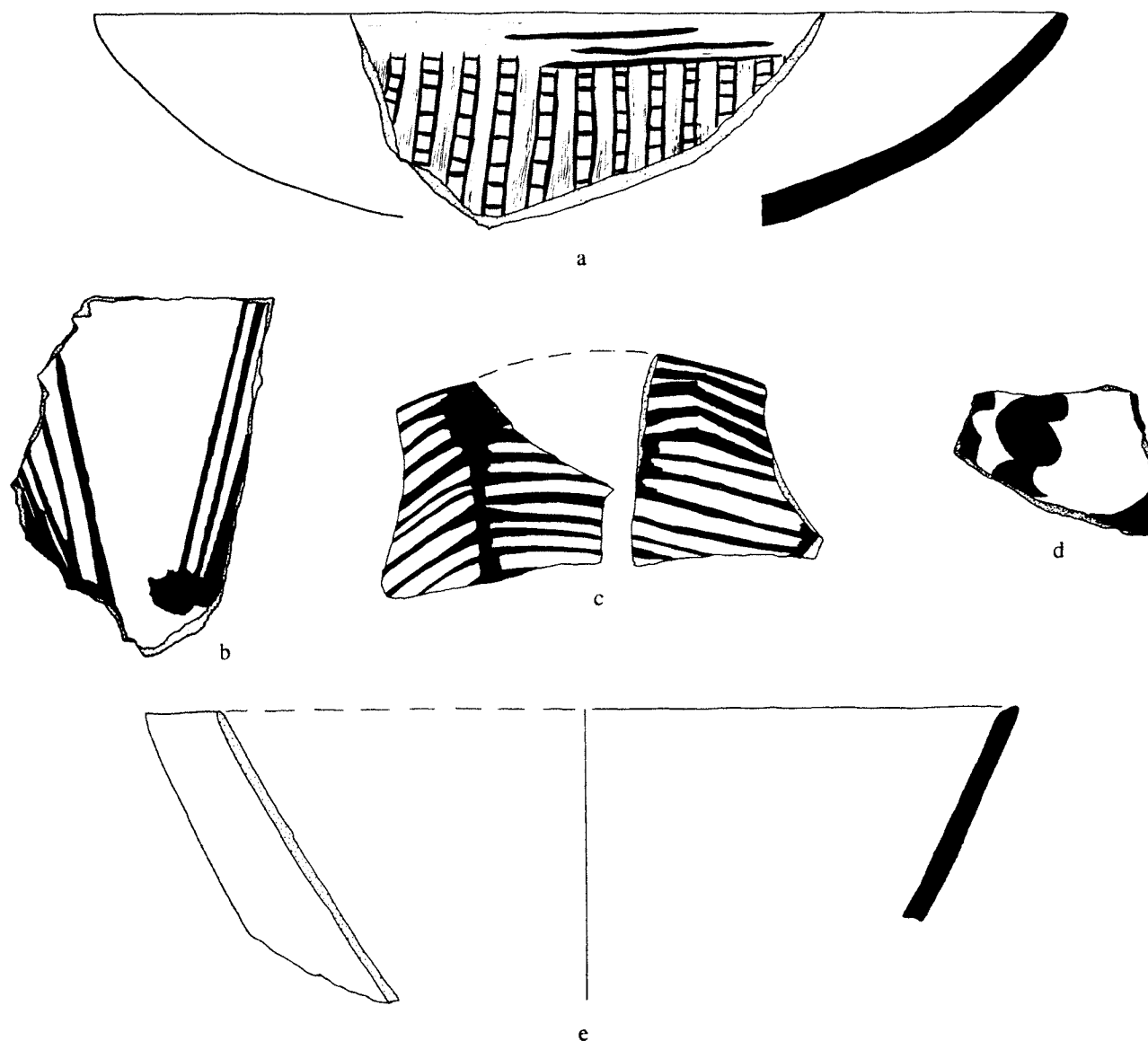


Figure 24. Decorations of Form Group V, Interior Painted pottery, styles 5-7, 12, and 13: (a) 5, L 10, A; (b) 7, L 9, K; (c) 6, L 30, A; (d) 12, L 22, E; (e) 13, L 13, A. Scale 2:5.

Although certain distinctions in surface and decoration can be related to certain particular instrumental categories or shapes, hard pink (orange) pottery was made in one tradition. However, none of the individual instrumental categories has a discrete body of such characteristic features, but only one or two that never appear in other shapes, and all shapes except certain bottles have uncoated or unburnished examples.

All of the hard pink-orange pottery considered was made from the same high quality clay. This, depending on the size of the vessel which was to be made, was tempered with varying amounts of sand

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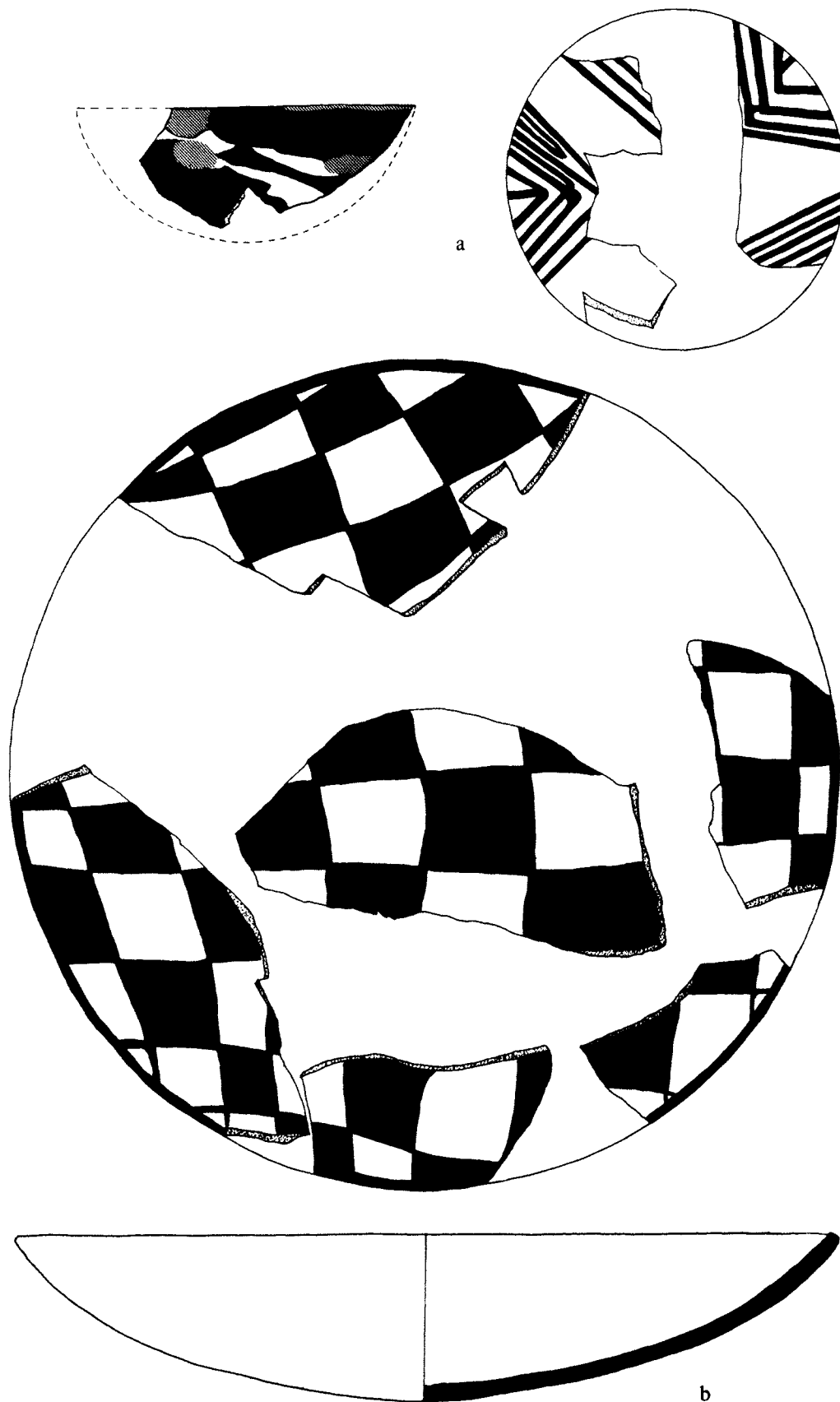


Figure 25. Decorations of Form Group V, Interior Painted pottery, styles 9 and 14: (a) 14, L 9, B; (b) 9, L 2, A. Scale 2:5.

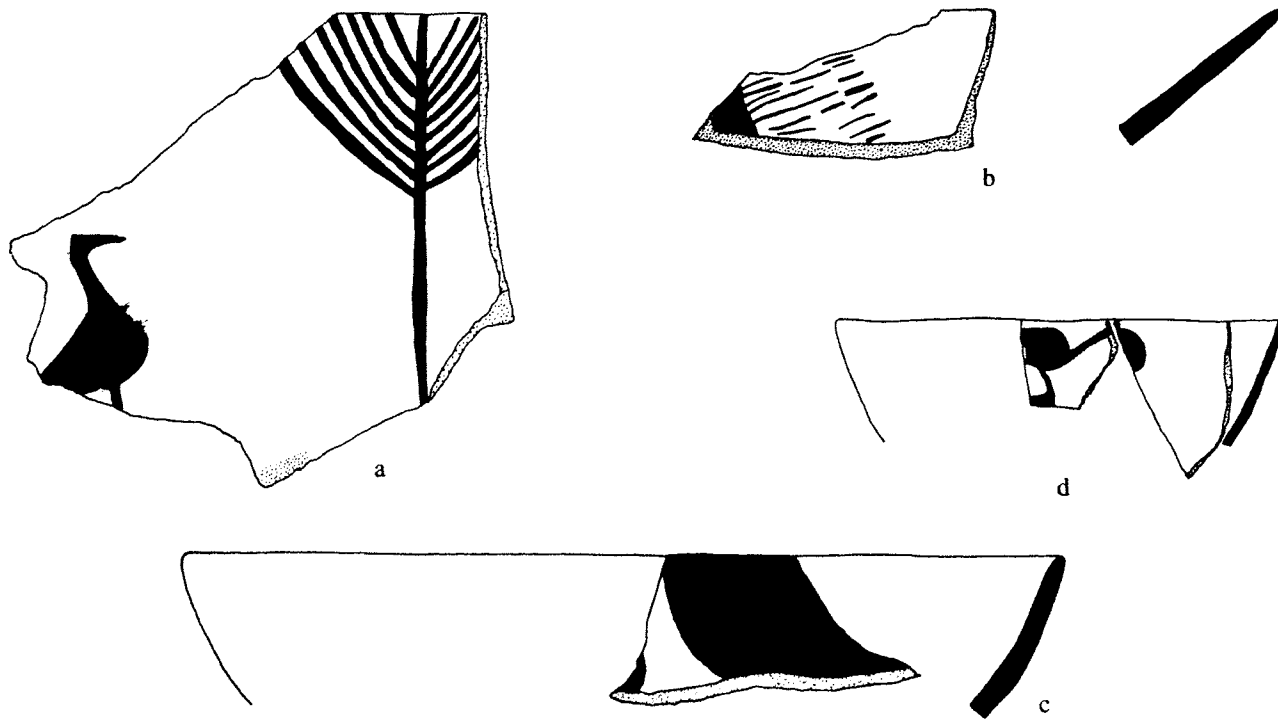


Figure 26. Decorations of Form Group V, Interior Painted pottery, styles 15 and 17-19: (a) 15, L 19, A; (b) 17, L 13, D; (c) 18, L 22, A; (d) 19, L 22, I. Scale 2:5.

or crushed limestone. Only pithoi seem to have contained much limestone, though a varying amount is to be found in each of the pastes.

The shaping of these vessels was much more complex than in A-Group; techniques varied with the size and shape of the vessels constructed. Bowls seem to have been made either by turning in two or three stages against a flat or curved surface (as with A-Group bowls) or by first making a flattened base and adding walls that were worked into shape.⁴³ Bottles appear to have been slowly turned, perhaps by adding walls of clay to a flat base to make the sides; material was added at the top of the shoulder to make the neck and rim. Inside the body are the small ridges made by turning; a thickening at the body-neck join has irregular finger marks that indicate the addition. The wavy-handled jar in this collection (see *OINE IV*) was made in similar stages; inside, the walls preserve cracks that clearly indicate where clay was added in construction, probably heavy rolls. The rim was separately turned and added after completion of the body, leaving clearly detectable finger marks inside the shoulder. After completion, the exterior was scraped, removing evidence of construction outside. The cylindrical jar was turned from the base to the rim. After completion, it was again scraped diagonally, a process which sharpened the corner between the base and the body. The result of this operation was sometimes as much a compacted surface as a scraped one; the wavy line below the rim was also scraped.

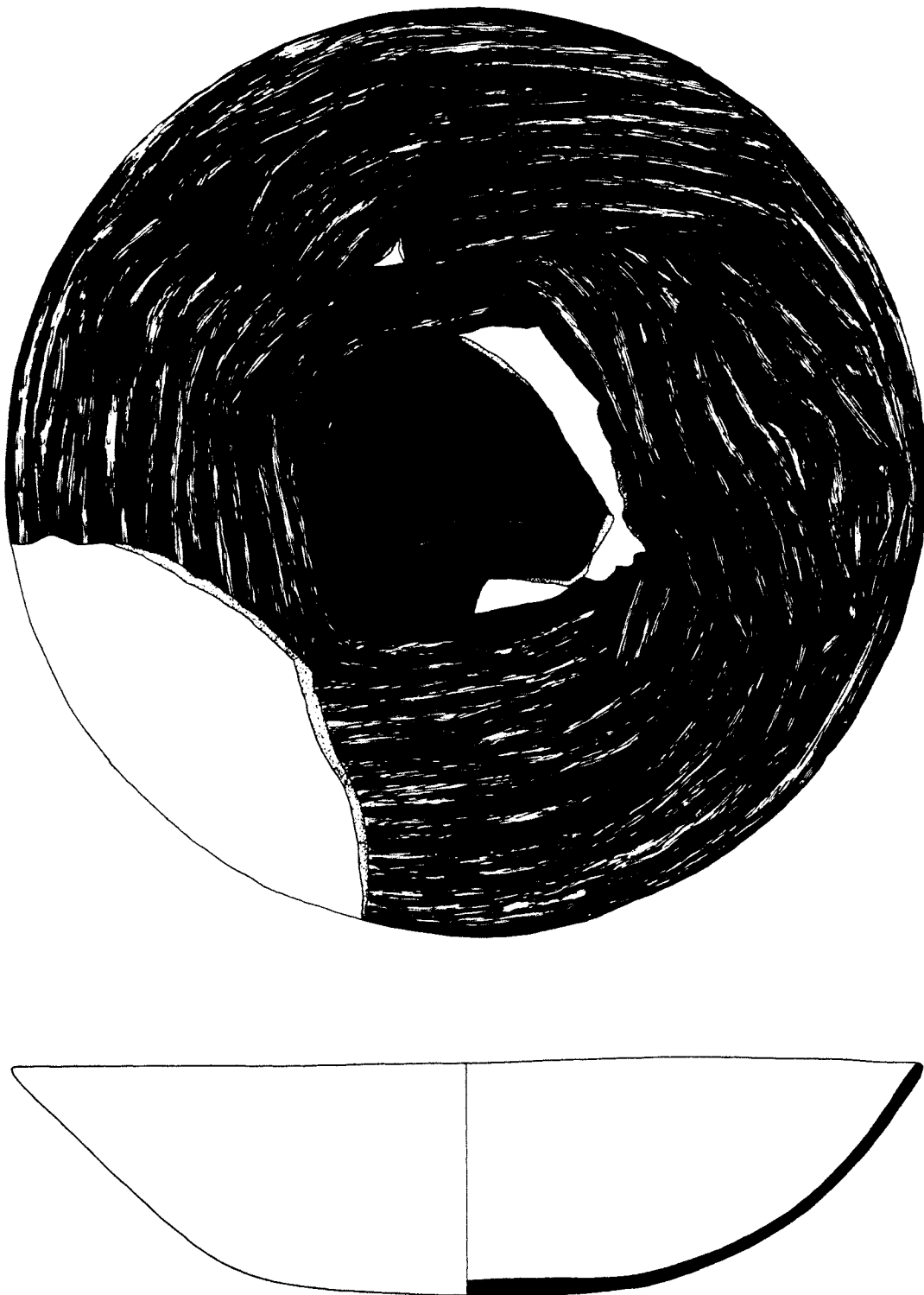


Figure 27. Form Group V, Interior Painted bowl of uncertain provenience, OIM 24253. Scale 2:5.

Table 13—Shapes of Form Group VI *alpha*, A-Group Simple Fine Pottery

-
- A. Conical profile
 - 1. Straight side
 - 2. Low convex side (see *OINE IV*)
 - 3. High convex side
 - B. Equivalent to I-A
 - C. Equivalent to I-B (with a variant approaching the standard Sudanese shape)
 - D. Nearly biconical, at least tapered upper side (see *OINE IV*)
 - E. Open bowls
 - 1. Shallow convex (see I-D, *OINE IV*)
 - 2. Deeper convex; subhemispherical
 - 3. Nearly carinated, with flattened base (see *OINE IV*)
 - F. Boat, equivalent to I-D
 - G. Fancy forms
 - 1. Double jar/cup
 - 2. Quadruple jar/cup
 - 3. Vessel with two feet or spouts
-

The tall narrow jar so consistently traded to the A-Group seems likewise to have been made in stages. Two possibilities are presented in figures 42 and 43. The base was made either by turning or by pressure or perhaps by a combination of the two. The body was apparently made separately, as a tall truncated conical shape. Traces of two stages in the making of this shape can be seen by irregularities and grooves near the base and a short way above on the interior surface. The rim and shoulder seem also to have been made separately, for the irregular lumps that mark the joins can be seen between the shoulder and neck on the inside and a groove is generally to be seen at the base of the neck outside. Having been put together, the neck-shoulder assembly and the base were added to the body, which was then scraped vertically.

The manufacture of larger pithoi was probably similar; although the groove that marks the base join can sometimes be seen inside the pot, others above cannot be detected because the inside was scraped (usually vertically) after completion of the shoulder which appears to have been made with the body. As with the long jars, the neck seems to have been turned separately; after it was added the exterior was scraped, horizontally on the shoulder, crisscross vertically and diagonally on the body.

Burnish occurs two ways. It varies in intensity from an almost incidental consequence of scraping to a medium luster. Decorative burnish on the other hand is largely confined to bowls and bottles (jars Q-V). On bowls it consists of a band of close burnish on the exterior with open vertical zigzags on the interior. On bottles it generally occurs as open vertical strokes.

Certain shapes have painted decoration; large jars are often painted with arrangements of groups consisting of four wavy lines, a well-known decoration in late Predynastic times. A broad lattice pattern was found on one cylindrical jar in L 2. Representational painting in late Predynastic style was found on seven vessels, the most interesting on two large bowls, one large jar, and a stand from Form Group XI, all discussed in chapter 4.

Nordström indicates that firing was at about 800° to 850°C, as most limy grits were not decomposed; however, some of the vessels here have large blisters, apparently formed when some particles in the vessel wall gave off gas. We must presume that some of these vessels were brought to higher temperatures, resulting in the damage.

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Table 14—Register of Form Group VI *alpha*, A-Group Simple
Fine Pottery

L 5	A-D	Uncertain	
L 9	A	G	Four-part jar, cups joined at the base, discolored
	B	F	Discolored
	C	F	Discolored
	D		Uncertain base, discolored
	E		Uncertain, E or F
	F	A3	
	G	E2	
	H	F	About 20 fragments
	I	B-C	5 fragments, grey discolored
	J	B-C	2 fragments, grey discolored
	K	B-C	4 fragments, grey discolored
	L	F	
	M	B-C	4 fragments, black interior
	N	C	5 fragments, grey-buff interior
	O	F	Discolored
	P	C	
	Q		Uncertain, F?
	R	D	
L 10	A	A2	Many fire blooms
	B	A1	
L 11	A		Uncertain, grey
	B	F	Very large, grey-buff, both sides
	C	G	E2 with two feet, not preserved
L 13	A		Uncertain
	B	D	
	C	A1	
	D		Uncertain
	E	D	
L 19	A	G	Double cup-jar, grey-buff interior
	B	C	Tan interior
	C	G	Triangular boat
	D		Uncertain, discolored
	E	E2	
	F		Uncertain, discolored
	G		Uncertain, discolored
	H	C	Discolored
	I		Uncertain, discolored
	J	A2	Discolored
L 22	A	A1	V-shaped bowl with flattened base, red rim
L 29	A		Uncertain
L 30	A	E2	Black bottom, red side, high polish
	B	A1	

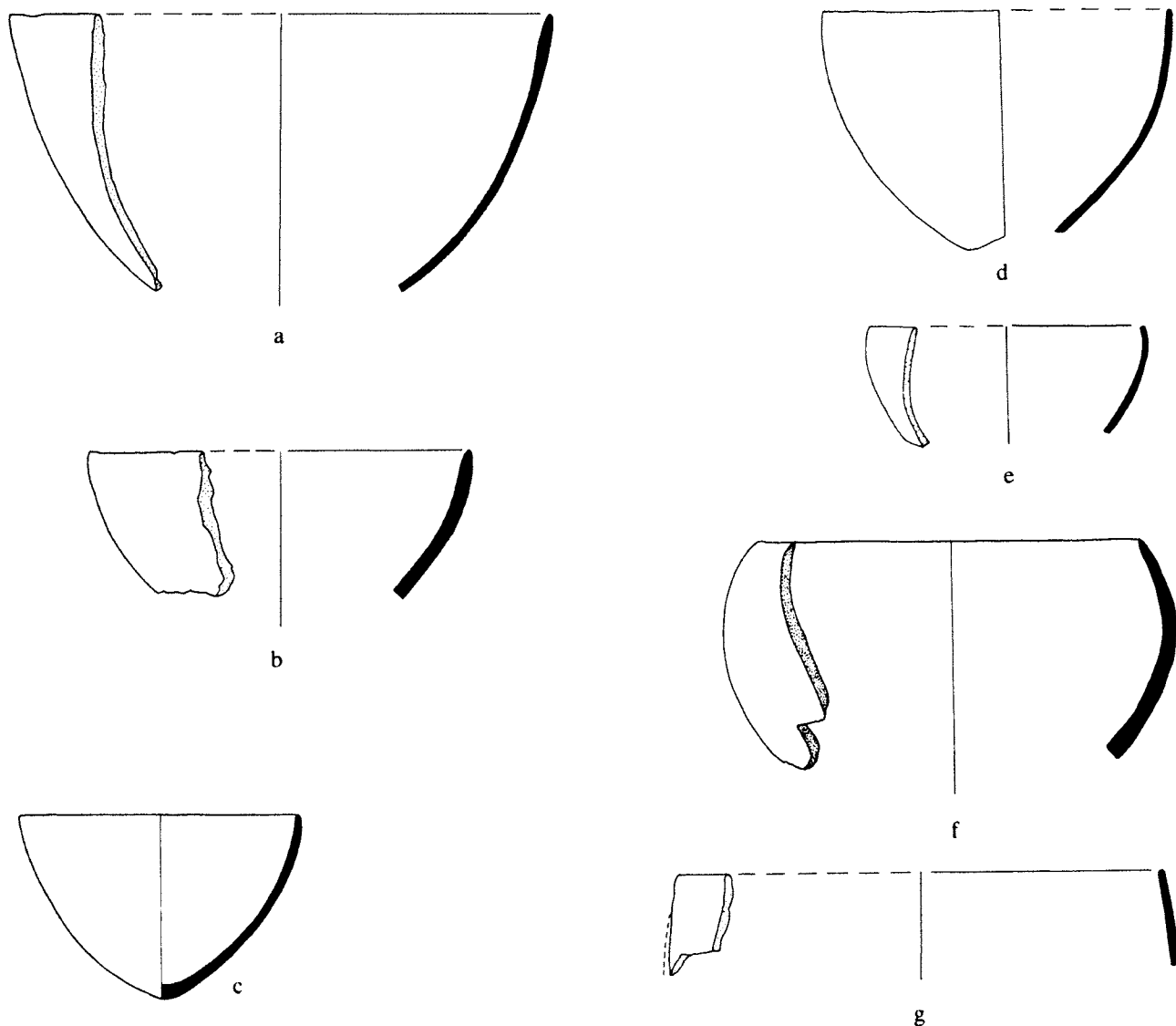


Figure 28. Shapes A1–A3, B–C, C, and D of Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine pottery: (a) A1, L 10, B; (b) A2, L 19, J; (c) A1, L 22, A; (d) A3, L 9, F; (e) B–C, L 9, I; (f) C, L 9, P; (g) D, L 13, B. Scale 2:5.

Form Group XI: Coarse Pottery (tables 20, 21, figs. 44–47, pls. 23, 24)

Coarse Egyptian pottery apparently was made by the same techniques as the hard pink pottery. It occurs here in four major instrumental categories: tapered jars, jars with strainers, potstands, and pedestal platters. Vessels were made from the same clay as the hard pink vessels, but chaff was added for temper,⁵⁷ and it seems clear that this clay contained limestone fragments and other debris as well. Containers included medium-size jars with low stumpy necks or no necks at all and a strainer made by joining a hemisphere of clay to the inside of the neck and punching holes inward.⁵⁸ Since the small holes tend to be round, the tool was probably rotated. In addition to the strainer jars, three V-shaped

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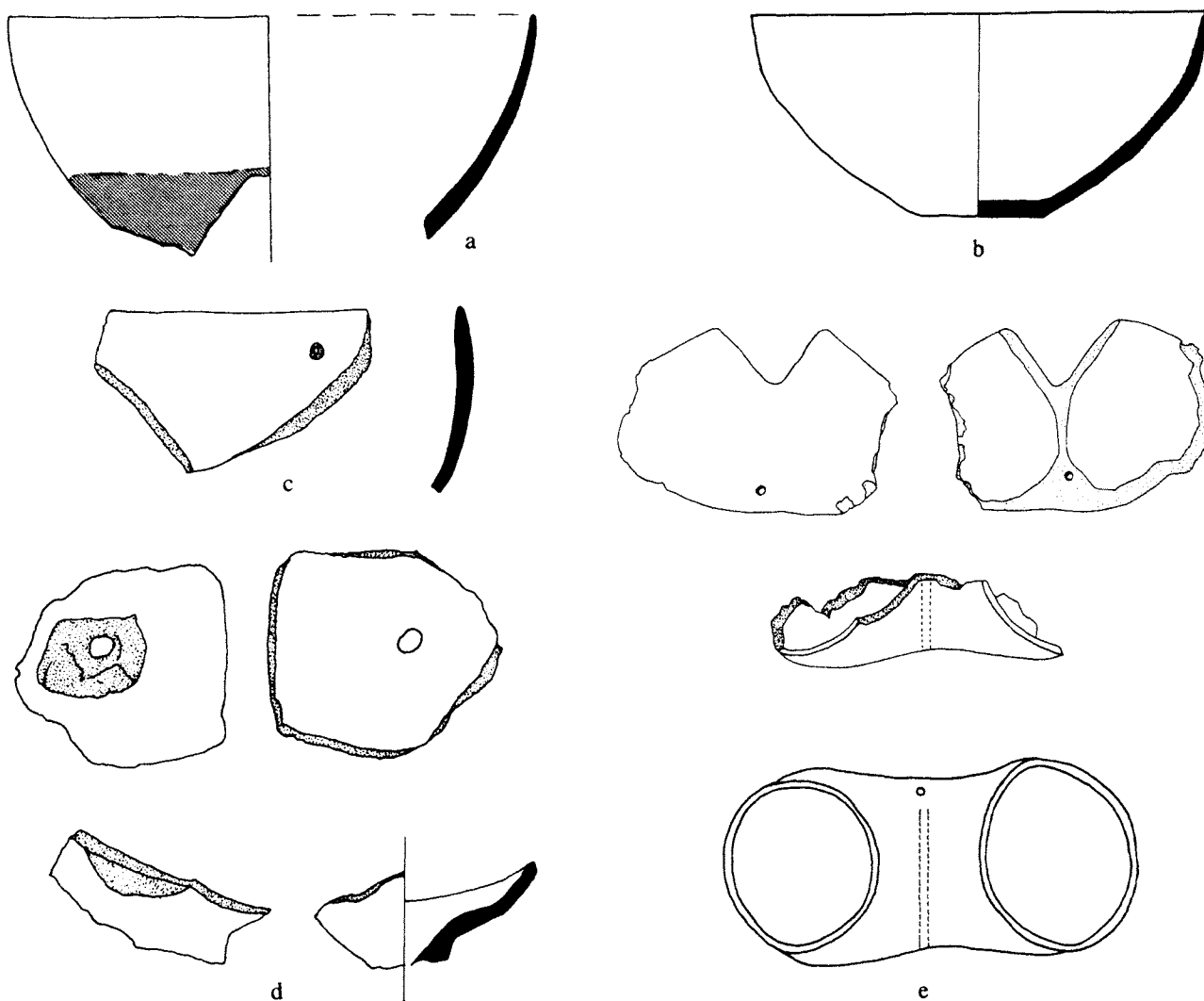


Figure 29. Shapes E2, E3, F, and G of Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine pottery: (a) E2, L 30, A; (b) E3, uncertain; (c) F, L 9, Q; (d) G, L 11, C; (e) G, L 19, A. Scale 2:5.

jars were found in L 2. Pedestal platters also occurred in the cemetery. These were made by joining a tall ring of clay with a heavy rim at the bottom to a shallow bowl rather like the V-shaped open bowls in the hard pink group. The base was often pierced from the outside with round holes about two centimeters across, rarely with small triangles (L 1). The one bowl remaining was radially burnished, like the bowls of Form Group X. Most numerous among the objects made of coarse pottery were the stands. Most of these were round in horizontal section, with the normal Egyptian tapered-concave profile, and they varied in height from just over thirty centimeters to about eighty centimeters. Some fragments must have come from objects over a meter high. One has plastic decoration of vertical serpents. One stand, and fragments of others, has a bulged-rectangular horizontal section; the large

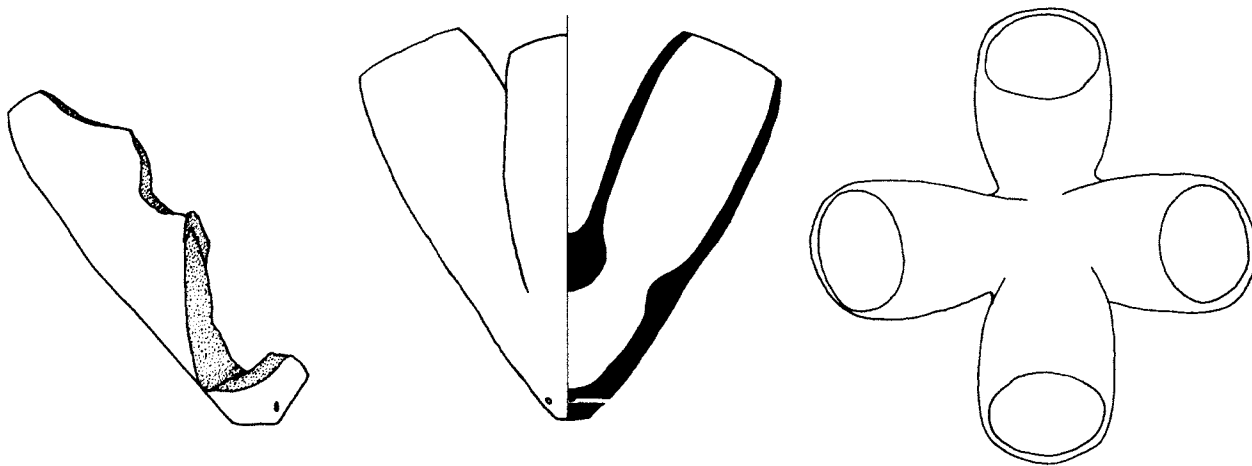


Figure 30. Shape G of Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine pottery, L 9, A. Scale 2:5.

fragment was decorated with excision, incision, and elaborate painting which will be discussed in chapter 4.⁵⁹

While some of the stands are undecorated, most have incised and/or excised decoration. The former, except for the potmark on the L 23 stand, consists of rows of lines that slant in the opposite direction. The latter consists of reversed or alternating triangles cut into the surface about half a centimeter deep, or cut entirely through the wall. Sometimes, large vertical rectangular holes were cut through the wall of the stand near the base. One of the most remarkable objects made of this pottery is a tall stand which is preserved about seventy centimeters high; three serpents incised with circular scales are molded on the side as though slithering up the stand or hung from the rim. By far the most interesting group of pieces made in this pottery consists of three fragments of large hippopotamus figures that appear to have been over half a meter long. A head, one of the masterpieces of late prehistoric art, was found in L 19; a right rear leg came from L 11 and an ear was found in L 24; their sizes indicate they came from different figures. The closest parallels to these objects are a stand from Naqada with the head and legs of a ram,⁶⁰ and heads of giraffes found at Abydos⁶¹ and Hierakonpolis.⁶²

C. POTTERY OF SYRO-PALESTINIAN TRADITION

Form Group XII (table 22, fig. 48, pl. 25)

Among the most interesting and important pottery vessels found in Cemetery L are jugs with shapes typical of Early Bronze Age pottery in the Levant, shapes not yet known from Egypt. The body is approximately piriform, with a wide flat base, the body approximately as wide as it is tall. The neck, some three to five centimeters high, has an everted rim. A high loop handle extends from the shoulder to the rim (two of these were double-stranded) and a small loop was attached to the shoulder opposite. In most cases, the paste was fine, with some glistening particles visible in the surface. The shaping had been very careful, leaving a smooth profile outside and the interior quite regular, with only some wiping

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Table 15—Register of Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups

L 2	A–C	All discolored sherds	fig. 31c
L 9	A–D	All fragmentary, A discolored	
L 11	A–D	Fragments	
	E–G	Complete	
L 16	A	Complete	
L 17	A	Complete (no. 31)	
L 19	A–D	Complete	fig. 31d, b, a, e
	E		
L 22	A–D		
	E		
L 23	A		
L 24	A–F	Various	

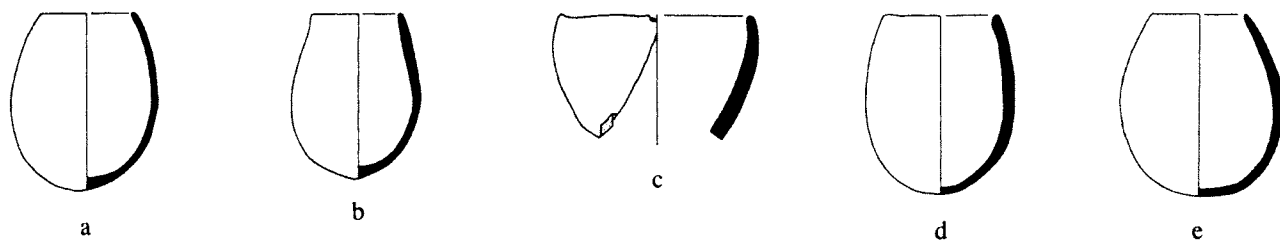


Figure 31. Examples of Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups: (a) L 19, C; (b) L 19, B; (c) L 2, C; (d) L 19, A; (e) L 19, D. Scale 2:5.

visible; small irregular ridges occurred only inside the shoulder. In two cases, the surface had been wiped inside and out; one example was horizontally burnished outside. Four jugs have brown coatings. All of the coated examples and one of the uncoated examples were vertically burnished (a characteristic of the Early Bronze Age) and the pots were then fired hard, all of them in this paste category to an orange color inside and out (one was creamy-grey).⁶³

Two vessels, though shaped similarly, had a slightly different paste which contained a number of limy particles, some black particles, and a number of voids. Firing was about the same as in the first category, but the interior of one vessel was still greyish.

Table 16—Register of Form Group VI *gamma* A-Group
Simple Coarse Pottery

A. Shallow convex bowl, square or rounded rim	fig. 32a, b
L 1 B	
L 9 A	
L 19 B	
B. Deeper convex bowl, with the same rim	fig. 32c
L 1 A	
L 11 B	
C. Angled bowl, possibly with flat base	fig. 32d, e
L 10 A?, B	
L 11 A?	
D. Shallow convex dish	fig. 32g
L 29 A	
E. Boat	fig. 32f
L 2 A?	
F. Ladle	
L 32 (no. 3)	
Uncertain	
L 1 C	
L 2 B	
L 9 B	
L 10 C	
L 15 A	
L 19 A	

A nearly complete jug was made of a soft coarse grey-white fabric, unburnished, with numerous large particles. The core is grey to black. The vessel has many cracks, as though damaged in a fire.

The eight or nine Early Bronze I-type jugs described here are some of the most remarkable evidence of trade in the Early Bronze Age world. No other vessels of this type have been found in Nubia or Egypt⁶⁴ but the origin of the shape in Asia is undoubted, and they are clearly direct antecedents of the Early Bronze II imports of the First Dynasty.

SUMMARY OF FORM GROUPS X–XII

Although some of the Egyptian vessel shapes continued to be made in the First Dynasty, none could be dated exclusively to that period. On the other hand, cylinder jars with wavy bands, tall bottles, multiple globe jars, the large storage jars with rope bands and oval profile, and lentoid jars are all earlier as is probably the tall tapered jar of the type found in Cemetery L. The strainer jar, pedestal platter, and other excised decorated stands tend also to date just before Aḥa. The painted decoration is important evidence of a pre-Aḥa date and the Early Bronze Age vessels are of types that predate their First Dynasty counterparts. The pottery alone indicates that the great tombs of Cemetery L are to be dated before the start of the First Dynasty.

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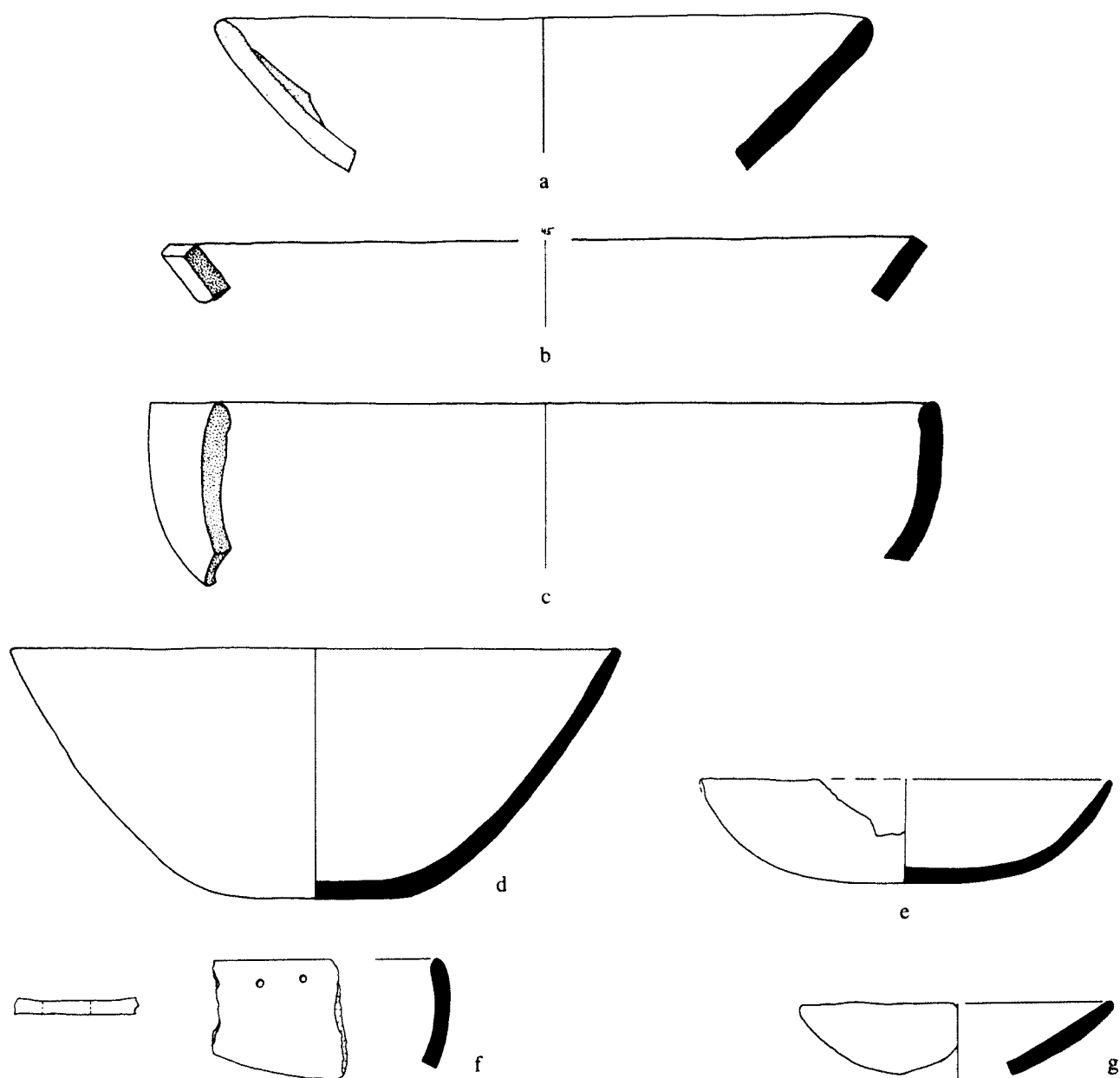


Figure 32. Shapes A-E of Form Group VI *gamma*, Simple Coarse pottery: (a) A, L 9, A; (b) A, L 1, B; (c) B, L 1, A; (d) C, L 10, A; (e) C, L 10, B; (f) E, L 2, A; (g) D, L 29, A. Scale 2:5.

D. CONCLUSION: THE POTTERY OF CEMETERY L AND TRADITIONS IN NUBIA BEFORE THE NEW KINGDOM

The outstanding feature of the pottery found at Qustul is the large amount, high quality, and wide variety of painted pottery. The overwhelming preponderance of the occurrence at Qustul shows that

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Table 17—Register of Form Group VII, Pottery
of Sudanese Tradition

1. Zones of parallel vertical zigzags, some bounded by dots and alternated hatch marks	fig. 33a
L 1 A	
L 2 A	
L 10 A, C	
2. Same, with the zigzags made of dots	fig. 33b
L 1 B?	
L 9 B, C, E	
L 11 B	
L 19 A, B, C, G	
3. Probably rhomboidal zones of opposed bands of dots	fig. 33c
L 30 B	
4. Modification of same	
L 19 F	
5. Vertical and horizontal bands of dots with reserve squares between	fig. 33d
L 19 D	
6. Radial bands of hatching or dots	
L 11 E	
7. Diagonal or rhomboidal zones of hatching or dots in the same direction	fig. 33e
L 2 B	
8. Horizontal zones of hatching	fig. 33f
L 9 A	
L 29 B, C	
9. Opposed-hatched triangles	fig. 33g
L 11 C, D	
L 19 E	
10. Triangles bounded by impressions	fig. 33h
L 30 A (complex)	
11. Metopes	
L 11 A	
12. Impressed feathered semicircles (shell impressions?) or deep circles	fig. 33i
L 9 D	
L 11 F	
13. Overall	fig. 33j
L 29 A	
14. Row of impressions just below the rim	
L 15 A, B (rim sherd)	
Uncertain	
L 9 F	
L 19 H	

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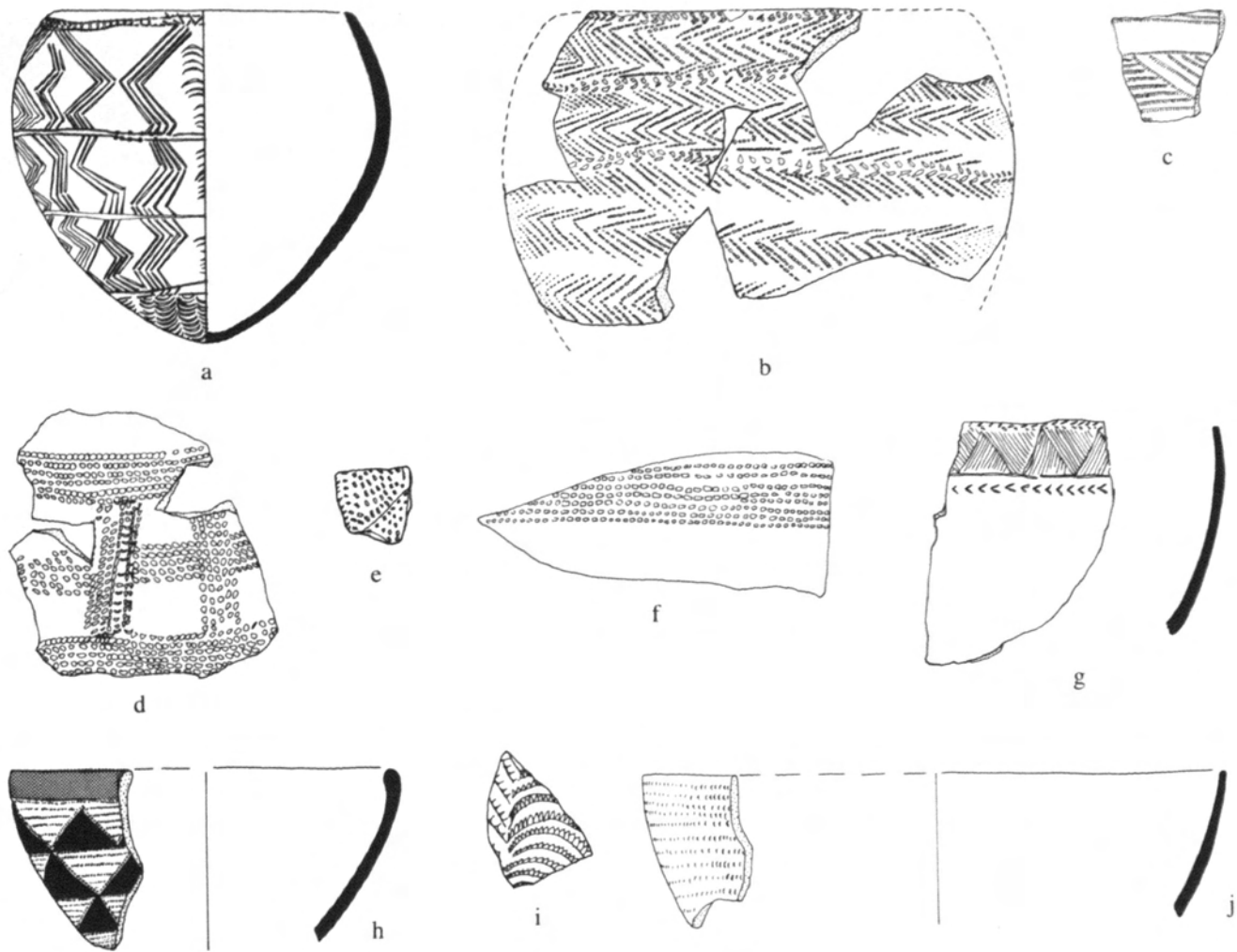


Figure 33. Decorations of Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised pottery, styles 1-3, 5, 7-10, 12, and 13: (a) 1, L 10, C; (b) 2, L 19, A; (c) 3, L 30, B; (d) 5, L 19, D; (e) 7, L 2, B; (f) 8, L 29, B; (g) 9, L 19, E; (h) 10, L 30, A; (i) 12, L 11, F; (j) 13, L 29, A. Scale 2:5.

this pottery was made near Qustul primarily for the persons who were buried in these tombs and distributed elsewhere only in limited quantities, as was "classic" Kerma pottery later. The diversity of other groups is hardly less remarkable. Twelve more or less clearly discerned form groups from five different regional-cultural traditions were present in the material of the vicinity. Of no less interest is the fact that A-Group decorative traditions, both ripple-burnishing and the devices used on painted pottery, derived primarily from Sudanese ideas, though the technique of painting by which these were largely expressed probably came from Egypt. In the A-Group, the same purposes could be served by pots in several form groups and traditions. We therefore can consider the social situation of the A-Group pottery complex, especially if we compare it to the C-Group pottery in which instrumental category and form group were often identical. A-Group pottery was made complex by the gradual increase in diversity from the early phases, with imported techniques of decoration increasingly

Table 18—Register of Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised Bowls

1. Serpent patterns	fig. 34a–c
L 2 C, D, I	
L 5 A, B, C, D, G	
L 8 A (not located)	
L 22 A, B	
L 29 A	
L 30 A, B, D	
2. Curvilinear zones with horizontal lower border	fig. 34d
L 5 F	
3. Rocker and scale patterns, mostly deep	fig. 34e
L 2 B	
L 5 E	
L 9 A	
L 22 C	
L 30 C	
4. Impressed triangles, in groups or in straight rows	fig. 34f
L 2 A	
L 9 B	
L 30 E, F	
5. Bands	fig. 34g
L 19 A, D	
6. Zigzags	
L 2 E	
L 19 G	
7. Chevrons	fig. 34h
L 19 E	
8. Filled triangles	
L 2 F	
9. Filled checks	fig. 34j
L 2 H	
10. Reserve rectangles or checks	
L 2 G	
L 19 C?, F	
11. Reserve lozenges or opposed triangles	fig. 34i
L 22 D	
12. Irregularly curved bands, wavy reserve band around rim, impressions in shape of bovine and bird	
V 67 A (see <i>OINE</i> IV)	
Uncertain	
L 2 J	
L 11 A	
L 19 B	

important. The C-Group, on the other hand, began with only a few forms in three form groups; shapes from two groups were identical. The decoration of the incised bowl was indigenous to the group. Although the C-Group developed about fourteen instrumental categories, these occurred much more quickly in the I B period. The instrumental categories and form groups did not overlap. Locally made pottery of the C-Group is simple, with only one tradition and appearance for each purpose. In contrast

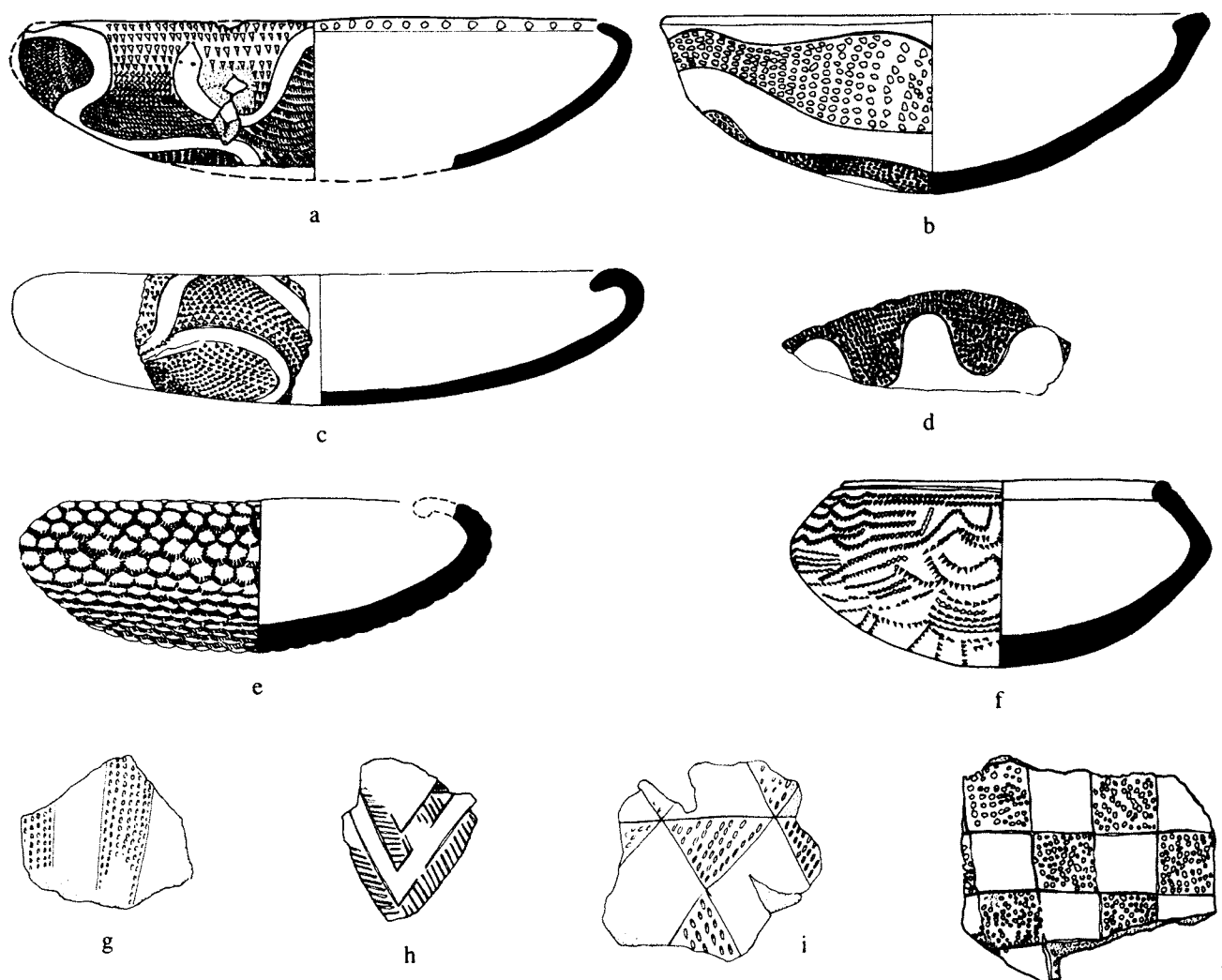


Figure 34. Decorations of Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised pottery, styles 1-5, 7, 9, and 11: (a) 1, L 2, I; (b) 1, L 5, G; (c) 1, L 5, A; (d) 2, L 5, F; (e) 3, L 5, E; (f) 4, L 2, A; (g) 5, L 19, A; (h) 7, L 19, E; (i) 11, L 22, D; (j) 9, L 2, H. Scale 2:5.

to the clear intentional exclusions found in C-Group pottery, the A-Group material could not easily be divided according to "incised bowls" or "black-topped bowls," each distinct in use as well as decoration. Instead, each form group of the A-Group included a number of instrumental categories. Further, the incised bowls related to the C-Group are not common and do not fit into A-Group pottery; they are peripherally related.

If a chronological trend is to be detected in A-Group pottery, it is that of increasing reliance on outside sources for both actual objects and for inspiration in pottery locally produced. If the earliest A-Group vessels were purely local and derived from the Egyptian Naqada I, then as the A-Group

Table 19—Register of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink Pottery

BOWLS ⁴⁴		
A. Straight sided at angle		fig. 35a
L 9 H		
B. Convex side, low-medium		fig. 35b
1. Low, slight curve, open		
L 9 D, J		
L 13 D, J		
2. Medium height		
L 2 B, C, D, E		
L 15 H?		
L 18 A (no. 1)		
L 19 F, H		
L 24 C		
C. Convex, with high side		fig. 35c, d
L 1 E		
L 9 C?, F, I, R, AT		
L 16 B		
L 24 M, AF, AH		
D. Convex side, curved over		fig. 35e
L 24 AK		
E. Open bowl with convex upper side and taper to base		fig. 35f, g
L 9 P, S		
L 10 C		
L 13 K		
L 24 D, E, H (almost carinated), I, R?		
F. Same, medium height		fig. 36a
L 9 B, K, M, N, Q		
L 10 A, B		
L 13 E		
L 16 A		
L 24 F, J		
G. Same, tall		fig. 36c ⁴⁵
L 9 A, L, T		
L 10 D		
L 13 G		
L 16 C		
L 19 A, E		
L 23 X (great painted bowl)		
L 24 K, L, P, Q, S		
H. Tall bowl tapering to curve at waist		fig. 36d
L 9 O		
L 13 F		
I. Concave sided bowl—"flowerpot"		fig. 36b
L 19 U		
L 24 B		
J. Shallow bowl with concave side and bent-out rim		fig. 37a
L 24 A		
K. Evenly or slightly curved with bent-out rim		fig. 37b
L 1 A		

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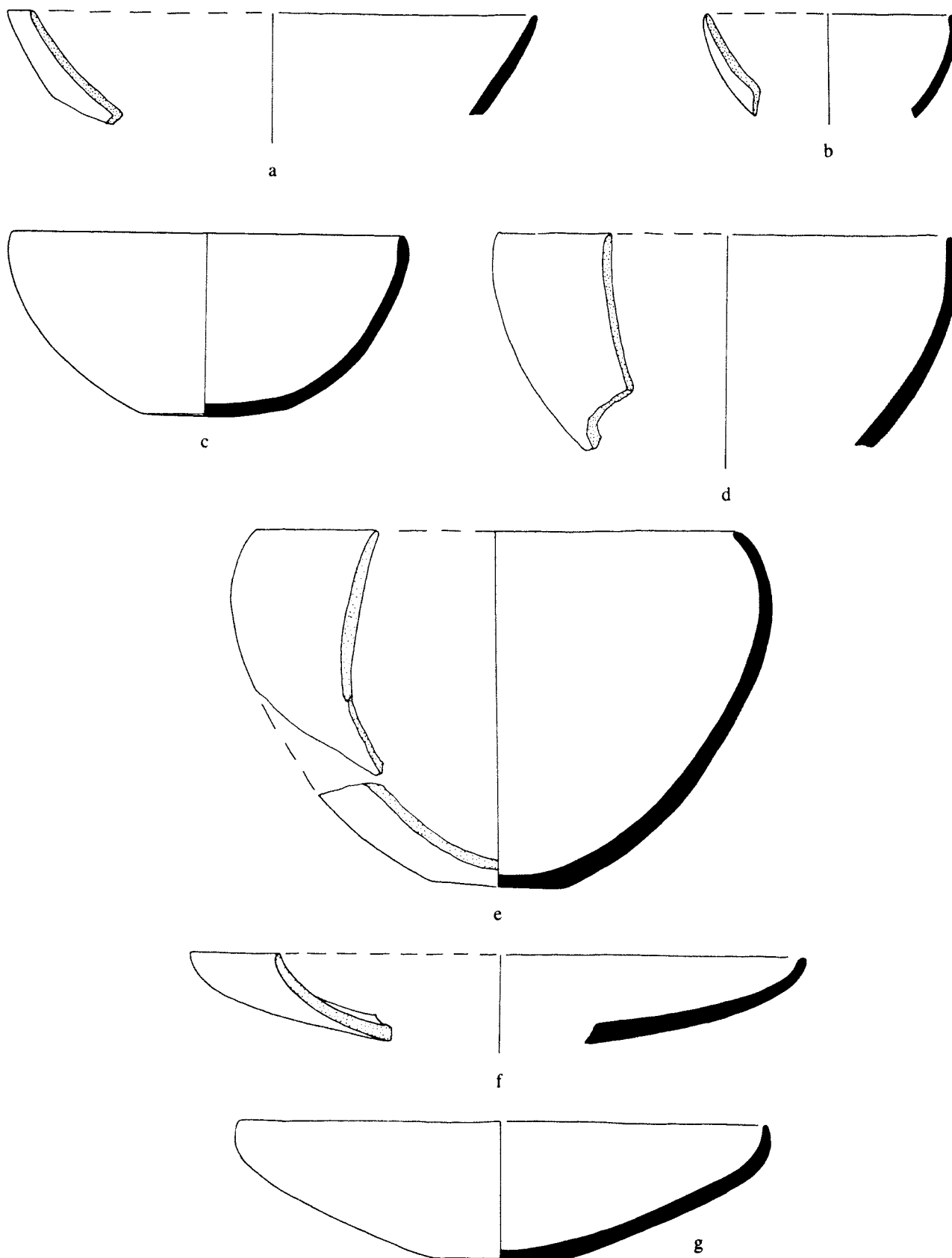


Figure 35. Shapes A, B2, and C–E of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery: (a) A, L 9, H; (b) B2, L 24, C; (c) C, L 24, AF; (d) C, L 1, E; (e) D, L 24, AK; (f) E, L 9, P; (g) E, L 9, S. Scale 2:5.

Table 19—Continued

L 13 L		
L 19 C, D (both with bent rims)		
L 24 AM		
L. Same, tall		fig. 37c
L 9 W		
L 19 B (bent rim), G (bent rim)		
M. Side bent in toward top (to vertical)		fig. 37d, e
1. With angled lower side, bead rim		
L 2 A		
2. With convex or angled lower side, bent-out rim		
L 9 V, X, AU		
L 11 D, E		
L 17 D (no. 29), E (no. 33)		
L 24 AG, AI		
N. Side bent in to vertical in middle third of side; not present in this material		
O. Side bent in to vertical in lower third of side; not in this material		
Uncertain bowls		
L 1 B, C, D, F		
L 9 Y, AA-AK		
L 11 F-I, O-Q		
L 13 B (paint), H, M, N		
L 19 N		
L 24 G, N, O, T		
JARS		
P. Cylinder jar with broad wavy line (in Cemetery L, the P series includes wavy-handled)		fig. 38a, b ⁴⁶
L 2 G (red painted vertical and diagonal lines in open lattice)		
L 11 R, S		
Q. Bottle (variant 1. with no ridge at base of the neck, 2. with ridge)		fig. 38e, f ⁴⁷
L 5 A (rim only)		
L 9 (body sherd, probably Form Group XII, A)		
L 11 A		
L 24 V, Y, Z, AA (all Q1), W, X (all Q2)		
R. Small flask, carinated		
1. Lentoid ⁴⁸		
L 22 A, B		
2. Globular		
L 24 AE?		
S. Spouted jar		fig. 38g-j ⁴⁹
1. With low body		
L 24 AD		
2. With tall body		
L 9 AO, AP, AQ (rims only, probably S2)		
L 19 Q, R		
Uncertain S		
L 9 AP, AQ		
L 11 B		

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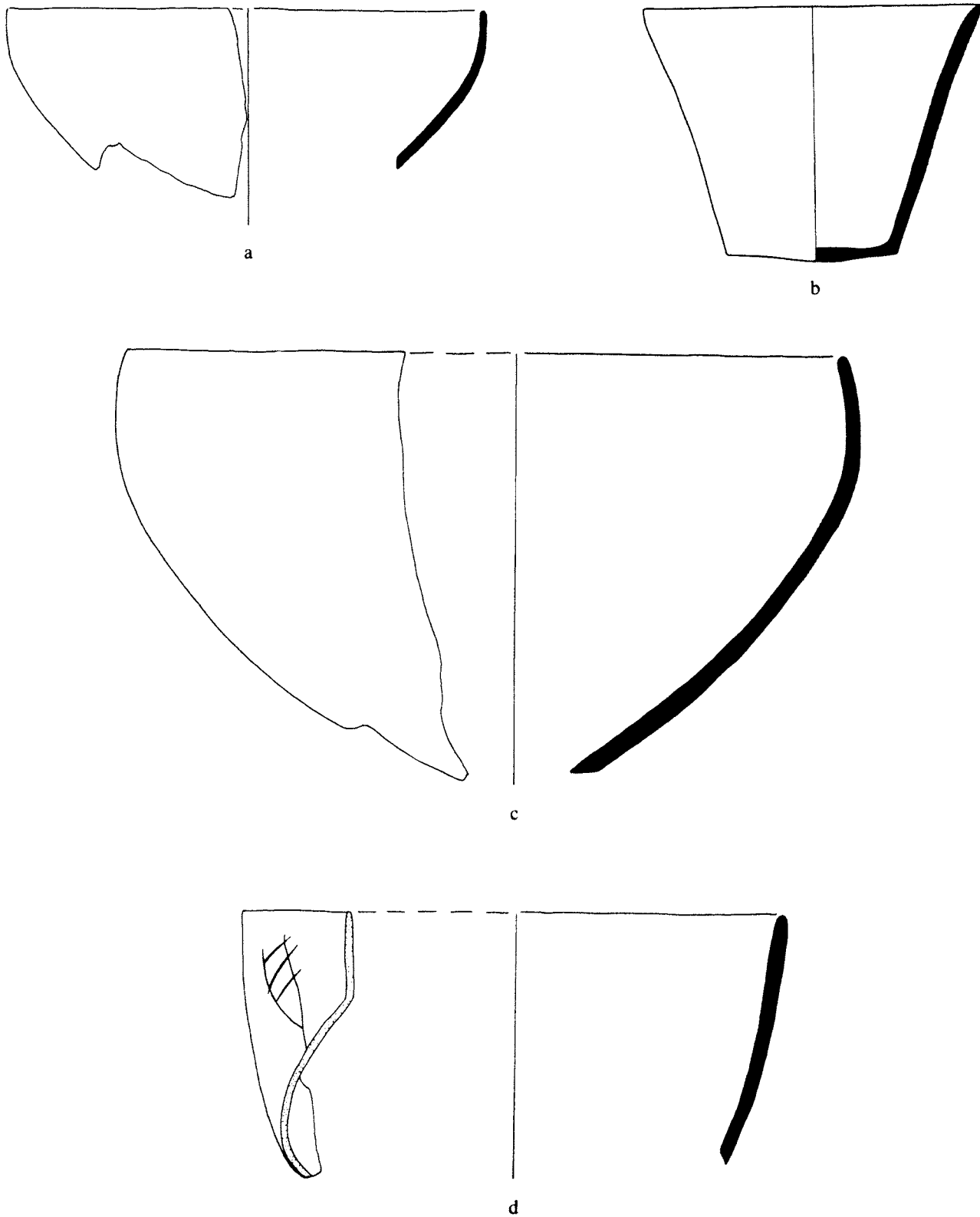


Figure 36. Shapes F-I of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery: (a) F, L 9, B; (b) I, L 19, U; (c) G, L 9, A; (d) H, L 9, O. Scale 2:5.

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Table 19—Continued

L 19 O, T (spout)	
L 23 W (hippopotamus spout)	
T. Multiple globe jar	fig. 38c, d ⁵⁰
L 19 S (painted)	
L 24 AB, AC	
U. Short tapered jar with wide mouth and bead rim, flat base	fig. 39a ⁵¹
L 10 E	
V. Tall tapered jar with everted rim and flat base	fig. 39b ⁵²
L 24 AN	
W. Narrow tapered jar with short neck and roll-rim	fig. 40a ⁵³
L 2 F (base)	
L 9 AS, AV	
L 13 R	
L 15 F	
L 19 I	
L 23 V	
L 24 AJ	
X. Ovoid storage jar with neck and rim as W	fig. 40c, d ⁵⁴
L 2 H, I, J (inscribed)	
L 6 A, B	
L 9 AL, AM, AW, and uncertain fragments	
L 11 C	
L 13 C, O, P, Q, and uncertain fragments	
L 15 A, B, C, D, E	
L 17 B (no. 4), C (no. 5)	
L 19 J, K, L, M	
L 23 E, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U	
L 24 AL	
Y. As X, with horizontal shoulder and flat base	
Uncertain, possibly L 17 A (no. 3)	
Z. Tall storage jar, ovoid with flat base, three rope bands on the base, waist, and shoulder	fig. 40b ⁵⁵
L 23 A, B, C, D	
AA. Lentoid jar	fig. 41a ⁵⁶
L 24 U	
Uncertain jars	
L 1 G	
L 9 AR	
L 11 J–N	
L 19 O, P	
AB. Stand (with excised triangles, see Form Group XI)	fig. 41b
L 13 A	

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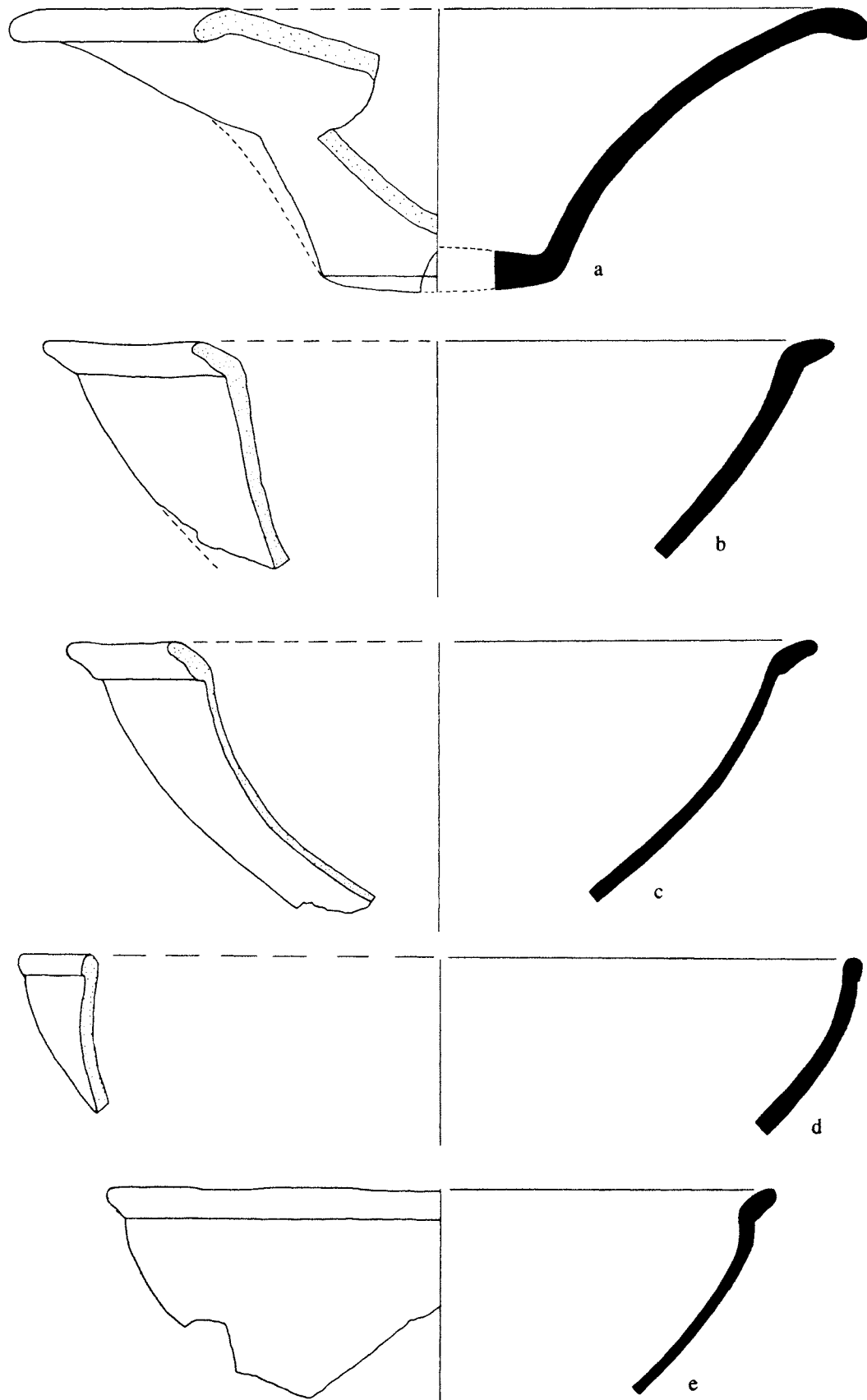


Figure 37. Shapes J–L, M1, and M2 of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery: (a) J, L 24, A; (b) K, L 1, A; (c) L, L 9, W; (d) M1, L 2, A; (e) M2, L 11, D. Scale 2:5.

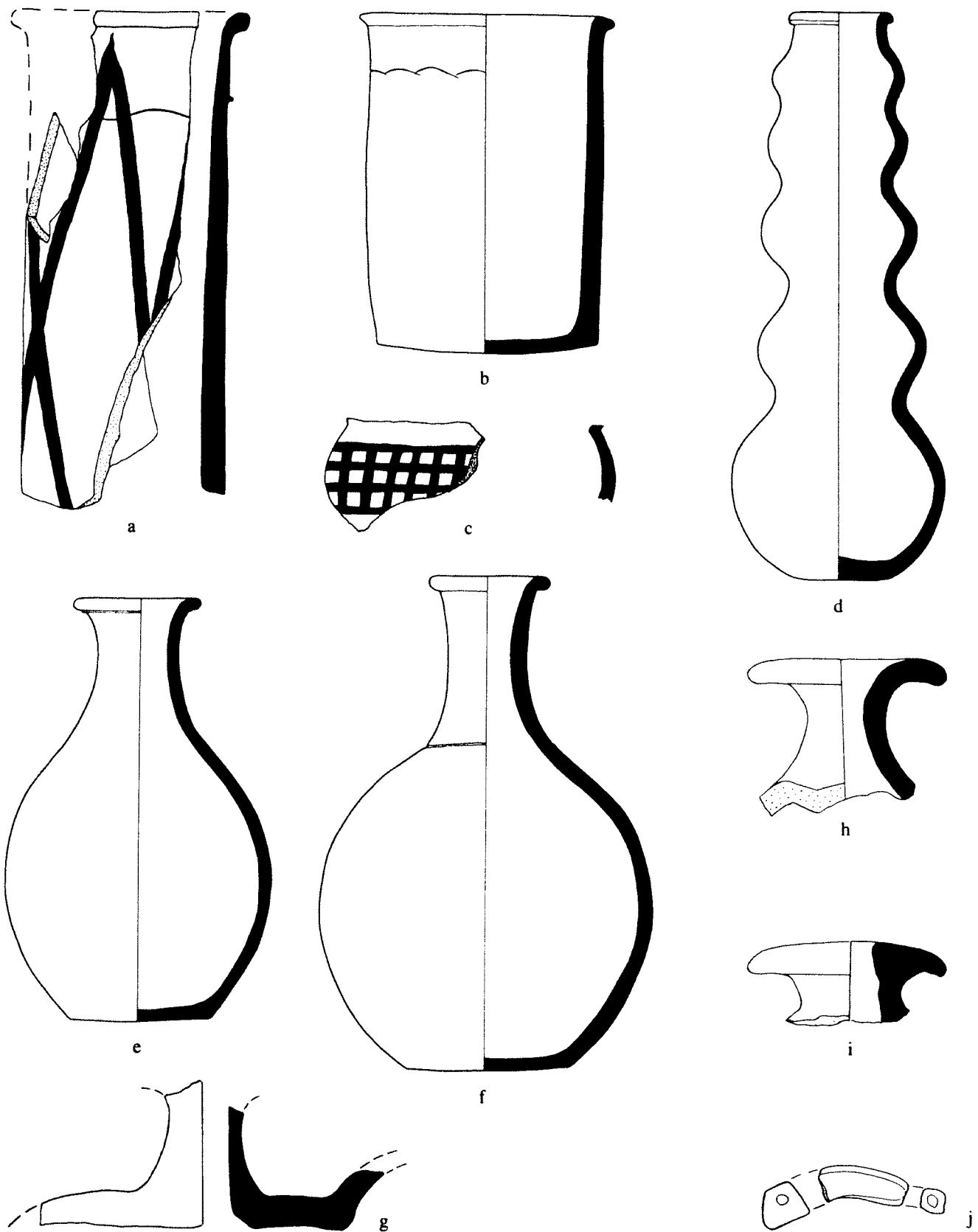
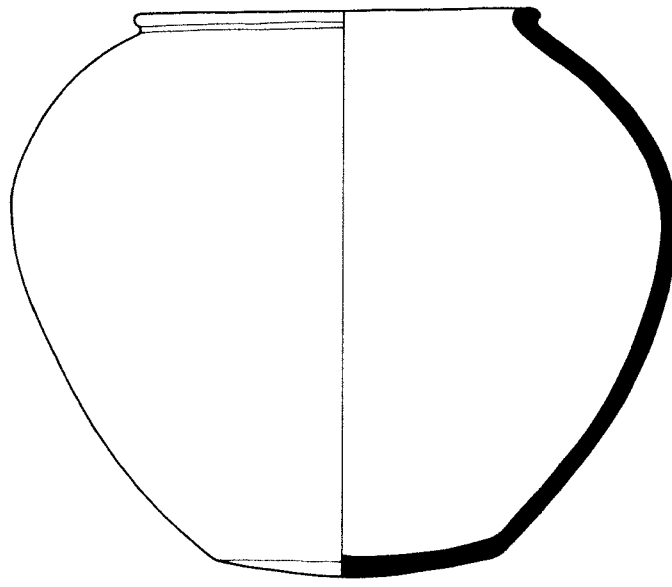


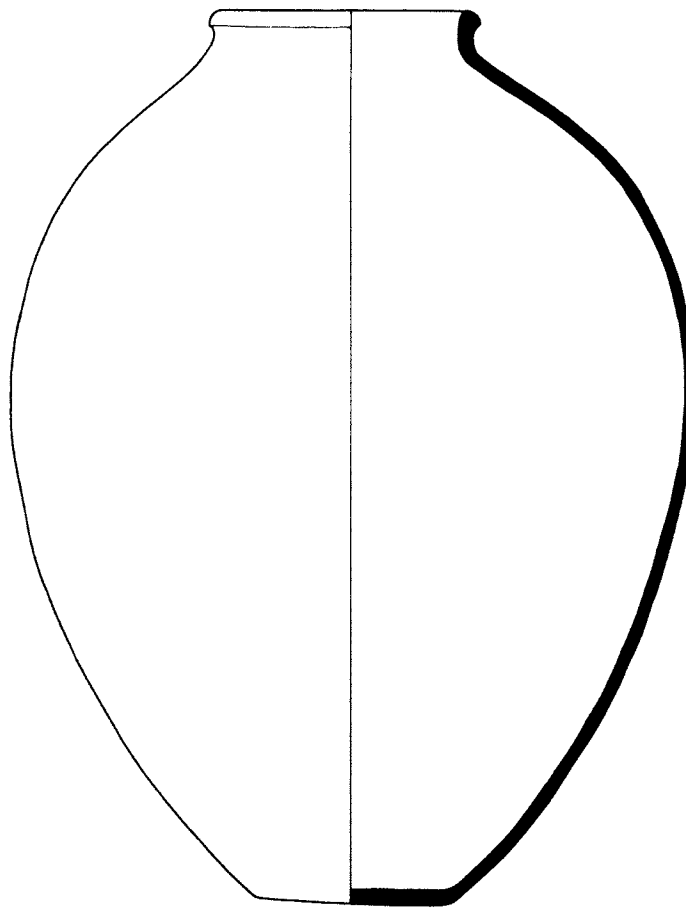
Figure 38. Shapes P, Q1, Q2, S1, S2, Uncertain S, and T of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery: (a) P, L 2, G; (b) P, L 11, S; (c) T, L 19, S; (d) T, L 24, AB; (e) Q1, L 24, V; (f) Q2, L 24, W; (g) S1, L 24, AD; (h) S2, L 19, Q; (i) S2, L 19, R; (j) Uncertain S, L 19, T. Scale 2:5.

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a



b

Figure 39. Shapes U and V of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery: (a) U, L 10, E; (b) V, L 24, AN. Scale 2:5.

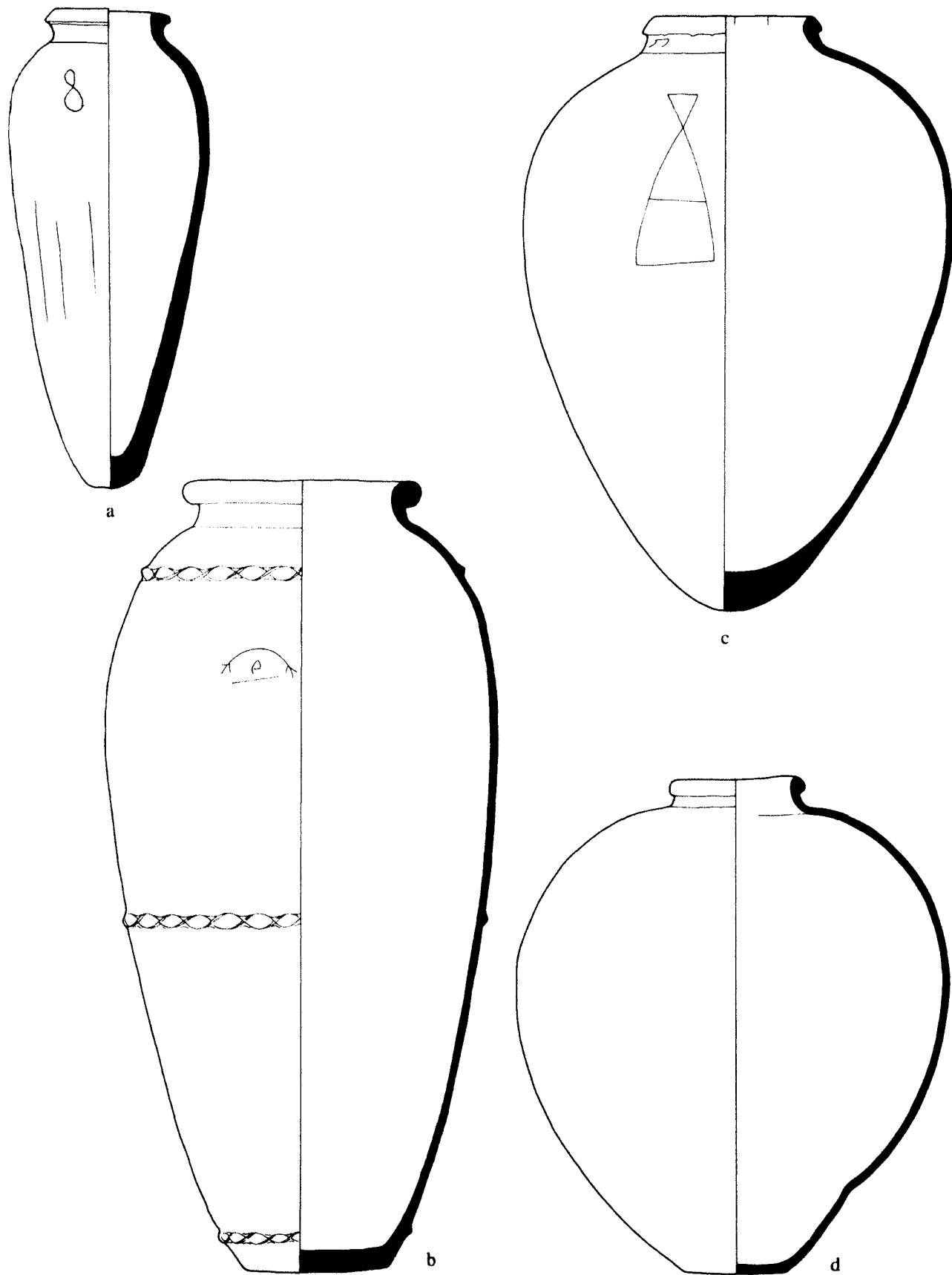


Figure 40. Shapes W, X, and Z of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery: (a) W, L 15, F; (b) Z, L 23, B; (c) X, L 23, Q; (d) X, uncertain. Scale 1:5.

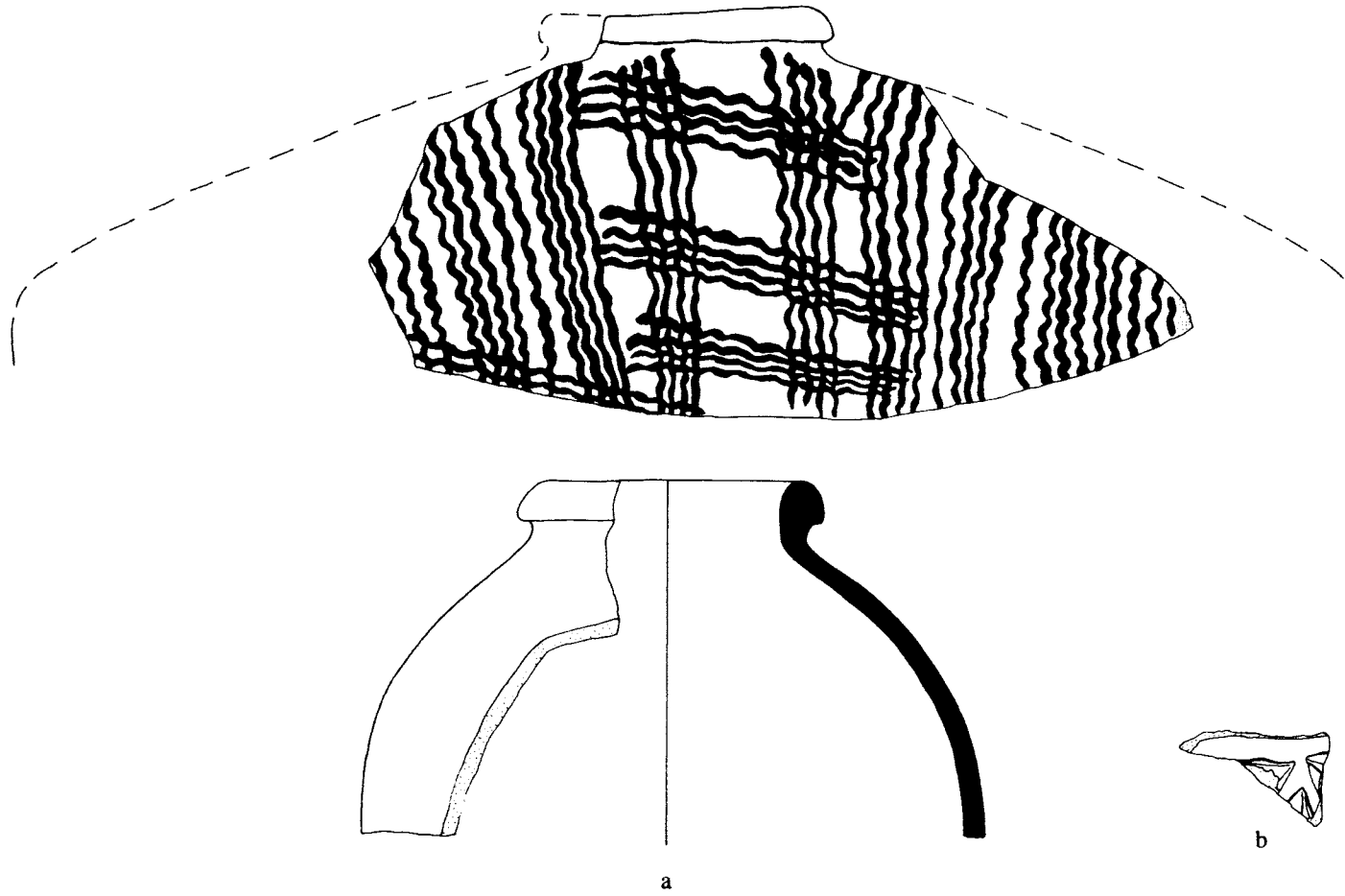


Figure 41. Shapes AA and AB of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery: (a) AA, L 24, U; (b) AB, L 13, A. Scale 2:5.

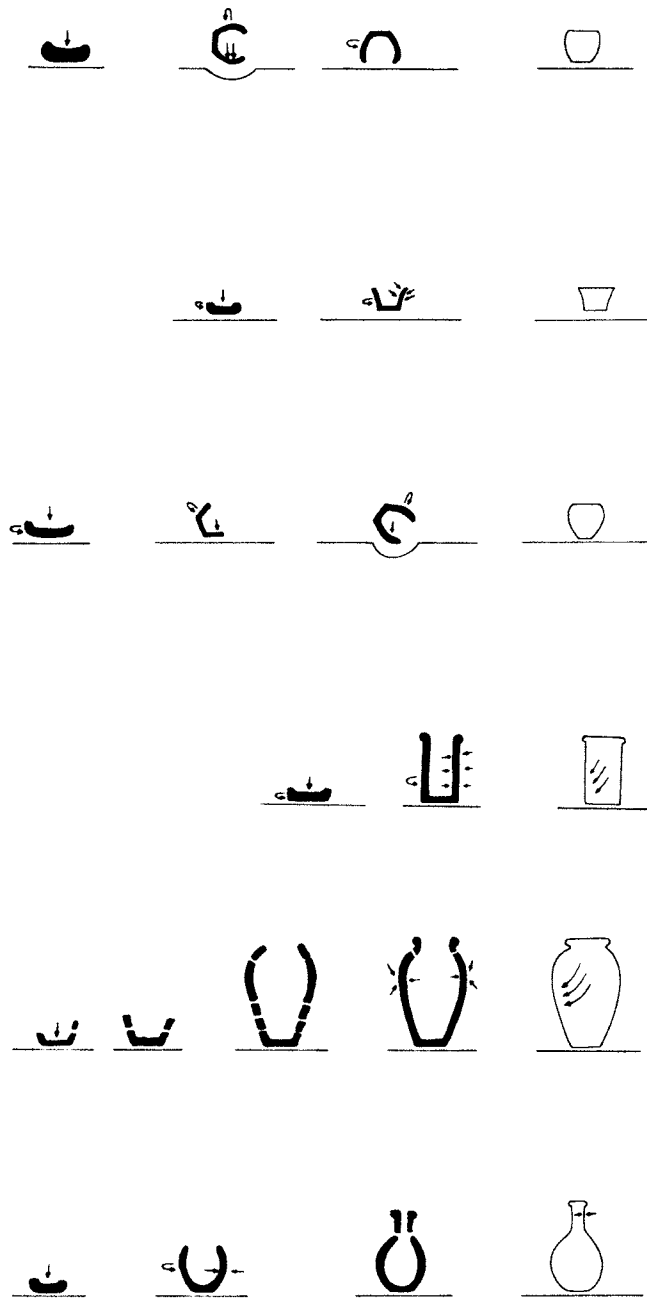
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Figure 42. Shaping Late Predynastic Egyptian pottery.

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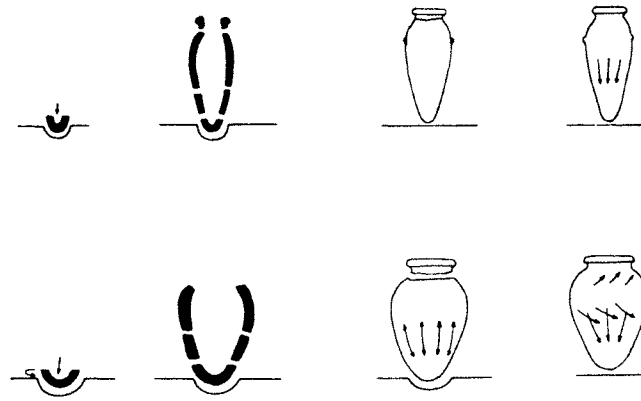


Figure 43. Shaping Late Predynastic Egyptian pottery.

Table 20—Shapes of Form Group XI, Egyptian
Coarse Pottery

A. Strainer jar	fig. 44a
B. Stands	figs. 46, 47
C. Pedestal platter	fig. 45a, b
D. V-shaped jars	fig. 45c
E. Theriomorphic figures	pls. 98–102

spread southward it developed a marked Sudanese character in shapes, abandoning the cylindrical Naqada vessels for wider southern shapes. Ripple-burnishing was readopted from the south and the complex basket patterns of Sudan were adopted in decoration. While local pottery acquired a Sudanese character, elaborate Egyptian containers became increasingly popular, finally replacing the simple local storage vessels entirely.

Historical problems raised by the revealing nature of pottery are not confined to trends within the A-Group itself. The A-Group came to an end rather suddenly and completely by the early First Dynasty. The question that follows is whether the A-Group traditions continued somewhere else or entirely disappeared. At present, exploration has hardly begun in the adjacent desert and not all of the course of civilization south of the Second Cataract has been exposed. However, it might be fruitful to briefly compare A-Group pottery as found at Qustul with later traditions that are presently known.

A-Group and C-Group pottery traditions have already been compared and contrasts noted. The specific similarities that exist appear to be due to the contact of the A-Group with the traditional antecedent to the C-Group. As indicated in *OINE IV* (forthcoming), the later Archaic and Old Kingdom local inhabitants had nothing that can be compared with A-Group or C-Group pottery, since all of the pottery that we are able to identify is of Egyptian origin.⁶⁵ Even poor A-Group graves have local

THE POTTERY

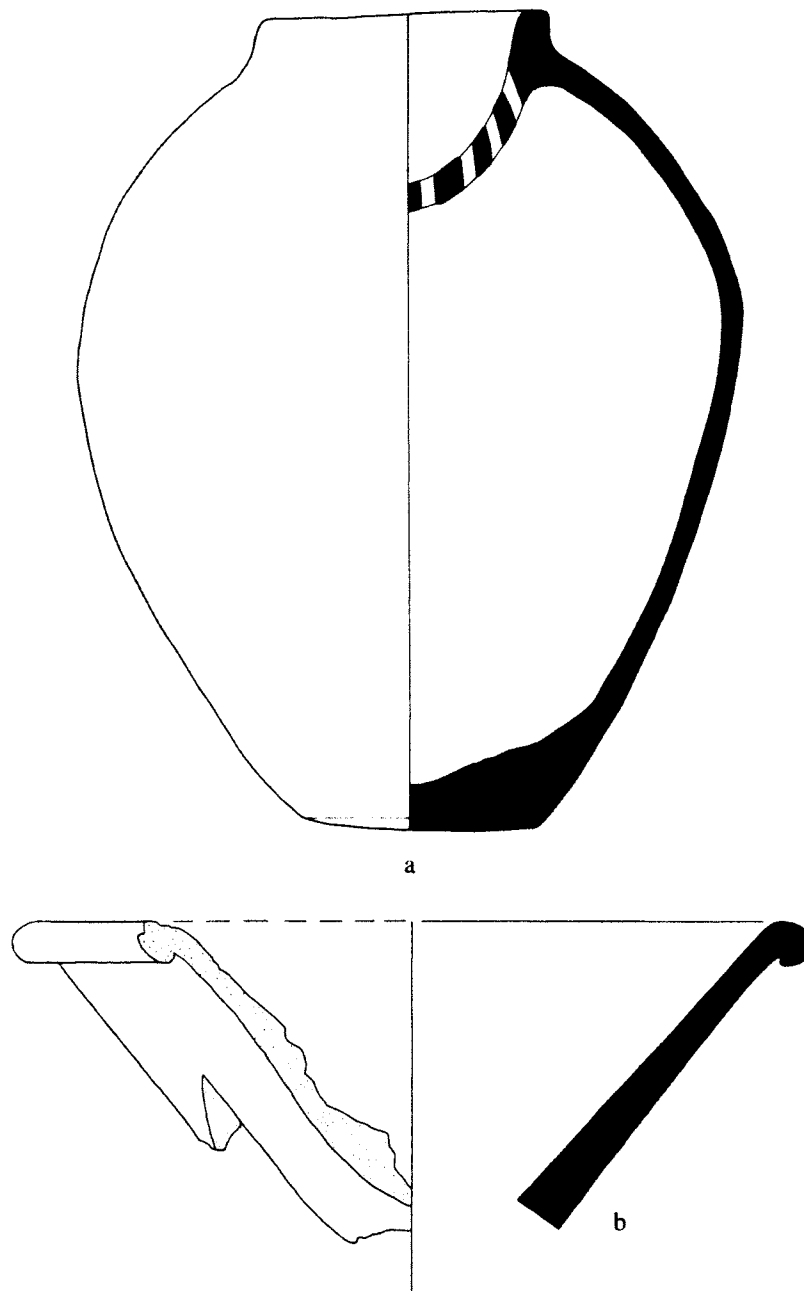


Figure 44. Shapes A and B of Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse pottery: (a) A, L 17—6, A; (b) B, L 1, A. Scale 2:5.

pottery of some sort. The Pan Graves of the Second Intermediate Period are poor, but do contain some distinctive pottery including vessels incised in bands or in overall patterns. The pottery may be related to that of Sudanese cultures⁶⁶ but the relationship of their simple pottery with the A-Group is again peripheral.

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Table 21—Register of Form Group X1, Egyptian
Coarse Pottery

L 1	A	B		fig. 44b
	B	B		
	C	C	Radial burnish	
L 2	A	A	Strainer fragment	
	B	A		
	C	C		fig. 45b
	D	B		
	E	D		
	F	D		
	G	D		fig. 45c
	H	B		
	I	B	Incised lines	
L 5	A	B	Tall narrow stand with applied serpents	fig. 46c
L 9	A	B	Diagonal lines	
	B	B	Diagonal lines	
	C	A	Strainer fragment	
L 11	A	A	Strainer	
	B	B	Plain stand	
	C	B	With triangular holes	
	D	B	With triangular holes	
	E	B	With triangular holes	
	F	B	With excised triangles	
	G	B	With excised triangles	
	H	C	Top only	fig. 45a
	I	C	Bottom with round holes	
	J	E	Hippopotamus foot	
	K-T	B	Decorated with excised or incised holes	
L 16	A	B		
L 17	A	A	Jar (no. 6)	fig. 44a
L 19	A	A	Strainer fragment	
	B	B	Plain, tall and narrow	fig. 47d
	C	B	Tall, large, rectangular holes, triangular holes and opposed-hatching in bands	fig. 46b
	D	E	Hippopotamus head	
	E	B		
L 22	A	B	Plain	
L 23	A	B	Rectangular stand, painted decoration	
	B	B		fig. 46a
	C	B		fig. 47c
	D	B	Rectangular stand, Edjo fragment	

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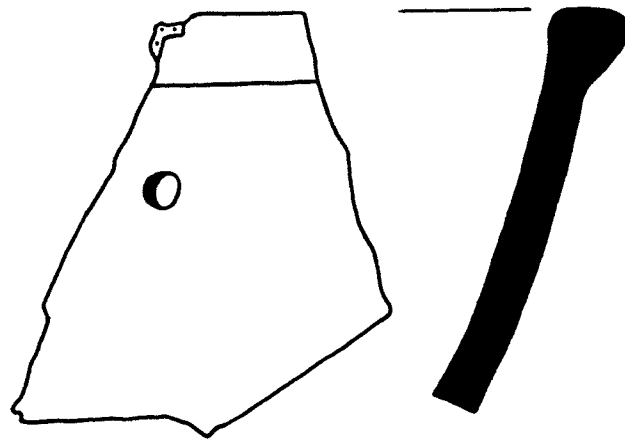
Table 21—Continued

L 24	A	B	Plain, medium height	fig. 47a
	B	B	Pierced rectangle	
	C	B	Tall, large, rectangular cut-outs, triangles excised and opposed—hatching in bands	
	D	B	Tall, incised herringbone, pierced rectangle	fig. 46d
	E	B	Plain	
	F	B	Pierced triangle	
	G	B	Pierced triangles	
	H	E	Ear of hippopotamus figure(?)	

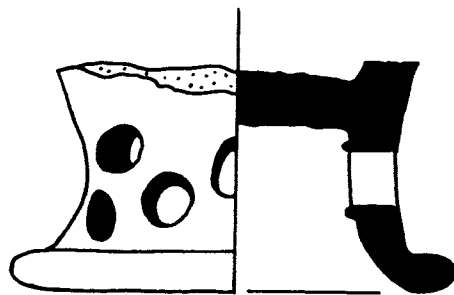
Table 22—Register of Form Group XII, Pottery of Syro-Palestinian Tradition

L 9	A	Sherd, uncertain part of vessel(?)	fig. 48f
L 19	A	Unslipped sherd, flat bottom, curved body(?)	
L 24	A	Jar, missing handles and rim; stump of large handle bored for reuse; soft cream fabric, coarse	fig. 48a
	B	Complete vessel, fine orange fabric	fig. 48b
	C	Very large sherd, neck and rim missing, stumps of handles; brown slip	fig. 48d
	D	Large sherd, base to shoulder, brown slip	fig. 48c
	E	Base and handle sherds, brown slip	fig. 48e
	F	Shoulder sherd, brown slip	
	G	Body sherd, brown slip	
	H	Base sherd, no slip, L 11 or L 24	
	I	Shoulder sherd, unslipped	

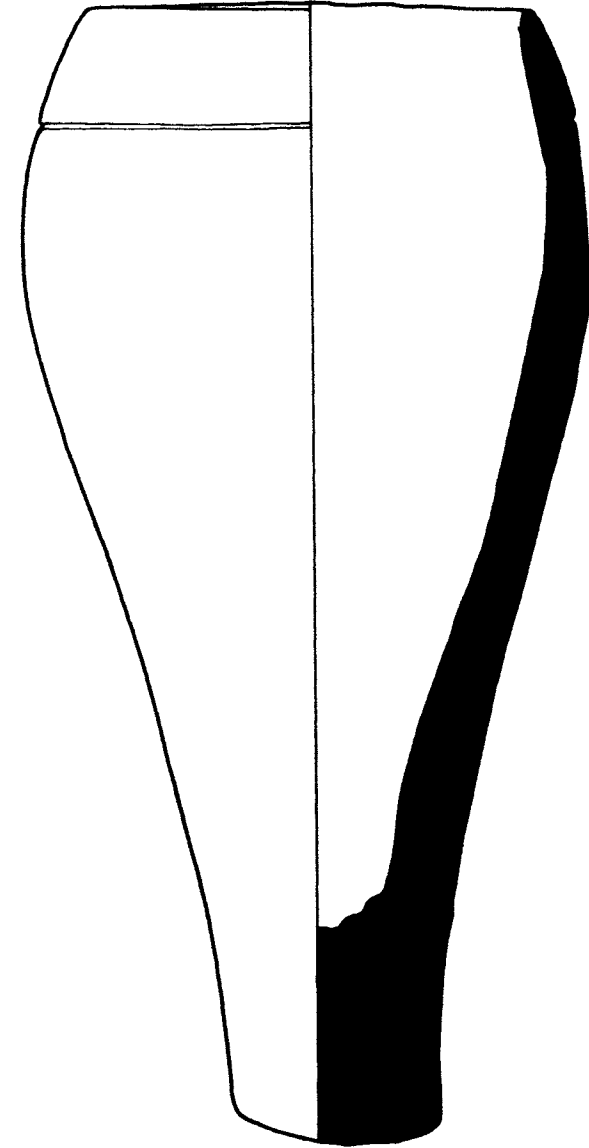
At first glance, relations with Kerma appear difficult to establish; the most common pottery there is black-topped, that of the late A-Group is painted. It should not be forgotten, however, that the basic feature of "classic" Kerma pottery is a polished black interior and polished red exterior and that the basic shape is a variant of a cone with a flattened base and very thin walls.⁶⁷ These are precisely the major characteristics of A-Group exterior painted pottery in shaping and finish. If the geometric painting in fact represents a band of woven material wrapped around the bowl, it may be compared with actual nets found holding Kerma beakers. The major cultural form groups at Kerma are considerably different, but in original elements they more closely resemble Form Groups I and II of the A-Group than the pottery of any of the other cultural groups discussed here. Moreover, like A-Group pottery of Form Group I, "classic" Kerma pottery occurs primarily at Kerma itself, although exported elsewhere.



a

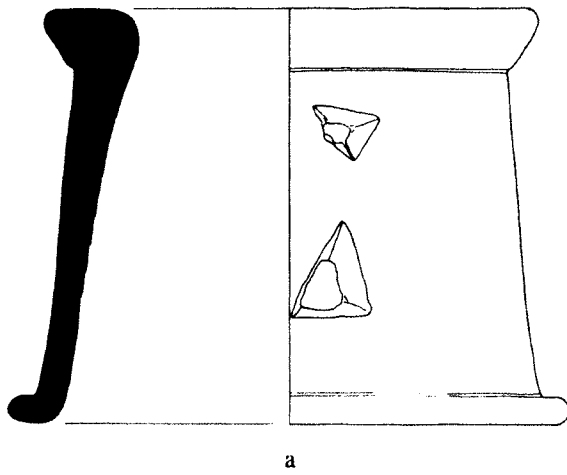


b

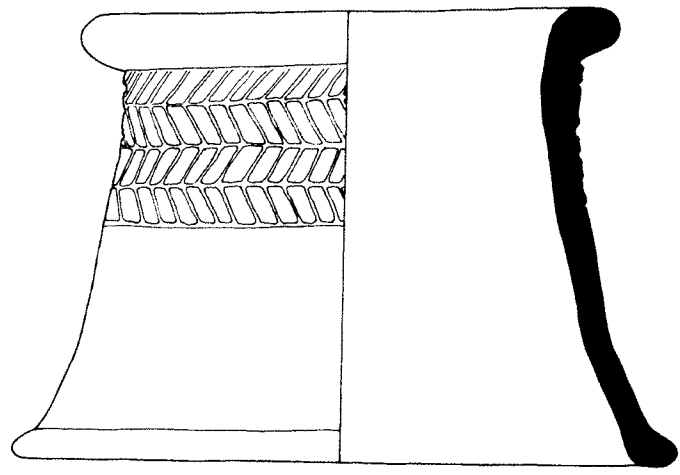


c

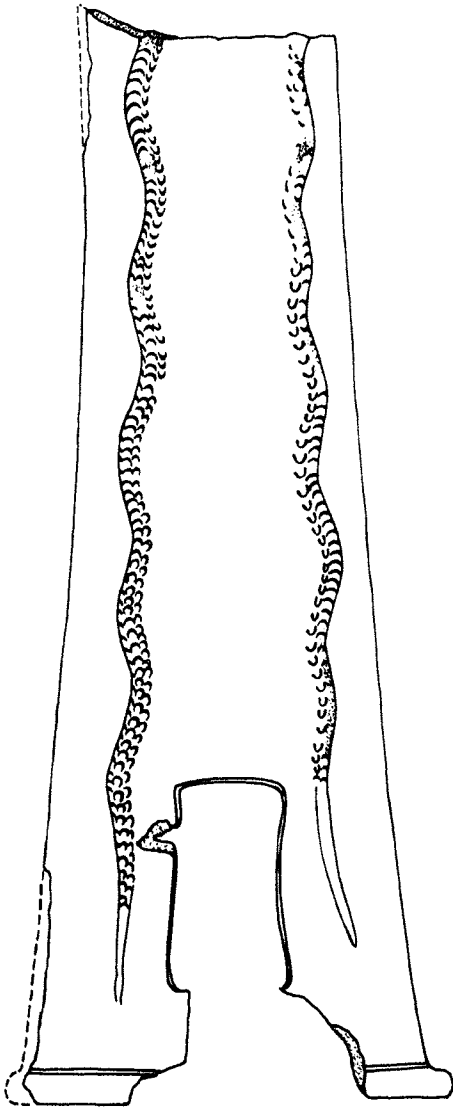
Figure 45. Shapes C and D of Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse pottery: (a) C, L 11, H; (b) C, L 2, C; (c) D, L 2, G. Scale 2:5.



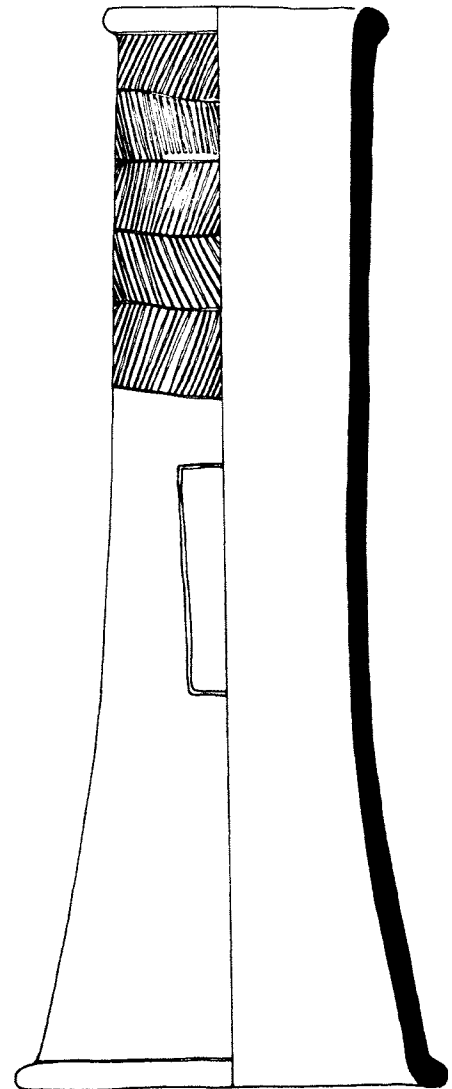
a



b



c



d

Figure 46. Shape B of Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse pottery: (a) L 23, B; (b) L 19, C; (c) L 5, A; (d) L 24, D. Scale 1:5.

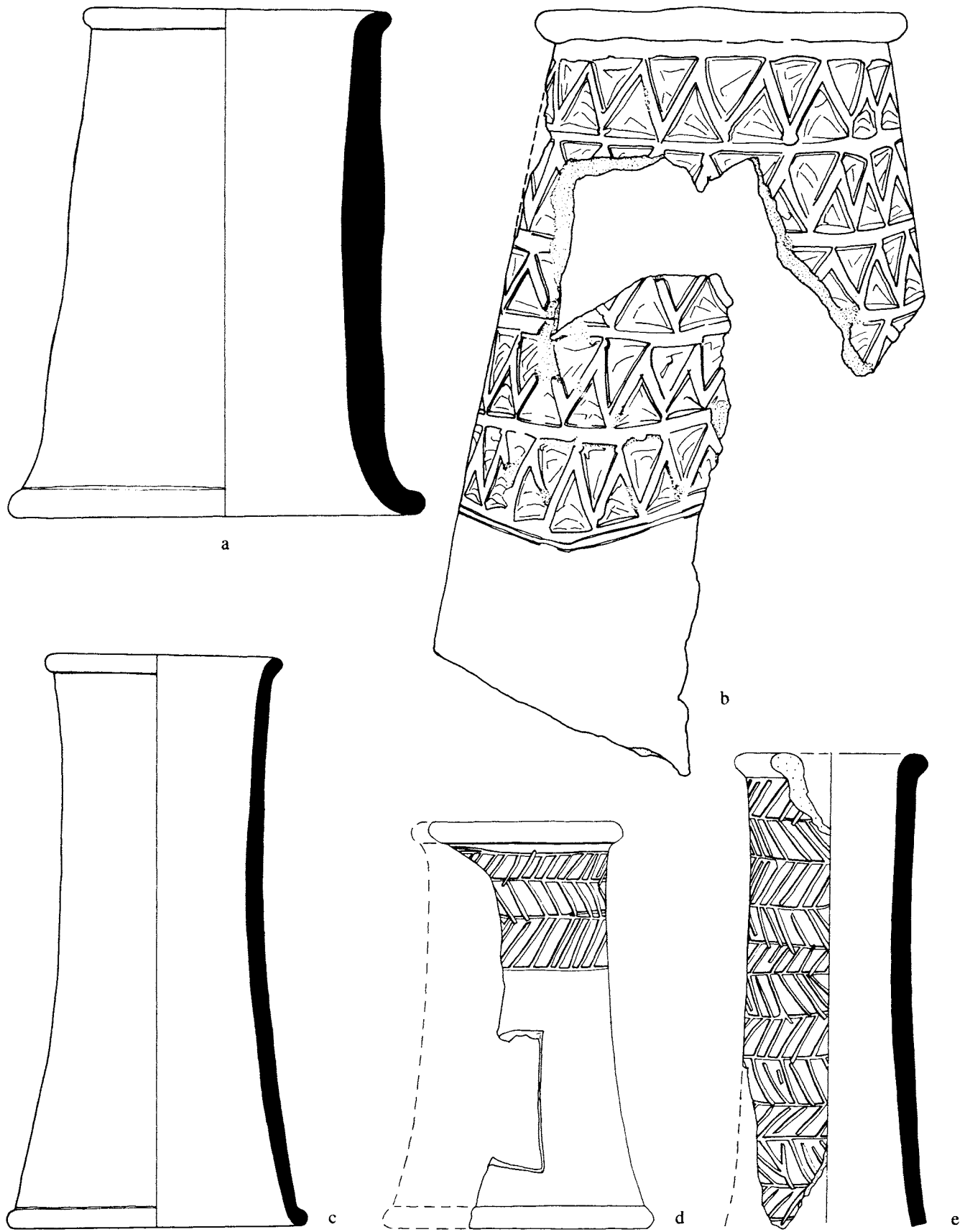


Figure 47. Shape B of Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse pottery: (a) L 24, A; (b) Uncertain; (c) L 23, C; (d) L 19, B; (e) Uncertain. Scale 1:5 except (a), (b) 2:5.

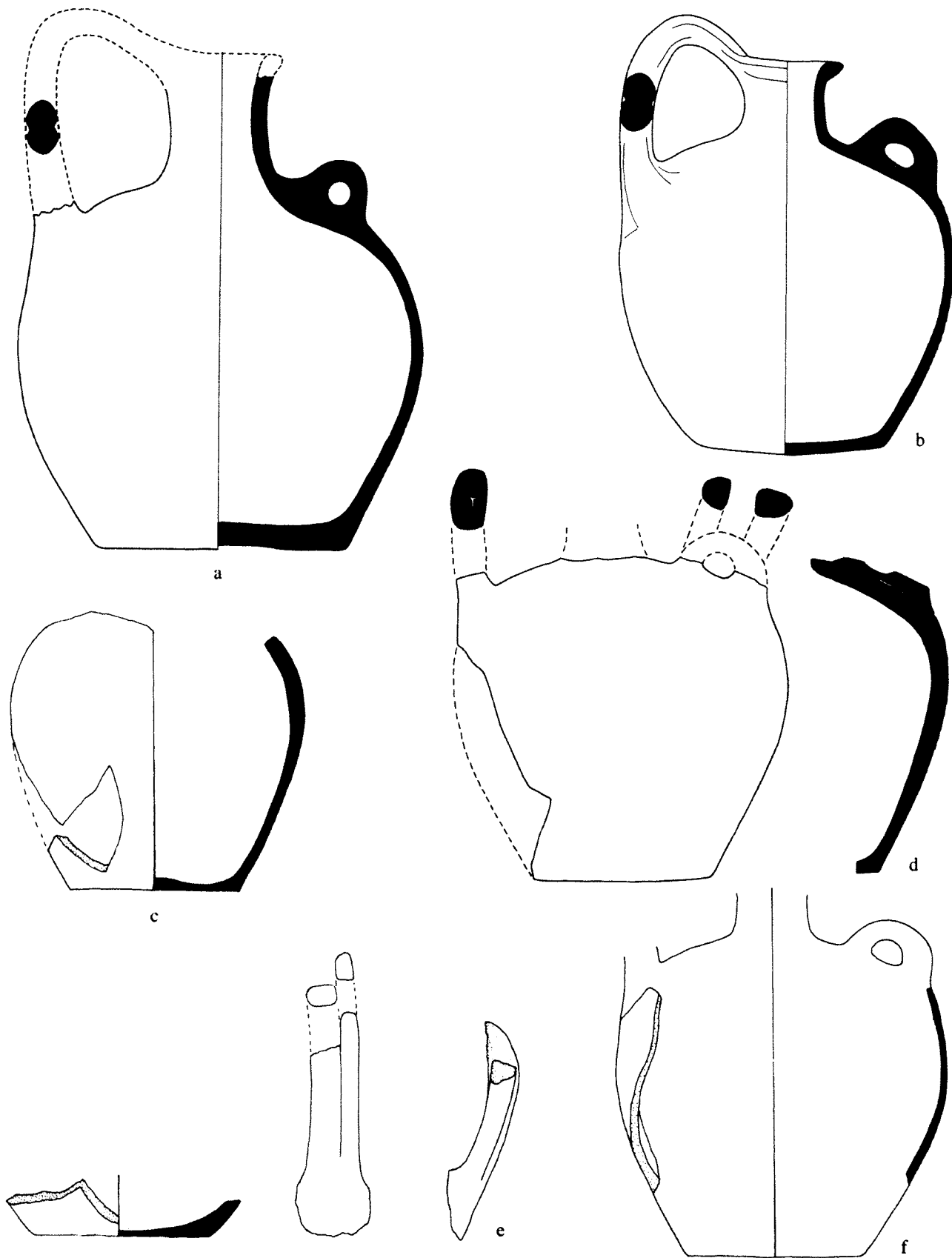


Figure 48. Examples of Form Group XII, Syro-Palestinian EB I pottery: (a) L 24, A; (b) L 24, B; (c) L 24, D; (d) L 24, C; (e) L 24, E; (f) L 9, A. Scale 2:5.

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It seems to have been made primarily for the use of a restricted group of people, which is certainly the case with A-Group painted pottery. The diversity of the A-Group pottery at Qustul also resembles Kerma; neither the C-Group nor the Pan Grave burials contain much of each other's pottery; in the major phases of C-Group, I-II B, neither Pan Grave nor Kerma pottery appears with normal C-Group burials while Egyptian bowls are only rarely present. The Kermans, on the other hand, made no such exclusions; pottery, though mainly of Kerma types, included vessels with both Pan Grave and C-Group decoration. Egyptian pottery of all kinds is extremely common. The pottery of the two key A-Group form groups sufficiently closely resembles Kerma pottery for the one to be considered an antecedent of the other. Likewise, the peripheral relation to other groups in Nubia and Egypt was preserved. Kerma pottery has not merely a physical resemblance to A-Group, but much of the coherence of the ceramics used by that culture as well.

NOTES

1. See below, pp. 27–65.
2. Kaiser 1956, p. 108, fig. 5.
3. See below, pp. 63–65.
4. Nordström 1972, pl. 172:1.
5. See below, pp. 63–65.
6. See below, pp. 67–78.
7. See below, pp. 78–80.
8. Williams 1984, pp. 28–29, table 9.
9. Nordström 1972, Fabric ID, p. 50; IE, pp. 50–51; IIA, p. 51; IIB, pp. 51–52; IIC–D, pp. 52–53; IIE, p. 53; IIIA, pp. 53–54. *OINE V*, chapter 2, table 9. Fine clays occur in considerable quantities in the Nubian sandstone in several outcrops, at Aswan, near Kalabsha, and in Upper Nubia near Meroe, and presumably near Qustul as well. As these weathered out of the formation, they would occur in the valley clays in varying amounts. The clays become important in Meroitic times and will be discussed in *OINE VIII* (forthcoming).
10. Nordström 1972, pp. 41–42. Observations on temper made for the present publication permitted the following distinctions. A. The first observed temper was a spongy-appearing mass with occasionally angular fragments of carbon and white spots (of ash?) sometimes very finely divided and with some voids. This appears to be ash and ash mixed with dung, from cattle(?). B. The second is a finely divided but slightly coarser mass, pieces of straw shown by voids, normally parallel to the surface. This is found in coarser A-Group pottery and Form Group VIII, and is probably cattle dung. C. The last is a spongy mass with irregularly sized voids and small rock fragments. This appears to be earth and it is found in Sudanese and large undecorated vessels.
11. Williams 1984, pp. 29–36.
12. See below, pp. 61–65.
13. Nordström 1972, pp. 43–44 and 38–40.
14. Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928, pp. 1, 2, 20–22 and Arkell 1949, pls. 91–93; these vessels come from later burials, not from the early settlement.
15. Williams 1984, pp. 25–40; at Serra East, C-Group vessels were sometimes almost unfired (see *OINE X*, in preparation.)
16. Williams 1984, pp. 25–40.
17. Occasionally shapes are seen in more than one form group; a decorative motif might appear in more than one, executed in a different manner (painting vs. incision).
18. Nordström 1972, pp. 29, 84 (A II a 1 and b 3), and 87–88.
19. Baumgartel 1947, pp. 101–02. Baumgartel points out that only six tombs at Faras had exterior painted pottery. The pottery has been found as far north as Naqada (blob or double-stroke painting, pl. 12:1) and at least one example was found at Hierakonpolis. (Needler 1984, fig. 17:12, CAT. 97).
20. Pottery of this type is generally referred to as egg-shell ware in the *Scandinavian Joint Expedition* publication (Nordström 1972). Some of the finer pieces indeed fit such a description, but by and large, the distinctions in wall thickness between these and other bowls is not sufficiently marked to justify the consistent use of this term as a descriptive designation.

21. This tends to confirm that the creation of the black interior was an additional step requiring a second heating of the vessel. See Williams 1984, p. 39 for other remarks on this finish.
22. See below, p. 30 and *OINE IV*, chapter 2 (forthcoming).
23. See *OINE IV*, chapter 2 (forthcoming). Sometimes the ochre was put on only in bands (which might account for the basic organization of the banded-linear decoration). See below, p. 30. Nordström 1972, pls. 44:A X a 8 and 176:2.
24. Almost all of the A-Group pottery, not just from Cemetery L, but also from the other OINE cemeteries, was fired in such a way that an irregularly colored surface was produced by fire blooms. In most cases, the effect is so obvious that it must have been deliberate. The painted bowls are almost never mottled on painted surfaces. Although it was not considered part of the "ware" description, this effect is clearly noticeable in photographs of undecorated pottery from Sudanese Nubia. Nordström 1972, pls. 163:1; 164:1, 2; 165; 166:2; 170:2; 171:1; 176:3; 181:2; 182:1, 2.
25. Woven slings of the sort represented by painted decoration occur on Kerma beakers at a later date (Reisner 1923, I-III, pl. 9:2).
26. Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928; the post-Badarian corpora do not contain this pottery.
27. Arkell 1953, pp. 76, 86-87.
28. Arkell 1949, pls. 91-93.
29. See below, p. 61.
30. See below, p. 117.
31. Later A-Group imports included two examples from Naqada and possibly rippled vessels from Armant (Baumgartel 1947, p. 102 and pl. 12:2; Myers and Mond 1937, pp. 174-75.)
32. Nordström 1972, pls. 44-45. The rippled vessels found in the SJE concession were more numerous and varied than those found at Qustul in Cemetery L, which was later than many graves in the Scandinavian concession.
33. Ibid., pl. 43:A IX b 3; pl. 41:A V 1.
34. Some, from Cemetery W, were red-coated. See *OINE IV* (forthcoming).
35. Nordström 1972, pls. 37-38.
36. See *OINE IV* (forthcoming).
37. These decorative and, to a lesser extent, shaping characteristics can be seen in the Sudanese tradition of the cataract region (see Nordström 1972; Arkell 1953, pls. 29-33.)
38. See table 9. It would appear that even the banded decoration represents a more complete assimilation of the Sudanese pattern of decoration. Bands, painted or otherwise, are not characteristic of Egyptian pottery decoration at this period. They actually are important only in the animal files and related decoration on objects in other materials.
39. Williams 1984, pp. 40-45.
40. Nordström 1972, pl. 44:A IX d; Baumgartel 1947, pp. 101-02. The bowl found in Naqada 1401 has a sharply inverted rim.
41. Nordström 1972, pl. 44:A IX d 3 and 4.
42. Nordström 1972, pp. 66-68.
43. This was done by adding a large roll of clay and paddling it into shape.
44. Although few bowls were published from the royal tombs at Abydos and the groups that were made with them, bowls of most types found here are dated to both First Dynasty and late Predynastic (Petrie 1953b, all Late, no. 14, a-e, includes A here; B-C, *Corpus* 20; E, *Corpus* 7; F-H, *Corpus* 17-18; I, *Corpus* 14 a; J-M are 16 and 33). Many of these are assigned dates in the latest Predynastic to Dynasty I (S.D. 78-81), but they also appear in earlier corpora (Petrie 1921, Late, nos. 7-10).
45. See below, chapter 4, pp. 152-55.
46. Cylinder jars from the royal tombs of Dynasty O and I and ancillary groups have only simple lines below the rim or they are plain. Jars with wavy bands are all dated by Petrie (1953b) to the time before Aḥa (pl. VIII, S.D. 77-78). More recent analysis by Kaiser showed that cylinder jars with wavy bands were associated with the earlier *serekh* group, earlier than Scorpion (Kaiser 1964, fig. 1) or Naqada III A 2. The type with red lattice painting occurs in the tomb of Ka at Abydos (Petrie 1902, p. 3), its latest clearly datable appearance.
47. Although bottles of this type (95 R) were dated to early Dynasty I in Cemetery M at Abydos (M 13 no. 65, Petrie 1902, XXXVIII, no. 65), no vessels of this kind were found in any First Dynasty royal or sacrifice burial. It should, therefore, be earlier (Petrie 1953b, Late, 64).
48. Petrie 1953b, Late, 86 o 5 (S.D. 78).
49. At Tarkhan, spouted jars with both high and low bodies that resembled this example were dated S.D. 78 (Dyn. O) and 77 (Naqada IIIa), respectively (Petrie 1921, Late, ca. 71; earlier types are shown in Petrie 1921, Fancy, 58). Since these do

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not occur in royal or ancillary burials of Dynasty I, this should be considered approximately correct, but limited to late Predynastic; a tall spouted jar is shown on the Narmer palette, but it could be metal (Petrie 1953a, pls. J–K). Although the shape of the original vessel is unknown the hippopotamus spout from L 11 belongs to the Prehistoric Fancy Group (Petrie 1921, Fancy, 67, 69).

50. No multiple-bulge jars were cited in the Protodynastic Corpus (Petrie 1953b) or in any group associated with First Dynasty royal tombs or ancillary burials. Petrie dated it rather earlier in his Predynastic sequence than indicated by Cemetery L (Petrie 1921, *Corpus*, Fancy, 51–52).

51. See Petrie 1953b, *Corpus*, pl. VII. The shapes were dated to S.D. 78–84, but the vessels were much larger and were otherwise different. The shape is derived from *Prehistoric Corpus* shapes in the Late, 50–51 range.

52. This was dated to III a 2 by Kaiser (1957, L 45).

53. The tall tapered jar was popular in late Predynastic times (Kaiser 1957, III a 2–b, L 36 a; Petrie 1921, Late, 36 a; 1953b, 60 d). However, no precise parallels were found in the royal tombs or burials associated with them. The most similar is a larger jar with an almost horizontal shoulder (Emery 1949, p. 150, B 4; 1954, pl. 74:B 4).

54. This very large jar is not precisely the same as counterparts that occur in the royal tombs or burials associated with them, though numerous similar types are recorded from burials given sequence dates in that period (Petrie 1953b, *Corpus* 81–82). However, the closest parallels (Emery 1954, fig. 12:3, 5, 6; Emery 1949, p. 149, B 2 and B 3) are much smaller and not precisely similar.

55. The progressive change in this tall storage jar in which the shape becomes more tapered and the bands are simplified, reduced, and finally almost disappear has been chronicled by Petrie (1902, p. 6) and in more detail by Kaiser (1964, fig. 1). With its ovoid shape and three well-indented bands, these four vessels clearly belong at the beginning of the series.

56. No oval profile churn-like jar of this type has been noted in the Protodynastic corpora or the First Dynasty contexts, but the form has been assigned to the *Prehistoric Corpus*, with other lentoid shapes (Petrie 1921, Fancy, 34 b).

57. Although Nordström's classification allowed for no special group of Egyptian pottery in Nubia with chaff added as temper (1972, pp. 50, 54–57), he related the dung-tempered fabric II B (p. 52) to the organic-tempered fabrics of Egypt such as Mond and Myers' "Chaff ware." However, the "Chaff ware" of which this is a part is filled with other debris as well and represents something entirely different from the A-Group material.

58. No strainer jars were found in the dated First Dynasty contexts, royal tombs, and associated burials, but they have been noted just before (Petrie 1953b, *Corpus* 92 L, S.D. 78).

59. Stands with incised decoration of this type are absent from the royal tombs and related burials. They have been given various dates (72–80) that extend into the First Dynasty (Petrie 1953b, *Corpus* 100; 1921, *Corpus*, Late, 84–85); the best examples, however, came from the temenos area at Abydos, mostly ending ca. S.D. 78. The pedestal platters have been called "S.D. 72–80" (Petrie 1953b, 100 T–Y; Petrie 1921, Late, 86).

60. Baumgartel 1947, pl. XII:5.

61. For various representations see Capart 1904, pp. 182–83, fig. 135.

62. Quibell and Green 1902, pl. LXII and p. 49. The end of the tradition is shown by the polished red lion (Quibell 1900, pl. XLIV).

63. The clay, temper, and firing here very closely resemble Egyptian pots of the same size, though the walls are thinner.

64. The vessels illustrated by Amiran (1970, pl. 13:11) are EB I B, but they are painted and not from the coast. Jugs with bent handles (simplified bilobate handles?) were found at Arad later on taller EB II examples (Amiran et al. 1978, pls. 14, 22, 23). More precise parallels are found on the coast at Azor where they are called "Proto-Urban" (Ben Tor 1975). Double stranded handles occur on round-bottomed tankards and spouted jugs (pls. 8, 15c, and 18). The arrangement of handles seen on the Qustul jugs is found on a jug of very similar shape (pl. 9, fig. 6:19). A ripple-flake knife connects this tomb with the Naqada II–E.III (fig. 13:15, pl. 21) and copper weapons, especially a javelin head with two rivet holes side by side, connect the tomb closely with the period of Qustul (fig. 12, especially no. 5; see below, p. 128). The location of the site on the coast and its repeated Egyptian connections are instructive.

65. See *OINE* IV (forthcoming).

66. Compare Pan Grave bowls in Lower Nubia with those of the Sudanese Archaic. (See Bietak 1968, pl. 16; and Arkell 1953, pl. 41).

67. Reisner 1923, vols. 5–6, p. 335, fig. 227. Note also the close similarity of the horizontally ribbed vessels (p. 378, fig. 260).

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THE OBJECTS

OBJECTS as well as pottery could be separated according to different traditions. Three different traditions of preference and manufacturing were A-Group, Egyptian, and Sudanese. In most cases entire classes of objects can be assigned to one of these traditions. However, some kinds of objects were made in more than one tradition and some, such as beads, cannot be identified as Egyptian or A-Group.¹ It is known, however, that certain shell objects, made locally, have prototypes in the Sudanese Neolithic, and developed special shapes in A-Group, but were occasionally exported to Egypt. In addition, other types of objects may have an origin other than local that we cannot yet discover, but without evidence of origin elsewhere objects not of Egyptian or Sudanese origin are treated as A-Group.

The tombs were often plundered soon after the burials were made; the contents burned, objects of value removed, and others destroyed as much as possible. For this reason, little jewelry or other valuables remained. Even though only a small proportion of the original wealth remained, the amount and variety of objects was many times greater than that found elsewhere in A-Group. For example, gold objects, extremely rare in unplundered A-Group tombs, were found in three of the great tombs and one smaller grave.

A. THE A-GROUP OBJECTS

Although many objects in A-Group Nubia were imported from Egypt, a surprising variety of objects of equally surprising quality was made locally. A few were even exported to Egypt.

INCENSE BURNERS (*tables 23–26, pls. 26–38*)

The most intriguing kind of A-Group object is usually called a censer or incense burner; since it was stationary it is here designated as an incense burner. About nine have been published from other sites² and thirty or more were found at Qustul in whole or fragmentary condition, all but two in Cemetery L.

A-Group incense burners are round solid stone objects with oval truncated-conical or cylindrical profiles, varying in size from 8 to 9 cm in height by 10 to 14 in diameter, although they are occasionally slightly larger. Each has a depression in the top, either a simple concavity or an actual flat-bottomed depression, about 5 mm deep with a well-defined rim about 1.2 to 2 cm wide. Generally, part or all of the depression and sometimes the rim and side are blackened; several are deeply cracked toward the center, indicating that smoky fires of fairly considerable intensity were frequently set there. In addition, many of the tops are stained with red that surrounds the black and can occasionally be seen through it. It would appear that a reddish-brown substance was ground or crushed on the top and then burned in a heap in the center, giving off a good deal of smoke. The designation, incense burner, is entirely appropriate.

Although four incense burners in the present material were made of Nubian sandstone and two

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Table 23—Typology and Register of Incense Burners

A. Oval section with concave depression in the top				
W 19	23875	Sandstone*		
S 4	21254			
B. Oval section, depression, a well-defined shelf with straight sides				
L 14—5	23684	Sandstone	pls. 26a, 35b	
L unknown	1 fragment	Calcareous		
L unknown	2 fragments	Clay minerals		
C. Bulged-cylindrical profile				
L 10—2	23717	Sandstone	pls. 32a, 35a	
L 11—23	23706		pls. 30, 36b	
L 24—21	23892	Sandstone	pls. 26b, 35d	
D. Bowl-like outer profile, with broad flat base, curving sides, rib outside rim, flat angled rim with incised decoration, interior shelf well-defined				
L 19—30	23705		pl. 37b	
E. Tapered cylinder				
1. Top concave				
L 19—30	23705	Grooved base	pl. 27c	
L 11—25	24058	Crossed base	pls. 33, 37a	
2. Rounded edges, burning surface directly depressed				
L 1—1	23675		pls. 31, 36e	
L 11—18	23719	Grooved base, decorated	pls. 32b, 36a	
L 22—11	24060	Decorated		
L 22—19	23708		pls. 26c, 35e	
3. Top beveled at angle or flat				
L 2—34	24073		pls. 27b, 35f	
L 2—33	24072		pls. 29, 36c	
L 9—12	fragment			
L 24—49	24074		pls. 27a, 35i	
L 24—1	24069	Qustul incense burner	pls. 34, 38	
L 24—33	23728		pls. 26e, 35h	
L 30—2	23709		pls. 26d, 35g	
F. Same shape as E with narrow outer rim, inner rim or shelf, deep bowl-like interior, exterior deliberately stained black, with raised rope band				
L 16—7	23704	Pinkish, calcareous	pls. 26f, 35c	
G. Chips of unknown or uncertain shape, or discarded				
L 24—57	possible fragments from the Qustul incense burner			
L 22—28	1 fragment			
L Cem.	4 fragments		pl. 27d—e	
L 9—6	discarded			
L 19—18	discarded, decorated			
L 19—48	unknown location			

*All of the incense burners are of clay minerals unless otherwise indicated.

contained enough calcareous material to give a carbonate reaction (these may not have been incense burners—one fragment is uncertain), most were made of an unusual material which had been identified in the past as gypsum (hydrated calcium sulphate— $\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$), probably due to its softness and low density. The appearance of the material is compact and clay-like, originally white with some darker grey flecks varying from a few to enough to darken the overall appearance slightly.³ The material is porous and sticks to the tongue, having a clayey odor when wet. Of the pieces that were burned in the fires that destroyed the tombs, some were fired pink to grey or absorbed some smoke. In one case, the material was substantially hardened. The surface is dull, earthy, and somewhat compacted; it can be scratched with the fingernail, but not easily. The specific gravity is about 2.0,⁴ though some objects are more dense. Since simple tests indicated that the material was not gypsum or limestone⁵ and the appearance, weight, and characteristics clearly pointed to its being a lighter mineral, samples were taken and submitted for analysis by X-ray diffraction and emission spectrography (table 25). In both samples, the primary radical by weight was found to be silicate, certainly present in free form (quartz) as well as in compound with magnesium oxide and aluminum oxide (kaolinite and family). The pieces are thus a mixture of minerals, somewhat indurated, mostly powdered quartz and clay.⁶ Dr. Jun Ito's diagnosis was that they were clay minerals.

Seven shapes of incense burners are distinguished of which the first two are early and the rest all date across the period covered by Cemetery L (table 23).

Many of the incense burners found at Qustul had been decorated and this decoration includes some of the most important representations from the Nile Valley. The decoration was commonly incised or scratched in the yielding but compact surface of the clay incense burners, but only rarely the sandstone. Sometimes decoration was put on the upper rim or the base, but most often it is on the side. In some cases from other sites, incense burners were painted, although none here have recognizable painted decoration. The decoration on incense burners from other sites is simple, but, apart from a horizontal groove on OIM 24022, only one object, OIM 23719 from L 11, was decorated simply, with V-shaped incisions. The designs on the other decorated incense burners are probably representational. Most often, these designs are scratched and relatively difficult to recover, since the intentional designs are partly obscured by accidental scratches and intentional destruction, but generally enough is preserved to make it possible to recover all or most of the decoration. The prototype for the most common design is the Qustul incense burner itself. From the first, it was recognized as being decorated with the well-known palace facade and three high-ended vessels known as pharaonic sacred barks (table 24). The figures were carved as recessed silhouettes, a style commonly used in rock drawing and sometimes inappropriately termed sunken relief. The figures may have been intended for filling with paste but there was no evidence that any pigments were applied in the carving.

A second example, OIM 24058 from L 11, has the same basic composition, but only lightly incised with simple lines. Using these two compositions and more crudely incised palace facades found on pots in Egypt as prototypes, it was possible to identify still more cursive incised patterns as palace facades and barks. For example, OIM 24060 from L 22 has very simplified V-shaped high-sterned barks with two tufts of material trailing from the sterns, features often shown on rock-drawn barks; one was reduced to a U-shape. It may even be that the double V-like incisions on other incense burners were intended to be barks.

Although decoration unrelated to the bark and/or palace facade designs is unusual, one incense burner from L 11 has a zigzag line and another from L 2 is decorated with alternating hatched triangles. More details and the significance of the representations are discussed in chapter 4 (Epigraphic and Artistic Evidence) and chapter 5 (Conclusion).

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Table 24—Clearly Associated Palace Facades and High-Ended Barks on Incense Burners

A. Clearly associated palace facades and barks			
L 24—1	24069	Qustul incense burner	pls. 34, 38
L 11—25	24058	Archaic Horus incense burner	pls. 33, 37a
L 10—2	23717	L 10 incense burner	pls. 32a, 35a
B. Palace facades, possibly with barks			
L 1—1	23675	One palace facade, possibly barks (lines nearly obliterated)	
L 22—19	23708	Extremely faint, doubtful (palace facade, two barks, obliterated group)	
C. Palace facade alone			
L 11—23	23706		
D. Barks alone			
L 2—33	24072	Possible	
L 22—11	24060		pls. 28, 36d
E. V-shaped groups, possibly barks			
L 19—30	23705	On the rim	
L 24—49	24074	Extends onto rim	
L 9—12	fragment	Extends onto rim	
L, no provenience		Open U-shaped	

Table 25—Spectrographic Analysis of Two Incense Burners

	<i>L 22—fragment</i>	<i>L 24—24074</i>
SiO ₂	67.80 wt%	83.50 wt%
TiO ₂	0.32	0.20
Al ₂ O ₃	6.25	3.88
Fe ₂ O ₃	3.11	1.38
FeO	0.15	0.30
MnO	0.02	0.01
MgO	7.81	2.98
CaO	0.16	0.84
Na ₂ O	0.28	1.35
K ₂ O	0.54	0.33
P ₂ O ₅	~0.03	~0.01
H ₂ O(+)1150°C	7.61	3.64
H ₂ O(−)1150°C	5.96	1.29
Total	100.04	99.71
ZnO	~0.02	~0.03 (not confirmed by emission spectrographic analysis)

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Table 26—Chemical Tests for Carbonate in Incense Burners*

Unknown, no. 1		Effervescent—carbonate
Unknown, no. 2		0
23719	L 11—18	0
24060	L 22—11	0
23706	L 11—23	0
23708	L 22—19	0 especially porous; absorbed liquid instantly
24072	L 2—33	0
23728	L 24—33	0
23875	W 19	Sandstone (too porous to test)
23684	L 14—5	Sandstone (too porous to test)
23704	L 16—7	Effervescent—carbonate (sandy pink stone)
24074	L 9—12 sample (fits 24074)	0
23705	L 19—30	0
24074	L 24—49	0
—	L 22—28	0
24058	L 11—25	0
23892	L 24—21	Effervescent—carbonate
24073	L 2—34	0
23717	L 10—2	0 (Nubian sandstone)
23675	L 1—1	0
23709	L 30—2	0
24069	L 24—1	0
Stela	C-Group	Effervescent—on powder

*N.B. Gypsum is readily soluble in dilute HCl. No dissolution was observed on the pieces marked "0."

The following trace elements were detected by the emission spectrographic analysis, but not enough to run quantitative determination (in both samples).

Ba, Sr, Pb, Zr, V, Ga, Sn, Cr, Ni, Co, Cu	0.001–0.000X
Diagnosis:	mixture of several clay minerals

MORTARS AND PESTLES (*tables 27, 28, pls. 39–43*)

Mortars and the associated pestles are not wholly different from those found at other A-Group sites, but many are of higher quality or have unusual features. At Qustul, they were found in the royal cemetery and in a wealthy tomb nearby, V 67; only two simpler A-Group shafts, in Cemeteries W and S, contained mortars. Almost all of the mortars from Cemetery L are of quartzite, but one is of quartz; one small round object of sandstone is probably a palette. They range in size from about 20 to 35 cm in length by about 12 to 23 in width by 3.5 to 6 in thickness.

In a few cases, the mortars are simply oblong pieces of quartzite with one concave surface, the other convex, and those from V, S, and W have this shape as does one from Cemetery L. The fine quartz

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mortar from Cemetery L is oval. All of the other mortars are nearly rectangular with curved edges and rounded corners. The curvature of the edges varies from nearly straight to so curved that the shape nearly resembles that of a palette. As with the oval mortars, the section is almost plano-convex in all directions, the concavity of the grinding surface less than the convexity of the bottom. The grinding surface of most mortars is simply a concave depression with a clearly defined bulging rim around the edge of the object. Sometimes the top of the rim is beveled; on the largest mortar found the beveled rim is so angular it resembles the sharper profiles of some incense burner rims. Although the undersides are all convex, one was made with four stubby feet. Two mortars from L 3 are each decorated with a large spiral carved around the entire lower surface.

Table 27—Register of Mortars

A. Oval-asymmetrical		
1. Irregular		
L 3—1	23734	Red and grey quartzite
S 2	21255	Either banded brown quartzite or hard sandstone
V 67	21882	Brown quartzite
2. Symmetrical		
L 24—28	23711	White quartz—very regular, polished smooth upper surface
B. Shape changes, curved at corners with evenly curved ends and sides		
L 2—16	24868	Reddish quartzite
L 3—2	23735	Greyish-white quartzite, spiral carved on underside
L 3—3	23736	Dark red quartzite, spiral carved on underside
L 10—3	23725 A	Brown quartzite
L 11—2	—	Reddish quartzite, fragments
L 17—18a	23715 A	Greyish-cream quartz (trace of yellowish stain on associated pestle)
L 17—19a	23716 A	Same (trace of red stain on associated pestle)
W 19	23874	Grey quartz, banded
C. Change in curve at the side as well as the "corners," i.e., palette-shaped or rhomboid		
L 2—25	23712	Reddish-quartzite— <i>four feet</i>
L 24—6	23724	Reddish-quartzite— <i>largest mortar</i> , with raised rim
D. Discarded or uncertain shape		
L 4—1		
L 5—2		

Most of the mortars were so smoothed that evidence of manufacturing technique was obliterated. However, the mortar with legs could not be finished at the angles between the legs and the body, and the pitted surface in these areas indicated that these objects were pecked into shape using another lump of hard stone. After they were shaped, the mortars were ground smooth, normally smoothed most carefully on the upper surface, but the white quartz mortar, a decorative piece, was polished all over.

The group of mortars and pestles surpasses the largest group previously known in both quality and quantity.⁷ Four of these mortars have special features, such as decoration. The decorated mortars are among the earliest examples of carving quartzite for decorative purpose, for it is one of the hardest stones.

When undisturbed, mortars tended to be found with one pestle each; twenty of these were found at Qustul, eighteen in Cemetery L. Most pestles are quartz, though one is of quartzite and two related objects are of pumice(?) and diorite. The stones were worked into a bipolar shape, ca. 9 to 18 cm in length by 4 to 9.5 cm in transverse section. Originally they were almost circular in section but sides became almost faceted or flattened with use.

Few of the pestles and mortars showed signs of heavy long-term use, but the ends of the pestles and the centers of the mortars were somewhat fractured indicating that a fairly hard substance was sometimes broken up. A few of the mortars and pestles show signs of less demanding use; they are stained with red and yellowish pigment. Apparently the lump or bar of pigment⁸ was placed in the center of the surface and crushed with the end of the pestle; the side was then used to grind it to powder.

Table 28—Register of Pestles

L 22—8-10, 12, 13, 23	23722 A-F	Six large oblong pestles
	C	Light material, pumice(?)
	E	Large red stain on grinding surface
L 3—4-7	23737 A-D	Four pestles, three small
	B	Large example, substantial staining on side and one end, yellow ochre
	A	Traces of yellow ochre—from contact with B(?)
L 10—4	23725 B	With mortar; brown-yellow stain
L 11—24	23783 A-B	Two pestles
	B	Traces of yellow ochre
L 17—18b	23715 B	With mortar
L 17—19b	23716 B	With mortar
L 19—5, 7, 8	23273 A-C	Two are large
	C	Pink stain and encrustation on ends; same as "yellow ochre" sample from L 24
L 24—11, 12, 17, 25	23739 A-D	Large oblong pestles, B with flattened ends
L 24—56/L 30—1	23853 A-B	One white, flattened on two sides, other small, ovoid section, flat side, banded red quartzite*
V 67	21887	Grey, with mortar
W 19	23874	With mortar
L 2—15	24866 A-D	Four pestles

*Two pestles under this number are from L 24 and L 30, but the specific assignment of each is uncertain.

PALETTES (*tables 29, 30, pls. 44-48*)

Either thirty-five or thirty-six palettes were found at Qustul; their diversity of material, shape, and finish make a significant addition to our knowledge of A-Group industry. Their number is not quite as outstanding as that of other objects, for more than fifty palettes were found in the large Scandinavian concession.⁹ These figures are not surprising for the palette was a widely used object. As usual elsewhere, most of the palettes from Cemetery L are of quartz. One round example is of sandstone, and a piece of an alabaster platter or bowl was reused to make a palette. Special palettes, those given the finest finish, were made of rarer forms of quartz, "amethyst," milky quartz, and rose quartz. Like mortars, the palettes seem to have been pecked into shape, then ground smooth, an operation that

sometimes failed to remove all traces of the shaping. In most cases, a smooth but grainy finish was sufficient, but the finest small palettes in rarer stones were polished to a high gloss, making them objects of considerable beauty.

Table 29—Typology of Palettes

-
- A. Oval with asymmetrical outline and varying proportions: pecked and ground* (3 examples)
 - B. Curve-change at ends: symmetrical narrow oval
 - C. Curve-change at "corners": subrectangular with straighter ends than sides
 - 1. Medium to narrow ends
 - 2. Broad ends
 - D. Curve-change at "corners" and middle of side: rhomboid
 - 1. Narrow ends
 - 2. Broad ends
 - E. Round; one example in sandstone
 - F. Broad oval (pottery)
-

*Other types were derived from this shape and fairly closely resemble each other, the difference being in the number of times a true change was made in the direction of the ends.

The basic palette shape was derived from simple irregular flattened pieces of quartz from middle A-Group times. These earliest types comprise our type A.¹⁰

Remains of malachite pigment occur frequently on the palettes; sometimes this is a fairly thick layer. In one case, grooves about 3 mm wide in the caked residue show the method of picking it up on the brush or applicator. The grinding implements seem to have been polished pebbles found near the palettes when these were in situ. Pecked areas in the smooth or polished surfaces indicate the malachite was broken up by striking with a pebble before grinding and adding liquid to make the paste.

MICA SHEETS (*pl.* 68)

Fragments of mica were found in L 5—12, L 11—20, and L 19—50. Those from L 5 and L 19 appear to have originally been approximately triangular. The shapes from L 11 appear originally to have been parts of seated figures with limbs, et cetera, but the irregular edges of the sheets will not permit the certain identification of specific shapes.¹¹

JEWELRY

In most publications, jewelry would be divided into a number of categories based on the materials used, such as shell, ivory, stone, and metal. Since several traditions can be detected in the materials here, a simplified classification of this kind is sometimes necessary, but always misleading. Certain objects are easily attributed to one culture or another; most of the objects carved from shell are clearly A-Group. The situation with other groups of materials is more complex; although faience beads are usually assumed to be of Egyptian origin, unfinished examples were found in L 24, though some may have been imported as well. Some gold jewelry remained in the cemetery, but since other A-Group

THE OBJECTS

Table 30—Register of Palettes*

Shape	Tomb	OIM no.	Remarks	Type of pigment	
A	W 2	23850	Very irregular	Malachite	
	W 6	23854		Malachite	
	W 8	24242		Malachite traces	
	W 33	23868		Malachite traces	
B	W 2	23849	Reddish stain in center	Ochre?	
C	1	W 6		23858	
		W 11		23866	
			23869	Malachite, considerable	
		L 17—27	Four feet	Malachite	
		L 23—42e		23733e	Malachite
	2	L 24—47	Alabaster	Malachite, considerable	
D	1	W2		23847	
		W 5	23857	Malachite	
		W 10	23856	Malachite	
		W 19	Unpolished, rose quartz(?)		
				23861	
			23862	Malachite	
		W 23	23652	Malachite	
			23971	Malachite	
		L 1—3	24862		
		L 2—19	24869	Polished	Malachite, traces
		L 2—31	sample		
		L 2—18	sample	Broken; large	
		L 15—26	23687		
		L 17—1a	23673 A	(C-E, pebbles)	Malachite, considerable, caked
		L 17—1b	23673 B		
		L 22—15	23670		
		L 22—21	23677		
		L 24—13	sample		
		L 24—35	23726	Polished, rose quartz or blood-stone	Malachite
		L 2—24	23656		
		L 2—20	sample	Polished, "amethyst"	
		L 14—2	23658	Polished, "amethyst"	
		L 17—25	23661	Polished, "amethyst" (with pebbles)	
		L 23—41	23732		
		L 23—42a-c	23733		
		L 24—23a	23699 A	Polished, rose quartz	
		L 24—23b	23699 B		
	2	W 38	23876	Polished, milky quartz	Malachite, considerable
		S 2	21407 A		
			21407 B		
E	L 2—21	24844	Sandstone		
F	L 9—5		Egyptian pottery, shaped		
Unknown	L 19—47	23661	Not available for study		
	L 23—32		Uncertain		

*All palettes are quartz unless noted otherwise.

objects required considerable skill in their manufacture, we cannot assume that they or the stone beads were all imported, nor can we distinguish them on the basis of quality alone. Certainly the raw materials for both kinds of objects were available in Nubia. This ambiguity of attribution in stone and metal jewelry requires that we continue the practice of presenting these objects according to material classes, but with the attribution of shell and ivory objects to local manufacture, stone and metal to either local or Egyptian industry.

SHELL OBJECTS

Shell jewelry and tokens are the most numerous objects from Cemetery L; most of these came from a heap found in L 17 (pl. 50). This heap contained more than 4700 objects, some fragmentary, including some 1700 shell hooks, 30 bracelets, 128 earstuds, 200 beads (with one carnelian), 2600 tokens or plugs made from the shafts of shell hooks, and 30 shells, most from the sea. In addition to the cache, the tomb contained 40 large round beads, 22 *nerita* shells, 15 to 20 bored shell fragments arranged with a complete shell in a line, and a few scattered fragments of shell hooks.

SHELL HOOKS (*table 31, fig. 134a-h, pls. 51-53*)

Shell hooks were apparently only from large mollusk shells. These curved pinlike objects have tapered plano-convex shafts, a point at one end, and a bulged head at the other. The shaft of the pin is almost always evenly curved, and in a few cases, the shafts are hooked. The tapered bulge of the head is often marked by grooves on the sides and sometimes the back. Occasionally, especially in smaller examples, it is simply the thick end of the shaft. Occasionally the head is a broad flat plate like a nailhead; some smaller hooks have no definite head, and a few (fifty-three) are double pointed. A classification is given in the accompanying table 31.

Of all the great tombs, only L 28, L 29, L 1, and L 8 lacked shell hooks; of the smaller tombs, L 15 is the only important one that did not contain them. Since almost no objects were found in L 29 and L 28, we may discount the possibility that the failure of shell hooks to occur there is significant; but the lack in L 1, L 8, and L 15 may be more important. Were we to consider the unplundered pile in L 17 to be a reasonable guide to the number originally deposited in the great tombs, then Cemetery L originally contained at least 20,000 to 25,000 shell hooks.

Shell hooks have been found in Egypt, at Mostagedda, actually on the burials, placed across the bridge of the nose as though worn on the forehead.¹² Although Petrie had accumulated seven in the London collection by the time *Prehistoric Egypt* was published, and five more were mentioned from Mostagedda, there was no previous indication for the existence of large deposits as in L 17 or the additional number from other tombs. Stone objects of a simpler but rather similar shape have been found at Shaheinab in Sudan, and these were probably prototypes for the more elaborate objects from Qustul.¹³

TOKENS OR PLUGS (*figs. 134k,l, 189d, pl. 54*)

Small nearly cylindrical objects were cut from short lengths of shell hooks; a few preserve the curvature of the original object and one piece of a shell hook found in the L 17 deposit is deeply grooved as though it was in the process of being cut. Some tokens are simply a length of shaft. Most have one waist in the center, often with a rounded head at one end, and a flat base at the other; some have two waists, making a double-ended object. In some cases, there are simply two grooves near the ends of the shafts. Clearly these objects have some meaning, for the grooves and base appear to make them rather impractical as jewelry, although very similar objects were called lip plugs at Shaheinab in Sudan.

Table 31—Register of Shell Hooks

<i>Shaft</i>	<i>L 17—14a</i>	<i>L 2*</i> <i>a b c</i>	<i>L 3—8*</i>	<i>L 4—2</i>	<i>L 5*</i> <i>a b c</i>	<i>L 7—1</i>	<i>L 8—4*</i>	<i>L 11*</i> <i>a b</i>	<i>L 13—2</i>	<i>L 14—8*</i>	<i>L 19*</i> <i>a b</i>	<i>L 21—1*</i> <i>a b c</i>	<i>L 22*</i> <i>a b</i>	<i>L 23*</i>	<i>L 24*</i>	<i>L 33—2</i>
Over-semicircular	45				1 1					1*	1		1			2
Semicircular	156	2 1			1			3 1			6 1	4	1			
Less than semicircular	524	2		1	1 1	2?		3			7	6	4			
Tusklike (short)	436										2	6	1			
Shaft-hooked	4															
Unusual beads	21															
Double pointed	53											1				
Nail-headed	21											1				
Broken heads	423									1	4	1	2			
Broken points	402	? 3			2			1	13	1	15	1	2			
												1 13				
Uncertain			1				1								3	

*L 2: a, 17, 23657; b, 26; c, 13

*L 3—8: uncertain fragment

*L 5: a, 10, 23651; b, 11, 23545; c, 13

*L 11: a, 7; b, 17

*L 8—4: 23548

*L 14—8 (2 hooks, one uncertain type)

*L 19: a, 1, 15, 23701; b, 16

*L 21—1: 23659 a, b, c

*L 22: a, 1, 23697; b, 4

*L 23: pieces not available for study, but noted in register, nos. 27, 28, 34

*L 24—3: not available for study; token present

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These little tokens have been found in this material only in the large heap from L 17—14 (2642 examples), in L 24—8, and in L 33—3. Their small size and appearance, hardly distinguishable from the surrounding debris, probably accounts for their failure to occur in materials from other tombs. Tokens of this type are not known from Egypt, but they were common in Sudan at Shaheinab, and a similar object was found by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition.

STUDS (*table 32, fig. 134j, pl. 54*)

These objects are oval plates of shell with a long pointed spike curved around the back from one end. They appear to have been made from gastropod shells, the spike cut from the column formed by the axis of growth. Only four tombs here contained them; a similar object was found in Egypt at Mostagedda.¹⁴

Table 32—Occurrence of Shell Studs

L 5—9	(?)
L 6—3	1
L 7—2	2
L 14—4, 6, 7	1 each
L 17—14c	128

SHELL BRACELETS (*table 33, pl. 55f–g*)

Thirty bracelets and fragments of bracelets were found in the pile in L 17 and other tombs contained them as well, such as L 15 where ten were found on one arm of the body. These shell bracelets appear to have been made by cutting across a bivalve.¹⁵ The outside was rounded by grinding, leaving a grain-like or mottled surface. Occasionally a bracelet was decorated with simple incised lines.

Table 33—Occurrence of Shell Bracelets

L 2—11	(n/a)*
L 2—13	(n/a)* ('stone')
L 2—23	(Discarded)
L 2—36	(Discarded)
L 13—2	Sample, uncertain
L 15—10	Sample
L 15—16–23	8
L 15—24	1
L 17—14d	31

*Not available for study

IVORY BRACELETS (*table 34, figs. 64b, 123b, 132b, 134i, 141d, g, pl. 55g*)

Although less numerous than shell bracelets, ivory bracelets were found in more tombs.¹⁶ The best are fragments from a set of four found in L 16 and fragments of fifteen very narrow bracelets found together in L 17, which had been decorated with simple carving on the outer surfaces. The bracelets

from L 16 are circular with a round or oval section, up to 16 by 18 mm, and one is oval. Bracelets from other tombs are narrower, with plano-convex sections, 9 x 11 or 6 x 8 mm.

Table 34—Occurrence of Ivory Bracelets

L 2—2	(?)
L 2—10	6
L 2—12	(Discarded)
L 12—1	1
L 16—8	(?)
L 16—9	4
L 17—14e	15
L 19—36	1
L 19—19	Uncertain
L 19—46	Uncertain

SHELLS (*pl. 55a–c*)

Complete shells or fragments were found intact, or pierced and strung together to make jewelry. The L 17—14 deposit contained thirty examples, including the well-known *nerita*; twenty-two were found near the pelvis of the body (L 17—28, 24155) and large irregular shell fragments were found pierced for stringing. Five badly burned shells were found in L 2—27, a *nerita* and four cowries, and a single *nerita* came from L 19—19. Other shells were found in L 22—3 and L 23—36.

BEADS

As at other A-Group sites, including Cemetery W at Qustul, beads were not abundant in Cemetery L. Most tombs contained no beads, a circumstance we should attribute to early plundering when the strings were still intact. Although ostrich-egg beads are among the most frequently found types in the A-Group, none were found in Cemetery L.

SHELL BEADS (*table 35, figs. 64b, 87b, 134m, pls. 49c, 54, 55e*)

Seashell beads were found in two forms, flattened discoid and globular, sometimes with flattened ends, sometimes without; a few of the latter are elongated.

FAIENCE BEADS (*table 36, pl. 56s–v*)

Beads made of grooved, glazed, and fired quartz, usually called faience, occur in this material though they are not common. The largest number came from the burial chamber of L 24; however, almost all of the beads found in this tomb have no glaze, though some of them are discolored slightly with green and blue. Some irregular deformed blue-grey faience beads were found in L 1—11. This may be explained by the fact that the making of faience often involves two firings;¹⁷ alternatively, the beads could have been damaged in a fire.

CLAY BEADS

Two clay beads, a barrel (5 x 6 mm) and a cylinder (2.5 x 15 mm), were found in L 22.

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Table 35—Occurrence of Shell Beads

L 2—30	2
L 8—3a	Fragments
L 17—2	Uncertain
L 17—14g	201
L 22—3	(?) (n/a)*
L 22—16g	1
L 23—31a	Uncertain
L 33—1	1 unfinished

*Not available for study

Table 36—Occurrence of Faience Beads from L 24—8

	<i>Discoid</i>	<i>Tube</i>	<i>Globular-piriform</i>
Dark	99	20	
White	76	57	19

STONE BEADS (*table 37, pls. 56a–r, 57a–e*)

Beads of stone include feldspar, carnelian, garnet, rock crystal, and other stones. Their profiles are flattened ovals, conoid, biconical, barrel, and bilobate shapes. Pendant beads include cones and bag-shapes grooved at the string hole as well as simple bag-shapes. The three special types, bilobate beads, bag-shaped, and conical pendant beads, are interesting early examples of the tradition of bead making exemplified by the beads found in the tomb of Djer at Abydos.¹⁸

BONE BEAD

One tubular bone bead was found in L 19.

METAL BEADS (*fig. 60g, pls. 58c, 110a, c, d*)

Metal beads include small gold barrel beads found in L 17—11b, and gold tubes, one (7 x 33 mm) from L 24, two flattened bicones(?), one from L 11—8 (in Cairo) and one from L 23—31 (or L 1[?] in Cairo). The tubes are simple with a flange folded in and down at each end to help hold the shape. This construction is the same as the gold bead found by the Scandinavian expedition.¹⁹ Simple gold sheet beads from L 17 were found with a small gold fly. Three tiny gold barrels of simple sheet metal were found in L 1—11.

BONE OBJECTS (*figs. 111g, h, 190d, pl. 69a*)

The only significant object group of bone from Cemetery L is a group of boring tools and raw material from L 32, a deposit hole probably unrelated to the rest of the cemetery. One of these was a straight point with a smoothed edge, and six more had an edge that approached the point at an angle. Two bone tubes came from L 11 (nos. 29, 30), sawed off at one end, broken at the other, with the interior hollowed out. The tube was probably a haft for a copper tool which has since been removed.

Table 37—Register of Stone Beads

	<i>L</i> 24—8	<i>L</i> 5—5	<i>L</i> 8—3	<i>L</i> 15—25	<i>L</i> 11—8, 11	<i>L</i> 17—11	<i>L</i> 19—19	<i>L</i> 22—16*	<i>L</i> 23—31	<i>L</i> 1—11
Discoid	91 gar.**									
size 1	290 car.		1 car.		1 gar.	313 gar.	4 car.		1 car.	55 feldspar***
	2 cr.					736 car.				
size 2	+ X car.		1 car.		6 car.		1 car.			
Drop	7 car.				10 car.		1 car.	2 car.?		
Biconical	9 unc.				2 car.					
Barrel					1 car.	5 car.	1 car.		1 car.	
Tubular	2 car.									
Bilobate					2 car.					
Square	1 wh.									
		1 wh.								
		1 bk.								
Pendants										
Grooved cone						2 car.				
Bag-shaped				1 qu./	4 cr.	3 cr.				4 resin
				ag.		unc. resin				
Globular,										
grooved										
shank						3 car.				
	1 qu.,									
	sm. r.									
	+ wh.									
Unfinished	3 car.									
balls	1 am.									
	1 bk.									
	1 m. st.?									
Fragments	2 unc.									
	pendants									
	+ others									

**L* 22—16 not available

**Abbreviations: ag. = agate, bl. = black, car. = carnelian, cr. = crystal, gar. = garnet, m. = mottled stone, qu. = quartz, sm. = small, sm. r. = small red, st. = stone, unc. = uncertain, wh. = white

***Almost tubular section; the pendants were modeled out of incense-resin (see Williams 1984, table 40, p. 83 for sizes of discoid beads).

HORN COMB (*fig. 64c*)

A double comb of horn was found in L 2—14. The laminae were exfoliated at one end, but it was still possible to determine that the material had been pressed flat as part of the manufacturing process, probably after soaking in water. The fragment is 3.7 x 3.6 cm, but half or more of the length is broken away, and all of the teeth. The bases of eighteen teeth are preserved in 2.3 mm of one edge; they are separated by rectangular grooves less than .5 mm wide at the bottom. The center of the comb projects on both sides 9 mm, with slightly concave notches on each edge. Sometime before deposition all of the teeth on one side were removed, probably after some were damaged.

STONE TOOL (*pl. 62c, d*)

Only one chipped stone tool was found in Cemetery L, a flint blade from L 23—48. A quartz/amethyst polished palette from L 19—14 was reshaped as a scraper by chipping.

WOODEN OBJECTS (*pl. 59*)

One fragment of wood from L 10—8 was carved with veins and must have come from a furniture leg; it is probably the front leg of a bovine, though most of the original contours were destroyed by fire that charred the piece. Other fragments from L 10—8 and a group of fragments from L 5—8 had pieces that were carved on one edge with hatching; those from L 5 had alternating hatched triangles. The nature of the original furniture object cannot be determined. Other carved wood fragments were found in L 2—29 and 37, and remains of wood were found in the copper finial from L 24—30. The furniture objects were most probably beds; the carved rims probably came from trays.

PIGMENTS

Fragments of malachite were found in several tombs of Cemetery L (and Cemetery W); residue frequently occurred on the palettes. In L 24, find no. 51 (*pl. 69b*) consisted of two rectangular bars of ochre (ochreous clay?) which matched in color that sometimes found on the ends of large pestles. A large irregular piece of this material was found in L 10—10 with remains of leather (bag?) adhering to it.

B. THE EGYPTIAN OBJECTS

Most objects from Cemetery L that could not be attributed to the A-Group had been imported from Egypt. Except for stone vessels they were not common, but such objects that did remain were not ordinary objects or types of objects that occur in ordinary tombs of the Naqada period in Egypt.

STONE VESSELS (*table 38, figs. 49–53, pls. 70–75*)

Apart from pottery, stone vessels are the most numerous Egyptian imports in the cemetery. Although stone vessels are rare in the A-Group (only two are published from the Scandinavian concession for example) over a hundred were found in Cemetery L including complete vessels and small fragments. Individual objects were distinguished by differences in the shapes and in the texture of the stone. A few are as complete as when they were put in the tomb, although even some of these may sometimes have been displaced in the plundering. Although some are restorable, most are fragments too small to reconstruct the entire original vessel. In most cases, enough information remained to determine the shape. As in Egypt, almost all vessels are calcite or Egyptian alabaster; two are breccia, one is diorite, one is a fine hard black stone, and a few are slate.

Table 38—Register of Stone Vessels

BOWLS

A.	Convex, shallow with a simple edge-rim (some with flat base)	fig. 49b, d ²⁰
	L 5 I (relatively deep but small)	
	L 11 H, M	
	L 19 F, I	
	L 31 A?	
	W. of L 31 B (slate), D	
B.	Flat bottom, interior simple concavity, very low angled side	fig. 49a, c ²¹
	L 11 B	
	L 15 D	
C.	Convex, shallow, with inverted rim	fig. 49e ²²
	L 5 F	
	W. of L 31 C	
D1.	Small, flat base, curved or curved-tapered side, base about equal to or less than height	fig. 49f, g ²³
	L 15 B, C	
	L 17 F?, H	
D2.	Same, with concave base	fig. 49h ²⁴
	L 1 A	
E.	Broad flat base, angled side (base double or more than the side)	fig. 49i ²⁵
	L 19 E	
F.	Same, with curved side	fig. 49j ²⁶
	L 1 C	
G.	Narrow flat base, angled side, side taller than breadth of base	fig. 49k, l ²⁷
	L 2 N, P, W, Z	
	L 5 G	
	L 9 C	
	L 19 D, H?	
H.	Same, with side curving slightly inward at the top	fig. 50a, b ²⁸
	L 2 AH	
	L 9 A?, D	
I.	Same, side slightly curved above midpoint, tapered below ²⁹	
	L 11 Q?	
J.	Curved inward at rim and beveled	fig. 50c ³⁰
	L 4 A	
K1.	Flat bottom, curved side, low open	fig. 50d
	L 2 S, AB, AL	
	L 4 D	
	L 19 G	
	L 22 C	
K2.	Same, medium height	
	L 2 AC, AF, AG	
	L 24 C	
L.	Unusual shapes	figs. 50e, 53i
	L 2 E (theriomorph), X (flat side, boat?)	
	L 5 D (theriomorph?)	

Table 38—Continued

Uncertain shape, angled side		
	L 1 D (diorite)	
	L 22 E	
Uncertain shape		
	L 2 T	
	L 4 B, C, E (breccia)	
	L 30 B (black stone)	
	W. of L 31 F, G	
JARS		
M.	Convex body, concave neck, everted rim, pierced wavy handles on body	fig. 51a ³¹
	L 11 D	
N.	Convex-tapered body, short neck, everted rim, long pierced wavy handles on the shoulder	fig. 51b ³²
	L 2 R? (base only)	
	L 13 A	
O.	Tall, nearly cylindrical, small concavity for neck, wavy handles, everted rim	fig. 51c ³³
	L 11 R?	
	L 23 A	
P.	Same, with wavy band	fig. 51e ³⁴
	L 1 B	
	L 23 B	
Q.	Same, wider with even curve to flattened-rib rim	fig. 51d
	L 24 A	
R.	Shorter, tapered-convex body, wavy band, everted rim	fig. 52a ³⁵
	L 5 A (four holes for lid or suspension)	
	L 11 J	
S.	Cylindrical with rib rim, rounded edge at base, wavy line	fig. 52b ³⁶
	L 2 J, Q (slate), U, Y	
	L 5 C?, E	
	L 9 E	
	L 11 A	
	L 17 A (rim only)	
	L 22 A	
	L 30 A	
T.	Same, wavy line almost rectangular	fig. 52c
	L 5 B	
U1.	Same, rope-band below the rim, deeply incised	fig. 52d ³⁷
	L 2 O?	
U2.	Same, shallow, small, incised band	
	L 2 AJ	
	L 11 F (band scratched)	
	W. of L 31 A	
V.	Same, splayed profile, sharp corner at base	fig. 52f ³⁸
	L 19 C	

Table 38—Continued

W.	Cylindrical with double hatched band below the rim L 2 AA, AD L 19 A	fig. 52g
X.	Same, crosshatched double bands L 11 C	fig. 52e
Y.	No band L 2 G, AK (scorpion, slate) L 11 K, L	
	Uncertain cylindrical jars L 2 B, C, D, F, H, I, K, L, M, AE, AI L 11 E, G, N, O, P, S L 17 C, D, E L 30 C, D	
Z.	Convex jar with rib-rim and two pierced lugs on the shoulder 1. Small L 15 E L 17 G L 22 B 2. Large L 23 C (tall with narrow mouth), D (wide mouth)	fig. 53a, e, f ³⁹
AA.	Double vessel, join between pierced L 15 A	fig. 53b
AB.	Small tapered-convex jar, short neck, everted rim L 9 B L 10 A	fig. 53c ⁴⁰
AC.	Medium sized tapered-convex jar with hole-mouth L 2 A	fig. 53d ⁴¹
AD.	Jar with raised rope-net (more complex than Abydos examples) L 2 V L 11 I	fig. 53j ⁴²
AE.	Globular or squat-necked jar with everted rim L 17 B	fig. 53g ⁴³
AF.	Convex-tapered(?) jar with triangular rim L 19 B	fig. 53h
	Uncertain L 24 B L 29 A (reported but not available for study) L 30 E, F	

Largely because of the masses of stone vessels found in the royal cemeteries of Abydos and Saqqara, our knowledge of their variety is probably nearly complete beginning with Aha, and an elaborate classification of the material has been made. However, the collections of such vessels from the preceding Naqada III is very much smaller, and the appearance of many vessels in existing collections from the First Dynasty hardly excludes them from the preceding period. Thus, many of the vessels in

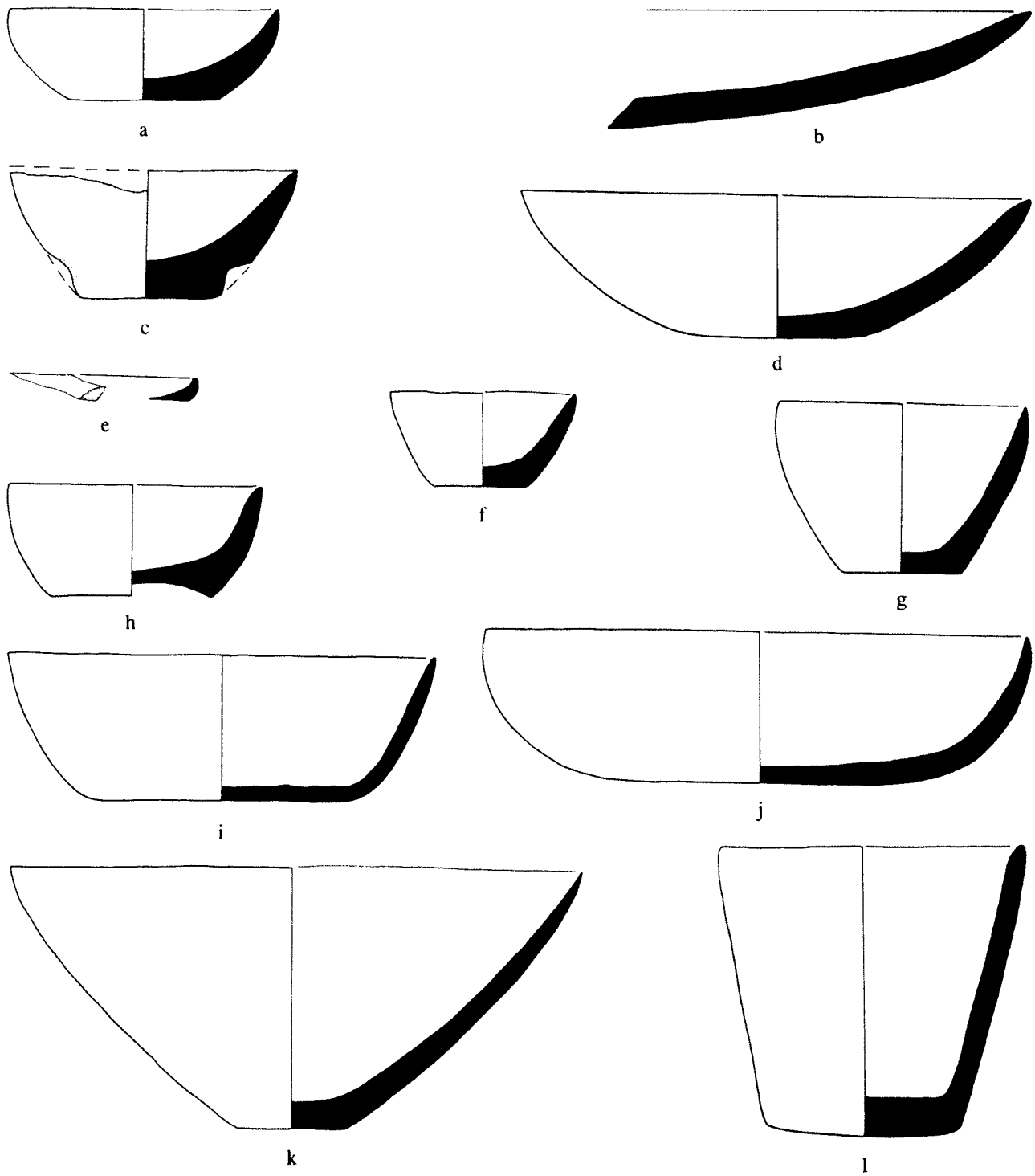


Figure 49. Shapes A–C, D1, D2, and E–G, stone vessels: (a) B, L 15, D; (b) A, L 11, H; (c) B, L 11, B; (d) A, L 19, F; (e) C, L 5, F; (f) D1, L 17, H; (g) D1, L 15, C; (h) D2, L 1, A; (i) E, L 19, E; (j) F, L 1, C; (k) G, L 2, W; (l) G, L 5, G. Scale 2:5.

Cemetery L also occurred in First Dynasty Egypt, though types usually considered early tended to occur in the earlier tombs of L, despite the disturbance in the cemetery. For example, jars with wavy bands and handles (shapes M–T) tend to occur in later tombs as well as most of the rope decorated vessels (L 2 and L 5). Only one cylinder jar with rope band and splayed base occurred in the cemetery, in L 19. In any case the jars differ from those of early First Dynasty Egypt. There, cylinder jars with splayed bases were already numerous and rope-band decoration was predominant over the wavy, the reverse of the situation in Cemetery L. Bowls with flat bases and upcurved sides resemble examples from the tomb of Aḥa at Saqqara. The development of this bowl, like the cylinder jar, must be earlier.

FAIENCE VESSELS (*pls. 60a–c, 61a–b*)

Although faience vessels occur in late Predynastic and First Dynasty Egypt, they are not common.⁴⁴ One complete vessel and parts of two others were found in Cemetery L. The earliest, from L 22–7, is part of a straight-sided jar with interior ledge rim, with a suspension hole pierced through the wall of the vessel. On the exterior is a crisscross lattice pattern of incised lines. The other vessels, from L 5–4 and L 2–28, are of more familiar types. These are simple bulged jars with ribbing that consists of a single spiral deeply engraved on the body and a band at the rim that has an incised zigzag. A groove or ledge in the rim has holes for suspension drilled into the interior.

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The few metal objects were not common types elsewhere. A small but rather thick triangular spearhead from L 24–34 has a distinct ridge down the center of the blade and this blade curves to a flat rectangular tang with two rivet holes (*pls. 64b, 65b*).⁴⁵ Also, from L 24–30 came a papyriform finial, apparently from a bed (*pls. 64a, 65c*). An oval dish-like object with angled ribbed sides may be a sheath for the hoof of a bull-leg from the same object (L 24–46, *pls. 64d, 65d*).⁴⁶ Parts of a shallow dish were found under some pottery vessels in L 15–11 (*pls. 64e, 65e*). A well-made awl came from L 17 (no. 12, *pl. 65h*) as did a thin gold bracelet (no. 13, *pl. 65j*) and copper rings (no. 24, *pl. 65f*); a needle or awl was found in L 19–34 (*pl. 65i*).⁴⁷

IVORY (*pls. 60d–i, 62a, b, 63*)

The fragments remaining of ivory objects are quite varied. Partly burned fragments of a set of gaming sticks, rectangular plates, and tapered dowels were found in L 24–38. Twenty-one dowel ends exist, but no complete piece could be restored. It remains possible that they were arrow points. The dowels were about 4 to 7 mm thick (tapered). The restorable or complete plaques are in three sizes, about 3, 4, or 5 cm long by 13 to 15 mm wide by about 2.5 to 3 mm thick. At least four small plaques, one medium, and four large ones could be distinguished, with the ends of four more present and several more pieces that did not fit the others.⁴⁸ Tomb L 19 contained remains of vessels, a pin, box, casket, and jewelry. Fragments of three vessels were found, one a bulged tapered cylinder with a hole for suspension (no. 42), one a miniature cylinder jar with a zigzag in relief just below the rim (no. 40), and one a bulged or globular vessel that still shows the marks of the chisel inside (no. 41).⁴⁹ A ribbed dowel (no. 39) was the end of a long pin.⁵⁰ A small rectangular fragment of box inlay with a zigzag in raised relief (no. 43) may have been part of a palace facade inlay of the type found at Abydos.⁵¹ Three or more fragments representing a bull's legs come from a casket (no. 38) and indicate the presence of at least one object of this type.⁵² L 19 also contained two fragments of burned ivory (no. 35) and other uncertain fragments (no. 44), possibly of an ivory bracelet (no. 36). The only other ivory of special interest is a fragment of a cylindrical jar from L 8 which was found with some unidentified fragments

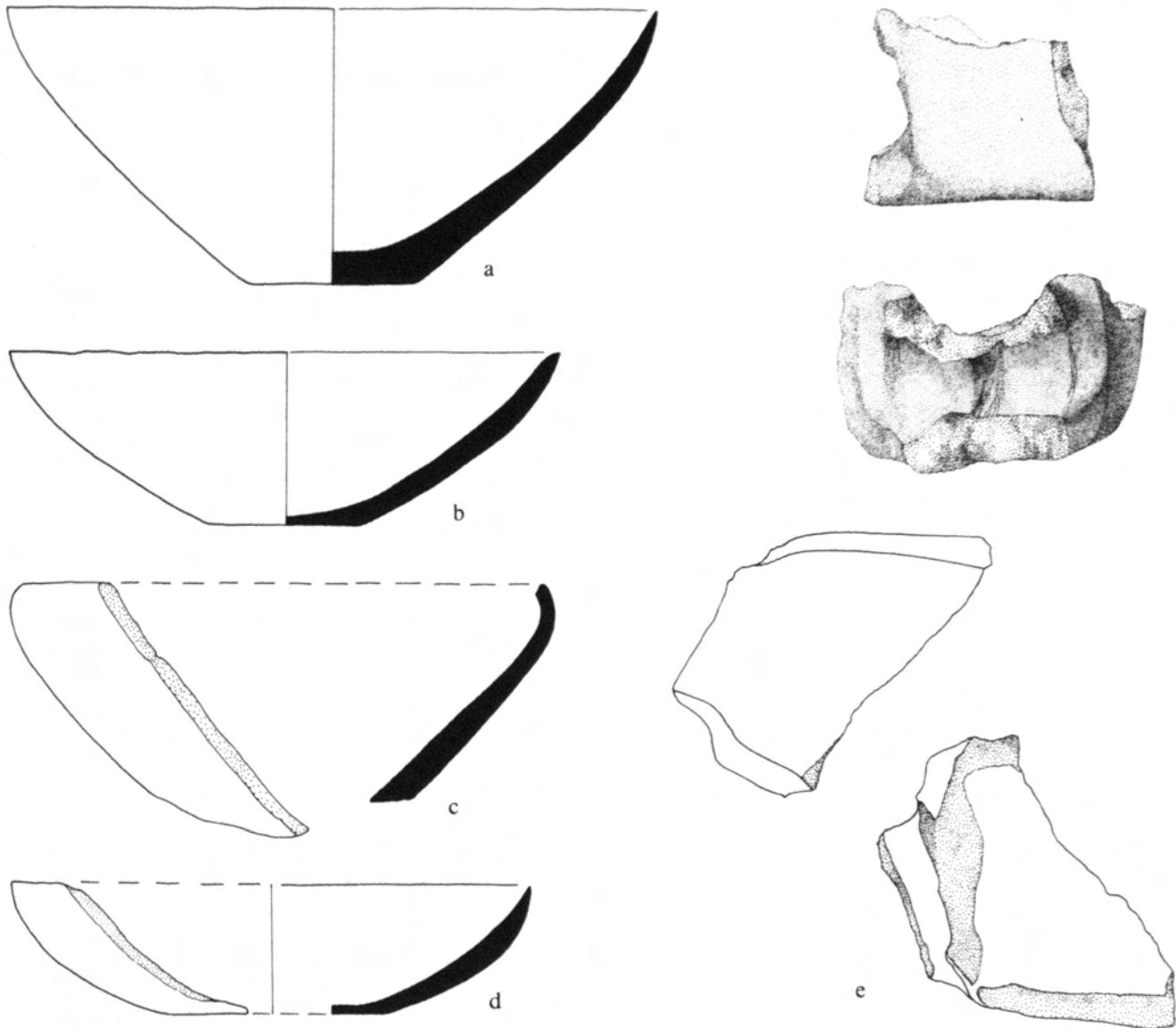


Figure 50. Shapes H, J, K1, and L, stone vessels: (a) H, L 2, AH; (b) H, L 9, D; (c) J, L 4, A; (d) K1, L 2, S; (e) L, theriomorph, L 2, E. Scale 2:5.

(no. 5). The jar was pierced for hanging and is decorated below the rim with horizontal bands, one of crosshatching.

L 17 contained a spoon and two pointed objects (no. 17, fig. 133g, pls. 62a–b, 63a). With its small bowl and curved handle just below, the spoon resembles late prehistoric examples such as one from Tarkhan.⁵³ The smaller of the ivory shafts was narrow enough to have been an arrowhead, but the larger is both too narrow to have been part of a spearhead⁵⁴ and too wide to have been an arrowhead. Although it may have been the point of a javelin it was more likely a butt, for representations as early as the Hunters' palette show copper leaf-shaped weapon points.

STONE MACEHEAD (*pls. 64c, 65a*)

A pear-shaped stone macehead was found in L 24—14. This was made of greyish brown stone mottled with irregular patches of blue and bits of white that seem clearly to be fragments of fossils. Another fragment, possibly of a macehead, was found in L 19—26, but discarded.

GAME BOARDS AND PIECES (*table 39, pls. 66, 67*)

Two rectangular plaques of limestone from L 23—40 and L 24—9 are particularly unusual objects. One, now in Cairo, has sixteen transverse grooves and the other, now incomplete, is 8.5 x 11 cm with two holes at one end, for mounting legs(?) or for suspension, and a series of eight transverse grooves.

The game board from L 24 may have been associated with other objects in that tomb. In addition to the jewelry, L 24—8 contained a number of unpierced balls in faience (eight), carnelian (three), amethyst (one), and other stones (two), each about 7 to 11 mm in diameter. A small calcite hippopotamus (L 24—16), to be discussed in the next chapter, seems to be comparable in size (ca. 3 cm long), although such animals are not part of the known gaming sets. Together with the ivory rods and blocks found in L 24, we probably have evidence for two of the three games shown in the tomb of Hesy. The one game absent is Senet. The other two, including the serpent game and the grooved rectangular board, are those present, the former by counters only, the latter by counters and the board. The possible associations are given in table 39.

Although this is hardly the place for a detailed discussion of early games, the three games shown in the tomb of Hesy appear as early as the Naqada period.⁵⁵ The most easily traced is Senet, whose pieces consist of two groups of seven men and plano-convex strips (neither the pieces nor the board were found at Qustul). The second game, the serpent game, is shown in Hesy's tomb as the spiral board. There it seems to be associated with two groups of six lions and two sets of eighteen balls (in three colors, six of each per player). Sets of lions and balls have been found in First Dynasty tombs at Saqqara and in Naqada period deposits, especially tomb 711 at Naqada; a board was found in the great cache at Hierakonpolis. At Qustul, the balls and possibly a single tiny hippopotamus from L 24 belong to the game. The last game, with the grooved-rectangular board, appears to have two sets of five (ivory?) rectangles if the pieces from this and the serpent game have not been switched in the Hesy painting. Although grooved rectangles have been found in earlier contexts, they differ somewhat from the board of Hesy. These boards are not as well made as the boards from Cemetery L. However, the gaming pieces associated with the Qustul boards and others that precede Hesy's tomb include rods and blocks, not the simple blocks shown in Hesy's tomb. Thus, the ivory plaques and rods of the First Dynasty and earlier times in Egypt are probably the equivalent of the two kinds of blocks shown in Hesy's painting.

MATERIAL SAMPLES

A number of materials were buried which had not been shaped, including pebbles and ostrich egg shells. Small rounded polished pebbles were found in many of the tombs of Cemetery L. These are much the same as pebbles chosen for C-Group burial except that the majority of those in L are variants of agate; quartz is uncommon. Pebbles were found in L 2, 5, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 22, and 24 in random locations. Unworked ostrich egg shell fragments were found in L 22.

Remains of resinous material were found in two tombs, L 1 and L 17. The material is dark reddish brown, with a few flecks of lighter color. The general appearance is much like the parts of incense shown being offered to Amun in the Punt reliefs at Deir el Bahri. The material is light, fragments easily, and gives off much black smoke when burned, along with an aromatic odor. The small slivers and

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Table 39—Occurrence of Game Parts

<i>Hesy:</i> <i>Board</i>	<i>Gaming pieces</i>	<i>Cemetery L:</i> <i>Board</i>	<i>Gaming pieces</i>
Senet	7 men \times 2 4 slips	—	—
Serpent game	3 lions 3 lionesses 18 balls, 6 each of 3 colors, \times 2	—	1 hippo, L 24 8 faience balls 2 carnelian balls 1 amethyst ball 2 dark stone balls
Grooved board	5 equal white plaques 5 unequal black plaques	Grooved board (L 23, L 24)	Pieces, L 24 Plaques: 4 size 1, 1 size 2, 4 size 3, 4 and fragments Dowels: 21 ends

fragments from L 17 were accompanied by beads, and the resin from L 1 had been formed into drop and bag-shaped pendant beads (fig. 60h). Resinous material of this kind was also found in V 67, a tomb of the "patrician" type to be published in *OINE* IV and in an A-Group tomb at Serra East. In V 67, the piece was cut in an almost rectangular piece from a larger pat of the material. This is almost certainly the material burned on the incense burners, which left both heavy carbon deposits and some reddish stains. Its general appearance and characteristics suggest that it is myrrh. Because of the small size of the fragments it must be assumed that other occurrences were missed.

BREAD MODELS (*fig. 161b*)

About twenty-five flat oval mud lumps and fragments were found in the trench of L 23 (nos. 8, 9). The mud from which these were made had been mixed with large amounts of straw (dung?) and very lightly fired so that the outside is tan to pinkish, the interior black, but with some of the chaff remaining. It has been assumed that these are bread models, but this does not explain the large amounts of chaff present. One model of this type was found in Cemetery W.

OBJECTS, SUMMARY

The small objects found in Cemetery L clearly reinforce the impressions of wealth given by the tombs themselves and the pottery. Most kinds of objects found in these tombs are more numerous, more diverse, and better made than their counterparts elsewhere in Nubia. The diversity extended to raw materials, where semiprecious stones were sometimes substituted for ordinary ones. The occurrence of gold in five tombs is also significant, especially considering the amount of plundering. The quality also extended to finish, for even otherwise ordinary objects sometimes were given a high polish or other special treatment. The number of objects often greatly exceeded that needed to equip a single human being; it could only be described as wealth. Finally, the objects could be connected not just with Egypt and A-Group itself, but with Sudan, especially the shell jewelry.

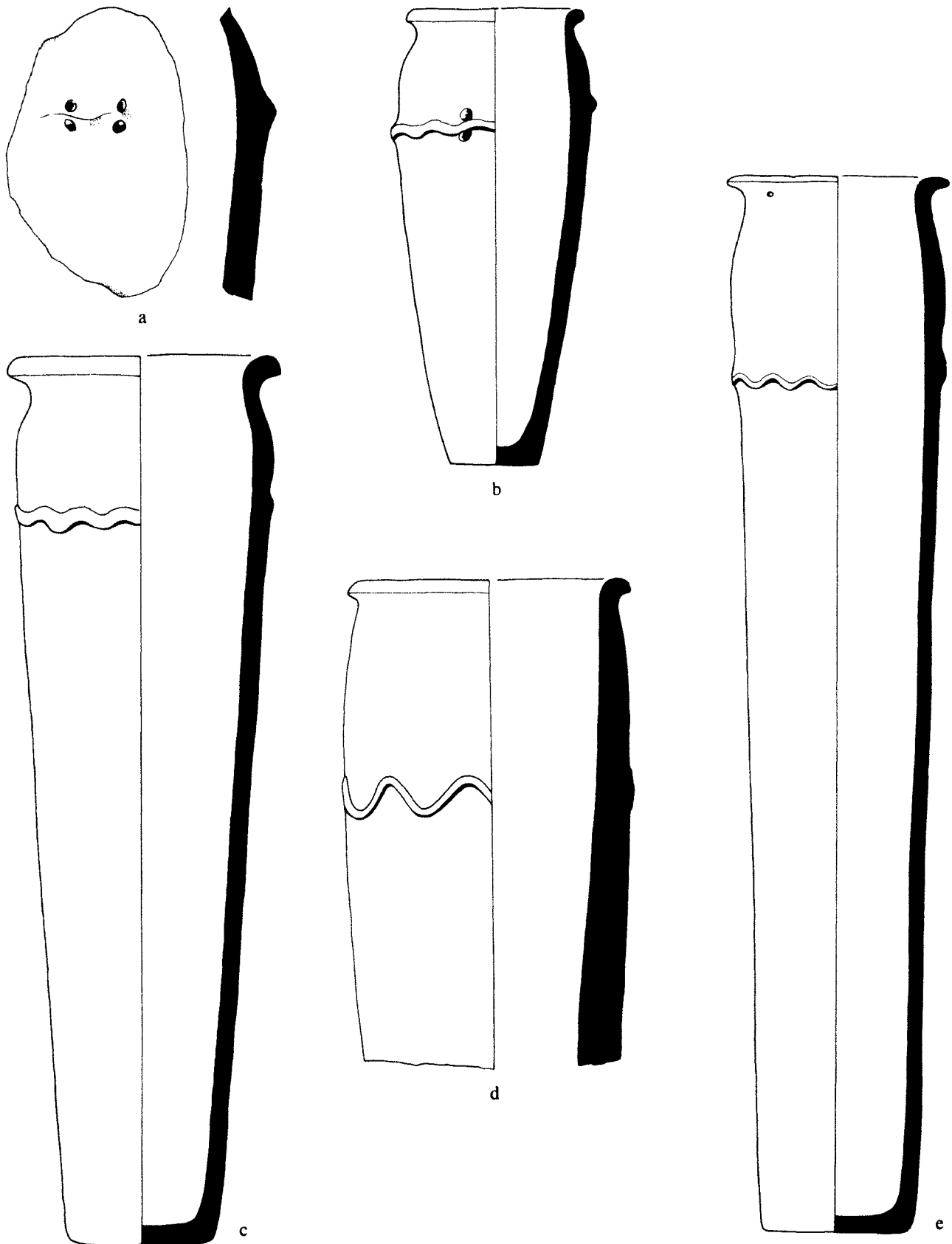


Figure 51. Shapes M–Q, stone vessels: (a) M, L 11, D; (b) N, L 13, A; (c) O, L 23, A; (d) Q, L 24, A; (e) P, L 23, B. Scale 2:5.

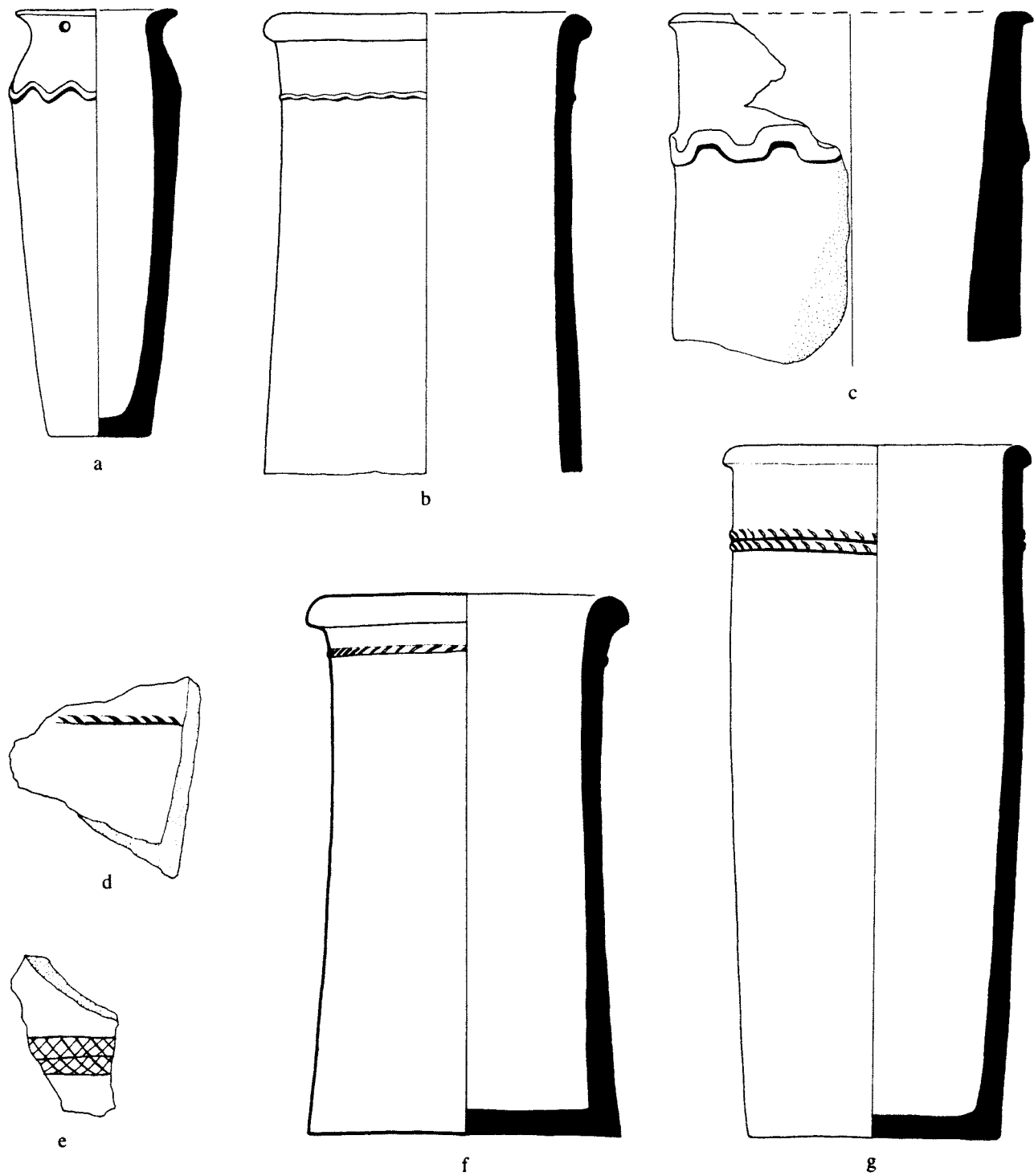


Figure 52. Shapes R–T, U1, and V–X, stone vessels: (a) R, L 5, A; (b) S, L 2, J; (c) T, L 5, B; (d) U1, L 2, 0; (e) X, L 11, C; (f) V, L 19, C; (g) W, L 19, A. Scale 2:5.

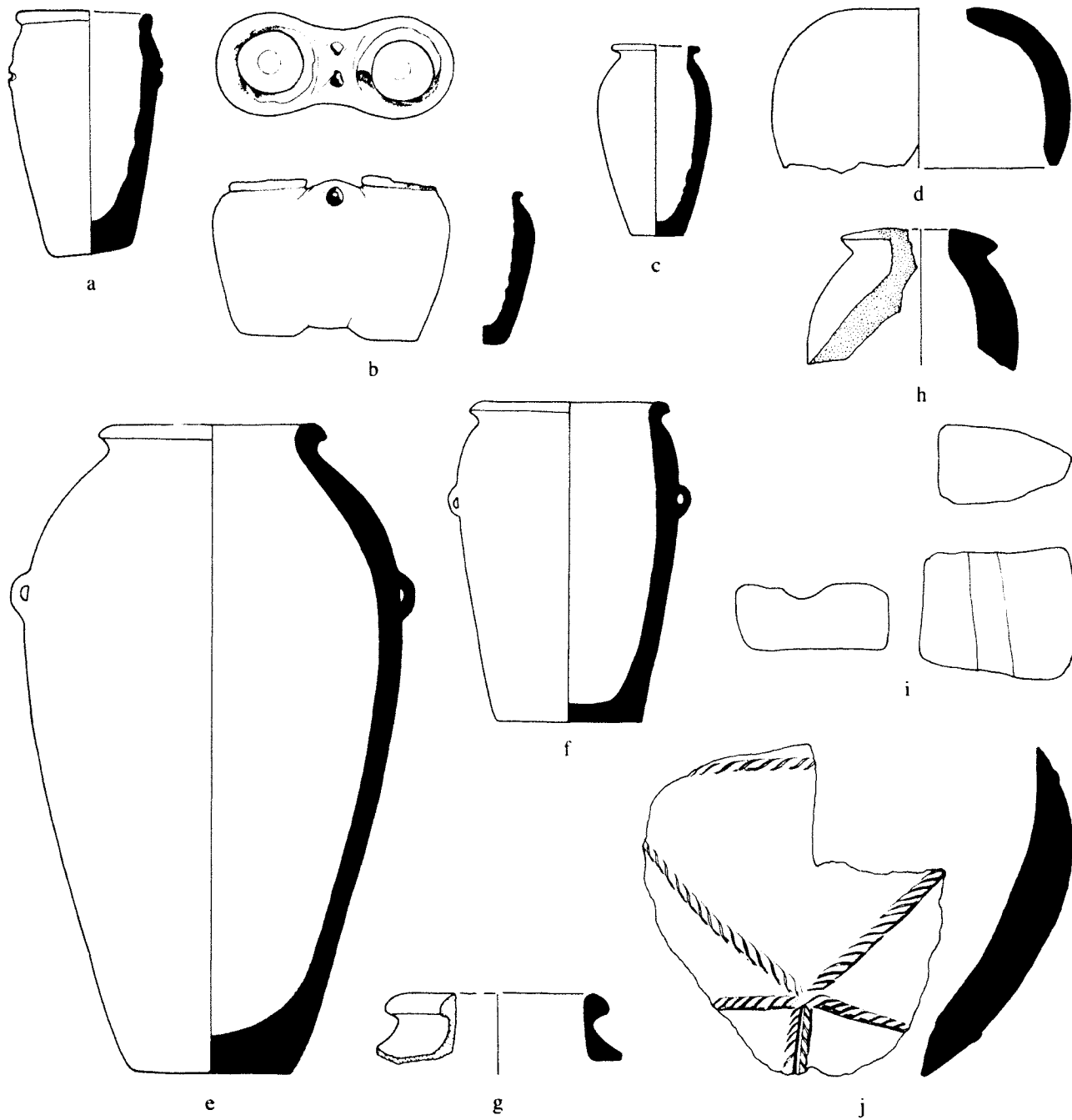


Figure 53. Shapes L, Z1, Z2, and AA–AF, stone vessels: (a) Z1, L 15, E; (b) AA, L 15, A; (c) AB, L 9, B; (d) AC, L 2, A; (e) Z2, L 23, C; (f) Z2, L 23, D; (g) AE, L 17, B; (h) AF, L 19, B; (i) L, theriomorph, L 5, D; (j) AD, L 11, I. Scale 2:5.

NOTES

1. The two cultures are too closely related for one to assign the beads to either one with certainty. See pp. 120–22.
2. Nordström 1972, pp. 119–20, tombs 298:4 and 332/17:3; Griffith 1921, pl. IV, grave 147; Nordström 1962, p. 58, pl. X:a, site AS 6–G–18; Mills and Nordström 1966 (see p. 9, fig. 3:18, 11–H–6); Firth 1927, p. 208, pl. 21:a1, from Cemetery 137 2:2. (This is the only example of granite and it has an indecipherable pattern of deep broad grooves); Reisner 1910, p. 277, pl. 64:h, Cemetery 47, two examples; and Smith 1962, p. 68, fig. 16:1. (This is sandstone, called a mortar, but it is of precisely the shape as early examples here. From Tunqala West 268/10:1).
3. Grateful acknowledgment is here made to Professor Paul Moore of the University of Chicago for arranging X-ray diffraction and especially to the late Dr. Jun Ito of the James Franck Institute, the University of Chicago, who performed spectrographic analysis.
4. Dr. Carol Meyer determined the specific gravity of the incense burner material and identified other stone objects in the collection.
5. Barbara Hall, Conservator of the Oriental Institute, and I performed a simple acid test for carbonate on all examples with a 20 percent solution of HCl. A limestone fragment from Qustul was used as a control.
6. Various clays occur in the Nubian sandstone and some are quite hard (Williams 1984, pp. 29–36).
7. Nordström 1972, pp. 121, 133–249. One example of type B was found in central Sudan (Geus 1977, pl. III:X–2; an earlier example, illustrated in Geus 1979, fig. 3, pl. V:c, is approximately rectangular).
8. See below, p. 123.
9. Nordström 1972, pp. 133–249 *passim*.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 120–21, 133–249. Note that over 310 tombs are detailed. The classification of mortars and palettes as compared to that of Nordström is given in the following table:

<i>Shape</i>	<i>Mortars</i>	<i>Palettes</i>	<i>SJE Palettes*</i>
Asymmetrical	A	A	7
Oval	B	B	4
Subrectangular	C	C	
	1	1	2
	2	2	3
“Rhomboid”	D	D	1

*Scandinavian Joint Expedition types 5 and 6, not present in this material, would be C3 and C4, respectively.

11. Hofmann 1967, p. 94 above. For a comparison see Scharff 1929–31, p. 70, fig. 48.
12. Petrie 1920, p. 43. One of these came from Naqada, the others from uncertain locations, totaling seven, and Petrie dated them to S.D. 38. Also see Brunton 1937, pls. XL:37–41, XLII:28, 29, 37–39, and an earstud, 40. These were found loose (1) and in tombs 1853 (2), 1875, 1877, 1885, 1886, and 1890. The earstud came from 1896, a child burial. The shell hooks were all dated by the excavator to Amratian, but none of them came from a tomb with pottery. In fact, other goods were absent or confined to cloth and a mat or pillow. The Amratian date, from the A–Group evidence, is obviously an error resulting from the simplicity of the burials in which shell hooks occurred. Most of the tombs were disturbed, but in two cases (1877 and 1890, male and female), they were either across the bridge of the nose or in front of the eyes. In 1886, they were near the head which had been disturbed. Other examples were found at Kubaniyya (Junker 1919, p. 96) and Sayala (Firth 1927, pl. 22:a, 4–6, from Cem. 142–19, one of the five large tombs of the cemetery).

The small number of shell hooks from Egypt, their relative absence from A–Group Nubia, and the extremely large number of them found in Cemetery L is remarkable and leads me to believe that objects of this type are not native to either Egypt or A–Group Nubia. Although few sites of this period have been explored in Sudan, Shaheinab, of an earlier period, yielded

seventy-four objects of stone, bone, and horn of similar configuration (Arkell 1953, pp. 23–24). Almost all appear to be simply prototypes of the shell hooks. Four seem to have shapes we refer to as tokens, see below, pp. 117–18.

13. See note 12; also Nordström 1972, pl. 52:D 8.

14. These also occur elsewhere with shell hooks (Brunton 1937, pl. XLII:40).

15. Nordström 1972, p. 127.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 127. Nordström notes they have a wavy-banded structure that indicates they were made of hippopotamus ivory.

17. Lucas and Harris 1962, pp. 177–78. For double firing of beads, see pp. 44–46. Lucas describes his experimental reconstruction of making hand-modeled faience by using powdered quartz with natron in solution as a binder; after firing, they would be suitable for glazing and firing again. In fact, some of the discoid beads had not been pierced, as though they were to be pierced after the first firing, like a stone bead.

18. See below, chapter 5, note 34.

19. A somewhat more elaborate gold bead of this type was found by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition (Nordström 1972, p. 125, pls. 109 and 195:1). Simple fly amulets, in the shape of truncated triangles with convex bodies, have been found in Egypt in Predynastic contexts (Petrie 1920, pl. IX:14–15, calcite and serpentine; Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928, pl. XLIX:36f).

20. Ali el-Khouli 1978, Class XX b, 4730–4826. The type is common; for an example from Cemetery B at Abydos, see Petrie 1901, pl. LI:F, 290.

21. Ali el-Khouli 1978, Type XXI, 4871–4878, and XXV, 5023–25. He also cites an unpublished example from Hierakonpolis without number or provenience. See also Brunton 1937, pl. XXI:32 and 36, both Predynastic.

22. Ali el-Khouli 1978, classes XVIII–XXV, 5038, 5039, but the outsides of these rims are not bevelled.

23. Ali el-Khouli 1978, no. 4882.

24. No equivalent in cited literature.

25. Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 4974–4978.

26. This is related to type D1. See Ali el-Khouli 1978, class XX J, 4853–4867. He cites a number from Dynasty I, but there are also examples from the Hierakonpolis main deposit (Scorpion). See nos. 4858 and 4857, both from the deposit (Quibell 1900, pl. XXXIV:3; Quibell and Green 1902, pl. XLVIII:b; Adams 1974a, 227 [Iry-Hor]). Also, 228 belongs in this group (Scorpion), though it is irregular.

27. Ali el-Khouli 1978, XV, 3567–3579, and others in XV, *passim*. This form is not separately distinguished. See Petrie 1902, pl. XXVII:64 (Osiris Temenos); Adams 1974a, 229 (Iry-Hor) and 249 (229, from the Great Deposit, resembles both G and H).

28. Ali el-Khouli 1978, XV, pls. 95–102. This form is not distinguished separately; see 3072, 3322. For other transitional shapes between G and H, see Adams 1974a, 250; Petrie 1902, pl. XLVII:5 (M 19).

29. Ali el-Khouli 1978, no. 3241.

30. Ali el-Khouli 1978, pl. 95:2976–2985.

31. Ali el-Khouli 1978, II, nos. 1153–1155. 1154 is from the main deposit at Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900, pl. XXXIII). 1153 and 1153a are from Hemamiya 1709 (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928, pl. LI:31) and Naqada (Petrie 1920, pl. XXXIX:85).

32. Ali el-Khouli 1978, no. 1157; less precise parallels include nos. 1158–1163.

33. *Ibid.* The closest parallel is no. 1151, but none are as tall.

34. See el-Khouli 1978, no. 309. The rim of type E is not recognized. See Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pl. XXXIX, 2 examples, S.D. 77–78.

35. Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 1159–61; Petrie 1901b, pls. LII:354, 355 and LIII:F 483 (Merneith 1158–1163). See also Petrie 1914, pl. XXXIX, t. 1023.

36. Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 83–91. Petrie 1901b, pl. LII, from B15 (Aḥa) (83); Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pl. XXXIX. The sides on the fragments here are sometimes not sufficiently preserved to make confident distinctions.

37. Cylinder jars with rope bands that resemble these are in Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 24–30, 307–08, possibly a few in the 349–69 range (irregular sides). Preservation was not always sufficient to determine whether the side was irregular. The types with rope bands begin before the time of Narmer. (Petrie 1901b, pl. LII:359; Petrie 1914, pl. XXVI).

38. Among the very wide range of possible comparanda, the examples in Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 636–37 are the nearest; see also Petrie 1914, pl. XXVI:54r, Narmer.

39. *Ibid.* For 1181–83, see Tarkhan (Petrie 1914, pl. XXVII:T 799, T 1619, 1779, 1802 [all S.D. 77]; T 1678, 1856 [S.D.

- 78]). For 1195–96, see Abydos Temenos (Petrie 1902, pl. XXVII:23/37, 58). For 1197 see Hierakonpolis main deposit (Adams 1974a, 242), and for 1199 see Tarkhan (Petrie 1914, pl. XXVII:T 1695, S.D. 78).
40. This vessel is not precisely paralleled. Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 1788–1796. See also Petrie 1901b, pl. LI:H, 333 (U–Q complex, mid-to late Dyn.I).
41. The fragment was too small to permit complete restoration. See Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 1480–1570, various examples. Forms related to AB and AC date to both the Predynastic and Dynasty I, with numerous examples in both periods (Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. VIII).
42. No precise parallels for this type were noted; for the nearest available, see Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 1584–1590, and Petrie 1901b, pl. VI:27 (Djer; not in Ali el-Khouli) and XXXIX:21–25.
43. This fragment is too small to permit complete restoration. See Ali el-Khouli 1978, nos. 1507, 1536–39, for examples.
44. Petrie 1914, pl. V:12–13. The latter, a precise parallel for the examples from L 2 and L 5, is given a sequence date of 77. See also Adams 1974a, nos. 217 and 220 (main deposit).
45. Precise parallels for this spearhead are lacking in Egypt and Nubia, but the same characteristics of shape, the triangular blade, sharp midrib, concave curve to the tang, and rivet holes, can be observed. The tang here is much longer than other examples, however. See Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LXV; Petrie 1920, p. 25 (S.D. 60 or 63); and Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, pl. X (S.D. 61). This shows an earlier form with a flatter blade. A spearhead of early First Dynasty date was found at Tarkhan (Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pp. 10, 21, pl. IV:6). It is leaf-shaped with a tang; a cone was found wrapped around the shaft so that the nature of the hafting is not known. Blades fitting into this tradition of manufacture were also found in the EB I tomb at Azor (see chapter 2, note 64).
46. Lotus-terminals without caps were found on a pre-Narmer (S.D. 77) bed at Tarkhan; the bull's leg support also had ribbed hooves (Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pl. IX:8, VIII:6). Possibly somewhat earlier is the representation of a chair with such terminals on the Siali sealing (see below, pp. 169–70). Actual sheathing was found in the tomb of Djer at Abydos (Petrie 1901b, pl. XXXV:83). Fragments of a wooden bed were found in the great tomb dated to the reign of Hor-Aha at Saqqara. The terminals were encased in a lotiform finial attached by fourteen nails and the hoof of the bull's foreleg was encased in a ribbed copper sheath. This sheath was much taller with finer ribs than that from L 24 (Emery 1939, pp. 63–64, fig. 46).
47. Petrie 1901b, pl. XLIV:47, 49.
48. Petrie 1920, pl. XXXI; Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pl. XIV:25, 28, 31, also 26, 29, 30, 33, 40–45 (all ranging in "date" from S.D. 77–79). See also Petrie 1901b, pl. XXXIV:56–61 (Djer); and Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. VII.
49. Petrie 1920, p. 40, pl. XLVIII, cites ivory vessels from various parts of the Predynastic, beginning very early as cylinder jars even in Badarian (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928, pl. XXIII:5–8, concave cylinders). One, with a wavy band, was found in the tomb of Den (Petrie 1901b, pl. XL:39; see also pl. XLIV:3 Mersekha or Qa'a) and some were found in Cemetery B (*ibid.*, pl. XXXII:16 [B 16], 17, 18).
50. Petrie 1920, pl. VIII:15, p. 30 (S.D. 40!) from Naqada.
51. Petrie 1901b. Inlays of this type also occurred in Cemetery B (pl. XXXII:35, braided), in Djer's tomb (pl. XXXIV:52–55, 93, zigzag and braided), and from Merneith (pl. XXXIX:37–40, various). For an example of a complete object of this kind, see Zaki Saad 1969, pls. 60–61.
52. Fragments already occurred in Cemetery B (Petrie 1901b, pl. XXXII:1–8). The example here has a low hoof and no veins as in the tomb of Djer (pl. XXXIV:1–17).
53. Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pl. XIII:13.
54. Tapered ivory arrowheads are known from the so-called Tomb of Hemaka (Emery 1938, p. 46, Type 4), but these are related to hardwood examples from prehistoric times (Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pls. IX:1051, X). The spearhead from Saqqara (Emery 1938, p. 48, cat. 455) was 31 cm long and 4 cm wide, far too large for this point to have been a spearhead, even allowing for breakage.
55. Quibell 1913, pp. 20–21 and pl. XI. Quibell also noted occurrences at Medum and scratches on the floor of Mereruka's complex. A slate rectangle with eleven panels and ten grooves was found by Emery in Tomb 3504 at Saqqara in sub-magazine DD (Emery 1954, p. 66 and pl. XXX:262). A set of ivory gaming pieces was also found in this magazine, including, in addition to three ivory legs and a terminal from a board, six lions, seven tall men, seven low men, five flat sticks, six round sticks, and thirty-nine limestone balls, wrapped in a bundle. This compares to the sets in Hesyt which have six lions and thirty-six balls, the Senet set with two sets of seven men and four sticks, and the third set with ten flat rectangles. See also the discussion by Scharff 1929–31, pt. II, pp. 145–46, figs. 76–77. Petrie 1920, pl. XLIX:30, is a broad plaque with sixteen grooves.

4

EPIGRAPHIC AND ARTISTIC EVIDENCE

A NUMBER of objects, of both A-Group and Egyptian manufacture, have either complete or fragmentary representations of special significance. Many kinds of local representations made are known from rock art,¹ scratched decoration on ostrich eggs,² scratching on imported pottery,³ and painted decoration on local pottery.⁴ Cylinder seals and sealings, Egyptian vessels with painted figures, and the Sayala macehandle have been found here and in Egypt, but their chronological relations to each other and to the series of major documents that precede Narmer have not been established. Never before, however, has evidence bearing on most or all of these kinds of representations been found in one place in a compact group of contexts which would enable us to view them in relation to one another as a major part of a conceptual world that no longer exists. The recovery of the objects and representations presented a number of difficulties, but one problem loomed largest.

It is no easy task to rescue the relics of an age that have merely been lost or hidden. So much more difficult it is, then, to take fragments or objects that have been deliberately sought out for destruction and recover their original meaning so that it is presented to an observer with full force. If the ancient destroyer detected an image, he destroyed it; only small or obscure figures survived intact.

Most representations are fragmentary or on damaged surfaces that required extended and repeated examination under varied conditions to recover the outlines and masses of figures; various possible parallels had to be applied in combination as possible templates for restoration. The outlines of figures are often faint or hardly discernible against a broken or deteriorated surface. However difficult to detect, some of the representations were of such importance that even doubtful details must be included in their presentation, accompanied by the notation that the recovered or restored detail is conjectural to some degree. Fortunately, reconstructions have sometimes been almost obvious, indicated by comparisons with well-known thematic representations in early pharaonic art. These have, in turn, led to the recovery of other compositions and figures that used early pharaonic themes in less familiar ways which required some resort to argument to verify their significance or intended meanings.

A. INCENSE BURNERS

The most significant decorated objects considered here are the incense burners, which show palace facades, or *serekhs*, with high-sterned sacred barks. One of these, the Qustul incense burner, is decorated in a recessed silhouette technique that is closely related to rock art. The others are simply incised.

THE QUSTUL INCENSE BURNER (*L 24—1, pl. 34*)

This piece, Dr. Seele's most valued discovery, was the chief object from L 24, the largest tomb in the cemetery. The material of which it is made appears to be the same mixture of clays commonly used for incense burners, though it is somewhat heavier and more compact than most.⁵ The surface is fine-grained, smooth, almost amorphous in appearance, off-white with greyish flecks.

The Qustul incense burner is somewhat larger than the others from Cemetery L, but not disproportionately so, 15 cm in diameter by 8.5 to 9 cm in height. Although others approached or equaled it in one dimension, none did it in both. The shape is both simple and regular, a truncated cone with flat base and rim, and a recessed circular area in the top. The edges of the profile are angular. Although there was no evidence that the object had ever been used for grinding and burning, a trace of red discoloration similar to that found on other incense burners occurs on the rim. Most of the object remains, and there are some loose chips as well. The condition of the remaining fragments is excellent; surfaces are smooth, the incised decoration is unworn, and broken edges are sharply angular. Since the material is quite soft, these conditions indicate that the incense burner was originally deposited where reported, and neither displaced nor exposed to the surface for any length of time.

The top of the rim is decorated with a band of hatched rhombs, and the triangular spaces between the rhombs and the rim is filled with hatching in the opposite direction. Even this simple decoration is more elaborate than that on incense burners found elsewhere; the closest parallel is incised decoration on the rims of wooden objects found in Cemetery L and others in Egypt.⁶

The important decoration was placed in the continuous conical-cylindrical band comprising the side of the incense burner. The decoration is a composition that consists of three vessels in the shape of pharaonic sacred barks, proceeding in a row to a palace facade, with ancillary signs and figures. Despite the register-like organization imposed on the barks and the structure by the narrow space and by the processional nature of the composition itself, the ancillary elements are arranged freely on the surface as they are in other Naqada period-Dynasty O representations. Only the palace facade, with a small tree in front of it, rests on a line. No other figures rest on any line. They are, in fact, quite freely arranged around and below the barks, their position in nature only incidentally reflected by their positions on the object. Open space between the forward bark, the tree, and the ground line was filled with shallow incised crosshatching, while areas of hatching and crosshatching fill open space above the third and second barks, possibly intended to show water, which in later times was represented by nested vertical zigzags, but also arranged above and around major motifs. The free placement of subsidiary figures and the complete filling of space relate the composition on the Qustul incense burner to the crowded Lesser Hierakonpolis palette on the one hand, and to Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis on the other.

Apart from the palace facade (shrine), the fundamental element of the composition is the bark. Vessels of this general type appear early and often in early Egypt. It appears already, with a somewhat different shape, on the Gebelein painted cloth in Turin; even this early example contains an enthroned figure who holds a flail. As a post-firing potmark on a black-topped vessel it is shown with a flat hull; the prow and stern are bent upward and a throne is placed amidships.⁷ Its next appearance is in the Hierakonpolis painted Tomb 100, as the second ship in a procession of the kind shown on the Qustul incense burner (as on the Gebelein cloth). In this case, as in the Gebelein linen painting, the prow is not present. The high stern bends over and forward, held in place by a truss of which only the upper end remains. A small figure clad in a white robe, holding what appears to be a flail, sits on a raised seat under a canopy near the stern.⁸ Early in Naqada III, a bark is shown on an ivory cylinder seal that was found at Sarras West, somewhat south of Qustul. The stern of the vessel is vertical and not tapered, while the prow is bent first inward, then upward.⁹ In this and later forms, the bark frequently appears in rock drawings.¹⁰ Some of the most clearly represented barks have the long hull curving upward, sometimes bent backward sharply at the prow. As on the bark from the Hierakonpolis painted tomb, the vertical stern is narrow at the base and thickens above, but it is cut off at an angle at the widest point giving it a peculiar profile like a penpoint. This distinctively shaped stern is similar to that seen on the Qustul incense burner, a jar in the British Museum, and a sherd found by the Scandinavian Joint

Expedition.¹¹ After the time of L 24,¹² the bark rapidly acquired the shape seen through the time of Narmer; the stern tapers to the top (the bark on the Scorpion macehead actually has bindings there) and the hull curves toward an upward-bent prow. Where present, the cabin is an almost wedge-shaped paneled structure. Although several successive changes were made in the bark after Narmer, in the First Dynasty, it is recognizably the same vessel. In every case where the ship's context is clear, it is associated with pharaonic and religious functions.¹³ The later funerary purpose is well known.

Details of the Qustul incense burner may now be considered, beginning from the left side of the procession. At the left end of the procession a standard is placed in the stern of bark III (fig. 54) which appears unusual at first glance and might be considered unrecoverable. Undamaged parts include a vertical pole with a horizontal bar which held the emblematic figure. Although almost the entire figure is damaged, the damaged area above the bar is recessed rather evenly and the consistency and shallowness of this depression (ca. 5 mm below the surface) indicates that the figure was a recessed silhouette like the other figures on the piece. If the present surface is not much below the ancient one, then chipping may not have completely removed the original outline. At the top are closely spaced incision marks about 2 mm apart which must have been made by the tool used to deface the surface; similar marks can be seen just below the horizontal bar. A profile can be recovered by combining this damaged line above the depression, a vertical line that remains at the right end of the standard, and a raised mass just above the horizontal bar. It is the head of a falcon. To the left of the point where the pole joins the bar is a curved line that may be the continuation of the lower body. The representations of falcons that most closely resemble this shape occur in Kaiser's early *serekh* group, and one occurs on the Siali sealings from Nubia; a standard with a falcon of this shape was found incised on a pottery vessel in upper Egypt.¹⁴

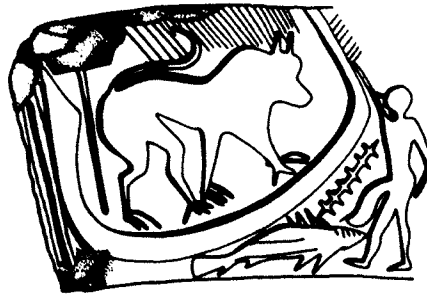


Figure 54. Qustul incense burner, bark III, L 24—1. Scale 1:2.

The next figure on bark III, to the right, is probably a feline. Because of the silhouette technique, its appearance is unusual. It is, however, closely related to early Egyptian art.¹⁵ The body is attenuated, more like the cats in the Hierakonpolis painted tomb or those on the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette than the relatively sturdy animals of the Hunters' and Lion palettes. On the other hand, the tail, shown undulating above the back, is not like the tails on animals in the tomb or those in the animal file representations so much as the tails on the early palettes; on the Lion and Narmer palettes the tails again curl behind the animal. However, no feline on the palettes has pointed ears that project above the head as they do here. This feature is shared with the cats of the Hierakonpolis painted tomb along with the unusual pointed muzzle. The claws of the animal begin at the leg and are drawn forward and down in

arcs, slightly splayed. This is clearly a crude version of the comb-claw found on the palettes but it seems to be tentative, much like the claws of the animal on the British Museum vase as well as some claws shown on animals in Tomb 100.¹⁶ The most difficult problem with the feline is the heavy long neck which may be either a mane, the heavy neck of a genet, or, most likely, an experimental rendering of the long neck seen on the serpent-necked monsters shown on the palettes.

The fish below the prow of bark III is not precisely identifiable,¹⁷ although its spiny appearance perhaps resembles the *mugil cephalus* later used as a hieroglyph.

Above the fish is a frond-like object angled to fit under the prow of the bark. Four examples of this object were found on the statues from Coptos, each associated with a Min-standard, and two were used as parts of names in courtiers' tombs at Abydos.¹⁸ The precise meaning is unclear (Kaplony uses *bnr*), but we should not consider it to be simply an incidental piece of floral decoration, but a label, either for the god (or the festival) or for the man shown just to the right.

In front of bark III is a man standing with feet apart, one arm upraised in salutation, the other arm bent behind. Apart from an example on a seal from L 17, this pose appears in Naqada II painting.¹⁹ In these cases, men commonly have the hand thrust forward, either to carry something or to salute. The arm in front is bent at the elbow and upraised and the other is crooked behind; striding men on the later palettes and maceheads have the arm behind the shoulder extending straight downward. The great flap of the garment, though shown on a seal from L 17 and possibly the Siali sealings, is not precisely paralleled in Egypt, but it may be the garment worn by royal attendants on Narmer's documents.²⁰

The man has a round head, and a small beard protrudes from the chin (a protuberance from his forehead is probably damage).²¹ In this respect, his profile would resemble Naqada II-III and Dynasty O-I representations. Neither hand nor elbow are indicated on the upraised arm, a feature of Naqada II painting of all types; though some attempt is made to show the proportions of a human figure, the trunk and legs are not articulated; human figures after the example on the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette present clearer anatomical distinctions.

Behind the man a running or leaping antelope is placed almost vertical to the direction of the procession. Like the feline in bark III, the limbs and body of the animal are attenuated. The leaping pose resembles poses of animals on the early palettes, especially the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette,²² and it is a pose not found in the painted tomb or on other Naqada II representations. The hooves are not shown here, however, an omission that contrasts with animals on the palettes which have hooves that are actually exaggerated; hooves are not usually shown in Naqada II painting, though they appear in Tomb 100; they are proportionally small on the ivory knife handles. The upraised tail here also resembles tails in Naqada II vase painting; on the palettes,²³ tails are slightly upraised, but never over the back as in this example.

To the right of the antelope is a vertical harpoon-head; it seems to comprise the entire assembly from the tip to the bulb that fitted into the shaft with a second barb in the middle. Its size and position indicate that it is a sign intended to label bark II that follows immediately to the right. The sign is also used to label the bark on the Narmer palette. Other examples of the harpoon, from Cemetery L, occur on the seal from L 17 and as a post-firing mark on a storage jar.²⁴

The tip of a line indicates that another figure or sign was below the stern of bark II (fig. 55).²⁵ The destruction of most of its hull and the figures this bark contained frustrated previous attempts to recover these figures and their meaning. However, fragments of figures that remain in the area above the vessel amply sufficed to restore figures that fit precisely into the pharaonic tradition. From right to left, they are a pharaoh, indicated by the white crown, a falcon, presumably resting on a *serekh*, and a rosette.

The figures in the bark occur frequently in the art of early Egypt although not precisely in these

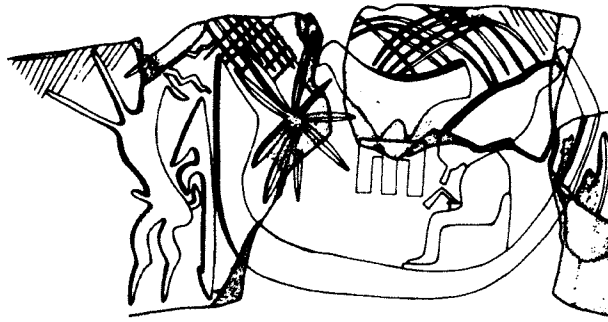


Figure 55. Qustul incense burner, bark II, L. 24—1. Scale 1:2.

circumstances. Since it seems to designate the pharaoh on the Scorpion macehead and his attendant on Narmer's monuments, the rosette should be associated with kingship and its occurrence here is not surprising.²⁶ This rosette is rather irregular and has eight fronds or petals; on the palette and maceheads, rosettes have seven, while rosettes on the knife handles have as few as four. In Nubia the rosette also occurs on a seal from Faras (see discussion below).

The enthroned pharaoh with a falcon on a *serekh* above and in front of him is so well known in early Egypt that parallels hardly need citation.²⁷ He is restored enthroned here according to all of the other early parallels, especially as a bark shown on a seal from the Sarras West cemetery already has a *st* throne on it. As preserved, the shape of the falcon is approximately the same as a falcon on the sealing from Siali and the shapes of the theriomorphic falcon-palettes.²⁸ Here it is restored with legs and a higher head than it perhaps originally had; the falcon on the standard might be a better indication of the shape except that the back of this falcon continues higher than that on the standard. However, no representation of a falcon from Egypt or Nubia corresponds precisely to the example and the figure here combines features of early falcons on the Metropolitan palette and ones incised on storage jars in Egypt. The legs are restored as tapered and may have been curved from the body in keeping with the style of other figures on this incense burner. Based on numerous parallel representations a *serekh* is restored as the falcon's perch, but the falcon could have been perched on a name-element, like Iry-Hor or Pe-Hor (see discussion below, p. 164). Below are alternatives for the restoration of the bird and *serekh*.

The main figure in the vessel was the pharaoh, indicated by the white crown. The example here is the earliest definite occurrence of this regalia.

Above the crown and the falcon is a group of intersecting inverted curved lines; these differ from the hatching and crosshatching used elsewhere to fill space or as a water-motif on the object. The most likely interpretation is that these represent palm fronds used to shade the figure.²⁹

The hull of the second bark curves higher than the others and in front of it is a long curved object, probably the tail of an animal. Just above the break is the edge of a shape that extends perpendicular to the tail. The animal must have been contorted in violent action for it to have fit into the triangular space below the hull. Although it could have been pouncing, the parallel compositions on palettes such as the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette indicate that the animal was probably not pouncing on the back of the crocodile below but chasing the leaping antelope behind the bark.

Although only the tail and part of the hindquarters remain, the carnivore may be plausibly identified. The animals shown in the most violent action on the palettes (and on the Carnarvon knife handle) are

carnivores, and the bulged tip of this tail, which contrasts with the thin tapered tail of the feline on bark III, indicates that the animal between the barks was probably the wild dog (*lycaon pictis*?) so often shown on the early palettes. From the triangular space remaining between the barks and the back of the crocodile, we have inferred that the animal was quite contorted, resembling postures depicted on early palettes, especially the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette.³⁰ The animal represented only by its tail and hindquarters is an important link with these early palettes.

The occurrence of the crocodile's head below the stern of bark I is very unusual (fig. 56). Crocodiles do not occur on the palettes, nor are they found in the animal file (except possibly the Pitt-Rivers knife handle). They are not a normal part of the repertoire of Naqada II painted pottery and they do not occur in the Hierakonpolis tomb painting as preserved and recorded. A number occur in the decoration of Naqada I white cross-line bowls and on one rectangular stand from el Amra which is painted red on a light ground, but in Naqada I style; coincidentally, it is also under a papyrus or papyriform bark.³¹ The crocodile is shown on a monumentally-sized bowl painted in a Naqada III style from L 23 (see discussion below, p. 153).

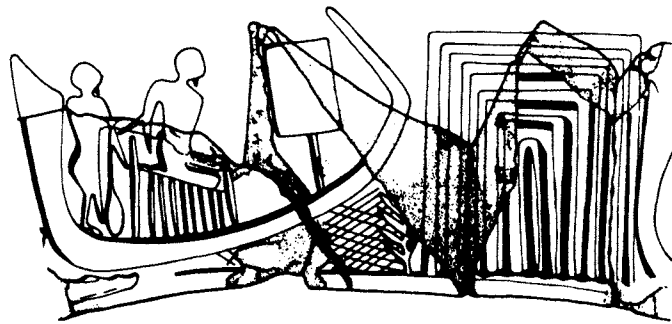


Figure 56. Qustul incense burner, bark I and palace facade, L 24—1. Scale 1:2.

The leading bark in the procession is shown with a rectangular sail of the type shown on a storage jar in the British Museum. The passenger is a prisoner with his arms bound behind his back, dressed with the large flap, kneeling on a sloping palanquin; he is guarded by a man who stands behind him and restrains him by a cord in one hand while he holds a club or mace, head downward, in the other.

The first palanquins for carrying or supporting a bound human victim are shown on the Scorpion macehead, but with carrying poles and finials.³² The prisoner has his arms bound behind him, a pose first seen on the Gebelein textile, and still found in the First Dynasty, sometimes with the guard; the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument shows one man bound and another being bound in this position.³³ The guard is curiously represented. It would appear that he is shown with feet together as though he had only one leg, the downward projection before him being the garment flap, shown as on the prisoner and the worshipper. The inverted weapon occurs in the First Dynasty sacrificial group and on Naqada II painted pottery as well.³⁴

The procession's destination is a palace facade or *serekh*, the paneled building at the right end. In this composition it is directly opposite the pharaoh's bark. Its appearance here as a shrine-building parallels occurrences on seals in Nubia,³⁵ other incense burners (discussed immediately following), and an ivory

knife handle in the Metropolitan Museum. Otherwise, it appears alone, often with the falcon resting on it, or as a frame for the pharaoh's name.

The building is represented as a series of nested rectangles that rests on a ground line. This kind of representation is found elsewhere at this time on seals from Nubia. *Serekhs* from early Egypt consist of separate vertical and horizontal panels. The tree in front of the palace facade on the incense burner is probably a sacred tree of the sort seen associated with the "House of the South" on First Dynasty seals.

It would help to understand this composition not as a simple row of complex figures or even a row with ancillary figures thrust into it at various angles, but as a composition that consists of a row of groups whose respective elements are not arranged in a line or row. Each group has a central figure or motif—a focus with attributes arranged around it. The first group is bark III which carries the feline deity with the saluting man opposite and the label between them. The second comprises the pharaoh's bark with the carnivore under the bow, possibly the crocodile below, and the harpoon-label with the antelope at the stern; the shape under the stern remains unknown. This composition-group may be compared with elaborate compositions on the Metropolitan palette—where animals comport themselves around the *serekh*-labeled circle for eye paint—and on the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette. The crocodile could belong with either the pharaoh's bark or the prisoner's bark which has no other external figure associated with it. The last group includes the *serekh*-shrine with the tree in front of it.

The composition on the Qustul incense burner combines aspects of designs characteristic of Naqada II–III processions, especially of barks, with the freer, nearly radial, placement of some figures and the active, even contorted, postures of some figures found on the early palettes. Details of some figures, notably the saluting man and the antelope, are also characteristic of figure representations that date to Naqada II. Thus even if there were no context for the object, it could be dated between the major Naqada II and Naqada III groups of representations, while the object could be assigned to the A-Group by its shape and the type of palace facade depicted on it. Although unique in many respects, the Qustul incense burner belongs entirely to this age, an age for which it is now possibly the most important single document.

The document illustrates a ceremony in which a deity, the pharaoh, and a prisoner attend a ceremony at a *serekh*-facade in which the prisoner is slain. Later documents show subsequent stages of the ceremony where the prisoner is actually bleeding, sometimes confronting the seated pharaoh; in other cases prisoners are present awaiting their fate. Because this human sacrifice seems to occur with various events, including the *heb-sed*,³⁶ we cannot be sure which ceremony is indicated here, only that the participants seem to be on their way to the sacrifice.

Apart from the composition, the Qustul incense burner is clearly linked to pharaonic civilization by many details, including the palace facade, the white crown, the falcon-label, the falcon-standard, the feline it labels, the sacrificial victim, and probably the rosette. The barks are the major sacred barks of pharaonic Egypt that occur on a jar of Naqada III date in the British Museum, on numerous Early Dynastic objects, in the Hierakonpolis tomb painting, on sealings, labels, palettes, a seal from Nubia, and a jar from the Scandinavian concession as well as on numerous rock drawings from southern Upper Egypt and Nubia.

Some unusual features are also present. The pharaoh is never shown seated on a bark in the First Dynasty, and the procession is not shown in progress toward a palace facade at this period. The deity is represented as a giant living being, certainly not a characteristic of First Dynasty representation.³⁷

Because it is to be dated so early, between the major documents of Naqada II and Naqada III, the Qustul incense burner is a fundamental source, not only for the ritual and significance of kingship in

early Naqada III, but also as a major document in the history of Egyptian art. Because it combines a pre-First Dynasty composition—the bark procession—with many well-known pharaonic details, the iconographic complex of the composition can be used to interpret many well-known representations, and to identify many new ones, as pharaonic.

THE ARCHAIC HORUS INCENSE BURNER (*L 11—25, pl. 33*)

The second most significant of the incense burners was found in L 11. It has an almost cylindrical conical shape with a slight bulge, about as wide as the Qustul incense burner but only about 7 cm high. The top has a shallow depression, outlined by a circle, where burning has caused much cracking and deposition of carbon. On the bottom is a pair of crossed lines.

The condition of the surface varies considerably, even within fairly small areas; crumbling and spalling has affected most of the surface. The decoration on the surface consists of shapes outlined by incised lines, and the deterioration has left these lines in various states of preservation, ranging from deep continuous grooves to shallow grooves, or a side of the groove (where the inside of the figure has spalled away) to discontinuous pits. While combinations of lines and pits can be traced in many areas on the crumbled surface, where many particles have cracked away, once sharp lines are now broad shallow depressions which make the figures impossible to see in any but a sharply raking light. One side was burned, and much of the surface was removed for a distance of some 7 to 10 cm. Although the fire damage and the mechanical exfoliation of particles and flakes makes distinguishing intentional lines and shapes very difficult, enough of the original lines remain of the general composition and some of the details are sufficiently well preserved for the decoration to be seen and recovered with confidence. Other details were very difficult to recover and some are conjectural; such identifications are indicated below.

The most easily recognizable decorations on the side are two vertical groups of lines framed at top and bottom by horizontals—the lower extended to make a ground line. The shapes can be identified as palace facades of the type incised on pottery in Egypt (both “early” and “late” *serekh* groups). To the right of one group is the high end and part of the hull of a sacred bark, although the exact shape of the stern is not precisely clear. In the vessel, other lines show the outsize figure of a shrouded falcon—the Archaic Horus, and it is clear that this incense burner depicts two processions of the kind found on the Qustul incense burner.

The prow of bark VI and the adjacent 7 to 10 cm of surface was virtually obliterated by the fire that scorched one side and apparently crumbled the surface. However, traces of an angled line may indicate the prow of the falcon’s bark and, parallel to it, is another line. Below may be part of the hull of another bark (V) of which nothing else is preserved. The prow of this bark is destroyed as is most of the next, although its penpoint top may be visible with a streamer attached to it.

A double line with badly crumbled edges indicates the hull of bark IV. Above the hull, in an area confused by flakes spalling away from the surface and obscured by past crumbling, is a complex of lines which appear to form the group shown in the figure. Most distinct is the white crown above lines that seem to depict a head. The body is shown by the curious three-tiered shape below, which probably indicates that the figure was robed in a typical combination of crown and garb. The surface is too damaged to see other evidence of attributes on the figure, but the pitted area above and in front appears to contain two horizontal lines and parts of perhaps four or five verticals between them. Above, perhaps, is the tail of a falcon. Behind the pharaoh are some lines or grooves that form incomplete shapes whose meaning, if they are not accidental, cannot be comprehended. It may be that the artist erred slightly here in the composition, for the prow of the ship is almost obscured by the first panel of

palace facade II toward which the ship moves. It is shown *inside* the facade by a shallower line just right of the vertical. Palace facade II is a series of four deeply cut vertical lines framed by slightly shallower horizontals above and below.

To the right of palace facade II is a large area of destruction by flaking which destroyed the representation in bark III but left the hull and prow discernible; two horizontal lines and one vertical line may be seen above, which may have belonged to a cabin or passenger. Only the hull, prow, and part of the stern of bark II can be distinguished, although the deterioration of the surface above is not obvious. Lines could depict a bound prisoner, but they are very faint and the figure should be considered entirely conjectural.

To the right of bark II and above a groundline that supports palace facade I is bark I. The outline of this vessel has crumbled badly and can be seen only in very raking light; part of it is pitted. It would appear to be nearly complete, with penpoint stern and curved hull to a vertical bow with a knife-like profile. Above the hull is a complex of crumbled and pitted lines. Above them may be the profile of a roof of a booth or shrine.³⁸ The area below contains the outline of a three-tiered shape much like the putative figure on bark IV; this outline more closely resembles the *heb-sed* garment and other lines seem to depict a seat. A bearded head supports a tall crown. Immediately in front of the figure may be a flail, but its outline is indicated only by pits. In front of the face is a rectangle with a curved line above connected to the rectangle by a groove. Behind the figure are curved lines that seem to represent the archaic bow.³⁹ Like the royal figure and ancillary lines in bark IV, the elements in bark I are crumbled and have otherwise deteriorated to the point where they require intensive examination to be followed. However, the fact that the two representations were found in analogous shapes and positions tends to confirm the existence of both. Nevertheless, the scheme of decoration on the Archaic Horus incense burner contains many conjectural elements and it would be useful to distinguish the definite from less definite representations in review.

The most distinct representations are the palace facades, barks VI, I, and the Archaic Horus in bark VI. The existence of barks IV and III is definite, but details of their shapes are conjectural. Barks V and II are quite difficult to see, and the bound captive in II is very difficult to see and conjectural. The pharaonic figures in barks IV and I combine definite lines and conjectural elements. If the parallel representation on the Qustul incense burner did not exist, they would not have been detected.⁴⁰

If the recovery of figures is correct, the composition would include two processions. The first includes Horus on bark plus X on bark plus prisoner on bark plus king on bark plus palace facade. The Qustul incense burner indicates that the missing figures should be a prisoner in each of the two middle barks and a deity in bark III (the horizontal lines over this bark probably preclude its being the Archaic Horus). Although the figures are combined somewhat differently, this incense burner is clearly linked with the Qustul incense burner in the use of pharaonic elements and a pharaonic theme that consist of two processions of three barks, each sailing toward palace facades.

L 10—2, OIM 23717 (*pl. 32a*)

One sandstone incense burner is decorated with a scratched composition that appears to include both the bark and the palace facade. The piece had been damaged by rubbing near the bottom, which left a flattened area near one side that may have eliminated horizontal lines around the base of the object. Twelve vertical lines closely spaced on the side may indicate a palace facade while lines to the left of the palace facade seem to depict a bark, probably with a booth in it. Although no figure can be seen in the tiny booth, above it to the right is a series of faint short vertical strokes with a horizontal line and a pointed object above. In the circumstances these could be considered a *serekh* surmounted by a falcon.

If the two long horizontal scratches are considered defacement, equivalent to the deliberate breaking of the Qustul incense burner and the burning on the side of the Archaic Horus incense burner, the composition is an abbreviation of the bark procession shown on the first two objects.

L 11—23, OIM 23706; L 1—1, 23675; L 22—19, 23708

Only one other object, decorated with groups of vertical lines, may have been incised with *serekhs* or palace facades. If the identification is accurate, two palace facades were incised opposite one another on the circumference. No barks can be identified. Two other incense burners appear to have been incised with the bark/palace facade group (table 24).

SUMMARY: INCENSE BURNERS AT QUSTUL AND AN EARLY PHARAONIC THEME

The existence of the pharaonic office at Qustul in A-Group rests on the figure in bark II of the Qustul incense burner and the depiction of palace facades on five incense burners. Although a number of them are very simplified or poorly executed, most are as clear as many of the palace facades of Naqada III date identified on pottery vessels in Egypt and Palestine.⁴¹ The Archaic Horus, feline deity, and bound prisoner are also significant evidence: the bow is suggestive, but its presence in this context is difficult to explain.

Two points can be raised in addition and are discussed at greater length in the concluding chapter. First, the theme, style, and iconography of the Qustul incense burner can be used to identify other representations in A-Group Nubia, mostly seals and sealings, that are pharaonic. Second, the repeated depiction of bark processions may be used to identify or validate other pre-First Dynasty representations as explicitly pharaonic. The most important of these are Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis, the Gebelein painted textile in Turin, and the Metropolitan knife handle. Altogether these indicate the existence of a standard pharaonic theme that was later separated into fragments and vignettes that become characteristic standard themes in the era of the numbered dynasties. In fact, this theme of the bark procession to the palace facade exists on the incense burners in various levels of completion, elaboration, or abbreviation; the single bark and palace facade on the L 1 incense burner can be compared to an early combination on a pottery vessel in Egypt which depicts a *serekh* of early type accompanied by a very simplified bark that contains the pharaonic rosette.⁴²

B. MARKS ON POTTERY (table 40, pls. 76–83)

Pottery was incised both before and after firing with single figures and groups for purposes of identification or decoration. Pre-firing marks on imported Egyptian vessels include hieroglyphs and groups of hieroglyphs as well as simple marks. Post-firing marks include combinations of lines, hieroglyphs, and representations. The latter were of both Egyptian and local origin.

Five categories of marks can be distinguished: simple marks on the rim and neck, simple marks on the shoulder, representations, inscriptions or groups, and single hieroglyphs. All of the categories except the representations, which were entirely made after firing, include both pre- and post-firing marks. Each kind of mark seems to have been made for a different purpose and marks belonging to different categories often occur on the same vessel.

The first and second categories are mostly paralleled in Egypt, and most marks that belong to the first category were made before firing the pottery. Because of their simplicity, they could hardly have been intended to communicate anything that would be clear outside the pottery workshop itself. A similarly

Table 40—Marks on Pottery

I. Potmarks

A. Simple, on rim or neck

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. L 23—20 ⁴³ | 24109 pre-firing (see II B 6) |
| 2. L 23—22 | 24110 pre-firing (see I B 3) |
| 3. L 23—24 ⁴⁴ | 24144 pre-firing (see II B 8) |
| 4. L 17—5 ⁴⁵ | 23634 pre-firing (see I C 4, I B 4) |
| 5. L 2—5 ⁴⁶ | 24078 pre-firing |
| 6. L 15—4 ⁴⁷ | 23632 pre-firing (see I A 11, I B 5, II B 10) |
| 7. L 24—52 ⁴⁸ | 23753 pre-firing (see I C 6, I C 1, II B 2) |
| 8. L 6—1 ⁴⁹ | 24172 pre-firing |
| 9. L 6—2 ⁵⁰ | 24173 pre-firing (see I C 5, I C 3) |
| 10. L 15—3 ⁵¹ | 23629 |
| 11. L 23—11 | 24107 pre-firing (see II B 7, II B 9) |
| L 15—4 | 23632 pre-firing (see I A 6, I B 5, II B 10) |
| 12. L 23—17 | 24142 pre-firing |
| 13. L 15—5 ⁵² | 23631 pre-firing (see I C 6) |

B. Complexes of uncertain meaning—on shoulder or body, or large simple marks

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. L 23—4 | 24128 post-firing (see II A 4) |
| 2. Uncertain ⁵³ | |
| 3. L 23—22 ⁵⁴ | 24110 post-firing (see I A 2) |
| 4. L 17—5 ⁵⁵ | 23634 post-firing (see I A 4, I C 4) |
| 5. L 15—4 | 23632 post-firing (see I A 6, I A 11, II B 10) |
| 6. L 23—16 | 24129 post-firing (see II B 9) |

C. Representations and elaborate complexes

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Man | L 24—52 ⁵⁶ | 23753 post-firing (see I A 7, I C 6b, and II B 2) |
| | L 13—(P) | |
| 2. Man with bow or crook | L 6—1 | 24172 post-firing (see I A 8) |
| 3. Bird | L 6—2 ⁵⁷ | 24173 post-firing (see I A 9) |
| 4. Crocodile? | L 17—5 ⁵⁸ | 23634 post-firing (see I A 4, I B 4) |
| 5. Amphibian? | L 6—2 | 24173 post-firing (see I A 9, I C 3) |
| 6. Bark | L 15—5 ⁵⁹ | 23631 post-firing (see I A 13) |
| | L 15—3 | 23629 post-firing (see II B 7) |
| | L 24—52 | 23753 post-firing (see I A 7, I C 1, II B 2) |
| 7. Quadruped | Uncertain | (pl. 83f) |

II. Signs or symbols with specific meanings

A. Groups

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|--|
| 1. Pe—Hor, or falcon on rectangle (bark?) | L 2—4 ⁶⁰ | 24268 post-firing (see II B 3, 4) |
| 2. <i>kj</i> —arms and mace? | L 23—3 ⁶¹ | 24106 pre-firing |
| 3. <i>kj</i> —arms and plants? | L 23—1 ⁶² | 24141 pre-firing |
| 4. <i>kj</i> —arms | L 23—4 ⁶³ | 24128 pre-firing (see I B 1) line has trailing lines |
| Loaf? or <i>hn</i> ? line | L 23—2 | 23641 pre-firing |
| 5. Uraeus on neb | L 23—33b | part of 24248? |

B. Signs

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Serekh</i> ? | L 17—4 ⁶⁴ | 23635 post-firing (see II B 10) |
| 2. <i>kj</i> —arms | L 24—52 ⁶⁵ | 23753 post-firing (see I A 7, I C 1, I C 6) |
| 3. Star | L 2—4 ⁶⁶ | 24268 post-firing (see II A 1, II B 4) |
| 4. | L 2—4 | 24268 post-firing (see II A 1, II B 3) |
| 5. | L 2—6 ⁶⁷ | 24146 post-firing (see II B 11) |

INCENSE BURNERS

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Table 40—Continued

6.	L 23—20	24109 post-firing (see I A 1)
7.	L 23—11 ⁶⁸	24107 post-firing (see II B 9, I A 11)
	L 15—3	23629 post-firing (see I C 6)
8.	L 23—15 ⁶⁹	24166 post-firing
	L 23—24	24144 post-firing (see I A 3)
	L 23—12	24188 post-firing
	L 23—7	24123 post-firing
	L 23—14	24124 post-firing
	Uncertain	
	L 23—23	24143 post-firing
9.	L 23—16 ⁷⁰	24129 post-firing (see I B 8)
	L 23—11	24107 post-firing (see I A 11, II B 7)
	Uncertain	post-firing
10.	L 15—4	23632 post-firing (see I A 6, 11, I B 5)
	L 17—4	23635 post-firing (see II B 1)
11.	L 2—6 ⁷¹	24146 post-firing (see II B 5)

limited intent is probably true of the shoulder markings, but they were made after firing and are probably connected with trade or transport.

The third group, representations, had few if any parallels in Egypt on hard pink vessels. Such figures are, however, rather common in Nubia where various representations of humans, birds, animals, and even complex linear or geometric designs occur.

These representations seem to resemble the figures on contemporary objects such as painted pottery and incense burners. Although the two men shown here have hands, the arm which hangs behind is crooked, and garment flaps are clearly shown. The bird's shape is the same as that on painted A-Group bowls.

Inscriptions and writing groups include a scratched label from L 2, series of four pre-firing incised groups on the largest jars from L 23, and a cobra incised on a stand. The inscription has four elements. Above, an archaic-type falcon is perched on a rectangle. Below the rectangle is a poorly made k_3 sign, arranged as an L-shape; the line that indicates the shape of the left hand was made at a very slight angle to the arm. Below the k_3 is the stern of a bark(?). Other marks on this jar include a structure(?) and a five-pointed star. This inscription closely resembles an important group of inscriptions in Egypt; the falcon on a rectangle resembles potmarks found at Abydos that consist of a falcon perched on an r sign, a combination Kaiser and Dreyer read "Iry-Ḥor." These were found at Abydos only in B 1/2, royal tombs to be dated before kings Ka and Narmer. The falcon in the present inscription is clearly of the earliest type (comparable falcons in Egypt date to Iry-Ḥor and "Horizon A"), though shown with some hesitation. The asymmetrical position of the k_3 arms is a feature also found in early Egyptian inscriptions. The structure of this inscription is clearly similar to labels from the Abydos tombs B1 and B2. The falcon grasps a sign, and below this is the " k_3 " sign followed by others. Thus the inscription must have the same purpose as the parallel inscriptions from Abydos and a parallel meaning as well. The rectangle on which the falcon perches has no interior lines and is clearly incised. Since other signs made locally on objects are also quite distinct, we must conclude that it is a sign— p —and, if Kaiser and Dreyer have read the parallel inscriptions of Iry-Ḥor correctly, the upper elements of the inscription from L 2 should read Pharaoh Pe-Ḥor ("Throne of Horus") (Table 40, II.1).

The four pre-firing incised writing groups are also of special interest. These were incised on the tall storage jars with rope bands found in L 23, the largest jars found in the cemetery. A later form of this jar at Abydos was the type incised with the name Iry-Ḥor discussed above. Each of the groups consists of inverted curved k_3 arms in combination with plants (*mḥw?*), a mace(?), and a loaf-like shape above a line (*ḥn?*).

Because of this consistent arrangement, these groups must all deal with comparable items and they can be compared to incised labels in the First Dynasty that combine k_3 and various signs. In Nubia, the inverted k_3 arms also occur on a seal from Sarra West, where they appear above the stern/prow of a bark with a throne; they also occur on other seals in Egypt and Palestine, sometimes without the *serekh* or falcon.

Several figures and shapes either resemble known hieroglyphic signs or recur regularly enough that they are probably signs. All of them were scratched after firing, probably locally. Three, the upended *serekh* (B1), and k_3 arms (B2), and the harpoon (B10), are familiar hieroglyphs. Numbers 3, 8, and 9 occur several times here and/or elsewhere in Nubia or Egypt. Numbers 5, 6, 7, and 11 occur elsewhere as marks, mostly in Egypt, but they cannot be identified as hieroglyphs.

Marks of group I A were of Egyptian origin and probably made as a kind of production control. Group I B included simple marks made for some other temporary purpose intended to be an aid to memory rather than writing. The third group, I C, probably had no purpose of this kind at all; it, and even more elaborate complexes elsewhere, are probably related to rock drawing.

Marks in the second major category were probably specific labels understood by persons other than the manufacturer of the vessel. Although these labels are not yet intelligible a number occur several times here, indicating that a specific meaning was intended, and others, 1, 2, and 10, also occur on incense burners or seals.

A fragment of a rectangular or polygonal stand from L 23 (see below, pp. 155–56 for the painted fragment) with excised triangles has an incised figure of a cobra, hood erect, on a neb-sign. It is difficult to determine whether the sign was made before or after firing. The appearance of the deity here is unique.

C. SCULPTURE

Pieces of sculpture or objects decorated in relief were few and fragmentary, a predictable outcome of the plundering and destruction in the cemetery. However, the remaining fragments are of considerable interest and they indicate that there may originally have been materials of even greater importance present that are now lost.

POTTERY OBJECTS

Four pieces were made of the Egyptian pottery commonly used for potstands; one is actually a stand, decorated in relief. The pottery is a chaff-tempered fabric fired buff with a grey-black break. Previously known objects made from this pottery include a giraffe head from Abydos, a ram's head and legs modelled as part of a potstand from Naqada, and small hippopotamus figures.

HIPPOPOTAMUS HEAD (L 19—9, pls. 98–99)

The largest and most impressive piece is a rough but confidently modelled hippopotamus head from L 19. This shows the ears, raised eye with bordering ridges, and snout with the two tusks of the lower

jaw almost protruding through the upper lip. This clearly is intended to represent a great male hippopotamus. This figure is certainly not the only example of a hippopotamus from the period. Two smaller examples of stone and faience from collections were used as examples for the restoration.⁷²

HIPPOTAMUS LEG (*L 11—31, pls. 100b, 101b*)

That the head was part of a statue and not applied to a potstand is shown by the occurrence of a very rough hind leg in L 11 (no. 31, X–J). Because the findspot was different and the interior of the piece is black, whereas the head is buff inside, it is not likely that these two pieces come from the same object. They have been graphically restored together to obtain the approximate dimensions and appearance of an original object. These and the following fragment are thus parts of the oldest statues found south of Aswan.

HIPPOTAMUS EAR (*L 24—55, pls. 100a, 101a*)

An ear that closely resembled the remaining ear on the L 19 head was found among the sherds from L 24. Enough was preserved for it to be clear that the ear did not belong to the L 19 head but came from a third statue.

SERPENT STAND (*L 5—3, pl. 23*)

One stand, originally over a meter high and made of the same pottery as the hippopotamus head, had three serpents in high relief applied to the side, shown as though climbing the object or suspended from the rim. Their heads are not present; the bodies were marked with simple circular incisions to represent markings. Applied relief also occurs on stands in Egypt.⁷³

STONE HIPPOPOTAMUS (*L 24—16, pls. 103b, 104a*)

At the other end of the size scale, a tiny hippopotamus figurine was found in L 24. The piece was made of a chalky white stone, 4.3 cm in length, which gave a carbonate reaction when tested with acid.

EYE INLAY (*L 11—33, pl. 103a*)

One of the most evocative of the fragments found in Cemetery L was a piece in grey clay, an eye inlay from L 11. It is shaped as a “human” eye with a ridge all around and depressed in the center, approximately life size. In the center is a small hole, either for a pupil or to receive a peg, such as a grey clay peg from L 24, which fit the hole and protruded somewhat; the result would have been an eye with an iris.

Parallels for this eye can be sought in the series of decorated slate palettes. In the latest, the eye is represented as an orb, protruding to the level of a ridge that surrounds it.⁷⁴ In the earliest, it is a hole.⁷⁵ However, on the Hunters’ palette and the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette, the eyes of the figure are recessed, and wherever possible, surrounded by ridges.⁷⁶ In addition, eyes on the Hunters’ palette have holes drilled deeper for the pupils. The shape of the eye is used for animals as well as humans, which shows that this example is not necessarily from a human figure but might have come from a statue of an animal.

JAR WITH RELIEF DECORATION (*L 2—stone vessel AK, pl. 96b*)

One stone vessel fragment has a fragment of relief decoration. The remaining rim fragments indicate this slate vessel was a tall bulged cylindrical jar. Near the bottom of the larger fragment is a bit of raised relief that at first appeared to be part of a wavy line. This was hardly doubted until the pieces were

studied closely and it could be seen that the undulation did not continue around the pot, nor did any trace of it appear beside it on the same fragment where some part of it would have occurred. In addition, the angle is too sharp for a wavy line and the rise in the relief was sharp above the line and gradual below it. Among all of the figures carved on early palettes, maceheads, and stone vessels, only two, the sign for mountain or foreign country and the scorpion, shown vertically, resemble the fragmentary shape shown here. The mountain sign, however, is not shown as an outline with a recessed interior in this period. In the First Dynasty, this sign is always solid. The only sign or symbol used at this period which has a front or top angled in this manner, depressed inside, is the claw arm of a scorpion. Scorpions with the claw arms arranged in this way are shown on two jars in relief from Hierakonpolis; one is vertical. A number of figurines from the same cache show the same arrangement of the claw arms. The figure was therefore restored as a scorpion.⁷⁷

D. PAINTED POTTERY

Cemetery L contained a number of local vessels and eight Egyptian vessels painted with figure decoration. Very little decoration of this kind has been found in A-Group, and, considering the small number of tombs, the number of such vessels compares quite favorably with the numbers of decorated vessels from Abadiya and Hu or even Naqada.

A-GROUP PAINTED POTTERY

The local painted vessels with figures are in two groups. Most of them are simply exterior painted conical bowls or cups with a register of birds inserted in the geometric decorations (see chapter 2, table 9, Form Group I/159–165).⁷⁸ In two cases, these birds actually face one another. Apart from one possible plant, figures are otherwise not found in the linear-geometric painting on these bowls. At Hierakonpolis, rows of birds or animals are depicted on ivory objects alternated with linear-geometric decoration that resembles A-Group. One interior painted bowl (L 19, V/15) is decorated with V-shaped “trees” alternating with birds; here they are shown in an open field. Whether shown in rows or in an open field, these birds are not as rigidly stylized as most Naqada II birds.

In addition to the birds, nested rectangles are shown on a few vessels; once, they may depict the A-Group palace facade (I/149—L 11 FK).⁷⁹ In other cases, this motif seems to be alternated or recombined in such a way that the palace facade may not have been intended.

EGYPTIAN POTTERY

Eight Egyptian pots had painting that was certainly or probably representational; six with figure decoration were all painted in a consistent style.⁸⁰ Two fragments, one from L 13 with two painted lines and one from L 19 with a simple band of crosshatching, did not retain enough of the decoration for its character to be determined.

L 23—38, OIM 24119 (*pl.* 84)

One of the two most interesting painted vessels from Cemetery L and one of the most important painted pottery vessels from the Nile Valley is also the largest bowl that was found in Cemetery L. Made of hard pink pottery, the bowl was lightly and incompletely burnished inside in a radial-spiral direction. The exterior was also lightly and incompletely burnished, leaving narrow horizontal, vertical, and some diagonal marks on the surface.

Decoration was applied to the surface in the same red paint typical of the Naqada period decorated pottery. Testing with water and examination with UV light—which indicated that some binder was still present on the second large bowl—indicated that the vessel was painted after firing. The paint has substantially disappeared leaving stains or shadowy areas of discoloration to indicate the presence of decoration.

Like the incense burners, the painting comprises a processional composition that terminates at a presentation before a shrine. The rear of the composition is located to the viewer's left. Beginning there, the major elements consist of a spotted plover on a short thick line, three vultures in a diagonal row, two of which tear at serpents, a tree with ancillary animal figures and a guinea fowl(?) in the branches, and the shrine, with the figure of a gesturing man inside or just in front of it.

The spotted plover stands alone at the rear of the composition. The line on which it rests is thicker than the poles of the shrine. Plovers occur on early palettes, especially the "Plover" palette, where it occurs with a crosshatched rounded rectangle. On the Scorpion macehead they are hanging from standards. In the present situation, the purpose of the plover's presence is probably the same as on the palettes.

The three vultures in front of the plover were made with a single curve above that outlines the neck, the back, and the tail. The beak is a single hooked stroke and the lower line of the neck follows the upper line; the anterior body and tail are outlined by a single S-shaped curve that ends at a squared-off tail. The body and neck are crosshatched. The thighs are hollow Vs above single-line legs that end in talons. The serpents with protruding tongues were depicted with sinuous curved lines; the body of the second is crosshatched; the third vulture has no serpent. This element of the composition occurs prominently on the Brooklyn and Pitt-Rivers knife handles.⁸¹

The center of the composition is occupied by a tree with three figures that face to the viewer's right. The tree is depicted with a narrow line for the trunk, three arched lines that show the roots, and five pairs of branches that arch away from the trunk in a symmetrical arrangement. Leaves are represented by short angled strokes. Although the roots and branches are shown in much the same manner as the so-called "aloe" plants in Naqada II painting,⁸² no horned-circle ends occur on the branches, which are much more numerous than on the "aloe" plants, and the roots are much smaller.⁸³

At the left end of the second branch from the top is painted a crested bird. The body is painted solid and the tail is curved downward and squared. Its identification is made difficult by the lack of interior detail. The profile resembles the bird in the upper right enclosure on the Libyan Booty palette. Although both this and the bird on L 23—38 could be considered owls, the owl does not otherwise appear in early art. The bird on L 23—38 and in the enclosure of the palette may be the guinea fowl, a bird that also occurs on the verso of the Lion palette. Below the branches, standing with forefeet on the roots, is a striding antelope or goat with open areas in the head, on the shoulder, on the flank, and in the legs. The tail is indicated by a short stroke that curves forward. A similarly marked animal occurs on the Gebel Tarif knife handle at the front of the composition. It is also probably the animal shown leaping on the Qustul incense burner. Behind the antelope is a crocodile; the reptile is depicted with a drooping tail. Scales along the spine are indicated by short strokes and the body is crosshatched. The eye was left open, and the snout contains vertical marks that represent teeth. Toes are shown on the feet, splayed, like the claws of the vultures. The crocodile also occurs on the Qustul incense burner, and its rarity in the representations of this period was noted in that connection.

To the right of the tree is a structure made up of seven vertical poles and two horizontal bars.⁸⁴ The tops of the last two poles are lost in a break, but all of the others support objects or figures. The first and fifth poles have solid circles impaled on them. The third and fourth have open circles, and above

them are low quadrupeds with long tails that must be crocodiles. Above each of these are two tall plumes that extend to the right in high arcs. Although the crocodile does not occur as a standard in this period,⁸⁵ such high plumes are common.⁸⁶

The second pole is crowned by a circle with serrations; five wavy lines descend to about one third of its length. Directly below the tips of the wavy lines is the figure of a man with a beard. The body has a triangular open area through which the pole appears to pass. The arms are extended from the shoulder, hands palm downward in a gesture of worship or salutation.⁸⁷

The figures on this bowl all face the same direction, linking them into a procession—composition of the kind depicted on the incense burners and the British Museum jar. Individual figures and motifs are linked to a number of well-known representations on various early objects, and their presence here is understandable. The most enigmatic objects are the serrated circle with pendant streamers or serpents and the crocodile—standards.

L 19—21, OIM 24153 (*pls.* 88–92)

A second bowl with elaborate decoration had the same shape as L 23—38, though it was smaller and more fragmentary. It was decorated after firing with a thick red paint which has substantially disappeared. Although much paint disappeared, shadowy discolorations, where original decoration can be traced, remain. The decoration consists of four symmetrical groups, each consisting of an opposed pair of giraffes with ancillary figures.⁸⁸ Two of these pairs are substantially preserved and the hindquarters of one animal remains from a third (group I). Above the back of the left animal of the second pair from the left is a bubalis or other antelope. Above the back of the left animal in group III is another quadruped of uncertain type. Above, around the rim, is a row of solid triangles, a common motif on Naqada II painted vessels.

The bodies of the animals are filled with broad bands or masses of paint, and open areas that indicate masses of muscle, as in the shoulders and flanks, facial features, such as eyes on the antelope, or coloration. The goat or antelope on the L 23 bowl is similarly shown. The interest in corporeality is extended to the depiction of limbs which generally have knees and triangular hooves. The giraffes are shown with horns, manes of short strokes on the neck, and long tails; the mode of representation thus closely parallels figures on the earlier group of great carved slate palettes.⁸⁹ The symmetrical group is well-known from slate palettes, especially the Louvre and the Lion palettes. On these, two giraffes (or giraffes altered to gerenuks on the Lion palette) flank palm trees.⁹⁰ The decoration on the opposite side of the Louvre palette is an abbreviation of the animal *melée* seen on the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette. The Lion palette has the well-known scene of victory that at first earned the object the name “*Palette of the Vultures*.” In the center of each pair of giraffes on the L 19 bowl is a vertical line; splayed lines that remain at the bottom of the line on the right indicate that it is the trunk of a palm tree, as shown on the Louvre palette.

However, despite the destruction of the paint, it is very clear that the shapes at the top are not the crowns of palms. The angular burnishing is somewhat distracting to the observer; in both cases the shapes were incompletely preserved, and their unexpected character made them more difficult to recover. However, the shapes discerned, especially in the area to the right, are all rather easily traced, and the composition of each group is coherent.

The following figures can be detected. Above, a large vulture tears at the figure of a fallen man. The upper part of the man’s body has almost disappeared, leaving only an occasional fleck of paint, but the lower torso and legs are quite distinct. They are in a position commonly used to depict fallen enemies on the later palettes; an arm extends from the horizontal toward the area where a shoulder would be

represented. The sprawled man's pose thus closely resembles the position shown on the Bull palette.⁹¹ A shape below his upper foot might be a bird; it has a straight back, curved belly, and triangular head. The shape below the lower foot resembles a harpoon more than any other object; perhaps it is a label. A straight horizontal shape with rounded ends extends to the left from his lower knee. Extending at an angle from the left end of this shape is a long plant with a stalk that curves to a tip. Three pairs of leaves or fronds appear on the lower stalk. Those above the stalk are not complete, for they enter into the area where the man's upper body has disappeared. The horizontal shape is identified as a *t*₃ sign of the kind that appears on the Narmer, Lion, and Libyan Booty palettes,⁹² and the practice of actually joining the identifying element to the sign is also comparable. Although the plant has a thick stalk and is shown at an angle, the only plant that combines the long curved tip and opposed pairs of curved leaves, and is used to identify the land-sign in pharaonic representation and writing, is the plant of the South.⁹³ This bowl depicts a claim of conquest in Upper Egypt.

Although the paint and the vessel itself are more damaged at the top of the second tree, it can be seen to contain a similar composition. The leg of a man appears to the left of the trunk, which indicates that he was shown supine although the torso has disappeared. The area where the body of a vulture should occur is entirely broken away, but lines that show legs and the beak(?) remain. A horizontal band appears here, also, placed just to the left of the victim's knee. A vertical shape protrudes from the left end of the band. This shape resembles the throw-stick on the Libyan Booty palette enough to indicate that the country ("Throw-stick Land") is the one shown defeated here.⁹⁴

Since the paint seems to have been applied after the vessel was fired, and as Upper Egypt is one of the countries whose defeat is commemorated here, the decoration should be attributed to a local artist, one working in a pharaonic tradition clearly documented by the incense burners.

L 6—2, OIM 24172 (*pls.* 86–87)

One storage jar decorated with a painted figure was deposited in the burial of a bovine sacrifice, L 6, associated with L 23. Though very simple, the figure is related to both the L 23 and L 19 bowls and apparently shows a transition between the two. The figure was painted on the shoulder after firing, in black, probably ink. It consists of a vertical line with an oval painted over the upper end. Above and surrounding the oval on three sides are lines that make up a vulture-like bird of the kind that appears on the L 19 and L 23 bowls. The proportions are exaggerated and the bird's neck is very elongated. The bird's head actually reaches around the end of the oval to attack it from below while the body extends completely around the opposite side. Within the oval are two diagonal painted slashes that could identify it as Nekhen, Hierakonpolis.

RECTANGULAR STAND, L 23—33, OIM 24248 (*pls.* 93–94)

Another object found in the burial chamber of L 23 helps to extend the comparison between objects of this tomb and the painted jar in the British Museum. This is a large fragment of a rectangular stand or box with cut-out triangles and decoration in red paint. On one long side are long horizontal groups, each of four wavy lines between two vertical groups. At the upper left (facing) is a small scorpion. The left end has a herbivore of which only the body and the tip of the nose remain. The animal is shown in the same manner as the others depicted here; it stands on a crosshatched band. The open body of the animal has a band painted along the back. Below and to the right of the animal is a sign (see pl. 93). On the opposite end of the stand is another sign (see pl. 93).

Significant details, such as the scorpion, the use of closely spaced wavy lines painted with multiple brushes, and crosshatched filling, can be compared with the British Museum jar.⁹⁵

SCORPION BOWL, L 24 or L 11 (*pl. 95*)

A bowl with the same shape as the L 23 and L 19 bowls is decorated with a row of scorpions; these have open bodies divided by lines of paint. The front claws angle back to the bodies like most other early representations of scorpions and what is probably a scorpion on the stone jar from L 2. Rows of scorpions occur in other Naqada period paintings and they are found in relief on stone vessels.⁹⁶ The closest parallels in painting are on the British Museum jar.⁹⁷ The scorpion also occurs in the animal file on the Pitt-Rivers knife handle.⁹⁸

AMPHIBIAN BOWL, L 15, Form Group X, G

One bowl has simple solid amphibians of a type sometimes found on Naqada III vessels.⁹⁹ The significance of the representation is unknown.

L 13, Form Group X, B

A fragment from a jar has two painted lines, probably part of a representational composition, since they are not wavy.

L 19, Form Group X, G

A body sherd from a multiple-bulge jar has a band of painted crosshatching.

SUMMARY: PAINTED EGYPTIAN POTTERY AT QUSTUL

The seven pieces presented here form a substantial group, similar in date and origin, and they have a number of important characteristics in common. These include the lack of filling motifs common in Gerzean/Naqada II painting, the increased separation of figures, and the use of open space within the figures. In one case the composition became symmetrical and static. Typologically, the paintings resemble the British Museum jar and they precede the formalized composition on a vessel from Abydos that has been dated to Dynasty O.

The three major pieces, the L 23, L 6, and L 19 vessels, show us the development of a traditional representation different from the ceremonies shown on the incense burners, that of royal victory. On the L 23 bowl, this is allegorical: three vultures tearing at serpents, labeled by the plover or *rhyt* bird on the line (land sign?). On the L 6 jar, this is made more specific; the vulture attacks Hierakonpolis(?). On the third vessel, which is related even more specifically to the tradition of the palettes, vultures attack enemies labeled "Throw-stick Land" and Upper Egypt. This is the first mention of any of these entities, although Ta-Tjemeh is mentioned on the Libyan Booty palette at almost the same time. This body of evidence documents a previously unrecognized phase in early painting and it shows not only developments in art but also in the historical core of pharaonic civilization.

THE VULTURE—DOCUMENTS OF QUSTUL AND THE EMERGENCE OF VICTORY AS A PHARAONIC THEME

By representing progressively specific events, the L 23 bowl, the L 6 jar, and the L 19 bowl play a pivotal role in documenting elaboration of specific pharaonic themes. As pointed out above, the L 19 bowl shows the theme of victory depicted on the later series of palettes (Lion, Bull, Libyan Booty, Narmer) with significant representational details that link it to the earlier series (especially the Louvre palette). It is, therefore, transitional between the two groups. The chronological significance of this transition is discussed in the conclusion.¹⁰⁰ In sequence here, the victory or victories is first shown *beside* the tree on the L 23 bowl, then as a rebus *on* the tree in the L 6 and L 19 representations. The

label to the left of the scene in L 23 is attached to the figures in L 6 and L 19; what would appear on two sides of a palette is shown together on the same surface of a bowl.

However, the L 19 bowl differs from the late palettes not only in the extreme concentration of the incident reported, but in the fact that two incidents are given in relation to each other. Although highly concentrated, the recording of these incidents is clearly related to the theme of victory as shown on the later palettes, and it clearly reflects a historical conception of events that culminates in the labels of the First Dynasty and the annals.¹⁰¹

E. GLYPTIC

Two types of early cylinder seals occur in Nubia and one example of each type occurs at Qustul. The earlier type is decorated with simple incised figures, the later in deeply carved silhouettes that resemble rock drawings and the Qustul incense burner. Both of the cylinder seals here are made of ivory. One is 3.5 x 1.7 cm, the other 3.0 x 1.7 cm in dimension, about the same as other A-Group ivory cylinders.

W 2, OIM 23848

The earlier of these objects is typical of the simpler style. It has a single line at either end for a border. Incised in straight lines are two tree-like elements made up of shallow Vs and a kneeling human figure that consists of a few incised lines and a drill-hole for the head.



Figure 57. L 17 seal, L 17—26. Scale 2:1.

L 17—26, OIM 23662 (*fig. 57*)

The second cylinder is smaller but more elaborate. The ivory is badly split and part of the surface is missing. The preserved decoration includes a group of birds. A row of three tall waders precedes two shorter birds, one above the other. The foot and leg of a fourth tall wader appear below a break

immediately behind.¹⁰² Above the group is a harpoon.¹⁰³ The position of the weapon in this context indicates that it was intended as a label. At the rear of the procession is a human figure. Although most of the leg behind, the body, and the head were destroyed, the figure is clearly in the dress and pose of the greeting man on the Qustul incense burner.¹⁰⁴ The head is indicated by the tip of the beard. The left arm is bent upward in the gesture of presentation, worship, or salutation. The tie of the garment is indicated at the waist, and it falls forward in front to make an upward curve before the tip. The front of the man's leg and torso are indicated just behind. About one third of the seal is missing between the man and the front bird. In style, this seal very much resembles the Qustul incense burner; the human figure and harpoon are also important links. The style also closely resembles that of other seals from A-Group Nubia which are discussed in the conclusion.

SUMMARY: BODIES OF EPIGRAPHIC AND ARTISTIC EVIDENCE

The fragments of art and writing preserved in Cemetery L parallel most of the developments of late Naqada civilization in Egypt. Enough of them are of local materials, are local type objects, or are of such a nature that an Egyptian origin is precluded, that we must conclude that at this early date A-Group Nubia was participating fully in the cultural ferment that produced the commonly recognized forms of pharaonic civilization.

Apart from the varied group of sculptures, three major bodies of epigraphic and artistic evidence have been reviewed here. Most important are the royal processions that end before a palace facade with a sacrifice, shown in various stages of abbreviation or elaboration on incense burners here and seals elsewhere. These scenes are closely related to a number of such scenes in Egypt, most notably the Hierakonpolis painted tomb and the Gebelein painted textile. The second group includes the victory scenes, allegorized in L 23, explicit in L 6 and L 19. The representations from L 6 and L 19 are abbreviated equivalents of the victories portrayed on the later palettes. Although the painted vessels are related in style to some of the representations on the early palettes, they are also related to figures of vultures tearing serpents on other painted vessels and ivory objects. Thus, the bowls and jar link major classes of Naqada period art to each other and to the easily recognized forms of later pharaonic civilization; they form a bridge which should lead to the reinterpretation of what has been termed prehistoric culture in Egypt.

The third body of evidence includes several categories of documents. The marks, inscriptions, and representations incised on pottery include simple marks made for the control of production or transportation. Except for the inscription of Pe-Ḥor major writing groups incised before firing were of Egyptian origin, but a number of stereotyped symbols incised after firing do not occur in Egyptian potmarks, and it must be asked if A-Group Nubia was not participating as directly in the development of writing as in other aspects of pharaonic civilization.

NOTES

1. Hellström and Langballe 1970; Engelmayer 1965; Basch and Gorbea 1968; Winkler 1938-39; Bietak and Engelmayer 1965; Dunbar 1941, pp. 139-67; Solecki (ed.), Heinzelin et al. 1963, pp. 70-92, pl. XV; Myers 1948, pp. 556-57; Smith 1962 (for locations); Leclant 1963, pp. 17-25, pls. I-III, VIII; Kromer and Ehgartner 1963, pp. 67-73, pls. V-VIII; Curto 1967, pp. 35-40, see pl. I; Klassens 1967, pp. 79-86, see pl. I; Leclant 1967, pp. 119-22, pls. I-II; and Piotrovsky 1967. Much A-Group rock art differs little from that of Upper Egypt.

2. See forthcoming *OINE* IV.

3. See below, pp. 147-50.

4. See above, table 9, pp. 154-55; table 12, pp. 14-15.

5. See above, pp. 108–12. It is nearer to 10 YR 8/2 than to any other color on the Munsell scale. The outer surface is often patinated to 10 YR 7/4–6/4.

6. See above, p. 123.

7. Scamuzzi 1965, pl. V. One of the earliest forms is the bark shown with flat bottom, prow and stern bent upward with the throne in the center, on a black-topped pot. Rock drawings at Hierakonpolis show elaborate vessels with figureheads that resemble the Gebelein–Turin bark (Hoffman et al. 1982, pp. 61–63, A and C). They are incorrectly designated as sickle-boats. (See Capart 1904, fig. 101, p. 134; Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:52).

8. Quibell and Green 1902, pls. 6, 9, 67, pp. 20–23, 34; Kantor 1944, pp. 111–19, figs. 1–4, 6–11; Case and Payne 1962, pp. 5–18; and Payne 1973, pp. 31–35, for the context. See also Kemp 1973. With its uneven curve and the truss continuing from the tip of the stern, the vessel differs from later examples. See Kantor 1944, fig. 5D; Frankfort 1939, pl. III:d, e; and Bénédite 1916, pp. 1–34, fig. 9 and pl. I.

The Mesopotamian boat had an evenly curved bow and stern with trusses shown holding the curve. The bow of the Egyptian bark is sharply curved or angled and there is generally no forward truss shown, though they can be seen on the sterns of the Hierakonpolis bark, the Gebel el Arak knife handle (Bénédite 1918, pl. XXII) and the Metropolitan knife handle (*Art and Antiques* May 1985, p. 30).

9. See below, p. 169.

10. For rock drawings, see above, note 1, but especially the following: Hellström and Langballe 1970; Winkler 1938–39; and Engelmayr 1965.

11. Frankfort 1924, pl. XIII, and Nordström 1972, pl. 69:11 (298: 15–16).

12. Petrie 1920, pl. XXIII:3; Petrie 1953, pl. K (Narmer palette); and Quibell 1900, pl. XXVI:C8. An important intermediate form occurs on the Gebel el Arak knife handle and the Metropolitan knife handle. The prow and stern both curve upward to a point—with the stern somewhat thicker—and the trusses that hold the stern of the vessel in position are shown (Bénédite 1916, fig. 9 and pl. I; Vandier 1952, figs. 359–60; *Art and Antiques* May 1985, p. 30).

13. Petrie 1900, pl. XVII:26; Petrie 1901b, pls. X, XI; and Kaplony 1963, fig. 286.

14. Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:51 U; Kaiser 1964, fig. 7; and Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14. For the Siali sealings, see below, pp. 169–71.

15. Seele (1974, p. 38) refers to the animal only as a quadruped. DeVries (1976) calls it a baboon, but acknowledges a suggestion by Mr. Bernard Bothmer that it was a feline, either a panther or a leopard.

The pointed ears rule out identification as a baboon. The feet have early versions of the so-called comb-claw noted by Petrie on the slate palettes (see note 16 below).

16. The claws are spread slightly and the sharply stylized projection at the heel is also clear. Some representations of carnivorous animals in the Hierakonpolis painted tomb have splayed claws like those on the animal painted on the British Museum jar and the present feline (Quibell and Green 1902, pl. 67; color copy from the Petrie Collection). In the animal file decorated knife handles (and the Sayala mace handle), the feet appear as rectangular pads (Asselberghs 1961, pls. XXVIII–XXXV). One knife handle shows what may be the comb-claw (*ibid.*, pl. XXXVI). In the entire series of palettes carved in raised relief that immediately precede that of Narmer, the carnivores' feet are shown with claws extended; the mature "comb-claw" (Petrie 1953, pls. F [Lesser Hierakonpolis], B, E [Lion], H [upper right], K [Narmer]). The pad at the heel is shown as a distinct anatomical feature, and the toes extend forward and parallel with the claws protruding from them in a curve forward and down, so that they end parallel to the lower leg of the animal. The feline on the Qustul incense burner has extended claws, but they begin at the leg and are splayed toward the tips; they do not form the parallel comb-like arrangement noted by Petrie on the entire series of palettes. Since such claws shown in First Dynasty representations are even more regularized, we should consider the claws on the Qustul incense burner an early experiment in the development of the comb-claw.

17. Gardiner 1957, p. 477, K 3.

18. Petrie 1896, pls. III and IV; Capart 1904, fig. 151, esp. 2; Petrie 1901b, pl. XXVII:100, 101; and Kaplony 1963, p. 475, stela 101, 100.

19. Case and Payne 1962, p. 14.

20. See Petrie 1953a, pl. J.

21. It was not possible to determine whether this line was intentional.

22. Petrie 1953a, pl. F.

23. *Ibid.* See also Kantor 1944, fig. 9:P, Q. The tails of herbivores are not generally upraised at all on the knife handles (Kantor 1944, fig. 13; Bénédite 1918, pls. II, XXXII–XXXIV, fig. 1.)

24. See below, pp. 157–58. The harpoon head also occurs as part of the label for Narmer's ship (Petrie 1953a, pl. K). See also Kaplony 1958, pp. 76–78, and Kaiser 1964, p. 90, for alternative interpretations.
25. This could also be damage done with a pointed instrument.
26. The individual cutting of each petal is important for showing that this probably represents the rosette or palm-crown as on the Faras seal (see below, pp. 167–68), the Scorpion and Narmer maceheads (Quibell 1900, pl. XXVI:b–c), the Narmer palette (Ibid., pl. XXIX), the Carnarvon knife handle (Bénédict 1918, pp. 3–15), and the Gebel Tarif knife handle (Kantor 1944, pp. 127–31). See Asselberghs 1961, pls. XXXII–XXXIII.
27. See, for example, Petrie 1901b, pl. XV:108 (Djer). Both the Faras and Siali seals show a *serekh* as part of an event-description of the type later found on labels. This presumes that the ship is to be restored with a throne because there is no room for the king to have any pose but seated. For a similar vessel from Nubia with a throne, see Mills and Nordström 1966, p. 9, fig. 3, grave 16:15.
28. DeVries (1976, p. 68) first suggested the possibility that this was a falcon. This is a characteristic pre-Djer falcon. See Petrie 1953a, pl. J; Kaiser 1964, cf. fig. 7; Petrie 1901b, pls. XI (Aḥa), XII:3 (Djer, new falcon shape), 6 (Qa), XIII:91, 92, 96 (Ka, Iry-Hor, and Narmer), XIV:97–99 (Aḥa) XV:105–09 (Djer, new shape), XVII:125–27, 131, 135 (Uadji, new shape), XVIII, (Den), XIX (Den), XX:156 (Den); Kaplony 1963, Foto-Abb. 1, 2 (Scorpion?), figs. 26A, B (Narmer), 27–28 (Aḥa), 29–30 (Djer), 32 (Uadji), 33 (Den), 36 (Aḥa); Fischer 1958, figs. 19–20; and Quibell 1905, no. 14237.
29. A counterpart occurs in Hierakonpolis Tomb 100 in the stern of the sacred bark.
30. Fischer 1958, pp. 66, 75–83; Petrie 1953a, pl. F.
31. Capart 1904, p. 128, fig. 95. A crocodile may be the end figure on the Pitt-Rivers knife handle.
32. Quibell 1900, pl. XXVI:C2, and XXVI:B.
33. Scamuzzi 1965, pl. V; Petrie 1901b, pl. III:2; Emery 1938, p. 35, fig. 8, pl. 17:A; and see below, pp. 171–72.
34. For other executioners and persons holding maces head-downward, see Petrie 1900, pl. XV:16; and Petrie 1902, pl. XI:8.
35. This unusual form of palace facade is paralleled only in Nubia on pottery from Qustul (see above, table 9, motifs 146–49); at Faras the facade occurs on a seal (Griffith 1921, p. 12 and pl. II); and at Siali on sealings (Reisner 1910, pl. 65f). See also Kaplony 1964, figs. 884–85. See below for a reconstruction of the seal, fig. 58. See below, pp. 169–71.
36. The best example is from the "Tomb of Hemaka" (Emery 1938, pp. 35–39, pls. 17–18). See below, chapter 5, pp. 168–70.
37. Ibid. The gods are shown here as objects picked up and carried past the king's name as though in review. Before Scorpion, representations of deities or mythical animals and even standards are often shown as literally alive (Petrie 1953a, pl. F); they are less common later.
38. Such booths occur occasionally before the First Dynasty, when they become common. See Adams 1974a, pl. 1, and Quibell and Green 1902, pls. LXXV, LXXVII.
39. Capart 1904, p. 223, fig. 154.
40. Since the studies for this volume were completed, a parallel processional representation was recovered on the boss side of the Metropolitan Museum knife handle which also includes a bark that contains a pharaoh. See *Art and Antiques* May 1985, p. 30, "Discovery." See also Kantor, *JNES* 1944, pl. X.
41. Kaiser 1964, fig. 7; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14.
42. Kaiser 1964, fig. 7e; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14:12. For a procession of these barks without the palace facade shown as the destination, see Petrie 1903, pl. XII:26 b.
43. Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:86–88.
44. Scharff 1926, Abb. 15:e (reversed).
45. Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:82, 83–85.
46. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LIII:127, 132, 140–43, 145; Petrie 1901a, pl. XXII:127, 132, 137, 139, 142, 146, 147, 156, 160, 161.
47. Junker 1912, Abb. 61:93, 103 (short dashes); and Junker 1919, Abb. 44:13–14, 16–17.
48. Junker 1912, Abb. 60:74, 75 (90 deg. rot.).
49. Ibid., Abb. 61:95, 103 (short dashes).
50. Petrie 1901a, pl. XXIII:233, 234, 237; Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LIV:271–78 (various).
51. Petrie 1901a, pls. XXII–XXIII, uncertain, ca. 237; Junker 1912, Abb. 60:64.
52. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LII:47, 49, 68, 69; Petrie 1900, pl. LIV:964; Junker 1912, Abb. 57:8 (above); Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928, pl. LV:49, 50; Emery 1958, pl. 33:1–8; and Petrie 1901a, pl. XXIII:216(?).

53. I A 5, note 46.
54. Junker 1919, Abb. 44:37; Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LV:426.
55. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LV:413–414.
56. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LI:1–2, 7 (very different).
57. Petrie 1901b, pl. LV:B250–56 (with dagger); and Junker 1919, Abb. 44:43.
58. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LI:34.
59. Ibid., pl. LII:70, 71; LVI:436; Petrie 1903, pl. XII:266; Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pl. XXXI:65; Junker 1919, Abb. 44:34; and Brunton 1937, pl. XXXVIII:9.
60. The significance of the complex B 1/2 of Abydos has been discussed in detail by Kaiser and Dreyer (1982), pp. 222–25, 230–35. Incised labels of Iry-Hor are presented on fig. 14:13–22, painted on fig. 10. The label fig. 10d is closest to the present inscription, Iry-Hor + k_3 + hn — mhw .
- For the falcon, see fig. 14:1–17; arrangement of k_3 -arms, nos. 23–33.
61. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LVI:468–70 (mace only); Junker 1912, Abb. 58:25 (arms only); Scharff 1926, Abb. 15:0 (mace only with *serekh*); and Petrie 1900, pls. XLVII–XLVIII (the arms are bent further). See also Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, Abb. 14:1, 6, 10.
62. Petrie 1900, pl. LI:594–604 (painted and very careless); Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, pl. XXX:13–15(?); XXXI:79; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, Abb. 10c–d (read mhw).
63. Petrie 1900, pl. XLVIII (the k_3 arms are often with a triangle, but the positions are reversed and the arms are rectangularly arranged); possibly also Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, Abb. 10d (read hn , and combined with mhw).
64. Petrie 1901b, pl. LV:D383 (Cem. B); Junker 1912, Abb. 59:34–35 (rotated 90°); Junker 1919, Abb. 44:33a; Scharff 1926, Abb. 15:n, o; Kaiser 1964, Abb. 7, (from Beda, with ship and rosette), r (from Abu Roash); Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LII:105; Petrie 1900, pl. LVI:1166; and Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14.
65. See note 63.
66. Petrie 1901b, pl. LV:47.
67. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LII:77–92. This includes various buildings.
68. Petrie 1900, pl. L:512 (this is more elaborate and includes the hill-sign), LVI:1147, 1150–51; Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LII:104, 97; Petrie 1901b, pl. LV:B161; Junker 1912, Abb. 59:32(?); and Emery 1938, pl. 40:192.
69. Emery 1954, fig. 101:68–69; Nordström 1972, pl. 26.
70. Petrie 1900, pl. LVI:1149; Junker 1919, Abb. 44:33a (one half only or II B 1); and Emery 1939, pl. 19:1 (one half and in a different context).
71. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LVI:448; Petrie 1901b, LV:C 309–12; and Brunton 1937, pl. XXXVIII:12, 22 (many rays).
72. Michalowski 1968, fig. 172 (faience); Müller 1970, pl. 10 below (calcite); Petrie 1903, pl. X:222, 225, 226; pl. XII:178; and Baumgartel 1947, pl. 12:5.
73. Petrie 1903, pl. XII.
74. Petrie 1953a, pls. J–K (Narmer Palette).
75. Ibid., pl. A:2.
76. Ibid., pls. A:3, F. The eye as a specialized topic was reviewed by Bénédite (1916, pp. 21–22). Those that can be chronologically fixed are as follows: the earliest examples, on early or mid-Naqada II (Gerzean) palettes, are round holes, often with white beads inlaid (Petrie 1953a, pl. A:2). In the Hierakonpolis painted tomb, the eyes were more square, with irregular borders around them that emphasized the shape (Kantor 1944, fig. 11:B). On the Sayala mace handle, dated slightly before L 24 (ca. L 28–L 29?), the eyes have become triangular, again with an irregular interrupted border (Kantor 1944, fig. 13). Next is the eye-inlay from L 11, with its symmetrical pointed shape, ridge round the outside, and flat recessed orb with hole in the center. Thereafter, the hippopotamus figure from L 19 (see above, pp. 150–51) has eyes that are raised orbs inside an eye-shaped ridge, and is dated about a generation after L 11 (see below, p. 167). This is the eye as shown on the documents of Scorpion and Narmer (Quibell 1900, p. XXVI:C). As pointed out, the two undated ceremonial slate palettes that appear earliest, the Hunters' palette and the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette, have figures with eyes that closely resemble the symmetrical depressed eye with round ridge from L 11 (Petrie 1953a, pls. A:3, F, B:8, C:9; Fischer 1958, fig. 20). Some figures on the Hunters' palette also have deeper holes bored to show the pupils. Typologically, the raised eye from L 19 is later while those on the Sayala mace handle are earlier. Judged by this criterion, the Lion, Bull, and Libyan Booty palettes must be contemporary with or later than L 19 (Bénédite 1916, pp. 21–22; Petrie 1953a, pls. D, E, G).
77. See Quibell 1900, pl. XVII, upper left; compare with upper right. Horizontal groups include pls. XIX:1 and XX:1. For figurines with claws see pls. XVIII:15, XIX:5, and XX:10.

78. See above, chapter 2, table 9, motif nos. 159–65.
79. See above, chapter 2, table 9, motif no. 149.
80. Precisely comparable material from Egypt is not common. At present, pieces that can be relied upon include one jar in the British Museum, another from Abydos, and one from the Archaeological Survey of Nubia. See Hall 1928, p. 37, fig. 28; Frankfort 1924, pl. XIII; Kantor 1974, pl. 205; Reisner 1910, p. 272, 45/470, fig. 297; and Petrie 1902, pl. L:23. This design is much more formalized and the figures are solid, which most here are not. For other examples, see Kantor 1944, p. 116; Petrie 1921, pl. XXXVII:D 78 A, B.
81. Bénédite 1918, fig. 1, pl. XXXIV, table, p. 229. For other examples, see Kantor 1944, fig. 9:F–K; and Frankfort 1924, pl. XIII. Churcher (in Needler 1984, p. 161) identifies the combined bird and serpent as a sacred ibis. However, the published drawing does not include the complete bodies of serpents which continue under the vultures. This writer has examined the original closely for that feature, and serpent shapes definitely continue under the birds; some actually undulate slightly.
82. Petrie 1920, pls. XIX–XX.
83. Capart 1904. The plant shown in fig. 101:46 has a similar effect. The roots are reduced in 39 and 42. This reduction is continued on the palms shown on the Louvre palette and the L 19 bowl.
84. Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, pl. XII and Quibell 1900, pl. XIV.
85. The circular standard, even with solid center, appears on Naqada II painted standards (Petrie 1920, pl. XXIII) and on a standard scratched on a jar (*ibid.*, fig. 102; Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:97, with two plumes).
86. Plumes occur in this shape on various standards: on a falcon (Capart 1904, fig. 101; Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:D 57 U); on a circle (Capart 1904, fig. 102; Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:97); single, on a shield (Petrie 1901a, pl. XXI:68); single, on Min-sign as a feather (Capart 1904, fig. 151); on the Bull palette (Capart 1904, fig. 165; Petrie 1953a, pl. G); and on the Min palette (Petrie 1953a, pl. A). In Naqada II, it appears as a frond from a palm or "aloe" (Petrie 1920, pl. XXIII).
87. This occurs on the Siali sealing (see below, pp. 169–70) and Hierakonpolis Tomb 100. The structure of the animal file parts of the composition is paralleled in miniature on the outside of a spoon from Tarkhan, shown as though seen from above (Petrie 1914, pls. II:5, I:1925).
88. Other heraldic giraffes, flanking a palm, are on palettes (Petrie 1953a, pls. C, D).
89. Petrie 1953a, pls. C (Louvre) and F (Lesser Hierakonpolis). Both palettes show giraffes with these details; these contrast with the simplified figures of the *gerenuks*(?) shown on the Lion palette.
90. *Ibid.*, pls. C, D.
91. *Ibid.*, pl. G.
92. *Ibid.*, pls. J, E, G.
93. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LII:74; Petrie 1901a, pl. XXIII:228 (and 223).
94. Petrie 1953a, pl. G. For a similar throw-stick, see the Hunters' palette examples as drawn by Capart (1904, fig. 154, middle of the fourth row). By coincidence, one of the most significant later occurrences of *Ta Tjemeh* associates it with the country of Yam in Nubia.
95. Frankfort 1924, pl. XIII.
96. See above, p. 151.
97. Frankfort, 1924, pl. XIII.
98. Kantor 1974, fig. 204.
99. Capart 1904, fig. 87:D 78; Petrie 1901a, pl. XVI:78.
100. See below, pp. 177–82.
101. Schott 1950, pl. IX, figs. 18, 19, and 21, pp. 26–30.
102. Kantor 1944, pp. 127–31.
103. See above, p. 141.
104. See above, p. 141.

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CONCLUSION: THE ROYAL CEMETERY OF TA-SETI

THE A-Group at Qustul is as important for understanding Naqada III as Kerma is for understanding the Kerma culture or Cemeteries 219 and 220 are for understanding the X-Group. The major tombs in Cemetery L contained many times more wealth than did the greatest tombs yet found in A-Group Nubia. In size they compare with the plundered pairs of tombs of Dynasty O at Abydos (Cemetery B).¹ They are larger than Predynastic tombs at Naqada (T5)² and Hierakonpolis (T100)³ that have been attributed to rulers. Although the tombs had been heavily pillaged, the surviving wealth in pottery—over a thousand Exterior Painted (Form Group I)⁴ vessels, large numbers of Egyptian vessels in many varieties and often of large sizes,⁵ and “Asiatic” jugs of types not yet known in Egypt⁶—was equal or superior to that of the tombs in Cemetery B at Abydos and far greater than any earlier tombs. Were the tombs found in Egypt, Cemetery L would have been attributed to rulers, without qualification, from the evidence of wealth alone.

Wealth is, however, only a part of the evidence. A bowl from L 19 records victories in a precisely pharaonic manner.⁷ The palace facade, symbol of pharaoh in early times, occurs several times.⁸ These *serekh*-facades occur on A-Group objects made from materials that could be obtained locally.⁹ At least once, and possibly three times, the symbolic palace facade is accompanied by a representation of the pharaoh himself wearing the white crown. At least once he is preceded by the Horus falcon, probably perched upon a *serekh*.¹⁰ On the Archaic Horus incense burner (fig. 111a) the palace facade is accompanied by the shrouded Archaic Horus; since the representation of deities does not occur in private tombs in this period, this representation is another indication that the person buried in the tomb where the *serekh*-facade was found was royal.¹¹ Though they are very faint, two figures of a pharaoh can also be seen on this incense burner, one for each of the two processions shown. A *serekh* can perhaps be seen above a bark's cabin on the L 10 incense burner.¹² Though these last may be doubted because they are faint, the references to pharaoh implicit in the *serekh* or palace facades themselves are not subject to such doubts, and the representation on the Qustul incense burner is explicit. The persons buried in the great tombs of Cemetery L at Qustul were pharaohs.

The question then to be asked is: “Where did they originate?” Since a victory over Upper Egypt is recorded, that country was presumably not their homeland. Both objects and practices indicate that these pharaohs belonged to Nubia; a number of early objects and monuments refer to this region in some way as Ta-Seti.¹³ Cemetery L was clearly the A-Group royal cemetery of Ta-Seti at Qustul, although the jurisdiction and significance of the rulers buried there may not have been limited to that region.

A. THE DATE OF CEMETERY L

If Cemetery L was pharaonic, then it is necessary to relate it to contemporary materials and events in Egypt. In the case of the A-Group, discovering such relationships has been difficult because investigators have repeatedly and without evidence dated major A-Group phases to the Dynastic Age¹⁴

although the latest A-Group contexts date to the early First Dynasty. In fact, Egyptian imports to Nubia are all easily datable, within the two major systems of archaeological chronology now in use, to the Naqada period and the earliest part of the First Dynasty.¹⁵

Cemetery L yielded one inscription that can be related directly to inscriptions from Egypt, a post-firing mark on a storage jar found in L 2. The vertical inscription consists of a falcon perched on, or seizing, a hollow square, an asymmetrically arranged k_3 sign, and the stern of a bark or part of a $hn(?)$ sign. The structure of the inscription parallels the inscriptions from tomb B 2 at Abydos attributed by Kaiser and Dreyer (1982) to a pharaoh, Iry-Hor, second or third predecessor of Narmer (the schematic and hypothetical nature of all early rulers is recognized along with the need for some designation that identifies individual rulers). These inscriptions consist of a falcon perched on an r sign, with other elements below, notably “ k_3 ” and “ $hn mhw$.”¹⁶ In the present inscription, the falcon resembles those in the group that preceded Iry-Hor (Horizon A or Early *Serekh* Group). The structure of the inscription is so similar, however, that if the inscriptions at Abydos have been correctly read as a pharaoh's name, this must be one also. It resembles the simple early names, Iry-Hor ($H_3t-Hor?$ and $Ny-Hor?$), inscribed on pottery¹⁷ and is probably to be read $Pe-Hor$ (Throne of Horus). In any case, the inscription indicates that L 2 is dated close to, but earlier than, the time of Iry-Hor.

The major tombs in Cemetery L were not created simultaneously; they were made singly, as rulers died, one after the other. With smaller tombs made contemporaneously for other important individuals, the great tombs should comprise a sequence, distributed roughly by generations. Some further corroboration of distribution over time can be found in the changes that occurred from tomb to tomb in the sequence; L 2 is one of the smaller of the great tombs.¹⁸ Both from its difference in shape and its location away from the largest tombs, L 2 should be assigned a date either before or after them. If the great tombs in L are to be dated later than $Pe-Hor$, the pottery and objects they contained must be of types that occur in tombs well-dated to the Early Dynastic period in Egypt, royal tombs at Abydos and Saqqara,¹⁹ their subsidiary or sacrifice tombs, and other closely related groups.²⁰ If they are earlier, the pottery and objects will be datable to the Naqada-Dynasty O period, whether or not they have been precisely dated within that period.²¹

POTTERY

Most ordinary storage jars from Cemetery L are ovoid with sloping shoulders. Ovoid storage jars occur in late Naqada period (S.D. 77) and Early Dynastic contexts, though by the First Dynasty they have horizontal shoulders.²² This late type was found only in the latest tombs at Qustul.

Four tall storage jars, each with a narrow flattened base and thumb-impressed bands at the shoulder, waist, and base, were found in L 23. In a series of such jars from Dynasties O and I the nearest parallels are jars from the Abydos tombs B 1/2 of Iry-Hor.²³ However, the jars from Abydos have tapered bodies; the First Dynasty counterparts are tapered still more, while the bands have become simple and no longer appear on later vessels. The examples from L 23 are more ovoid than any of these; the bands are prominent and strongly finger marked. Typologically they are a stage more remote than the early end of the sequence of such jars described by Kaiser.

A number of so-called fancy forms occurred at Qustul, types not found in First Dynasty contexts but repeatedly assigned to the Predynastic period as late as S.D. 77. Spouted jars were found in fragments from L 24 and L 19.²⁴ The vessel from L 24 was low and it probably originally had a narrow neck and rim (only the neck is preserved). The examples from L 19 are more developed, having a broad rim and taller profile. The separate spout from L 19 has a square section.

One complete multiple-bulge jar was found in L 24, with fragments of one or two more.²⁵ A sherd

of one from L 19 is painted. Another, less elaborate shape is the simple flat-bottomed bottle of which there are three examples from L 24; one has a ridge at the neck.²⁶ Also in L 24 is an oval barrel-jar.²⁷

Although many of the vessels from Cemetery L do not have chronologically distinctive shapes, many do, and these are datable to the period before the Abydos tombs which are dated to Ka and Narmer (S.D. 78, or Naqada IIIb).

Painted decoration can be considered in two parts—groups of wavy lines and representations. The wavy lines may not have died out entirely before Dynasty O, but survivals, if present, were very rare. In the well-defined groups of the First Dynasty, this kind of painting is absent.²⁸ However, it is common in Cemetery L, most commonly in groups of four wavy lines; it is present in many of the tombs, especially those with storage jars, notably in L 24, L 23, and L 2.²⁹

A cylinder jar in L 2 with a broad wavy incised band is decorated with intersecting vertical and angular painted bands, an ensemble of features that dates from the “early *serekh* group” (Horizon A) to Ka.³⁰

If the wavy lines continued but a little into Dynasty O, representational decoration died out entirely in that phase of the Protodynastic.³¹ Yet this type of decoration occurred in Cemetery L repeatedly, in L 24, L 23, L 19, L 15, and L 13. Because Cemetery L was so badly plundered, negative arguments are not especially reliable, but no painting of this type was found on the forty-five Egyptian bowls from L 9 or on any from L 2.

OBJECTS

Although a number of objects will have to be dated by their occurrence in Cemetery L, because the dates of their earliest appearance cannot be precisely defined in Egypt, a number of others may actually help to date the cemetery. Faience vessels of the types found here have been dated to just before Narmer in Egypt.³² Shell hooks, common at Qustul, are rare in Egypt and they have been dated quite early in the Naqada period; they have generally occurred without additional materials, especially pottery, that could be used to support such dating.³³ Although the chronological range might be extended from Naqada II to III, it is clear that such shell hooks do not occur in any known First Dynasty tombs. An ivory pin with ribbed head is a type generally dated to the era before Dynasty O.³⁴ The beads from L 24 include early versions of the grooved pendant and of the bilobate beads that were found among the jewelry deposited in the tomb of Djer.³⁵

Although stone vessels include some types, especially bowls, that appear in the First Dynasty, the collection of stone vessels here is simpler and appears earlier than comparable groups from the First Dynasty. The wavy band continued on the cylinder jars of L to the end of the cemetery’s period of existence.³⁶ Only one cylinder jar of the splayed shape common in the First Dynasty occurred here, in L 19.³⁷

Both pottery and objects offer evidence that Cemetery L is to be dated before the First Dynasty. Where types exist from First Dynasty Egypt comparable to those found in L, they appear to be present in earlier guises or they have not been identified as beginning before the First Dynasty because the mass of materials from the Saqqara and Abydos tombs has tended to obscure developments in the immediately preceding period. Features typical of the Naqada period occur frequently here that no longer appear in First Dynasty contexts, and characteristic features of that period occur rarely, in late tombs, or not at all.

B. THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF TOMBS WITHIN CEMETERY L

Specific dating within the cemetery can be done by comparison to Egyptian materials, and by following the occurrence of objects and practices within the cemetery itself. As is well known, the

numerical sequence–dating system devised by Petrie tended to perpetuate errors, such as the early dating of shell hooks; by statement of its creator, it provides no standard of duration whatsoever. Chronological confusion in the later part of the period has already been pointed out; its materials have been divided between the Gerzean period and the First Dynasty.³⁸ Kaiser's revision of the sequence according to a chartographic argument added an independent index of sequence to typological clusters and thus generated a more reliable chronology. However, the argument was based on private tombs, mostly much poorer than the tombs found at Qustul in Cemetery L, and it offers little evidence for the duration of any phase except the last.³⁹

Cemetery L, on the other hand, is made up of single tombs and pairs that were placed close to one another and arranged in such a way that a specific relation can be inferred between them. Since the tombs belonged to individuals who were unique in their time, there is reason to believe that the great tombs and pairs of tombs each represent, very approximately, a generation of time. Because of their locations and design, L 24, L 28, L 29, L 2, L 5, and L 30 can be considered single tombs. Pairs are L 19/L 22, L 23/L 11, and L 1/L 8 (the elaborate design of L 1 indicates that it is not linked with L 11 although the two are very close). Because of the thorough plundering, several kinds of evidence were examined to establish a detailed sequence in the cemetery.

ARCHITECTURE

L 24 was the largest tomb of all; L 1 and L 30 were smaller trench–chamber tombs, but both had a series of steps inside the trench. Although the cemetery was too small to apply a detailed chartographic argument, most of the large tombs were found to the north and in the center of the cemetery. A number of the smaller tombs such as L 2 and L 5 were found toward the south end of the cemetery; some were distributed around the L 23/L 11 pair of large tombs in the center. Judging by both their greater complexity and their locations, the smaller trench–chamber tombs should be later than the larger tombs.

BLACK INCISED BOWLS

The small tombs L 2, L 5, and L 30 were linked together by the occurrence in them of the heavy black incised pottery with distinctive shapes and decoration. This pottery was also found in L 22, which would indicate that L 19 and L 22 were the latest of the great tombs.⁴⁰

FAIENCE VESSELS

Faience jars were found in L 2 and L 5. A fragment of a straight–sided jar, presumably an earlier type, found in L 22, links this tomb with the small tombs.⁴¹

EGYPTIAN PAINTED POTTERY

The groups of wavy lines are most elaborate on the oval jar from L 24 and on the stand from L 23; L 23 and L 19 contained the two large bowls with major painted compositions. That on the bowl from L 19 is somewhat more formal, symmetrical, and historical, which indicates that this vessel was the later of the two.⁴²

A–GROUP PAINTED POTTERY

L 11 and L 19 had by far the largest collections of painted A–Group bowls of all the early tombs, which indicates a link between the two pairs, L 23/L 11 and L 19/L 22,⁴³ that contained many decorated vessels.

STONE VESSELS

In L 24 and L 23 only a few stone vessels were found, including somewhat convex jars with wavy handles and wavy bands. In the smaller tombs, stone vessels were much more common, and most jars were cylindrical.⁴⁴

RIPPLE—BURNISHED POTTERY

L 29 and L 28 were the two most completely plundered tombs in the cemetery; the plundering of late tomb L 30 nearby may have caused some contamination of these tombs by later materials at the time the tombs were plundered. However, the only fairly common occurrence of ripple—burnished sherds in the cemetery was in this area, which may indicate that L 29 was the earliest tomb of the detectable sequence (judging from its position, L 28 was probably the first tomb in the cemetery).⁴⁵

THE ORDER AND DATE OF CEMETERY L

According to the evidence given above, the chronological order of the cemetery should be L 28, L 29, L 24, L 23/L 11, L 19/L 22, L 5, L 2, L 30, and L 1/L 8. The historical connection with Upper Egypt, Pe—Hor (L 2), is late enough in the series so that the entire cemetery could have ended before the B Cemetery at Abydos began.

The evidence of individual and paired tombs indicates there were at least ten pharaohs in eight generations, possibly twelve in nine generations. If the Pe—Hor inscription occurred about six generations after the start of the dynasty, the earliest reference to a pharaoh, in L 24, is several generations earlier than the Abydos B cemetery. The cemetery continued to exist for about two generations after Pe—Hor's time, then ended, perhaps in the reign of Hor—Aha, possibly giving meaning to the label that may record the smiting of Ta—Seti.⁴⁶

It is hardly conceivable that a dynasty could have existed at Qustul in Nubia for a quarter of a millennium without leaving evidence of its passing elsewhere. Other than the exterior painted vessels, which can be considered products of the capital itself, five pieces of representational or epigraphic evidence relate to our materials. Four of these pieces are seals or sealings, all in a style of both design and execution that resembles that of the Qustul incense burner and the seal from L 17.

GLYPHTIC

The broken ivory cylinder seal from L 17 shows a man in the pose and dress of the worshipper or royal servant on the Qustul incense burner;⁴⁷ the harpoon is another connection between the two pieces. A number of other seals and sealings of the same size, style, and material can be connected with this object as well.

The Faras Seal

The first and simplest object that resembles the Qustul seal is the Faras seal (fig. 58d).⁴⁸ This small ivory cylinder, somewhat wider than the L 17 seal, was found in a late A—Group grave of some importance. Carved on it are three palace facades of the same type as the building on the Qustul incense burner. One is lower than the others and has a six—pointed rosette above it, perhaps equivalent to the rosette on the Qustul incense burner. Between the two larger palace facades is a man, seated with his legs in front of him, a lock of hair or spurt of blood extending backward from his head. The left arm is behind his back. Because of the small size of the figure, the placement of the right arm is less easy to determine. The elements above and in front of the man are also difficult to interpret. An irregular circle is shown above a line. The V—shaped line below could either be (a) the man's arm (raised in



Figure 58. Documents of A-Group official culture: (a) Siali seal (after Reisner 1910, pl. 65f); (b) Sarras West seal (after Mills and Nordström 1966, fig. 3); (c) L 17 seal, L 17-26; (d) Faras seal (after Griffith, *LAAA* 8 [1921] pl. 2). Not to scale except (c) 1:1.

supplication or salutation if he is a prisoner); (b) the man's arm holding a flute (as the enigmatic figure on the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette); or (c) an arm extended from the line to smite the prisoner; in this case, the two signs would comprise a royal name smiting an enemy. At this point the most plausible interpretation is that the man is a supplicating prisoner who bleeds from the head and is labeled t_3 —?. As a whole, the seal would show a fragment of the same ceremony shown more completely on the Qustul and Archaic Horus incense burners with the following elements: palace facade, *serekh*/rosette (Pharaoh, unclear name) palace facade, and the sacrifice of t_3 —(unclear place).

The Sarras West Seal

A second seal of this style is also of ivory (fig. 58b). It shows a bark of the same design as the one on the Qustul incense burner.⁴⁹ Here the bark carries a throne near one end. This end curves up, bends inward, and becomes vertical; above the prow is a rounded pair of inverted *ka* arms. Toward the stern stands a man holding a staff or harpoon. Behind (or in front of) the bark is a tall wader bird in a background of slanted short lines or nicks; these may be intended to show water.

A bottle and storage jars found in the tomb indicate a date near that of the Royal Cemetery at Qustul, but the lack of painted vessels among seven black-topped bowls indicates that the tomb is earlier than L 24, as do a relatively simply shaped Egyptian jar and bottle. The stepped throne, and the bark itself, indicate royal connections for the representation on this seal, as do the palace facades on the previous example.

The Siali Sealings

These lumps of clay sealing, rolled with at least three impressions, were found in an A-Group storage pit at Siali in northern lower Nubia (fig. 59). Associated materials included only sherds, but one from a wavy-handled jar would tend to date this pit to some time shortly before Cemetery L or at least before L 24.⁵⁰ The publication of the sealings, in photograph, is very unclear.⁵¹ In addition, the sealings were damaged, were not carefully rolled in the first place (the spacing between the figures and the proportions of the figures vary from sealing to sealing, indicating an uncertain control as the cylinder was rolled), and the original seal was apparently already cracked when the sealings were made.

The most prominent and central element on the seal is a series of nested arch-shaped lines which represent a palace facade of the kind found on the Qustul incense burner and the Faras seal. An archaic falcon is perched on the palace facade. An irregular vertical line breaks through the center of the palace facade and crosses the frame border to the edge. Since lines on ivory seals of the type to which this clearly belongs always end at the borders,⁵² this line was clearly not intentional and should be considered a crack in the original seal. As these cracks are a common occurrence (fig. 59) this one is ignored in the present reconstruction of the complete seal; the central element is an early form of the A-Group *serekh* of nested rectangles surmounted by a "prehistoric"-type Horus falcon.

A human figure to the left facing the palace facade sits on a chair with the seat facing out. He leans slightly backward, his right arm bent at the elbow toward the muzzle of a bovine(?) behind him which is standing on a pedestal. The man has some sort of flail in his lap (alternatively, blood spilling into a jar) and wears a tail that dangles over the back of the chair. His left hand is upraised over an archaic bow that is above a small rectangular object located between his shin and the palace facade. This combination can hardly be interpreted as anything but a writing of *tj-sti*. The entire central group would then refer to pharaonic rule in Ta-Seti, which is specifically associated with the bovine on the standard.

Flanking the falcon are two D-shaped objects that appear later as pylons or markers that flank the field where the king runs in the *heb-sed*. Above is a row of circular objects with stylized flames coming out of them; although they have been identified elsewhere as birds, they are almost certainly incense burners in use. Two animals with rounded ears and heavy tails which appear to be canines are striding along just behind the bovine; these are probably the same canines that appear so often on the early palettes. Two shapes can be seen above the man but their reconstruction is conjectural. A paneled object can be seen above and just in front of the man's head on the first sealing. On the second, a similar shape appears behind the man's head; there is a good deal of destruction on the second sealing, and the first one is incomplete behind the head. Although it is conceivable that there is only one set of panels that has been displaced by some slippage when the sealing was being made, it is unlikely because the figure



Figure 59. The Siali sealings (after Reisner 1910, pl. 65f). Not to scale.

of the man is not sufficiently distorted. Possibly two palace facades above the figures label the man and the bovine. Some lines above the first set of panels may show part of a falcon. Although these shapes and their interpretation are doubtful, this seal at least contained the falcon associated with the palace facade of nested rectangles and with the name Ta-Seti, all found in a context dated to the Naqada IIIa—A-Group in Nubia.

The three ivory seals from Cemetery L, Faras, and Sarras West, discussed above, were all found in wealthy tombs of the patrician type.⁵³ Two of the three have specific reference to pharaonic rule; the

third has pharaonic associations. The Siali sealings refer not only to the pharaonic office but to Ta-Seti as well. Considering their pharaonic character and their consistency of style and shape, these seals may well have been assigned to officials and used in much the same way as the seals of later officials were used in the First Dynasty.

The Gebel Sheikh Suleiman Monument

Although the Qustul incense burner is clearly a monument, the largest-scale record of events in A-Group Nubia is the scene carved in the rock at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman, a short distance south of Buhen.⁵⁴ When first published, it was thought to belong to Djer of Dynasty I, but Arkell noted that the deeply incised lines he believed were the name of Djer had “‘been made into” an animal by the addition of a head with horns. Noting the fact that these lines were deeply incised while most of the inscription was raised, that the falcon was incomplete and probably partly erased when the animal was cut across it, as is so easily done in Nubian sandstone, and that the deeply incised quadruped has a number of parallels in the rock art of Nubia elsewhere, Helck and Hofmann rejected the reading of Djer.⁵⁵ Instead, they ignored the animal as being of later date and Helck considered the inscription to be a record left by a “Thinitic” pharaoh whose *serekh* would not have contained a name.⁵⁶

This revision of the interpretation would leave the monument as follows: left to right, the scene includes an unnamed *serekh* surmounted by a falcon presiding over a victorious battlefield, a sacred bark and a kneeling prisoner or fallen enemy. Above and in front of this prisoner is a round-topped hut that is probably his name or that of his country (the hut is above a long rope [?] shape attached to the man’s throat).⁵⁷ Below him and the bark are sprawled a number of slain men. Before them (toward the *serekh*) are two incised town signs, one surmounted by a falcon and the other with a “placenta” or Khons symbol on it; both face the *serekh*. Before them is a “water” sign beyond which is a prisoner standing facing the ship with his arms held or bound behind his back by an archaic bow or cord. The *serekh* has panels and recesses, and the panel above is filled with dots. The falcon that perches on the *serekh* was originally rather upright, and its wing is shown by a mark.

In some respects the composition of the scene resembles the verso of the Narmer palette on which the king (here represented by the *serekh*) reviews the fallen; his bark is above them and faces him. However, this grafitto is less formal in its organization and should therefore be of earlier date, though not by very much, since the falcon is well-developed. If the sequence of *serekh* types can be applied here, the paneled type should be later than the *serekh* of nested rectangles. This sequence would make the inscription datable to L 23/L 11 or L 19/L 22 at the earliest. In any case, both the informal arrangement of the elements and the representation of the bow(?) at an angle to the action indicate a date near that of the Bull palette,⁵⁸ or L 19/L 22, which is approximately in the generation before Scorpion. The representation of the eyes also accords with this date.

If we consider the existence of an A-Group dynasty using the *serekh* at Qustul, then the monument is much better understood as an A-Group record of victory than as an Egyptian one. The falcon is facing north; the bow(?) can hardly label the prisoner if it is behind him; it seems to bind or hold him in the manner that the standard holds the prisoner on the Lion palette. The two town signs (labeled or dominated by the falcon and “placenta”) and possibly the hut appear to indicate places in Egypt as the victims.

Whether or not the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument represents an actual A-Group victory, it does indicate an episode in the struggles between the A-Group and Upper Egypt before the establishment of the First Dynasty. In any case, this is not the only record of an A-Group victory over Upper Egypt, for the L 19 painted bowl actually makes the explicit claim of a victory over *tj-šm^cw*, and the group on the jar from L 6 (*tempus* L 23) shows a vulture tearing at a sign (of Nekhen?).

Although the existence of a dynasty in Nubia some generations before Narmer in Egypt is an unusual conclusion, it is supported both by the nature of Cemetery L and a considerable body of epigraphic evidence. This evidence includes incense burners, the bowl from L 19, the inscription of Pe-Hor, the seals and sealings, and possibly the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument. The relation of such a dynasty to a major reconstruction of events in Naqada period Egypt thus becomes an important problem.

C. THE HISTORICAL PROBLEM OF THE LATE PREDYNASTIC PERIOD AND CEMETERY L

The most significant recent view of the late Predynastic period, that of Werner Kaiser, is based partly on contemporary epigraphic evidence, partly on archaeology, and partly on later documents, especially the Palermo Stone and the Turin Papyrus. In a summary of this view the last groups of Predynastic dynasties in the Turin Papyrus are purified of the two dynasties, the "Followers of Horus" and the seven women, "speakers(?) for the father," leaving three dynasties of Bity kings, one at Memphis, and nineteen rulers at This, called *Nesu-bity* or *Nesu*—"Uniters of the Two Lands."⁵⁹ These he connected to a series of palace facades incised on pottery found in various parts of northern Egypt to assert that the Unification occurred as the Naqada culture expanded into the north during his phase III. If the reigns of nineteen kings of This or the sixteen kings before Ka lasted two hundred years, the span of time these reigns represented would approximately correspond to the duration of the Naqada culture occupation in the north.

The Naqada culture expanded northward in two stages, as dated by the Kaiser chronology. The earliest of these expansions occurred at Gerza, Haraga, and Abusir el Melek in IIc/D1. The second expansion is documented in the large cemetery at Tura and at several other places in and beyond the Delta, dated by the occurrence of wavy-line decorated cylinder jars to the IIIa2(?) phase; no wavy-handled jar of IIIa1 and before occurs at any of these latter sites. It was on the jars of IIIa2 and IIIb that the *serekhs* without names occurred.⁶⁰ Tomb L 24 at Qustul may date to IIIa1; the later royal tombs at Qustul are contemporary with the known Naqada IIIa2-IIIb occurrence in northern Egypt.

The significance of these *serekhs* is the next problem to be considered. If the *serekh* were an exclusive symbol of a united Naqada period ruler, either it could not have occurred elsewhere, as at Qustul, or it would have symbolized Egyptian rule over the area. This last possibility is not consistent with the known conflicts between the two areas in the later Naqada period. It is also inconsistent with the clear differences in the representation of the *serekh* or with any other evidence given above that pharaonic institutions existed independently at Qustul, unless the Qustul rulers were actually the uniting dynasty.⁶¹ It can be doubted that the double falcon perched on *serekhs* at Tura and Beda necessarily indicated a unified Egypt; the double falcon standards are shown among the standards Kaiser identifies as the *šmsw-hr*.⁶² The occurrence of the *serekh* is evidence of kingship, and, if the occurrence on jars in these places indicates that they were grave gifts from royal storehouses, then they are evidence that a pharaoh ruled nearby; if trade goods, as in Palestine, then their origin could be distant.

Some further problems might militate against such a unification so early. First, the Palermo Stone, a major source of information on the dynasties discussed, contains names for Predynastic pharaohs with the red crown that should precede the nineteen Thinites of the Turin Canon (or the twelve[?] rulers on the Palermo Stone itself) in Lower Egypt.⁶³ Yet almost all the *serekhs* are empty⁶⁴ (before Ka), and there is no indication of written names on any contemporary object before Iry-Hor and Pe-Hor. If the Red Crown rulers on the Palermo Stone or rulers of Memphis in the Turin Canon in fact belonged to

the Lower Egyptian cultures that were supplanted by the Naqada culture, it is difficult to believe that oral traditions could have been preserved across such a major cultural boundary. Since there is no sign of a *serekh* from any of these cultures, we would be forced to assume that the names were made up later and the *serekh* assigned to them inappropriately. However, because the Turin Canon refers to Predynastic rulers at Memphis and the Palermo Stone names Red Crown rulers, it is even more difficult to believe that these dynasties and the names of rulers they contained were simply fictional.

On the contrary, a plausible picture of these dynasties is that they all belonged to the same cultural tradition (i.e., Naqada) which is why they were all recognized in the lists and why some names may have been preserved. If the Naqada cultures first entered the Delta in IIc–d or even earlier, then the ten plus kings assigned to each of the dynasties⁶⁵ would have corresponded to IIIa and IIIb (ten to twelve kings at Qustul corresponded to these periods) and the unification would have had to occur at the time of Dynasty O. The nineteen (Thinite) rulers “Uniters of the Two Lands(?)” might then correspond historiographically in the Turin Canon to Dynasty XI which includes early regional rulers with rulers of all Egypt in the same Dynasty. Like the early rulers of Dynasty II, the early rulers of the “Unifying Dynasty” were not buried in the Umm el-Qaab cemetery. A plausible alteration of Kaiser’s reconstruction might be offered as follows.

As shown by the red crown on the locally made black-topped Naqada I or early II pot, the pharaonic institution was in existence in some form at that period. The establishment of new groups away from the original center of the Naqada culture in Upper Egypt involved setting up local kingships according to the prototypical original. In Lower Egypt was a dynasty (of rulers) at Memphis, and others in the Delta, of which two were remembered in the Turin Papyrus and the Annals (ten to twenty rulers and ten to fifteen rulers respectively), and one in the Annals (fifteen Red Crown rulers). In Upper Egypt, representational evidence from Hierakonpolis and Gebelein⁶⁶ and large tombs there and elsewhere indicates that local pharaonic rulers existed in various places from time to time. Locations included Hierakonpolis, Naqada, and Abadiya.⁶⁷ The evidence from Qustul indicates that the various dynasties all had sets of protective deities and probably shared a number of them.⁶⁸ Thus, the Archaic Horus is found at Qustul, with a more conventional Horus falcon and a feline deity. This could explain the occurrence of some deities in several places.

The most important dynasty in Upper Egypt, nineteen kings of [This?] “Uniters of the Two Lands,” could have had a more checkered history without prejudicing this simple list. It may be that the capital or burial place of the rulers was moved after the time of Scorpion from Hierakonpolis to Abydos, probably by Iry-Hor [Ra(?)].⁶⁹ Such a change of capital, from Hierakonpolis to Abydos, would account for the failure of Scorpion to appear at Abydos, though he appears to have been active in Lower Egypt. It also accounts for the late beginning of the Abydos royal necropolis, since tombs before Iry-Hor are lacking.⁷⁰ Details of the struggles that occurred before Upper and Lower Egypt were united under one dynasty would not have been specifically recorded if the quality of the records was as indicated from Cemetery L. Thus, neither earlier rulers, “Uniters of the Two Lands,” nor the dynasties they eliminated in Upper Egypt could have been individually recorded, though some of the traditions may have survived.

By the time of Scorpion, Iry-Hor, Ka, and Narmer, the written historical tradition clearly begun by the time of Aha was sufficiently developed so that the existence of dynasties eliminated in Lower Egypt would be remembered—one in Giza Province, others perhaps at Buto, at Sais(?), and in the eastern Delta. By the time of Narmer the idea of an exclusive kingship had fully matured. Thus, the annals and the Turin Papyrus would preserve dynasties in the North as they were accepted as legitimate when encountered, and records were then sufficiently specific that they were preserved by name.

On the other hand, traditions of dynasties eliminated earlier in Upper Egypt were not preserved, because the records had not yet become sufficiently specific, unless they have come down to us disguised as gods, or as the *šm.sw-hr*,⁷¹ and the rulers of Ta-Seti were also not recognized separately in the lists.

Both of these alternate reconstructions of political institutions just before the First Dynasty—as a “Kingdom” or as an “Intermediate Period”—rest substantially on the evidence of the later lists.⁷² The latter has the advantage of accepting the apparent testimony of the “Documents of Unification” at face value, the former requires that reasons be found to ignore them. The problem can be approached with two tests. First, if the “Documents of Unification” are formulistic replications of earlier events, then these events would have to have been recorded in a manner specific enough for their essential content to be replicated. Are there earlier pharaonic documents, and is their information sufficiently specific? Second, if the country were previously unified, then the official culture should be unified also, the same style of document occurring in all areas associated with the Naqada culture. In the historic ages of Pharaonic civilization, eras of political unity were marked by a considerable stylistic uniformity of official culture throughout Egypt. Despite local traditions in tombs and representations to meet the needs of local cults or specialized institutions, the dynastic style is apparent and chronologically distinct. Even in some of the later periods of disunity, a good deal of such uniformity can be observed. Thus, if there were a political unity in Naqada III, this should be accompanied by a more or less complete stylistic uniformity between comparable groups of material. The simple scratched *serekhs* (mostly from Lower Egypt!) are much the same everywhere they occur. Are there more elaborate documents and how do they reflect on the problem?

To answer the first question it can be noted that none of the painted vessels, earlier carved ivory objects, Hierakonpolis Tomb 100, or rock drawings of Naqada II and earlier types specify individual acts or persons by name. Institutional identifications made by standards, details of regalia, or symbols appear as painted and relief decoration on pottery and small objects, and these are combined in larger scale representations of typical pharaonic activities. The painted vessels from Qustul in fact illustrate the transition from the generic scenes of “smiting enemies” or rending serpents to specific records of the type found on the palettes. The specific geographical references in the Bull and Libyan Booty palette reliefs do not appear as ritualized imitations of these generalized earlier representations.

Until recently, sufficient evidence did not exist to answer the second question. The products of early official culture were unique, vague, unprovenanced, or concentrated in well-known First Dynasty contexts. Because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, only small-scale representation and glyptic are both comparable and now available for such comparison. Although the known seals of the First Dynasty included a variety of styles, these could be attributed as much to the continued use of seals of different chronological stages. Now, however, three groups of official art can be identified that belong to the Naqada IIIa–b. Two of these include seals, and one contains numerous cylindrical bands of miniaturized relief decoration that constitute a form of glyptic art.

THE HIERAKONPOLIS IVORIES

Although an attempt was made to date some objects from the cache of ivories in the so-called Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis to the Middle Kingdom, the comparisons upon which the attempt was based were imprecise and not sufficiently chronologically defined to support the date; the epigraphic evidence—especially objects with the name of Narmer—demonstrate that the cache’s ivory objects should be dated close to “Dynasty O” and before the Naqada IIIa–b.⁷³

A—GROUP SEALS

A number of seals from A—Group Nubia were identified above and in chapter 4. They date to Naqada IIIa–b and are contemporary with or earlier than the ivory objects from the Hierakonpolis cache.

THE 'EN BESOR SEALINGS

The sealings found in and about Stratum III at 'En Besor are among the most important new groups of documents that refer to early Egypt. The context was called "Protodynastic" and pottery seems to agree with an approximately Dynasty O–I date.⁷⁴ The seals were dated to late Dynasty I, but the dating was based on readings of very doubtful, sometimes (no. 11) unjustifiable restorations of ambiguous shapes.⁷⁵ The few attempts at dealing with the actual shapes and their organization do not identify chronologically limited features.⁷⁶ As shown, the seals do not resemble any from the First Dynasty.⁷⁷ However, the shapes of falcons (5, 9),⁷⁸ the poses of humans (6, 9, 14, 15?),⁷⁹ and the curved *ka* arms all indicate a date before Dynasty I.⁸⁰

The elements that indicate the date of the 'En Besor sealings before the First Dynasty are also those that make them comparable with the other bodies of evidence, since they do not occur at other periods. However, the use of these elements and the other elements present is very different from the other groups. The main subjects are the embracing *ka* arms and standing figures who make the gesture of presentation, worship, or offering, at least once before a shrine of the same kind shown on the L 23 bowl. Ship processions may be depicted, but in a form so abbreviated they were considered *ka* signs although they are actually oriented incorrectly for this period when inversion is normal. But these sacral–religious presentations with a fairly loose organization differ completely from two major groups of Hierakonpolis banded cylinders. On one group soldiers or officials smite or bind prisoners, or in an aggressive military spirit royal names smite enemies. In the other, files of animals are separated by bands of linear/geometric decoration (as in A—Group painted bowls) as a late development of the animal file, sometimes even with rows of palace facades. The A—Group seals concentrate on the theme of the bark procession, the *heb-sed*, and the sacrifice; although confined in a band, the figures are arranged more freely than either of the Egyptian groups.

Although this brief consideration does not examine every detail of these complex groups of objects it does suffice to point out the existence of three forms of official culture, evidence from three centers of pharaonic official culture in Naqada III—Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt, and Nubia.

The foregoing discussion has offered a political reconstruction of late Naqada period Egypt as a mosaic of Dynasties ruling regions with similar or complementary material cultures. These would have acted in much the same spirit of alternating rivalry, cooperation, and combination as occurred later in Egypt's successive intermediate periods. The end of the Hyksos age and the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty are especially important parallels. A final element has not been added to this picture that might explain some aspects of pharaonic archaeology in the period. It is offered with some hesitation because the exploration at Hierakonpolis is far from complete. Nevertheless, excavation has been repeated, extensive, and intensive, and no sequence of large monuments that could be considered pharaonic—a royal cemetery—has been found.⁸¹ What has appeared is of extraordinary importance, however.

New research, focused on the reexcavation of the early royal tombs at Abydos, establishes an essential foundation for interpreting Cemetery L by verifying the royal character of Cemetery B and clarifying the architectural development of the royal funerary complex. Ending at Abydos with the long corridor–chamber tomb and elaborate paneled brick enclosure of Khasekhemwy,⁸² the complexes could

be traced in stages.⁸³ In the late First Dynasty, the complex consisted of the tomb in the Umm el-Qaab, its subsidiary burials and the paneled enclosure placed near the cultivation, with its surrounding subsidiary burials. These enclosures were placed just north of a direct line to the river on an east–west axis (river direction), and they had their main opening near the south end, the position of the entry in the Djoser complex and of the false door in later private chapels. In the early First Dynasty, no brick enclosures were built within the rectangles of sacrifices and it could be surmised that structures of mats and posts, of the kind represented on the mastaba of Qa'a's time at Saqqara and so often represented elsewhere, were put in that location. From the time of Aḥa and before, no lower or valley complexes have been found and the progression of royal monuments is only followed in the double chamber tombs of Dynasty O in the Umm el-Qaab (Naqada IIIb), that belonged to Narmer, Ka, and Iry-Hor. These only modestly exceeded in size tombs of Naqada IIc–d date that occur at Hierakonpolis (T 100), Naqada (Cemetery T, T 4, 5, 23, 25) and Abadiya (B 217), the first with its well-known paintings incorporating pharaonic iconography.

Although his monuments at Hierakonpolis are comparable to Narmer's in style and elaboration, and inscriptions on stone bowls are comparable to those of Iry-Hor, Scorpion has not yet been assigned a tomb. Although excavation has not been systematic, it has been extensive, intensive, and repeated; it has also yielded pertinent evidence. In the great wadi that opens directly west (river direction) of the ancient city is a group of significant installations, at "Locality 6." The easternmost of these is a brick-lined chamber (T 1) surrounded by a surface pavement with a series of large and small postholes in it. These indicate that a rectangular mat structure or *zariba* was erected there; this had an opening in the south end that gave access to a niche in the brick structure.⁸⁴ Dated to "Protodynastic" or Naqada III by associated finds, it is clearly an antecedent for the paneled structure of later times. This tomb is located about 190 meters east, just north of a direct line to the river, of a still larger tomb that was cut into bedrock (T 2).⁸⁵ This tomb consists of a long north–south trench with a chamber cut from the east side ($6.25 \times 2.10 \times 1.00$ m).⁸⁶ To the west, cattle burials were found.⁸⁷ In dimensions and probably date, this upper tomb (T 2) with the cattle sacrifices lies between the tombs of local Naqada II rulers and the larger complexes of Dynasty O at Abydos. This area has been explored in detail, and there is no space in the wadi at this point for additional complexes.⁸⁸ The wadi is marked as an important royal location by the great brick enclosure at the mouth on the northern side. The relative position of the *zariba* enclosed tomb (T 1) corresponds to the positions of the lower enclosures at Abydos and the resemblance of the T-2/T-1 combined complex to the developed complexes at Abydos is too strong to dismiss. This combined complex should be assigned to Scorpion and it can be considered a direct antecedent of the First Dynasty combined complexes at Abydos.

Now, the nature of exploration in Upper Egypt gives some positive reason to believe that no more major royal cemeteries of the Cemetery B type remain to be found.⁸⁹ However, the upper part (T 2) of the Hierakonpolis complex corresponds in dimensions and design to the later tombs in Cemetery L at Qustul, notably L 2 (trench, 6.35×1.26 m; chamber, $5.90 \times 2.68 \times 1.00$ m). Earlier tombs, such as L 23 and L 24, were much larger (L 23 trench, 9.25×2.00 m; chamber, $4.80 \times 3.30 \times 2.20$ m). Cattle burials, especially those associated with L 23, intensify the similarity. Although, apart from shafts in Cemetery S (see *OINE* IV, chapter 2), one of which contained part of a round-topped stela, no lower complexes were found at Cemetery L; they would have been built at a distance, near the river. The representational evidence on incense burners clearly shows that such structures were used; the Qustul incense burner depicts the arrival of the lower tomb's single occupant. Thus on architectural grounds alone, the Qustul tombs are the direct predecessors of the Hierakonpolis and Abydos complexes.

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Table 41—A Reconstruction of Reigns and Rulers Before the First Dynasty*

<i>Qustul</i>	<i>Hierakonpolis</i>	<i>Abydos</i>	<i>"Memphite?"</i>
L 28			
L 29			
L 24			
L 23—11			
L 19—22			
L 5			
L 2			
Pe-Hor			
L 30			H ₃ t-Hor?
L 1—8			Ny-Hor?
	T 2/1 Scorpion		
		B1/2 Iry-Hor	
		B7/9 Ka	
		B18/19 Narmer	

*Note: Upper Egypt and Nubia names are not in *serekh* before Ka. Lower Egypt names are in *serekh*.

Major elements of the situation can be recapitulated as follows (see tables 41–42):

1. A direct progression in the size and design of royal complexes can be traced from Qustul to Hierakonpolis to Abydos.
2. Egyptian objects in the tombs date to Naqada IIIa–b, immediately before the Abydos complexes, which begin in IIIb.
3. The intensity of exploration for just such remains in Upper Egypt and especially at Abydos and Hierakonpolis makes the discovery of equivalent royal cemeteries of this period unlikely.
4. Naqada IIIa corresponds to a hiatus in Kaiser's progression of royal tombs from the scattered rulers of Naqada II to the unified tradition of Dynasty O (IIIb) at Abydos. This is some indication that an undiscovered unified tradition existed.
5. Qustul Cemetery L contained explicitly pharaonic monuments, not only incense burners, but a jar (L 6) and a bowl (L 19), that refer to conflict in Upper Egypt. As reinterpreted elsewhere, the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument should also indicate such conflict.
6. One inscription of a ruler, schematically rendered Pe-Hor for convenience, is simply one stage earlier than corresponding inscriptions of Iry-Hor which occur in a pharaonic tomb at Abydos.
7. The series of ten to twelve rulers at Qustul plus one at Hierakonpolis (Scorpion, T1/T2) and three at Abydos would closely correspond to Kaiser's reconstruction of a late Naqada period "historical" sequence from the lists.

These seven points make it necessary to raise the strong possibility that Egypt's founding dynasty originated near Qustul and that the unification was accomplished from Nubia.

D. CEMETERY L AND PHARAONIC MONUMENTS BEFORE THE FIRST DYNASTY

Cemetery L contained Naqada III materials that can be dated in a progression, approximately generation by generation, giving an approximate standard for duration as well as sequence. Objects of

Table 42—Royal Funerary Complexes

<i>Nubia: Archaeological Period</i>	<i>Egypt: Archaeological Periods</i>	<i>Phases of Serekhs and Name-Elements</i>	<i>Royal Names</i>
A G R O U P	GERZEAN IId		
	LATE GERZEAN IIIa		

	Uncertain transition	Horizon A	Pe-Hor
	DYNASTY IIIb O	Horizon B	Scorpion Iry-Hor Ka Narmer
	DYNASTY DYNASTY I I		Aha Djer Djet (Merneith)

special epigraphic significance found there, whose pharaonic nature was discussed separately in chapter 4, offer evidence to verify the chronology of a number of Egyptian objects for which there had previously been no very precise evidence of date. These include Predynastic decorated palettes, some figures, and some of the painted pottery vessels. Because of the confusion in the later sequence dates, the main evidence for dating in the past has been derived from the Hierakonpolis painted tomb (Naqada IIc), the Brooklyn knife handle (early III), and the so-called Unification documents, presumed to date just before the First Dynasty.

Above, a group of objects was identified that consists of the Qustul incense burner and a number of seals whose style and execution are remarkably similar to one another. It is possible to compare this group and other key objects that are dated by their occurrence in Cemetery L with known late prehistoric documents to discover the place they will have in the chronological scheme. Specifically, the documents

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Table 42—Continued

<i>Royal Tombs</i>	<i>Lower Palace-shrine</i>	<i>Political Documents and Military Activity in Geographical Progression</i>
Naqada II H. T100 Naqada T Abadiya		
Qustul L 28 L 29 L 24 L 23—11 L 19—22 L 5 L 2 L 30?	Representation,* incense burner Representation, incense burner	Ta-Seti (Siali sealings) Hierakonpolis (L 6 jar) Gebel Sheikh Suleiman Upper Egypt (L 19 bowl) Palettes: Bull, Libyan Booty Lower Egypt (Scorpion macehead) Lower Egypt (Metropolitan knife handle)
Hierakonpolis T 2	T 1 (<i>zariba</i> - enclosure)	
Abydos B1—2 B7—9 B18—19	Unknown Unknown Unknown	Lower Egypt (Narmer palette)
Complex Complex 0 Complex Z Complex X	Unknown Subsidiary burial-enclosure Subsidiary burial-enclosure Paneled brick enclosure	

*Rectangular or subrectangular shafts in Cemetery S (2, 3, 4) may have been associated with valley-complexes.

whose archaeological dates are known—Naqada II painted pottery, the Hierakonpolis painted tomb,⁹⁰ the Brooklyn knife handle⁹¹ (and related objects), the Sayala mace,⁹² the Siali sealings,⁹³ the Sarra West seal,⁹⁴ the L 17 seal,⁹⁵ the Qustul incense burner, the L 23 bowl and stand, the L 6 jar, the Archaic Horus incense burner, the L 19 hippopotamus head, the Scorpion macehead, and the Narmer monuments—can be used to date the two major groups of palettes in the late Naqada period.⁹⁶ The shapes of figures

and features of representation that occur in several different kinds of representational art must be used to create this scheme.⁹⁷

THE ORGANIZATION AND SUBJECTS OF DESIGN

In Naqada II there were two most prominent subjects of representation: processions of barks and animal files, the one found primarily on pottery,⁹⁸ rock drawings, the Hierakonpolis painting, and the Gebelein textile; the other also on later knife handles and combs. The Hierakonpolis painted tomb, the Qustul incense burner, and the British Museum jar have elements of both kinds of composition—perhaps also a feature of rock drawings.

Avoiding for the time being the question of the interpretation of the barks shown on pottery, it can be noted that they are in linear compositions of figure groups; each bark, with associated figures not shown actually *on* the bark, is lined up with the others (whether all of the figures were shown *in relation* to the bark or the procession is not relevant here). One of these early processions is precisely relevant, that of the Hierakonpolis painted tomb in which the key vessel (below, right) is one of the type shown on incense burners, a sacred or royal bark. This procession is shown moving toward a goal, and is marked by the large human figure on the right in the act of ritual smiting. Above the lower procession are two barks, one (above, left) headed in the opposite direction, possibly returning from this ceremony. This part of the procession is greeted by large figures dancing or saluting. The composition of the lower procession, proceeding to an end or goal, is the essential basis for the organization of the Qustul incense burner and probably represents the same ceremonial procession. Other decorated incense burners have this procession as well, although the associated figures are not present. In later art from Egypt the procession of barks is no longer painted but represented by ivory models of barks and two dimensional ivory sculptures that show barks in rows; some of the bark models have seated figures.⁹⁹

The second major subject, the animal file, was at one point rigidly linear, consisting of rows of animals in a certain order, probably intended to show two files meeting in the center of the scene. It would appear that this rigid organization disintegrated fairly rapidly; on one side of the Carnarvon knife handle the animals are shown moving about, carnivores attacking herbivores, an arrangement portrayed in the abbreviated representations on the handle of the Sayala mace. In the palettes of the early group the design burst into a *melée* in which animals are shown hunting and being hunted in various positions of running and leaping, roughly arranged around the central pigment dish. It is this wild disporting that is abbreviated on the Qustul incense burner that shows the dog hunting the antelope around the central bark.

In a very real sense, the Qustul incense burner combines the features of Naqada II design with those of the early palettes.¹⁰⁰ Although the open field was never entirely abandoned, neither the L 23 bowl nor the L 19 bowl show quite the riot of figures; there is, however, a change in subject matter. The L 23 bowl retains the relative freedom of the Qustul incense burner and contains an important element of the animal file, the vultures attacking serpents (followed by the plover label). On the L 19 bowl, the frame—subject, heraldic giraffes with herbivores above their backs, flanks palm trees without crowns that serve as backdrops for scenes in which vultures attack not serpents but slain men who are given the names of countries, paralleling a change from the allegorical animal *melée* to the historical statement of the Lion palette. Part of the animal file remains in the herbivore that is seen behind the giraffe and in the continuation of the vulture symbolism. It is this change, during and after L 19, that represents specific personified places and events in the manner of the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument, the later palettes, and, ultimately, the documents of Scorpion and Narmer.

The design of the Qustul incense burner contains features of both Naqada II origin and of some of

the early palettes; it represents a transition further emphasized by the early features of the L 23 bowl. The transition represented by the L 19 bowl is of a different sort; it carries the residual feature of the animal file into the representation of victory as found on the Lion palette, including a label with the land sign placed below the victim.

HUMAN FIGURES

The saluting man on the Qustul incense burner has been compared with various representations of humans. His pose as it appears on the L 17 seal and the Siali sealing is nearer to Naqada II representations than those on any palettes. The shapes of limbs, tapered, with wedge-shaped feet and no hands (except for the saluting man on the Siali sealing), compare well with Naqada II figures but very poorly with those on the palettes, where fingers and toes are shown side by side. The clearly shaped legs of the man on the L 19 bowl and their sprawled position both closely resemble the later group of palettes. The features of humans indicate that the Qustul incense burner and the L 23 bowl should be dated between Naqada II and the entire series of palettes. The L 19 bowl, on the other hand, is related both to the later and to the earlier palettes.

SHAPES AND DETAILS OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS

The slim feline of the Qustul incense burner, with its pointed nose, has already been compared to felines in the Hierakonpolis painted tomb, and the position of the tail and the shapes of the claws have been related to the early palettes, though the comb claw was a rather experimental feature.¹⁰¹ The leaping position of the antelope on the same object is even more closely related to the early palettes and their *melée* of figures, but the antelope lacks hooves, a feature always shown on the palettes. The animal whose tail protrudes between barks 1 and 2 was in a contorted position that the dogs on the palettes sometimes assume. The antelope on the L 23 stand, like that on the Qustul incense burner, has no hooves. This feature contrasts with the giraffes on the L 19 bowl, which have almost exaggerated triangular hooves, similar to the hooves shown on the early palettes. These giraffes have tall necks, bent forward at the top, closely resembling those on the Louvre palette and different from the *gerenuk*/giraffes (composite animals?) that flank the palm on the Lion palette, which have short straight necks. Similarly, the eye inlay from L 11 seems to resemble those on figures of the early palettes, while the hippopotamus from L 19 already shows the later bulged eye.¹⁰²

The tall plant on the L 23 bowl appears to combine the tall trunk and falling branches of the palm with the arched structures that resemble the "aloe" plant in Naqada II representation.¹⁰³ These might be compared to the inverted V-shaped structures at the bottom of palm trees on the Louvre palette and the L 19 bowl.¹⁰⁴ No roots are shown on the palm on the Lion palette, a member of the late group.

A second plant form to note here is the cross-branched plant or frond on the Qustul incense burner (pl. 34). Although shown at an angle, it resembles the objects shown following the Min standard on the Coptos statues, except that these are vertical.¹⁰⁵

The last plant to be considered is the plant protruding from the land sign on the L 19 bowl. The leaning position is analogous to the leaning plant on the Qustul incense burner, bent downward to fit the available space. It has a rather wide stalk, but the curve is complete to the tip and the three pairs of leaves shown on at least one prehistoric sign for the South are present.¹⁰⁶ From its shape and its position on a land sign, it can hardly be anything but a sign for Upper Egypt.

The evidence of comparison between objects found in Cemetery L and those of Naqada period Egypt indicate that the early group of monumental slate palettes is to be dated after L 24, possibly contemporary with L 23 or L 11, and the late group is to be dated to L 19 or later. If L 2 (Pe-Ḥor) is

contemporary with or earlier than Abydos B1/2 (Iry-Hor), then these palettes are all dated within the three or four generations that precede Scorpion.

The Qustul objects also give new evidence for the relations between Naqada II and Naqada III art. The L 23 bowl illustrates an abbreviated but clear reference to the animal file, the three vultures attacking serpents, followed by a plover (the plover also occurs at the end of the file of animals on the Pitt-Rivers knife handle). This reference is much more explicitly stated by the group on the L 6 jar which shows a vulture tearing the sign for Hierakonpolis(?), making specific the general representation of vultures tearing "entrails" from a flat object on which they stand (also found on the Pitt-Rivers handle).¹⁰⁷ This group shows the animal file in its fragmentary form and may well be later than the strictly linear file. If the partial disintegration of the file shown on the Carnarvon knife handle is related to the animal *melée* on the Lesser Hierakonpolis palette and this parallels the change from vultures attacking serpents in the L 23 bowl to vultures attacking humans on the L 19 bowl, then these "fauna monuments" are linked into a series of victorious statements. At the same time the animals that flank the royal bark on the Qustul incense burner link this series to the bark processions found in rock art and on the incense burners.

The documents from Cemetery L thus form key evidence for the history of art and the social implications of that art in the later Naqada period, and they establish a relationship between earlier documents and the entire series of monumental objects that date to Naqada III.

E. CEMETERY L AND EGYPTIAN HISTORY

For the first time contemporary monuments found in context document sovereigns who ruled in Lower Nubia and Egypt before Scorpion. Above, new opportunities that this cemetery offer are pointed out, giving chronological definition to archaeology, art, and relationships between Naqada period dynasties, historical events, writing, religion, and administration. Cemetery L placed many of these features into a chronological relationship so that we can begin to think of a historical reality in Egypt before Dynasty I, during Early Naqada III, or even before Scorpion, Iry-Hor, Ka, and Narmer. It appears certain, not just from later lists but from the early existence of the Red Crown, the Gebelein-Turin painted linen, and the Hierakonpolis tomb painting, as well as important tombs that resemble the Hierakonpolis painted tomb, such as Cemetery T at Naqada, that predecessors of the pharaohs ruled in Upper Egypt. However, these predecessors are indicated by a very much less evident iconography; the earliest complex of easily recognized pharaonic symbols occurs in the Qustul documents. These Naqada III documents join the less approachable iconography of the earlier ages with the readily interpreted symbolism of the dynastic age in a genuine transition. Previous formulations have included this period in a "Predynastic Period" and Dynasty 0 in the Archaic or Protodynastic periods. Although this was already a period of dynasties and many features of the dynastic age had appeared, important changes occurred in the last two or three reigns before, and at, the start of the First Dynasty. Important changes in official culture included the establishment of the royal complexes at Abydos, the establishment of the Saqqara necropolis, the use of the elaborate and complex paneled mud-brick mastaba, and the culmination and abandonment of forms characteristic of earlier times, the decorated slate palette and the monumental macehead. The later annals and the Turin Papyrus also indicate that a major change took place at the beginning of Dynasty I. Despite the changes, however, it is clear that the age before Narmer was as pharaonic as the age that succeeded although the symbolism is more elusive and difficult to interpret according to the more familiar terms of Egyptian records. The

concepts implied by the terms “Predynastic” and “Prehistoric” as character labels for the Naqada period are misleading and obsolete.

F. CEMETERY L, A-GROUP, AND NUBIA

The A-Group disappeared about or shortly after the time Cemetery L ended.¹⁰⁸ The reason for this disappearance and whether there was any continuation of the culture begun in the A-Group are major problems. First, the violent destruction of Cemetery L parallels the destruction and burning in the royal cemeteries of Egypt. The end of A-Group may not be related to this destruction, or even to the campaign of Aḥa. Certainly a number of features occur later that appeared in A-Group but not dynastic Egypt (see below, pp. 182–85). We are therefore confronted with the puzzling situation in which a long period of relatively sparse occupation by different culture groups was succeeded by periods in which a number of distinctive A-Group features reappear.

Despite the lack of comparable material from the succeeding period in either Upper or Lower Nubia the question of continuity can be addressed by asking two questions: “Are there any materials anywhere that resemble distinctively A-Group materials and associations so closely that knowledge of them must have been transmitted?” and “Do these material similarities exist in a relationship to one another that indicates that a coherent group of materials and practices were transmitted?” The answer to this last question will determine whether or not an antecedent relationship existed. The similarities would comprise combinations so complex that their successive occurrence cannot be fortuitous or a result of casual borrowing out of context.

The following A-Group materials and practices have not been found in any contemporary culture in Nubia or the Sudan. Some of them occur in Egypt, but not after the Archaic Period.

BURIAL

One of the most interesting and distinctive features of Cemetery L is the plan of the great tombs—a long trench with a side chamber. This design was derived from an Amratian (Naqada I) tomb type, and it was further developed in the area near Wadi Allaqi. It appears to be related to the Egyptian practice of using twin shafts, as in Cemetery B at Abydos, or dividing the tomb by building walls,¹⁰⁹ as seen in Cemetery T at Naqada and at Hierakonpolis. The tomb of A-Group royal type (T 2) actually at Hierakonpolis has already been pointed out.

A second significant burial custom is the prepared bed burial.¹¹⁰ Usually this is taken to be just a bed burial, but it is in fact more than the plan of a bed; it is a special preparation for using the bed in the tomb by putting holes, trenches, or pots at or near the corners of the bed (whether the bed is actually deposited or not). In other words, there is an associated ritual purpose.

POTTERY

One of the most striking aspects of A-Group pottery is its eclecticism. The collection comprises five different traditions of making pottery. By the end of the A-Group, almost all of the containers were being imported from Egypt.

The most common shape in the late A-Group was a conical bowl with a flattened base. This is the basic shape of A-Group bowls, even those that are painted; they all began as bowls with black interiors and, often, tops.¹¹¹

OBJECTS

Distinctive A-Group objects include the rhomboid or convex-sided palette,¹¹² rhomboid mortars with elongated pestles,¹¹³ and the use of mica in sheets as objects.¹¹⁴

SHARED FEATURES, EGYPT

Three features of interest were shared by Naqada period and Early Dynastic Egypt. Both made use of associated sacrifice burials, those of Egypt being on a large scale. Both used the same sacred bark.¹¹⁵ Both societies centered on a specific type of divine ruler.¹¹⁶

Later traditions in Nubia that can be compared with these A-Group features include a small number of groups from Archaic or Old Kingdom Periods, C-Group, Pan-Grave, Sudanese, and Kerma-Kushite.

In the burial, the most distinctive feature—the long shaft or corridor with side chamber—is found only in the Kerma-Kushite tradition, occurring as the substructures of the Great Tumuli at Kerma (III, IV, X).¹¹⁷ The bed burial, or, rather, the prepared-bed burial, occurs primarily in the Kerma-Kushite tradition¹¹⁸ but occurs also as a borrowing from Kush in the late C-Group. Burying household(?) personnel with a deceased notable or ruler is characteristic of the Kushite tradition.

In pottery, each of the traditions mentioned excluded one or more of the other traditions. For example, C-Group people virtually always buried only their own bowls with their dead; the Pan-Grave people rarely (Medjay) and Egyptians almost never used C-Group bowls in proper burials.¹¹⁹ However, Kerma pottery contains elements of all the traditions present in Nubia at the time plus imports, even those of the Levant.¹²⁰

The most important Kerma vessel is the beaker, essentially a conical black-topped bowl with flattened base and brightly burnished surface, which in the great age was coated with ochre.¹²¹ No other group in Nubia used pottery of this description unless it was imported from Kerma. The Kerma culture and A-Group both produced thin conical bowls with black interiors, polished red exteriors, and incompletely flattened bases; they appear to belong in the same tradition.

In objects, Kerma shared with A-Group the use of rhomboidal palettes,¹²² similar mortars, and possibly an ear stud, which occurred in A-Group with a sharply pointed shank.¹²³

Like the A-Group, the Kermans were river-faring people, whose representations of boats include the bark with a tall stern and bent prow in a narrow graceful form descended from the sacred vessels of A-Group times.¹²⁴

In a further, especially striking, artistic convention (which probably represents some kind of religious event), the Kermans preserved important aspects of the animal frieze decoration of the Naqada period—long rows of giraffes, hippopotami, and cattle painted on the walls of the two great funerary chapels.¹²⁵

In burials, royal, “patrician,” and “plebeian” tombs of A-Group times have clear parallels at Kerma or in Kerman cemeteries; these are well-developed distinctions not characteristic of other contemporary groups, the Pan Grave and the C-Group cultures.

Several major aspects of Kerma-Kushite culture known to us can be compared to features found in both Naqada period Egypt and the A-Group, or the A-Group only. These elements were sufficiently complex that knowledge of them must have been transmitted. Moreover, these links were not borrowings out of context, as the C-Group might use an Egyptian jar as part of a tomb deposit outside a grave-circle, but existed in much the same relationship to each other as they had before; the corridor-trench and chamber tomb was still a specifically royal tomb. The traditions remained coherent. Though inevitably modified, common features were used in a way that can be seen to have been transmitted from the earlier period. A-Group is the antecedent of Kush.

G. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Royal Cemetery of Ta-Seti of Qustul is thus the key element in a reorientation of our understanding of events in Nubia. The eclectic tastes of the Kerma-Kushites had concealed the diversity of cultures above Aswan. As with the A-Group before, the Kushites held the geographical pivot of northeastern Africa. They mixed ideas and materials from the north (Egypt), east (Pan Grave-Medjay), and south to west (Sudanese-Saharan). Since no one could pass them by they mediated contacts among these groups. At the same time, the A-Group-Kushite tradition remained a major center of Lower Nile civilization. Having a common origin with Egypt in the Naqada I-II, the southern group remained more true than Egypt to the archaic heritage that was passed to its descendants at Napata and Meroe, and, though modified by continuing contacts with Egypt, was revived in dramatic form by the Noubades in the final pharaonic cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana.

NOTES

1. See above, chapter 1, p. 4, below, pp. 175-76.
2. Kemp 1973, and Case and Payne 1962, pp. 11, 15. Cemetery T and its contents have recently been reviewed and a number of new parallels cited, especially for stone vessels. Although Davis (1983, p. 21) concluded that T continued well into the early First Dynasty, this determination was based on an unusual understanding of the relationship between Naqada period chronology and historical events. Referring to S.D. 63-75 (end of Gerzean) as the era of the Unification, the late groups of graves in T would date to Naqada III, and the period in question. With Narmer dated to Naqada IIIb, the historical First Dynasty must be slightly later. Kantor (1944) pointed out the confusion in materials of S.D. 63-78 and relative dates within the period are reliably derived only from Kaiser's divisions. In any case, none of the tombs in Cemetery T have date ranges that begin after "78" (i.e. Narmer), and those that have ranges that end afterward are dated only by single simple vessels. These vessels are not themselves dated according to reliable royal and ancillary contexts (Davis 1983, pp. 18-21, T 39, 53, 55; the date of T 33 was established by a cylinder jar with a wavy band, W71a "S.D. 78-80." Such jars no longer appear by the time of Aha [Kaiser 1964, fig. 1]). Cemetery T belongs to Naqada II-III as a whole, but the large tombs are earlier (see also Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 12).
3. Case and Payne 1962, and Kemp 1973. See also Kaiser 1958, pp. 189-91. Another tomb found by Lansing and recleared by Hoffman (Anonymous 1979, pp. 18-19; Hoffman, Lupton, and Adams 1982, pp. 48-50) is of comparable size to the smaller tombs in L, with a trench 6.25 × 2.1 × 1.0 m. The tomb found by Lansing is of A-Group design with a chamber on the (river) east side. This and related T1 are oriented north-south by the local river direction (pp. 43-47).
4. See above, table 9 (note, only vessels with recognizable decoration were included).
5. See above, pp. 67-78.
6. See above, pp. 78-80.
7. See above, pp. 154-55.
8. Kaiser 1964, pp. 114-16, fig. 7; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14; and above pp. 138-47.
9. See above, pp. 108-12.
10. See above, pp. 141-42.
11. See above, p. 145.
12. See above, pp. 146-47.
13. See below, pp. 169-71, for the use of the name Ta-Seti at this time.
14. Reisner 1910, pp. 331-32; Hofmann 1967, p. 73; and Adams 1977, pp. 133-34.
15. Nordström 1972, p. 31. The "Pe-Hor" inscription is also a proof that the "time lag" was simply illusory. A-Group pottery occurs in Egyptian contexts of Naqada II and early III (see Baumgartel 1947, 100-01, and Needler 1984, fig. 17 and p. 112).
16. Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, pp. 232-35; Abb. 10, especially d.
17. Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, see Abb. 14:1-22.
18. See below, pp. 204ff and pl. 4.
19. Petrie 1902, pls. VI-IX, pls. XXVIII-XLI passim, note especially pl. L:23, the Abydos bowl; Petrie 1953b, (S.D. 79

and after); Emery 1949, 1954, 1958. At Abydos (Petrie 1902, pp. 1, 9, 10, 14, 27; Kemp 1968) materials from the temenos are somewhat mixed, for the excavation was not conducted to recover discrete deposits of debris or evidence of disturbance. The chronology of Cemetery M, established according to heights above datum, cannot be used as it stands.

20. de Morgan 1897, chapter IV.

21. However, cemeteries like Tarkhan and Tura do not date exclusively to the First Dynasty and later, but began some time before. Kaiser 1964, pp. 105–14; Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913; Kantor 1944, pp. 110–36, especially 135; Kantor 1964, p. 4; Kaiser 1957, pp. 69–77, especially 72–73. So-called Late Ware was fully developed in IIIa2, the period of Cemetery L; see Kaiser 1956, pp. 107–09, especially 108, fig. 5, and p. 109, where an approximate correspondence of Naqada III material to pottery and objects once called “Semaianean” is noted.

22. Petrie 1953b, pl. XXIV:82c.

23. Kaiser 1964, p. 101, fig. 1.

24. Petrie 1921, see pl. LI:71G and P; for a taller form with broader rim, (pl. XVIII:58). See also Reisner 1910, pl. 60; and Petrie 1953b, pl. XXX:99b–f. The tall form of the vessel is shown on the Narmer palette, carried by the royal servant.

25. Petrie 1921, pl. XVII:51–52. The shape does not occur in Petrie 1953b.

26. Petrie 1921, pl. L:63–64. No. 65 has the ridge at the neck; Petrie 1953b, pl. XXIX:95R, is apparently a tall form from Abydos M 13. As noted above (n. 19), the excavator’s chronology of cemetery M cannot be used.

27. Petrie 1921, pl. XVI:34B. Note also the small flasks from L 22, above, Table 19, Form Group X, R (Petrie 1953b, pl. XXV:86 O⁵).

28. This refers to royal tombs and subsidiary burials. Sequence dates given for the latest groups of painted wavy lines (scattered in various orientations on the vessel) are in the 77–78 range (Petrie 1953b, pls. XXIX:94K; XXX:99Z). The lattice painted cylinder jar last occurs in the tomb of Ka at Abydos (Petrie 1902, p. 3; Kaiser 1964, fig. 1), as in L 2 here (above p. 88, Form Group X, P), but by the time of Ka, the incised bands were no longer strongly arched or wavy.

29. See above, figs. 40c, d; 41a (below, L 23A).

30. See chapter 2, note 46.

31. The latest example of the style of painting cited here is the Abydos bowl; the decoration is quite formal (Petrie 1902, pl. L:23). No vessels with decoration of this kind were found in the royal tombs of ancillary burials.

32. Petrie 1914, pl. V:12–13.

33. Petrie 1920, pl. XXX:18–20.

34. Petrie 1920, pl. VIII:15; see above, p. 128.

35. Petrie 1901b, pl. 1, pp. 16–18. In a careful analysis, Petrie pointed out that the most important bracelet, which consisted of alternate gold and turquoise *serekhs* with falcons on them, was made from two earlier bracelets. Observing numbers incised on the bottoms of the *serekhs*, he ascertained that only parts of each bracelet were used. Petrie also noted differences between the *serekhs*, with the turquoise having three rows of square depressions aligned above the grooves, and the gold having four rows aligned loosely above the panels. As well, the falcons on the turquoise *serekhs* were low, the axis of the body almost horizontal, while those on the gold were higher, with the tail bent at a low angle to the top of the *serekh*. He concluded that the irregular panels were an incoherent adaptation of the *Djer* sign and that the bracelet was made early in the reign of *Djer*. It seems, however, inconceivable that one would find an incoherent inscription on royal art of such importance. Rather, in light of the redatings required by Cemetery L, an alternative interpretation can be offered for these *serekhs* without names. First, since the cemetery was thoroughly plundered, the arm on which the bracelets were found need have nothing to do with king *Djer*; as a plunderer’s deposit it could be of any date. Second, the *serekh* matches that of the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument, in which the field above the panels contains six irregular vertical rows of three dots each. This design is related to the panels of Horizon A (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14:1–12; [“ältere Serekhgruppe,” Kaiser 1964, fig. 7:a–g]). The chronology of shapes for the falcon is more complex. In its earliest form (see table 43), that of the Siali sealings and the Qustul incense burner, the back was evenly curved to the head, and the tail was almost as high as the head (figs. 55, 59). The bird was sometimes shown without legs, resting on the standard or *serekh*. In the next stage, the back acquired a kink, making the body more upright; the tail extended straight behind, or angled, slightly upward, or slightly downward. This is the falcon of Horizon A (“ältere Serekhgruppe”), and the Metropolitan palette (Fischer 1958, figs. 19–20). These falcon types continued to be shown always standing up, into the time of Ka (Kaiser 1964, fig. 7:n and o; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14:23–25), but the most common was clearly the falcon with a horizontal tail (Petrie 1902, pls. I–III). The tail was shown occasionally at a lower angle in the time of Narmer (Petrie 1901b, pl. LII:359), but it was generally horizontal (Kaplony 1963, figs. 25–26). The same type(s) continued through the reign of Aha (ibid., figs. 27–28) and into the reign of *Djer* (ibid., fig. 29). Early in the reign of *Djer*, the tail was shown in a straight line with the body (ibid., figs. 29, 30, 175, 176), and this was the type that

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continued. Although falcons on *serekhs* without names occasionally occurred later, they were extremely unusual in the First Dynasty. On the contrary, the *serekhs* of the bracelet should be dated to the period when they never had names. The turquoise *serekhs* with low falcons are slightly later than L 24 (or L 11?); the higher falcons of the gold set being contemporary with the early *serekh* group, Horizon A, perhaps contemporary with L 19. The other bracelets could hardly be of a substantially different date.

36. Petrie 1901b, pl. LIII:Y375, 0365. These are typical examples of First Dynasty vessels. An early form can be seen in pl. LII:B-345.

37. Emery 1954, p. 88, D2; examples from Saqqara come from Ḥor Aḥa and 3504. At Abydos (Petrie 1901b, pl. LII) materials were more mixed, but the wavy-band jar was most common in Cemetery B.

38. The basic principles Petrie used in sequence dating are well known (Petrie 1901a, pp. 4–8). In a major critique, especially of the later phases (S.D. 63–76/77), published by Kantor (1944, p. 135), the Semainean was denied a separate existence, partly on the grounds of art history and partly on the grounds of history. The archaeological materials were assigned generally to the First Dynasty and the Gerzean, the First Dynasty apparently including the period from Scorpion to Narmer. The reexamination of the “Predynastic” sequence by Kaiser (1956, 1957) was based on purely archaeological evidence, and the sequence established by a chartographic argument. This argument noted that specific ensembles of objects were found in different parts of the Armant cemetery (Kaiser 1957, taf. 15–20). The successive changes in the distribution of objects confirmed the chronological order of materials. This reexamination indicated the existence of a phase just before Dynasty I which Kaiser labeled III; the period just before Horizon A was labeled IIIa1 and a2. Naqada IIIb is correlated with the period from Horizon A to Narmer (Kaiser 1964, fig. 1; Kaiser 1957, pl. 24). The existence of Naqada III was later confirmed by an examination of the Tura cemetery (Kaiser 1964, pp. 108–09).

The failure of sequence dating, especially in the late Predynastic, was not because it was a typological method, since such is necessary for any detailed chronology or for comparing sites, but because it was arbitrary and used numerical representations for objects, a practice which obscured numerous modifications. This numerical substitution thus produced artificial “clusters” that were actually progressions. Despite Petrie’s use of wealthier tombs to create the sequence, his use of numbers of types in common meant that accidental omissions or intentional choices might result in a false separation of contemporary materials at the same time the numerical corpus system was grouping tombs that should have been separated in time. On the other hand, the major weakness of the Armant system is the limited number of tombs to which it can be applied and Armant’s lack of some objects such as pithoi that can be compared with the materials at Qustul. For the limited purposes here it should be observed that both methods resulted in a period between Gerzean–Naqada II and the First Dynasty, called Semainean–Naqada III, contemporary with the kings of “Dynasty O.”

39. Kaiser 1957, pp. 69–73; 1964, fig. 5 and pp. 108–09.

40. See above, pp. 63–65, table 18.

41. See above, p. 128.

42. See above, pp. 154–55, below, pp. 177–82.

43. See below, pp. 344, 269, 313, and 334.

44. See above, table 38.

45. See above, pp. 165–66.

46. Petrie 1901b, pls. III:2; XI:1. This seems to be a three-event label that shows an act of smiting, probably of Ta-Seti, the birth of Anubis, and the circumambulation of a town. The element with which we are concerned shows the *serekh* of Aḥa with two arms, the right one holding a mace, the left seizing a prisoner who has his arms bound behind his back and who is labeled Ta-Seti(?). The bow is shown horizontally. Brovarski (1978) interpreted the label as commemorating the birth and opening of the mouth of a statue of Anubis, with the kneeling figure as the statue. However, the *serekh* does hold a mace in smiting pose and the kneeling pose of the figure with the arms behind is certainly that of a prisoner. The sign above should also be considered a bow (Petrie 1901b, pl. III:3) rather than *wp*-horns, which do not have this shape (Kaplony 1963, 872) although the horns of Hathor on the Narmer palette do have this configuration. The land sign is also shown with pointed ends on a label (Petrie 1901b, pl. III:4). Ta-Seti is also shown with the bow, on an equal footing with Upper and Lower Egypt (Petrie 1901b, pl. III:3).

47. See above, p. 141.

48. Griffith 1921, pl. II.

49. Mills and Nordström 1966, p. 9, fig. 3:15. Is this an official, *shn-i*?

50. Reisner 1910, pp. 232, 238 (cache pit, 40.43), 331, pl. 65f; Kaplony 1964, p. 3, pls. 1–2:885.

51. Kaplony 1964, p. 3.

52. See pp. 157–58; Kaplony 1964, pl. 1:884; Kaplony 1963, pl. 6:8; pl. 3:1; and Mills and Nordström 1966, fig. 3:15.
 53. On stylistic grounds these two seals from Egypt might belong to this group (Kaplony 1963, no. 1, from Abydos; no. 8 from Mahasna). Both have multiple borders of zigzags; one shows a file of animals and places the six-pointed rosette between two birds, the other shows a feline (the same as on the Qustul incense burner?) and a plant. Since these seals were found in Egypt, their relation to the seals found in Nubia is uncertain.
 54. Arkell 1950, pp. 27–29.
 55. Helck 1970, p. 85 and Hofmann 1971. As noted, Arkell (1950, p. 29) was fully aware of the animal's head on the element cut across the *serekh*.
 56. Arkell 1950, p. 30. He notes the ease with which this sandstone is rubbed away.
 57. Hofmann 1971.
 58. In this case the use of the standards on the palette involves placing them at an angle to the action.
- All of the remarks above have been made as interpretations of the monument as described by Arkell, concerning shapes and marks he noted, and they require no additional collation to discuss. Some photographs, however, show features not represented by Arkell and they point to the need for a new collation. For example, a depression in the area where the body of the falcon should occur can be seen. Such depressions are typical of erasing and the body of the animal Arkell read as Djer occurs in this location. Second, the kneeling bound prisoner is transfixing by an arrow in his chest and a straight shape at his throat that Arkell interpreted as a rope tethering the "prisoner" to the bark. This shape may support the round-topped hut. The shape Arkell interpreted as the other end of the rope at the bark appears to be a truss used to hold the upcurved bow in position; another truss appears like a cabin in the drawing on the opposite side of the hull in the same position. Other marks between seem to be incidental, like so many others on the monument. The mast or standard and adjacent rectangular shape are probably not part of the original composition for the lines are deeply incised and the "mast" actually crosses the hull. See Hinkel 1978, photos between pp. 56 and 57.
59. Kaiser 1961a, especially pp. 58–59.
 60. Needler 1984, pp. 29–30; Wildung 1981; Kaiser 1964, fig. 1, pp. 111–14; and Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 15.
 61. See above, pp. 163–64.
 62. For the double falcon as the Horus and Seth, see Kaiser 1960, pp. 123–24.
 63. Kaiser 1964, pp. 86–87.
 64. Kaiser 1964, fig. 7; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14.
 65. This information is summarized from Kaiser 1961a and 1964; for tombs of Naqada II local rulers, see Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 12.
 66. See above, p. 139.
 67. Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 12 and pp. 242–45.
 68. This would include the Archaic Horus at Qustul.
 69. This would account for the appearance of king Scorpion only at Hierakonpolis and the lack of tombs earlier than Ka in Abydos Cemetery B.
 70. Kemp 1966, pp. 21–22. He attempts to dispose of the significance of Cemetery B by saying it was probably, or possibly, part of a large preexisting cemetery with tombs of about the same size and construction. The German Archaeological Institute excavated the area (Kaiser and Grossman 1979 and Kaiser and Dreyer 1982) and confirmed the isolation of Cemetery B from the "Predynastic" cemetery. Cemetery B is to be grouped with the other royal tombs at Abydos and they were relatively isolated from other groups; to corroborate Kaiser's reconstruction, the pair B 6/7 dates to Ka, 1/2 dates to Iry-Hor, and 18/19, actually a single tomb, dates to Narmer.
 71. Kaiser 1960, 1964.
 72. A third reconstruction, involving the relatively sudden introduction of pharaonic culture just before the First Dynasty, is not considered here. It is entirely confuted by the evidence from Cemetery L alone.
 73. The ivories were, with few exceptions, found in a compact mass within the large area referred to as the "Great Deposit" (Quibell and Green 1902, p. 29). Despite the lack of comparable ivory figures from the periods of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, Baumgartel (1968) attempted to redat a number of ivories from the Hierakonpolis cache to those eras, based on a very general resemblance of males to some nude figures of the Old Kingdom (p. 13) and female hairstyles and ears to Middle Kingdom statuary (p. 11). The latter feature, stressed most strongly (Baumgartel 1970), does not fit into a well-defined sequence of modifications that make for a convincing stylistic chronology. Other forms of a tripartite hairstyle appear in the ivories (Quibell 1900, pl. XVI:4) and even in later times (see forthcoming *OINE* VI, chapter 3) as a Hathoric hairstyle. A long-robed official on the Narmer palette (Petrie 1953a, pl. K) wears this general kind of coiffure and is clean-shaven; he even

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has large ears. The features cited by Baumgartel are therefore a recurring pattern of representation in Egypt; in these circumstances they could hardly be applied to establish chronology.

74. Gophna 1976, fig. 5:6–9. Open bowls with rims bent over are typical of Cemetery L and they do occur in the *Corpus* as cited, but they do not occur in well-defined First Dynasty contexts of Saqqara. Similarly the cylinder jar with a line below the rim (6–4; see Kaiser 1964, fig. 1) is already replaced by the plain jar in 3504 (Emery 1954, fig. 98:F3) and even in the tomb dated to Aḥa (Emery 1939, pl. 16A); (6–1,2) jar rims are more like Dynasty O than Dynasty I. In addition, Kaiser and Dreyer (1982, fig. 19:42) read one potmark as Narmer.

75. Schulman (1976), 5, 10 (restoration very doubtful) 11.

76. Schulman (1976), 1, 2 (published inverted), 6, 14.

77. Kaplony 1963, various.

78. Typical of Narmer (Kaplony 1963, 25–26), less like Aḥa, *unlike* Djer (*ibid.*, 27–29).

79. The pose is not found on any definite Dyn. I seal—hands are outstretched for worship or the funerary banquet. See cylinders, Kaplony 1963, no. 653 and following. See above, chapter 4, pp. 141, 154.

80. Curved *Ka* arms do not occur on any glyptic after the start of Dynasty I: they are upright and angular or have straight forearms. See Kaplony 1963, various numerous examples; Quibell 1900, pl. XV:6; Adams 1974a, pl. 33:225–29; for more material from 'En Besor, see Gophna 1980 and Schulman 1980.

81. Prior exploration includes Quibell and Green (Quibell 1900, Quibell and Green 1902), de Morgan (Needler 1984), Garstang (1907), Kemp (1963), Brunton (1932), Lansing (1935), Kaiser and Butzer (Kaiser 1958, 1961b), and the American expedition. The latter has devoted special effort to the exploration of the desert areas (Hoffman, Lupton, and Adams 1982, Harlan 1985).

82. Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 13, and especially pp. 255–58; Kemp 1966; for the development of Cemetery B, see pp. 212–40, and Kaiser and Grossman 1979.

83. Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 13. For remarks on later developments, see Kaiser 1969 (also Lauer 1969).

84. Hoffman, Lupton, and Adams 1982, fig. I:13, pl. I:3–5, pp. 43–45.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–50, fig. I:11, pl. I:7.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54, pl. I:9.

88. *Ibid.*, fig. I:11; Site Plan.

89. The condition of archaeological exploration in Upper Egypt has been such that a cemetery of large tombs of the type found in Cemetery L would probably not have been missed. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the interest in ancient Egypt brought about the wholesale pillaging of early cemeteries in Upper Egypt which left shafts visible and piles of sherds and other debris on the desert surface for archaeologists to detect. Since the villages were almost all in the Valley, occupation did not impede exploration as it did in Nubia. Note also that Baumgartel (1947, p. 100) discussed important occurrences of South-Western (N-ware) bowls in Egypt but detailed other occurrences of A-Group pottery (100–101) in Naqada II. Needler (1984, no. 97) republished an A-Group painted bowl from a side-chamber tomb at Hierakonpolis dated to Naqada IIIa by wavy-handled jars (Morgan 1909b, p. 271).

90. Quibell and Green 1902, and Case and Payne 1962, pl. I. The same procession is depicted at the Naqada I–II transition on a linen in Turin (Galassi 1955, pp. 5–17; Scamuzzi 1968, pl. V.)

91. Needler 1984, figs. 34–35; Bénédite 1918, pl. XXXIV). This procession includes a prisoner in a bark (below) with a mace hanging inverted from the cabin behind. The bark with the ruler is above; the characteristic early kinked stern is clearly shown. The vessel has a steersman, but the central figure is enthroned, wears some special headgear, and holds a flail.

92. Firth 1927, p. 205, fig. 8.

93. See above, pp. 169–71.

94. See above, p. 169.

95. See above, pp. 157–58.

96. Petrie 1953a, early, pls. A, B, C, F and Fischer 1958, figs. 19–20; late, Petrie 1953a, pls. D, E, G.

97. For comparison of various uses of two-dimensional space in Predynastic art see Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951, pp. 18–21. We are considering here aspects of three-dimensional representation for purposes of typology.

98. Vandier 1952, figs. 235, 236, 238. Fragments of animal files are also shown on painted pottery.

99. Quibell 1900, pl. V below; Case and Payne 1962, pl. I.

100. One feature of design that has attracted attention in discussion of Predynastic art is the groundline. The Qustul incense burner, painted vessels from L 23, and the Archaic Horus incense burner from L 11 all have partial groundlines (see above,

chapter 4); on the first two, space was used as freely as the rather limited opportunities allowed. Some form of groundline had been in use since the time of the Hierakonpolis painted tomb. On small objects, the so-called animal files were organized even more rigidly. It should be clear that down to the fully developed organization of the Scorpion macehead, which also has some figures arranged quite freely, and the Narmer palette, the use or partial use of a groundline is less significant than an increasing tendency to organize figures according to some kind of self-evident coherence. See Kantor 1944, pp. 127–31; Petrie 1953a, pls. J–K, and Quibell 1900, pl. XXVI:A–C.

101. See above, chapter 4.

102. See above, chapter 4.

103. See above, p. 153.

104. Petrie 1953a, pl. C.

105. Capart 1904, p. 218, fig. 151.

106. Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LII:74 and Capart 1904, fig. 102.

107. Bénédite 1918, fig. 1. Note also the scorpion at the end of boss side row 1. See also pl. XXIV reverse, upper file and Kantor 1944, fig. 9:F–K. A similar file without the supporting flat object occurs on the boss side (row B1) of the Brooklyn knife handle (Needler 1984, fig. 34.) In Churcher's commentary and the drawing, the birds are shown as though they have very long beaks. By direct examination of the original, this writer has verified that these birds are birds of prey or scavengers and are actually tearing serpents.

108. The active trade across northern Sinai also ceased at this time.

109. Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, pls. V:2, IV:3. These show an early form of the divided trench-chamber tomb.

110. Nordström 1972, pls. 65, 67, tomb 298:4, for example.

111. See above, p. 27.

112. See above, pp. 114–15.

113. See above, pp. 113–14.

114. See above, p. 115.

115. See above, pp. 139–40.

116. See above, p. 163.

117. Reisner 1923 (I–III), Plans XV, XVII, XXI. In K XVI, chamber C has the place of the long trench (p. 401, fig. 136, see also plan XXV). Other tombs have two rectangular trenches as in the Abydos B-Cemetery (see plan IV).

118. Bietak 1968, p. 125, sec p. 99, IIa/3.

119. Williams 1984, pp. 60–63.

120. Reisner 1923 (IV–V). For Kerma pottery, see pp. 329–81. For pottery of C-Group tradition, see pp. 382–83, except 383, fig. 264:23–25; for pottery of Egyptian tradition, see pp. 389–98, 407(fig. 286)–444 (except fig. 300 on p. 419 and fig. 316:6–7 on p. 434). For pottery of Sudanese tradition, see p. 451, fig. 324. The Syro-Palestinian tradition is represented by p. 383, fig. 264:23–25, p. 404, fig. 281:1–2 and p. 434, fig. 316:6–7.

This is not a complete list of vessels from each tradition, but gives an indication of some members of each group. Since the traditional complexity of this material was not fully grasped, various groups were mixed together in the publication.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

122. *Ibid.*, pl. 62:1, 10.

123. *Ibid.*, pl. 42:1, 1–5.

124. *Ibid.* (I–III), pl. 4:2.

125. *Ibid.* (I–III), pl. 19:2, 3. See pp. 263–64, especially items ii and iv.

APPENDIX

CLASSIFICATION AS AN ENTERPRISE

Today, archaeological classifications are made partly to meet the desire of archaeologists and/or anthropologists to separate materials fairly rapidly into objectively valid classes. These are based on apparently neutral objective criteria, often in explicit imitation of the physical sciences, not only to appear scientific, but to strip away cultural content and make the culture being studied and its objects comparable with all others and to facilitate statistical manipulation. In pottery, for example, classification is usually divided into two levels, wares and shape, which are used together to make a typology. The descriptions of "wares" have become increasingly complex, involving details of petrography and chemistry that neither the ancient potters nor modern archaeologists could take into consideration in the field. Relations among "wares" are expressed in a tree-like fashion which is likewise not usable in the field, resulting in a growing double standard. Increasingly complex descriptions are used to justify easily recognized differences in paste, surface, and firing which are the actual bases for distinguishing one "ware" from another.¹ The second half of classification, normally shape, is often arranged according to a progressive sequence of geometric contours and judged according to dimensions and the relative positions of specific points as expressed by the distances, proportions, and angles among lines drawn between them.² The combination of these two approaches yields a checklist which allows the archaeologist to find a more or less clearly defined class for every object. Moreover it appears clear and precise—scientific. However, science is not related to ease or precision in classification; it is, literally, knowledge. We must ask whether these procedures, rigorous as they seem, in fact contribute to knowledge of persons no longer living.

The major classification of A-Group pottery was created according to the "taxonomic" principles outlined above.³ Properties of the clay, possibilities for treatment, the physical appearance of the inclusions, manufacturing techniques (whether hand- or wheel-made), surface, and firing distinguish a number of major categories called "ware families."⁴ The appearance of the surfaces without any coating was the basis for dividing the families into "ware groups."⁵ Subdivision into "wares" was based upon each distinction in surface color or texture.⁶ Shape, expressed by reference to specific geometric contours and proportions, was combined with the ware descriptions to produce "type groups" (9) and "types" (34).⁷

Although this classification appears clear and usable at first glance, serious problems become apparent when it is subjected to closer examination. First, the same characteristics are sometimes used to distinguish classes of wares at different levels.⁸ Were the procedure made consistent and the kinds of criteria separated by level and an additional "taxonomic" level added to accommodate the distinctions, the number of possible "wares" would be increased, possibly doubled, and the already cumbersome process made far more complex. In some cases, the classification requires that vessels meeting the criteria for one group be classified in another.⁹ In other cases, the rigorous application of criteria has been sacrificed so that a group of vessels clearly intended by its makers to belong together can remain so, even though the criteria would require a separation.¹⁰ Some groups could be placed in more than two categories.¹¹ The failure of the classification of "wares" to conform to the intentions of the original makers has more serious consequences in the final typology which combines these wares

with geometric shape-templates to make “types” and “type groups.” It is inconceivable that some of the vessels forced into single types by the principles of the classification were actually intended to belong together by their makers or that the association would have been recognized.¹² It is equally inconceivable that some of the vessels which these same principles have separated were ever intended to be apart by their makers.¹³ In fact, using a test of coherence, i.e., asking whether the ancient potters actually intended for these distinctions and associations to exist or whether they would even recognize them, none of the “types” that contain three or more members belong together and but two of the “type groups” are coherent, though neither of them contain all of the members they should.¹⁴ The internal contradictions of the classification itself call the purpose of classification into question. The issue is whether objects should be assigned to regular comprehensive arrays of categories to appear “scientific” and facilitate statistical manipulation or comparison, or whether they should be approached another way. In this other approach, we classify to discover the actual nature of past events by a critical inquiry conducted to detect original intended associations and distinctions among things.

If the objective of classification is a regular array of categories, then rules or criteria should be consistently followed, but even if the details of shape and decoration were not added to the criteria already recognized, so many classes would be required that the system would be excessively cumbersome and actually chaotic.

If, on the other hand, we wish to use classification as a path to understanding ancient actions, the greatest problem with the so-called taxonomic approach is not oversimplified structure or its failure to conform to its own scientific rules—contradictions, but the fact that it is an intrusion of one world of conceptual categories into another. It is not in fact taxonomic, class naming, or discovering and naming classes that have an actual existence (Webster, “according to natural relationships”), but *taxothetic*, class placing, inventing classes in one culture and imposing them onto another. The attempt at scientific objectivity fails because the carefully cultivated neutrality is *not neutral*. It is a positive choice of attitudes and techniques that have been popularized among certain circles in western cultures since the seventeenth century of our era; it is itself a culture, as subjective as any other. The comprehensive arrays of categories produced by physical science describe the physical universe well enough as clusters of inert instrumentalities, but their applicability to the creativity of human experience is not even an empirical thesis but an ideological position. In fact, attempts to construct such arrays of categories in this field actually represent an implicit acceptance of deterministic assumptions derived from eighteenth and nineteenth century philosophies that do not explain human phenomena.¹⁵ It should be clear that approaches of this kind cannot establish objectively valid classes by which objects from different cultures can be measured and compared, but arbitrary groups established not according to the original intentions of their creators, but according to a bureaucratic technological culture’s preference for orderly arrays of pigeonhole categories. Such groupings cannot be compared with those of any other culture, living or dead.

The failure of taxothetic-taxonomic classification is the failure of so much archaeological interpretation today; it fails to recognize that *we cannot leave the position of subjects*. Nor can we understand (i.e., discover the meaningful relations of things and events within) ancient cultures by trying to reduce them to objects using elaborate descriptive devices that implicitly assume that a descriptive property which we can detect has the same importance or meaning in all cultures where it is encountered. In no case could a description that included microscopic particles be used in a meaningful classification of ancient pottery, since no ancient individual knew or cared about the presence of these particles. Such information is useful in detecting the origin of the clay, but it is useless in classification. Classifications which ignore the detectable original intentions represented by things garble the material and retard understanding of the ancient peoples considered.

To be valid, classification must be based upon human causality—intention; that is, a feature or property must have been *grasped* by the person or group being studied, *given a value* by that person or group, and *acted upon*.¹⁶ Some ultimate cause of the property may have been important to the appearance of that feature or property in situation, but such prior causes, the discussion of which fills the writing of archaeologists at present, are irrelevant to the acts we try to discover.

The remark on human causality—intention—gave both goal and method to the OINE classification. This is to discover ancient acts, their value and the phenomena which their creators grasped, the reverse of the order of the event itself. The process requires that cultural content and present ideas of causality be set aside in order to approach the lives of conscious beings no longer living as much as possible on their own terms, in the way each person begins his own unique confrontation with his world. We can build classifications by the same means that newcomers to any culture build understanding of the traditions that become their own.

We are thrown upon intuition as the major legitimate source of classification. The method is both intuitive and scientific (orderly and based upon some provable propositions).¹⁷ Analytically, we recognize that human beings create realities in a chaotic physical universe. These realities, or better, these worlds, were seen by ancient Greek thinkers as circuits or horizons that encompass narrower regions of the universe (φυσικά), all things we have to do with (πράγματα), things used (χρήματα), and things made (ποιούμενα). Elements in these circuits are separated and related as things learned (μαθήματα).¹⁸ The elements are created values and meanings, significations or forms, that, in order to be comprehensible, must instantly and intuitively be detected and segregated from all other forms. These forms, especially those made by physically altering things, have created with them meanings (and values) which can be related and segregated according to the original intention by humans other than their creators, since these meanings must be recognizable or belong to “things learnable” or they could not exist. Objects must appear the same or different according to the intentions they represent; the test of association or separation is intuition.

The present situation concerns “things made,” things created for purpose. In this situation, most objects were made for instrumental purposes to manipulate the physical universe, vessels for storing, drinking, etc. These bear the stamp (form type) of this use. In addition, many or most objects were also made to engage personalities of humans, and personalities humans assumed to inhabit the physical universe. These also bear the stamp (form type) of their intention, and often a number of different instrumental form types would be included in the same value/meaning. The purpose of classification as recognized here is to detect value meanings and instrumentalities.

Three terms make up the foundation of the classification used here. An instrumental category is the simple intended use of a thing. A form group is a number of instrumental things made for various purposes, normally related, but representing the same intended appearance or value.¹⁹ A form is an instrumental thing or group of things made for the same purpose and representing the same intended appearance or value in the world.

The grouping proceeds intuitively, for a distinction of appearance or use must be intuitively detectable to have validity. For purposes of classification, the investigation need not attempt to decipher the content of the intention detected but only make associations and distinctions that correspond to the original ones.

So far, we have dealt with objects as though every person were equally engaged by their meanings—i.e., as they would occur in a single culture or tradition. The form groups created within a tradition (here a continuing complex of practices and preferences) should reflect common habits and techniques that are related to one another and distinct from others whose products may be present. Those products of

other traditions should have unintentional as well as intentional differences that reflect the general difference in habits, techniques, and value meanings.²⁰

Although the distinctions are made in the same way as distinctions among form groups in Nubia, the distinctions between traditions should be more easily detected and present in stages of the manufacturing that had little to do with final appearance. At most stages of manufacture, more of the choices should stand out as distinct than those within a culture. Such differences between traditions may exist also within a culture, especially when one culture borrows an entire body of materials and techniques from another. Such a coexistence may be noted within the Naqada II culture of Egypt in which the dark-faced burnished (usually black-topped) cups, bowls, beakers, and jars were at first supplemented and then gradually replaced by more elaborately shaped, generally lightly burnished (if at all), more highly fired pottery. Although each of the two traditions would be cut into form groups, the traditions were separated by the fact that almost the entire sequence of manufacturing choices differed, the one best characterized as homemade, the other as industrial.

NOTES

1. Nordström 1972, pp. 58–68. In this description of the “wares,” the name gives characteristics used to recognize the group, while subsequent headings give descriptive characteristics that may or may not be recognizable in the field. The heading “general characteristics” under “ware group” gives additional recognition characteristics (with a number of descriptive characteristics that may or may not be recognizable). A field sort using this system could proceed from the collection to the ware group by means of the name and general characteristics, each ware group sorted into wares by means of the name.

2. Nordström 1972, pp. 69–72. Shepard 1963, pp. 224–25, rejects the use of instrumental categories and appearance (“function and finish”), the latter as “irrelevant.”

3. Nordström 1972, p. 34.

4. Nordström 1972, pp. 57–66. These are distinguished by upper case letters K, M, and H. It so happened that the distinctions at this level corresponded to the cultural distinctions recognized in the publication: the Khartoum Variant, Abkan, and A–C–Groups respectively. Under the Family H, the A– and C–Group pottery, the fabrics were distinguished according to their temper, earth, ash, dung, or chaff (I D, II A, B, and C respectively), the clay and firing, despite very minor differences described in the text, being essentially the same.

5. These are designated by integers (for example, A 1).

6. Two parallel sets of “wares” were distinguished, those without coating by the second decimal H1.01, H1.02, etc., indicating whether the vessel was smooth, scraped, combed, rippled, polished with interior unpolished, or polished on both sides (Nordström 1972, pp. 60–66), and those with red coating, indicated by the presence of .1 in the first decimal place (Nordström 1972, p. 61).

7. See Nordström 1972, pp. 81–94.

8. Ware groups are distinguished from each other on the basis of both surface and color, although individual wares reflect recognition of each difference noted by Nordström in the surface treatment. If the classification were based on consistent types of criteria, the distinctions of color and surface would be separated at the Family level as well. Thus Family H would be divided into brown, brown and black, and black categories, then into brown smooth, brown polished, etc., and require an additional level of classification in the tens place, or H10.11 and H11.11. However, if that additional taxonomic level were recognized, the number of possible combinations would be doubled. If the opposite approach were tried, and the surface and color combined, the combinations would be reduced, but clearly distinct categories would be forced together. Nordström, however, recognizes no brown and black or black unpolished pottery; therefore a taxonomic level for brown pottery theoretically would not be possible for the other two color combinations. However, there are a few black-topped bowls with no burnishing in the C–Group, so such a group would be required. Even a few (admittedly very few) incised bowls were not polished (Williams 1984, chapter 2).

9. In Ware Family M, the distinctions between burnished brown and burnished brown and black are made at the ware group level (M 3 and M 4). In Family H (Nordström 1972, pp. 60–66), “Brown and Black” vessels are included under both Brown (H1.01 a, b, H1.02 a, b, H1.03 a, b, pp. 60–61) and Brown and Black (H4, pp. 63–64).

10. Kerma beaker ware is called "Red and Black" and so classified (Nordström 1972, p. 65, H4.15) though late Kerma vessels are sometimes simply brown, as the description admits, in which case, Kerma beaker ware should be divided between two wares.
11. Ware H3.03 is "Polished, black ware with uncompacted interior" (Nordström 1972, p. 63). From this name, one would never recognize the famous C-Group incised bowls which are not always entirely black, but often brown or even occasionally red with a black top, such as the Chicago 'cattle bowl' (see Williams 1984, chapter 2). Should this clear and specific group be divided among three wares?
12. Judged by the criterion of intuitive detection of intention, Type A Ia contains at least eight or nine different instrumental categories and three major categories of decoration (Nordström 1972, pl. 36). Numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 25, 26, and 32 are all clearly distinct shapes. Distinct decorations include band incised, overall zone-incised-impressed, and impressed. Most vessels are undecorated.
13. Type A II d:1 clearly belongs with Type Group A VIII as does A IX 1:2. The only reason for separating them is that the first does not have a blackened interior and the second is called "red polished" (Nordström 1972, pls. 39 and 42).
14. These are A VIII and A X (Nordström 1972, pls. 42, 44-45).
15. The bibliography of material oriented in this direction is extensive and it is not the purpose of this work to recount it here; for examples, see the following: Binford 1972, 1977; Binford and Binford 1968; Redman 1973, 1978; Renfrew 1972; Renfrew and Cook 1974; Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1971.
16. This is most often a single pre-deliberative process though it can be deliberative.
17. The literature is extensive and the problem has been approached from many directions. For one view, see Sartre 1957, pp. 35 ff.; 1966, pp. lxxi-lxxiv. For application, see Steiner 1975, chapter 3.
18. Heidegger 1967, pp. 69-76, esp. p. 70.
19. This can be considered the actual meaning of what has been called ware; a group of vessels that have *an* appearance with various purposes.
20. The reader is warned that we are looking at the concept of instrumentality that is actually a unity from two directions, which may help us organize our material in a coherent manner. After discovering that certain objects mean something different than others for both the simple manipulation of the physical world and in the engagement of personalities, one faces the problem of what they mean. It should be obvious that in order to determine the complete recovery of such meaning would require a complete decipherment which in turn would require a complete knowledge of lost thoughts and actions. Since no such complete decipherment exists for any ancient language, one can hardly be expected to exist in archaeology. A number of approaches might lead to a partial recovery of meanings. However, there are certain directions that can be pointed out for achieving a partial decipherment. For example, by comparing objects and techniques within the field of action of the ancient peoples themselves, their actual lived relations can be recovered in part. That is, we compare objects and complexes that were created or acquired to complement one another, rather like words and sentences. Thus, we may hope to learn something of the intentions represented by objects through their qualities, in relation to the original actual situation.

REGISTER OF FINDS

THE register is an extension of the recording on the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition burial sheets. Apart from essential facts of burial and the shape of the tomb (with a simple sketch), the sheet lists objects found in the tomb in rough order of appearance. Often, this list contains some contradictions in numbering, and it often refers to items such as sherds and stone vessel fragments that are not actually individual objects but could be individually identified. Individual objects were assigned a number within the tomb (e.g. L 1—1) on a small label slip which also gave observations on the findspot in the tomb; these remarks were used as the basis for the provenience given in the register. Proveniences given individual objects identify the tomb of origin quite clearly, but where the object was fragmentary, provenience within the tomb (shaft vs. chamber) might not be indicated so clearly. The register in 1962–1963 identified individual objects and samples; sherds were identified only by tomb number and not separately registered; some whole vessels were not registered. In 1963–1964, only objects were registered; material samples and sherds were identified only by provenience. In some cases relatively undistinguished small objects were considered samples. Cemetery L was excavated and recorded in the second season. As indicated above, the individual objects, samples, and lots of sherds were clearly recorded by location, and often specified within the tomb or locus. However, entries on burial sheets such as “sherd sample taken” indicate that the recovery of sherds was not complete and was probably haphazard. There were a number of discards at the end of the season. More important, an accident in transport spilled and confused a large number of sherds, leading to the designation *uncertain* in various registers (objects, having been numbered and packed individually, were not affected by this accident).

A few objects could not be located for study, and they are so indicated in the following register.

Each register entry is divided into a number of headings:

Tomb description: The entry gives the type of deposit, simplified description, and dimensions as recorded. As in all entries, illustrations are cited at the right margin.

Burial: The position of the body is given as preserved according to the code used for *OINE V*.

Body: The age and sex of the body are given according to Mr. Duane Burnor.

Objects: With a subheading that indicates the location within the tomb, important individual objects are given, roughly in the numerical order established in the field. A few objects were added to this list in Chicago, and the numbers were sometimes changed for publication (the key number for the object is the field or OIM number [Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago]). Each object has a brief verbal designation, followed by such descriptive codes as are necessary to locate it in the appropriate descriptive passage or table in the text; where the table is brief, such codes are not indicated here. In addition, stone vessels and pottery are cross-referenced to lists at the end of the register entry by an upper case roman letter. Each object has a field number, Cairo Museum number (Journal d'entree), or it is designated as a sample or sherds (some whole or restorable vessels were so indicated), or discarded.

Stone vessels: Some stone vessels were registered and given tomb-index numbers. Many fragments were not, but these were later separated in Chicago. Stone vessels are therefore given an index letter in a separate list, cross-referenced to the object list.

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Pottery: Many fragments were not individually identified in the field, but could be separated in Chicago. Therefore, separate lists were made for each form group, individual vessels indicated by roman letter, followed by the code that refers to the table in the text. In Form Groups I and IV the number of sherds or the approximate proportion of the vessel is given, followed by other descriptive information, number within the tomb (where applicable), OIM number (where applicable), and illustration. Some sherds could not be assigned to any particular vessel nor could they be distinguished as individual vessels. These are indicated in a note to the specific tomb.

Table 43—Register of Cemetery L

L 1 (figs. 60–63)			FIGURE	PLATE
Trench and chamber with stepped trench			60a	
Trench: 3.30 × 1.00 × 1.90–2.10 m (floor 2.30 m below surface)				
Chamber: 2.60 × 0.90 × 1.30 m (0.40 m extension to shaft)				
Burial: —				
Body: —				
Objects:				
a. From burial chamber and fill:				
1. Incense burner	(1.40 m deep in end of shaft)	23675	60b	31, 36e
2. Decorated bracelet		23674		55d
3. Palette		24862	60c	
4. Stone jar P	(on floor of chamber, 13 cm below shaft)	B 23676	60f	72c
5. Pottery sherds	(scattered in fill near bottom of shaft)	sherds		
6. Pebbles	19 exx.	24860		
7. Worked bone from chamber	fragt.	disc.		
8. Stone bowl F	(60 cm E. of ledge near N. end of chamber)	C 24076	60e	70g
9. Stone bowl D2	(fill of chamber)	A 24075	60d	71c
10. Base of stone bowl	fragt. (dio., unc.)	D samp.		
11. Beads			60g–i	
a. Three gold barrel, sheet				
b. Nine vitrified and deformed blue–grey faience				
c. Fifty–five feldspar, size 1 disc, very well made				
d. Four resin pendants				
Stone Vessels:				
A. D2 bowl	(no. 9)	24075	49h, 60d	71c
B. P jar	(no. 4)	23676	60f	72c
C. F bowl	(no. 8)	24076	49j, 60e	70e
D. Unc. bowl, dio.	(no. 10)			
Pottery:				
I. Exterior Painted:				
A. A–B/32	1 sherd			
B. A–B/40	8 sherds			
C. A–B/41	2 sherds		61a	
D. A–B/38	2 sherds		61b	
E. A–B/39	1 sherd		61c	
F. A–B/42	1 sherd			
G. A/40	1 sherd			
H. A–B/38	2 sherds			
I. A–B/41	4 sherds and base			
J. A–B/38	2 sherds			
K. A–B/38?	2 sherds			
L. A/50	5 sherds		61d	

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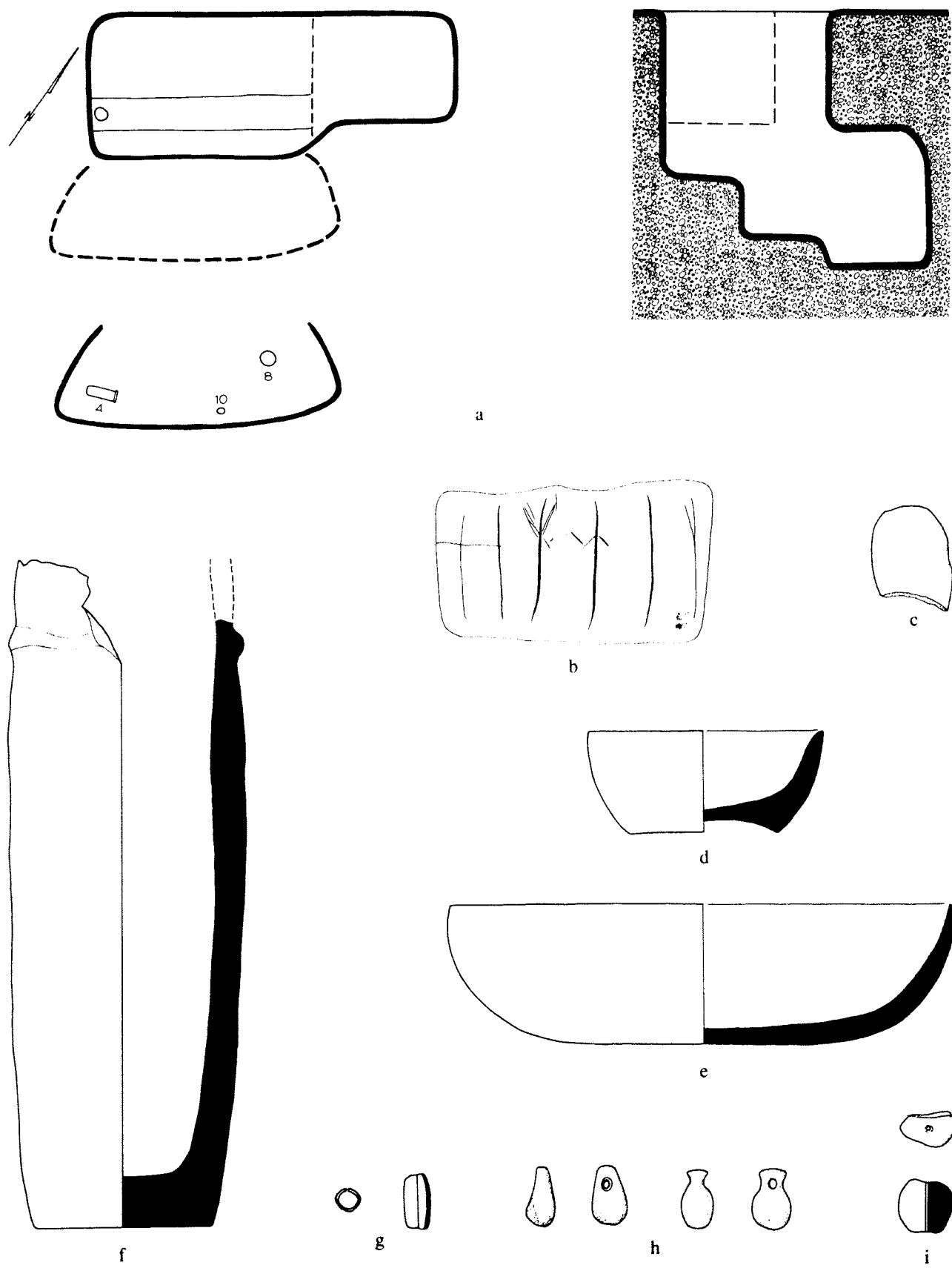


Figure 60. L 1: (a) Plan, chamber, and section; (b) Incense burner, no. 1; (c) Palette, no. 3; Stone vessels—(d) A; (e) C; (f) B; (g) Gold bead, no. 11; (h) Resin pendants, no. 11; (i) Faience bead, no. 11. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50, (g) 3.2:1, (h) .8:1, (i) 1.6:1.

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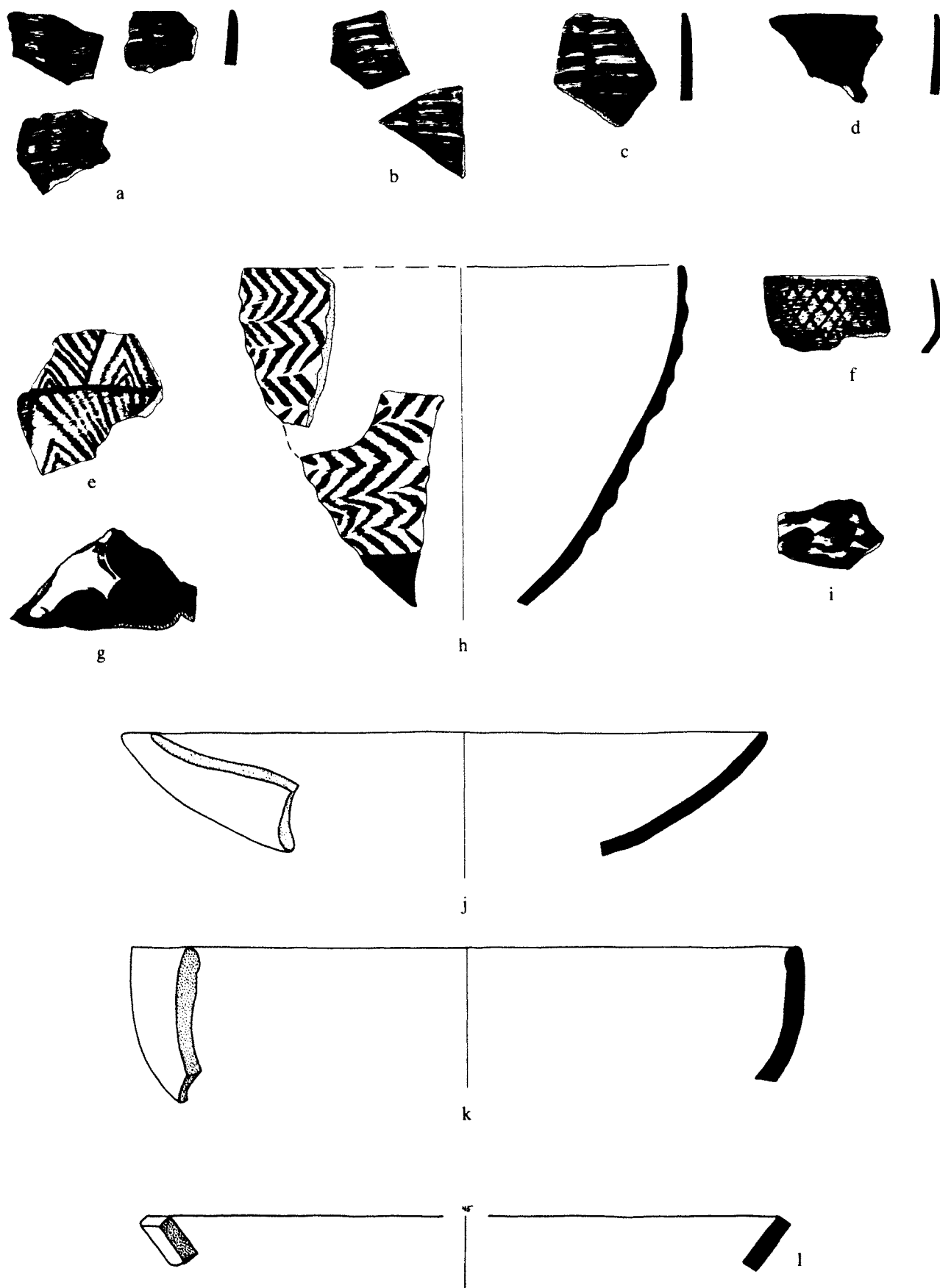


Figure 61. L 1, pottery: Form Group I, Exterior Painted—(a) C; (b) D; (c) E; (d) L; (e) Q; (f) T; (g) O; (h) W; (i) U; (j) Form Group V, Interior Painted, C; Form Group VI *gamma*, Simple Coarse—(k) A; (l) B (diam. 45 cm). Scale 2:5.

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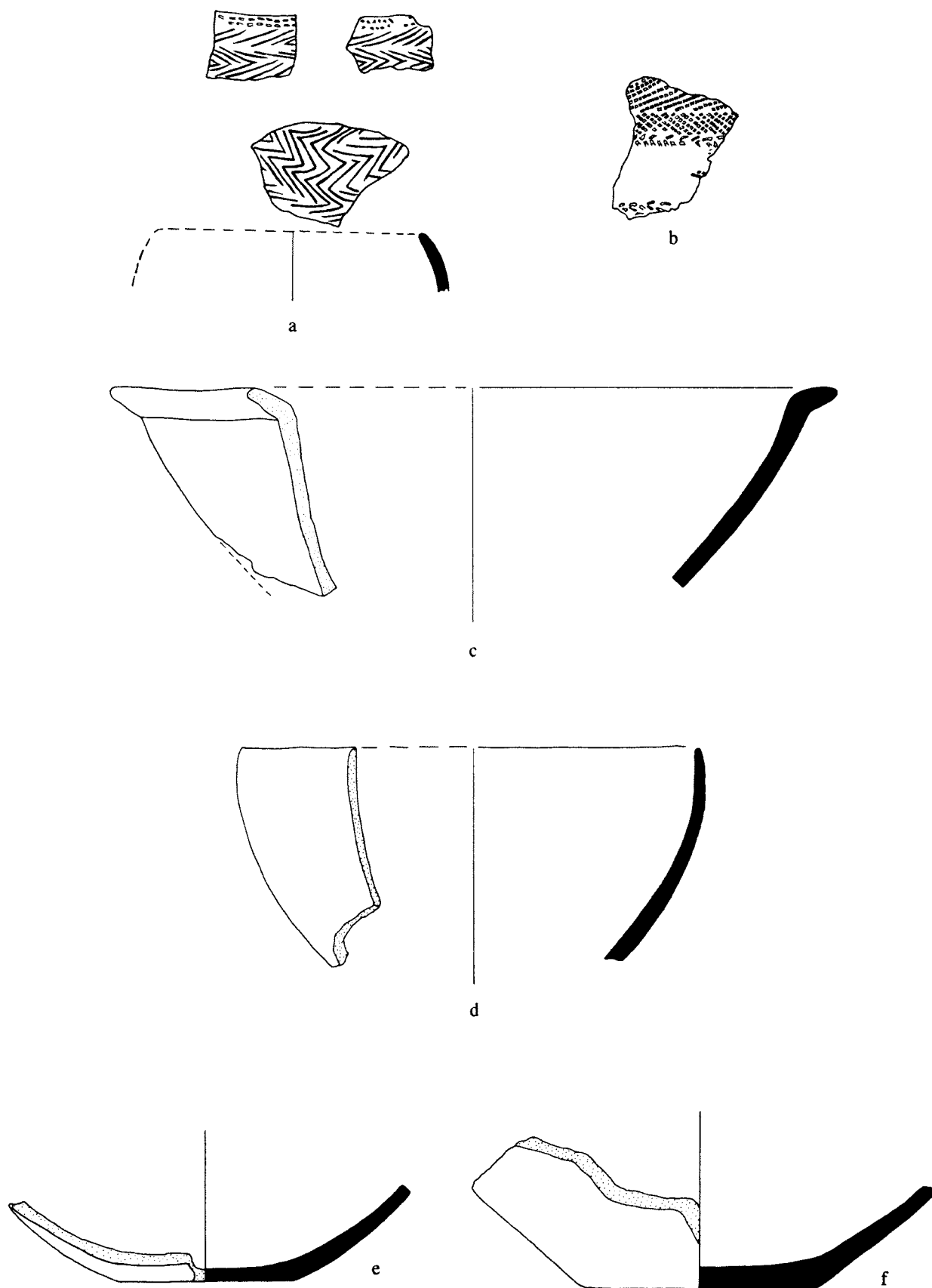


Figure 62. L 1, pottery: Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised—(a) A; (b) B; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(c) A; (d) E; (e) D; (f) G. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

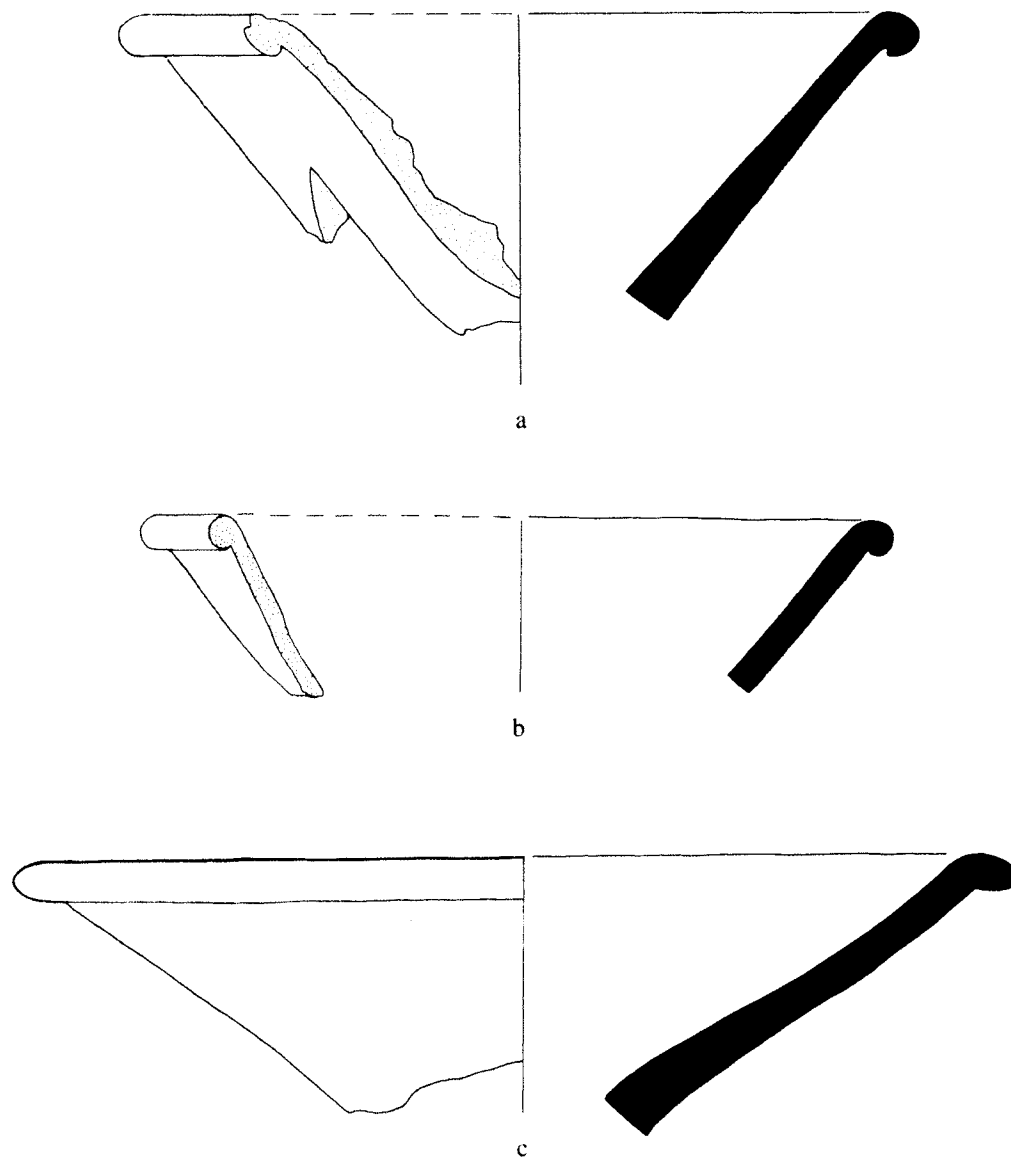


Figure 63. L 1: Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) C. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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L 1		FIGURE	PLATE
M. A/32	2 sherds		
N. Unc.			
O. A/32	4 sherds	61g	
P. A/32	1 sherd		
Q. A/23	1 sherd	61e	
R. A/10?	5 sherds		
S. A/7	2 sherds		
T. B/5	5 sherds	61f	
U. A-B/47	1 sherd	61i	
V. A-B/unc.	1 base		
W. A/2	2 sherds (large and rippled)	61h	
V. Interior Painted:			
A. 8			
B. Unc.			
C. Unc.	(shape only, dec. unc.)	61j	
D. 12			
E. Unc.			
F. 13?	(rim sharp)		
G. 13?	(rim sharp)		
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:			
A. B		32c, 61k	
B. A		32b, 61l	
C. Unc.	coarse cooking pot body sherd		
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised:			
A. 1		62a	
B. 2		62b	
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. K	(large)	37b, 62c	
B. Unc. bowl			
C. Unc. bowl			
D. Unc. bowl	(polished both hor. and vert. int.)	62e	
E. C		35d, 62d	
F. Unc. bowl	(brown)		
G. Unc. jar	(prob. X)	62f	
XI. Egyptian Coarse:			
A. B	(medium)	44b, 63a	
B. B	(medium)	63b	
C. C	2/3 top (radial burnish)	63c	

Supplementary Notes for L 1

This tomb consisted of a trench, an enlarged stepped pit (called a "shaft" in the burial sheets) to accommodate a stone blocking, and the chamber. The relatively small trench and large stepped approach resembled L 30.

L 2 (figs. 64–76)

FIGURE
64a PLATE
105a

Trench and chamber

Trench: $6.35 \times 1.26 \times 0.70$ m; step down to chamber $2.00 \times \text{ca. } 1.00 \times 1.60$ m

Chamber: $5.90 \times 2.68 \times 1.00$ m (bottom 2.25 m below surface)

Burials: Skull disturbed in E. side of chamber

Bodies: A. Adult female, rear part of sagittal suture depressed

B. Adult, ca. 50 years (skull only)

Objects:

a. From fill:

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|---------|-----|--|
| 1. Egyptian stand XI-C | | C 24874 | | |
| 2. Ivory bracelet | fragts. (50 cm deep) | samp. | 64b | |
| 3. Egyptian strainer XI-A | fragt. | samp. | | |

b. From shaft:

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|--|--|
| 4. Storage jar X-X | (restored in sketch, mark: "Pe-Hor") | J 24268 | | |
| 5. Storage jar X-X | | H 24078 | | |
| 6. Storage jar X-X | | I 24146 | | |
| 7. Egyptian coarse tapered jar XI-D | | E 24249 | | |
| 8. Egyptian coarse tapered jar XI-D | | F 23638 | | |
| 9. Stand XI-B | | D 24115 | | |

c. From fill (a continued):

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----|--|
| 10. Ivory bracelets | fragts. of 6 exx. | | 64b | |
| 11. Shell bracelet fragt. and beads | | n/a | | |
| 12. Ivory bracelet | fragt. | disc. | | |
| 13. "Stone" bracelet | fragt. (prob. shell hook) | n/a | | |
| 14. Horn comb | fragt. | 24863 | 64c | |
| 15. Pestles | 4 exx. | 24866 A-D | | |

d. From fill of chamber:

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|-----|---------------|
| 16. Mortar B2 | fragt. (red quartzite) | 24868 | 66a | 39c, 40a |
| 17. Shell hooks | 2 exx. | 23657 | 64d | |
| 18. Palette D1 | | samp. | | 48e |
| 19. Palette D1 | | 24869 | 65c | 48c |
| 20. Palette D1 | | samp. | 65d | |
| 21. Palette E | (round, sandstone) | | 65g | 44h |
| 22. Egyptian rough tapered jar XI-D | | G 23639 | | |
| 23. Shell bracelet | fragts. | disc. | | |
| 24. Palette D1 | (mal. stain) | 23656 | 65e | 44e, 45c, 47b |
| 25. Mortar with four feet | | 23712 | 65i | 39f, 40c |
| 26. Shell hooks | | samp. | | |
| 27. Seashells | 5 exx. (burned) | 24864 | 64b | |
| 28. Faience jar | | 24061 | 65h | 60b, 61a |
| 29. Carved wood | fragts. (charred) | disc./samp. | | |

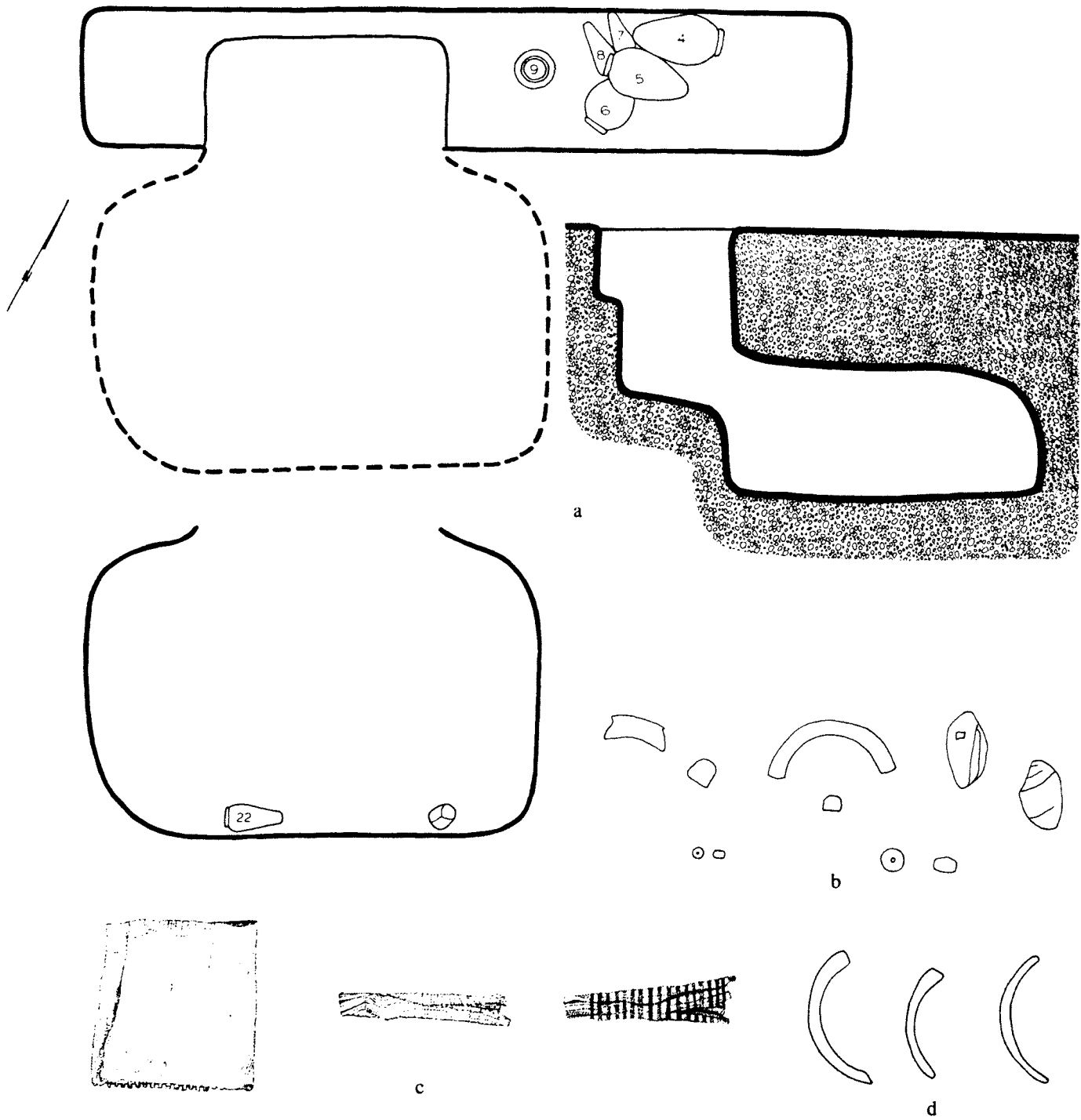


Figure 64. L 2: (a) Plan, chamber, and section; (b) Bracelet fragments, shell, and beads, nos. 2, 10, 27, 30; (c) Fragment of horn comb, no. 14; (d) Shell hooks, no. 17. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

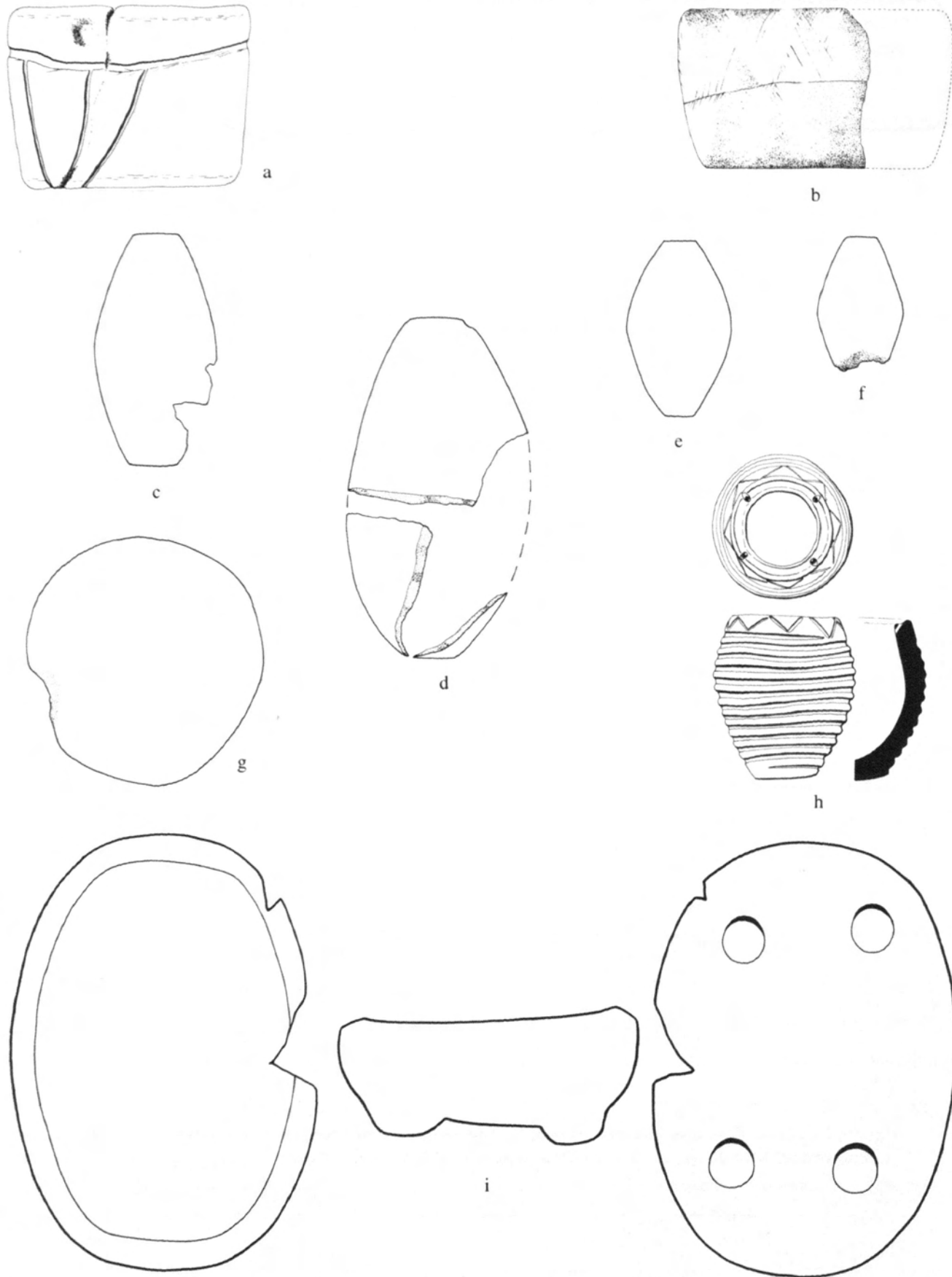


Figure 65. L 2: Incense burners—(a) No. 33; (b) No. 34; Palettes—(c) No. 19; (d) No. 20; (e) No. 24; (f) No. 31; (g) No. 21; (h) Faience vessel, no. 28; (i) Mortar, no. 25. Scale 2:5.

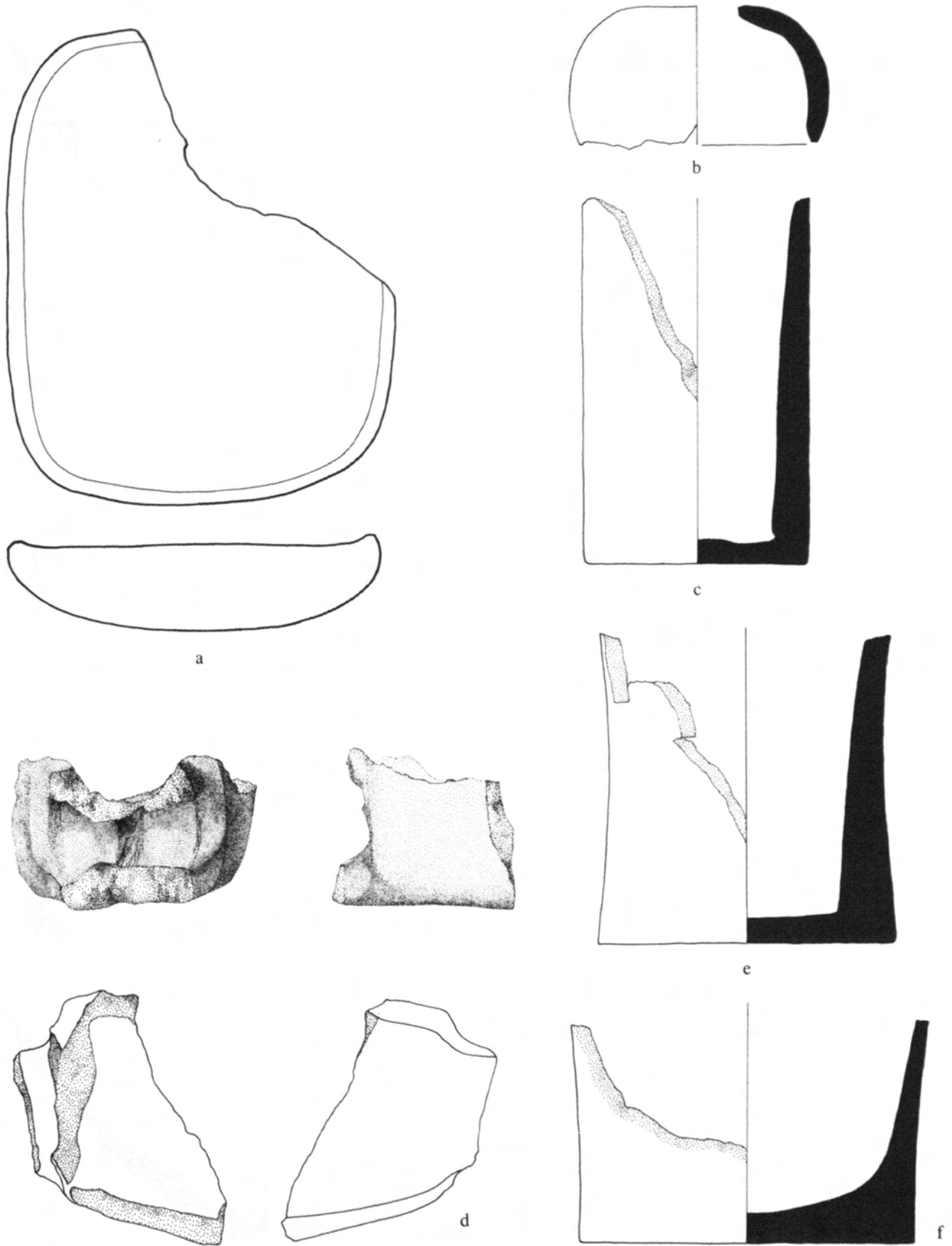


Figure 66. L 2: (a) Mortar, no. 16; Stone vessels—(b) A; (c) D; (d) E; (e) B; (f) C. Scale 2:5.

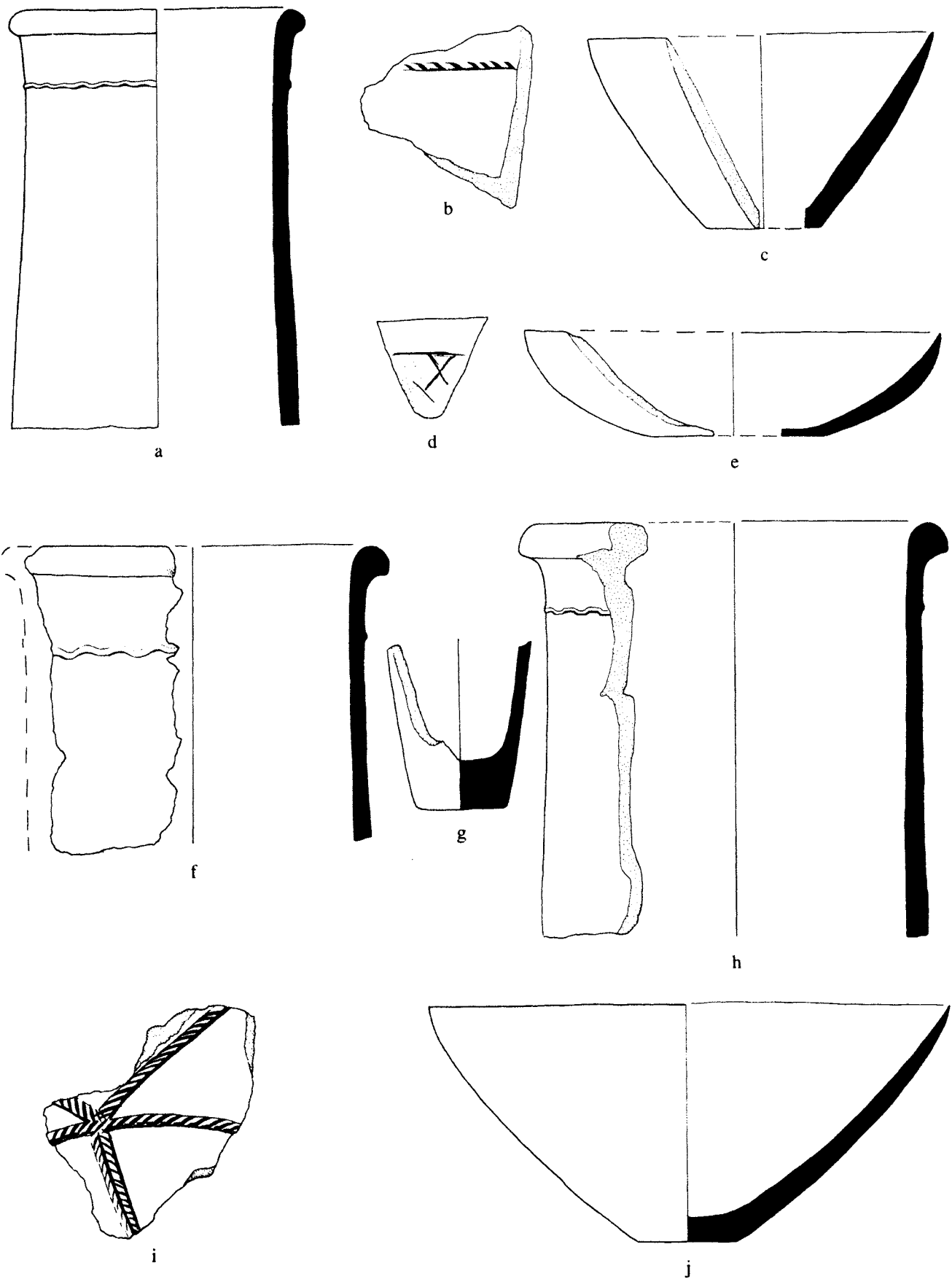


Figure 67. L 2: Stone vessels—(a) J; (b) O; (c) P; (d) T; (e) S; (f) Q; (g) R; (h) U; (i) V; (j) W. Scale 2:5.

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L 2			FIGURE	PLATE
30. Beads	2 exx. (shell)	samp.	64b	
31. Palette	fragt.	samp.	65f	
32. Sherds VIII		sherds		
33. Incense burner E3	fragt. (dec.)	24072	65a	29, 36c
34. Incense burner E3	fragt.	24073	65b	27b, 35f
35. Polished pebbles		24865 A-C		
36. Shell bracelet	fragt.	disc.		
37. Wood	frags.	24181		
38. Polished pebbles		samp.		
39. Horn-core, Ammon sheep		samp.		
Stone vessels:				
A. AC jar			53d, 66b	74d
B. Unc. cyl. jar			66e	
C. Unc. cyl. jar			66f	
D. Unc. cyl. jar			66c	
E. L	theriomorph		50e, 66d	75
F. Unc. cyl. jar				
G. Y jar				
H. Unc. cyl. jar				
I. Unc. cyl. jar				
J. S jar			52b, 67a	74a
K. Unc. cyl. jar				
L. Unc. cyl. jar				
M. Unc. cyl. jar				
N. G bowl				
O. U1 jar?			52d, 67b	
P. G bowl			67c	
Q. S jar			67f	74a
R. N jar?			67g	
S. K1 bowl			50d, 67e	
T. Unc. bowl	(incised and hatched band)		67d	
U. S jar			67h	74a
V. AD			67i	74f
W. G bowl			49k, 67j	
X. L boat?				
Y. S jar				74a
Z. G bowl			68a	
AA. W jar				
AB. K1 bowl				
AC. K2 bowl			68b	
AD. W jar				
AE. Unc. cyl. jar				
AF. K2 bowl			68c	
AG. K2 bowl			68d	
AH. H bowl			50a, 68e	
AI. Unc. cyl. jar			68g	
AJ. U2 jar				74c

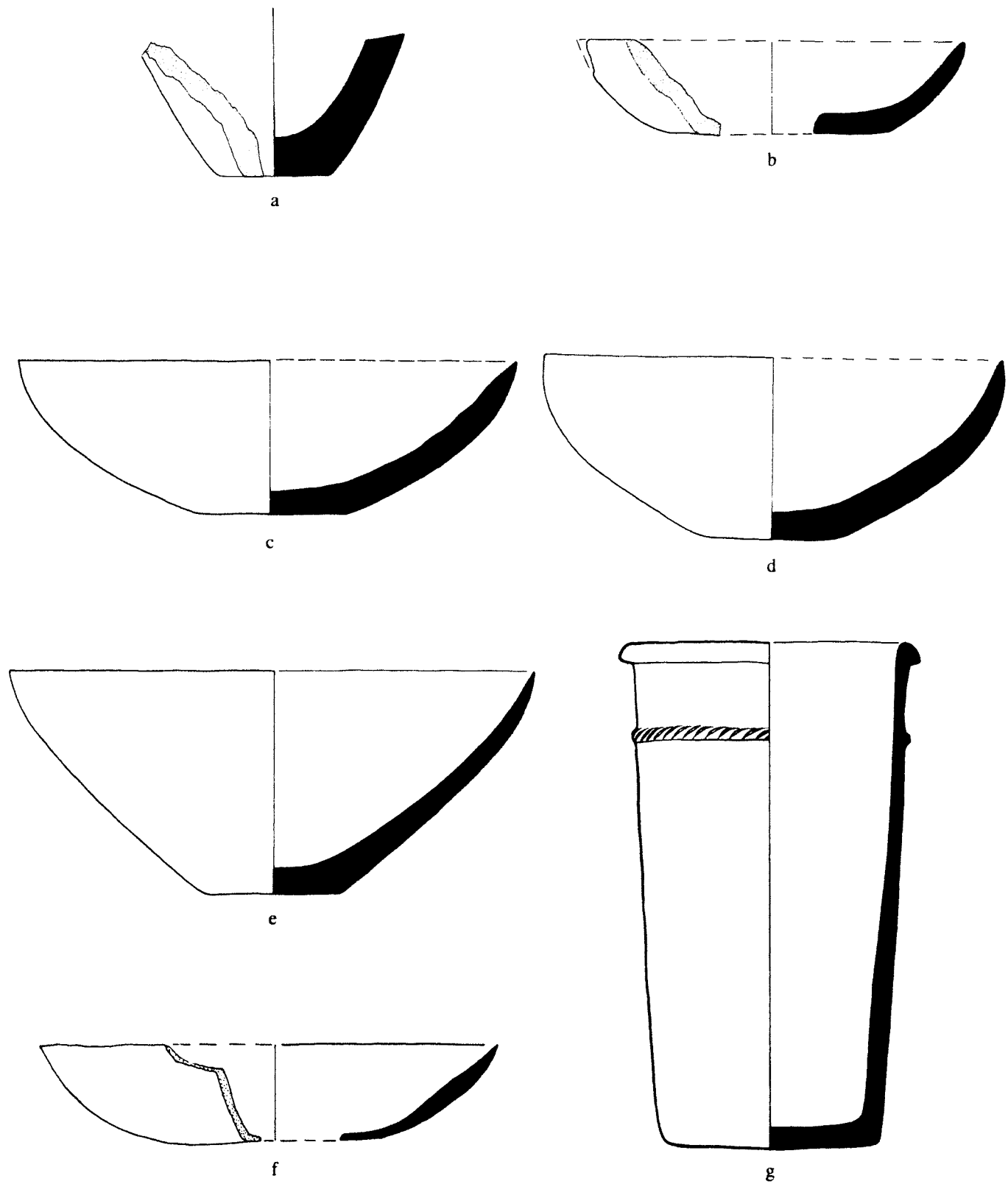


Figure 68. L 2: Stone vessels—(a) Z; (b) AC; (c) AF; (d) AG; (e) AH; (f) AL; (g) AI. Scale 2:5.

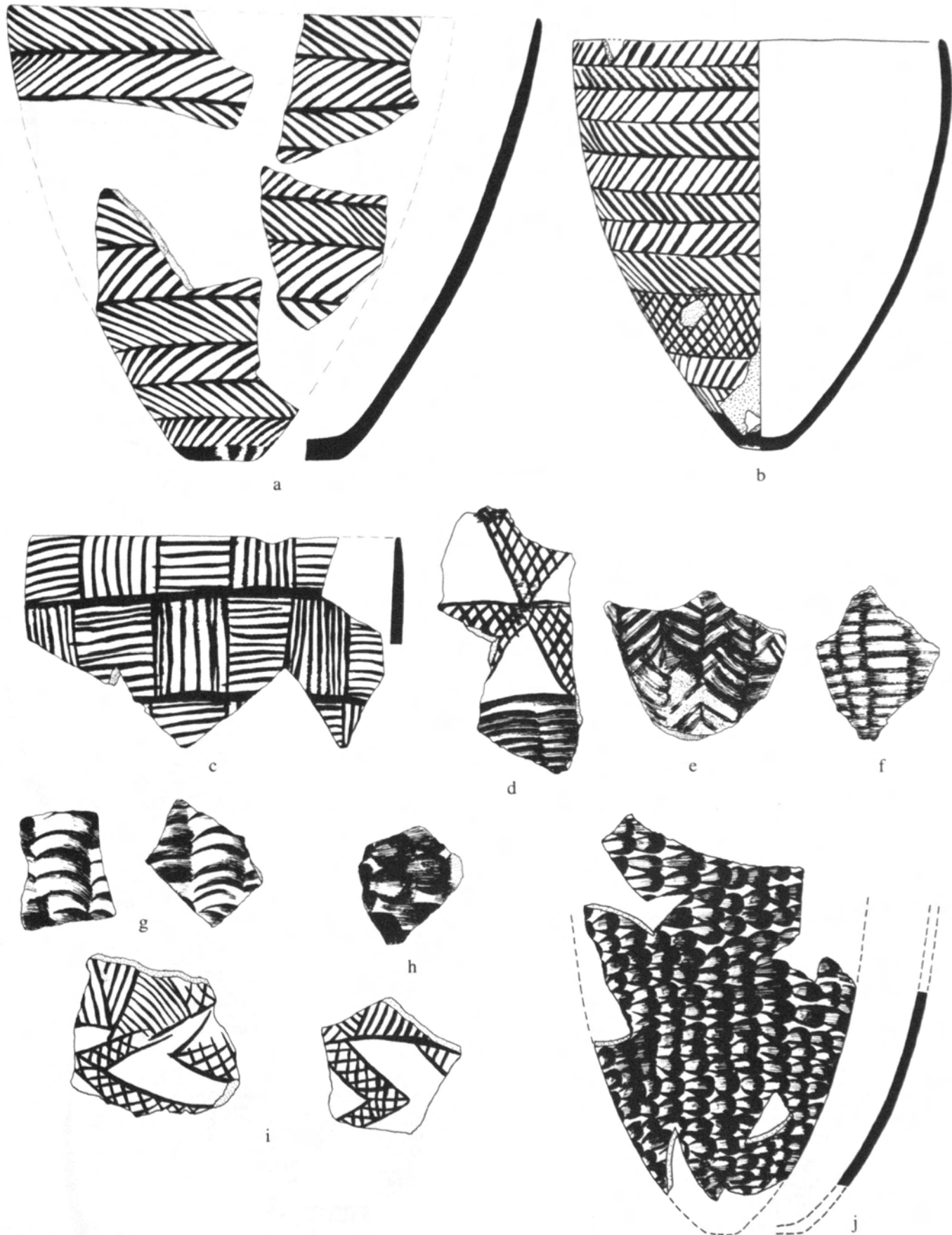


Figure 69. L 2: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) A; (b) G; (c) M; (d) N; (e) O; (f) P; (g) R; (h) U; (i) S; (j) V. Scale 2:5.

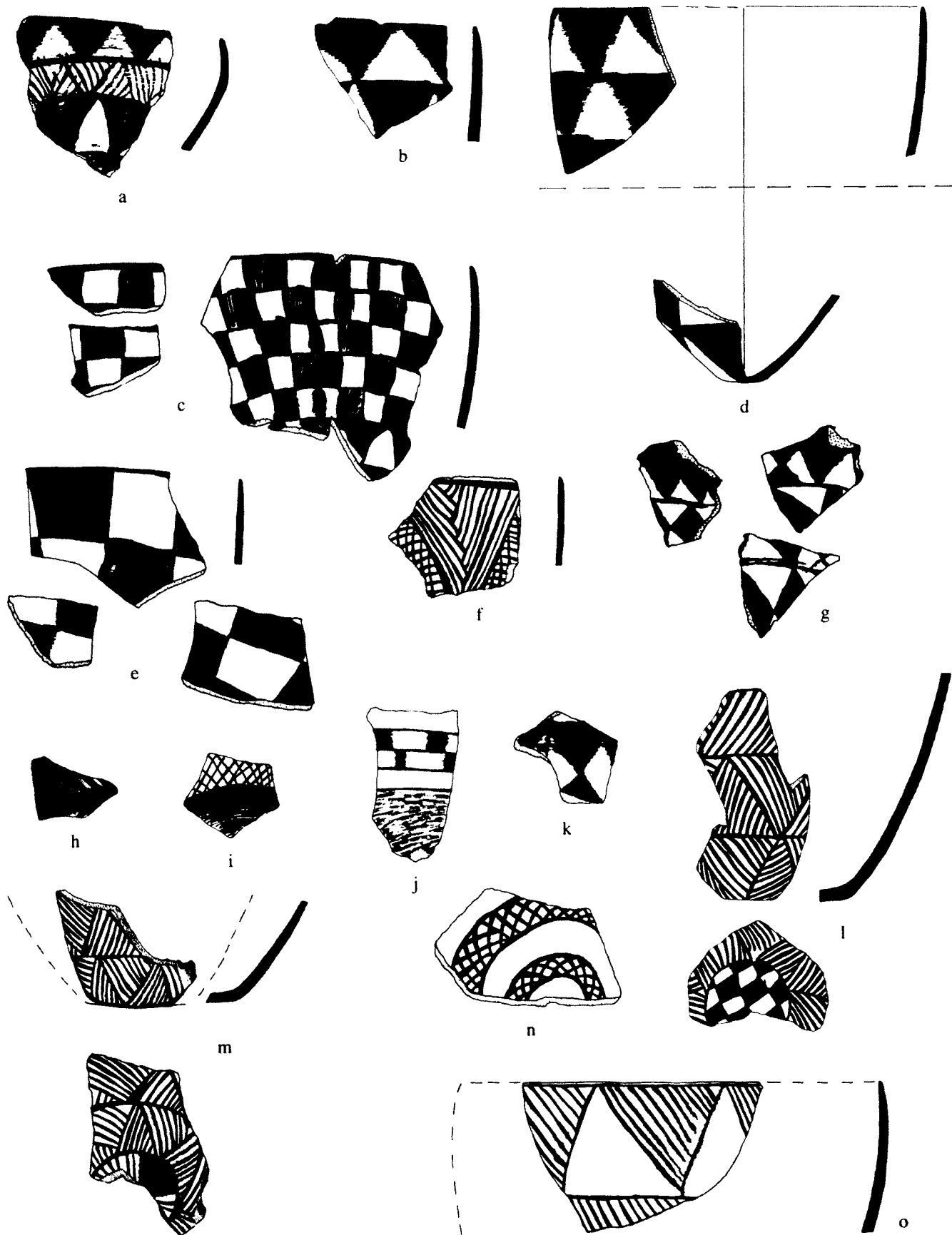


Figure 70. L 2: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) W; (b) X; (c) AB; (d) AA; (e) AC; (f) AG; (g) AL; (h) AS; (i) AV; (j) AJ; (k) AN; (l) AX; (m) BB; (n) BL; (o) BE. Scale 2:5.

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		FIGURE	PLATE
L 2			
AK. Y jar	(scorpion)		96b
AL. K1 bowl		68f	
Pottery:			
I. Exterior Painted:			
A. A/4		69a	
B. A/unc.-57?	1 sherd		
C. D/4	1 sherd		
D. A/57	2 sherds		
E. A/4	1 sherd		
F. A/11	1 sherd		
G. A/57	pot	69b	7a
H. A/4	1 sherd (ribbed)		
I. C/4	1 sherd (ribbed)		
J. A/4	1 sherd		
K. A/4	1 base		
L. A/4	1 sherd		
M. A/32	ca. 1/5 extant	69c	
N. A/32	1 sherd	69d	
O. A/46	1 sherd	69e	
P. A/41	3 sherds	69f	
Q. A/38	2 sherds		
R. A/39	5 sherds	69g	
S. A/67	4 sherds	12g, 69i	
T. A/38	1 sherd		
U. A/47	1 sherd	69h	
V. A/48	1/3 extant	11h, 69j	
W. B/135	2 sherds	15p, 70a	
X. A/27	5 sherds	70b	
Y. A/128	1 sherd		
Z. A/126	1 sherd		
AA. A/27	4 sherds	70d	
AB. A/34	6 sherds	70c	
AC. A/34	6 sherds	10d, 70e	
AD. A?/unc.	1 sherd		
AE. A/27	2 sherds		
AF. A/34	1 sherd		
AG. A/27	2 sherds	70f	
AH. A/27	7 sherds		
AI. A/4	10 sherds		
AJ. A/150	1 sherd	17g, 70j	
AK. A/27	8 sherds		
AL. A/123a	2 sherds	15f, 70g	
AM. B/27	1 sherd		
AN. A/136	1 sherd	70k	
AO. A/27	8 sherds		
AP. A/27	2 sherds		
AQ. A/22	1 sherd		

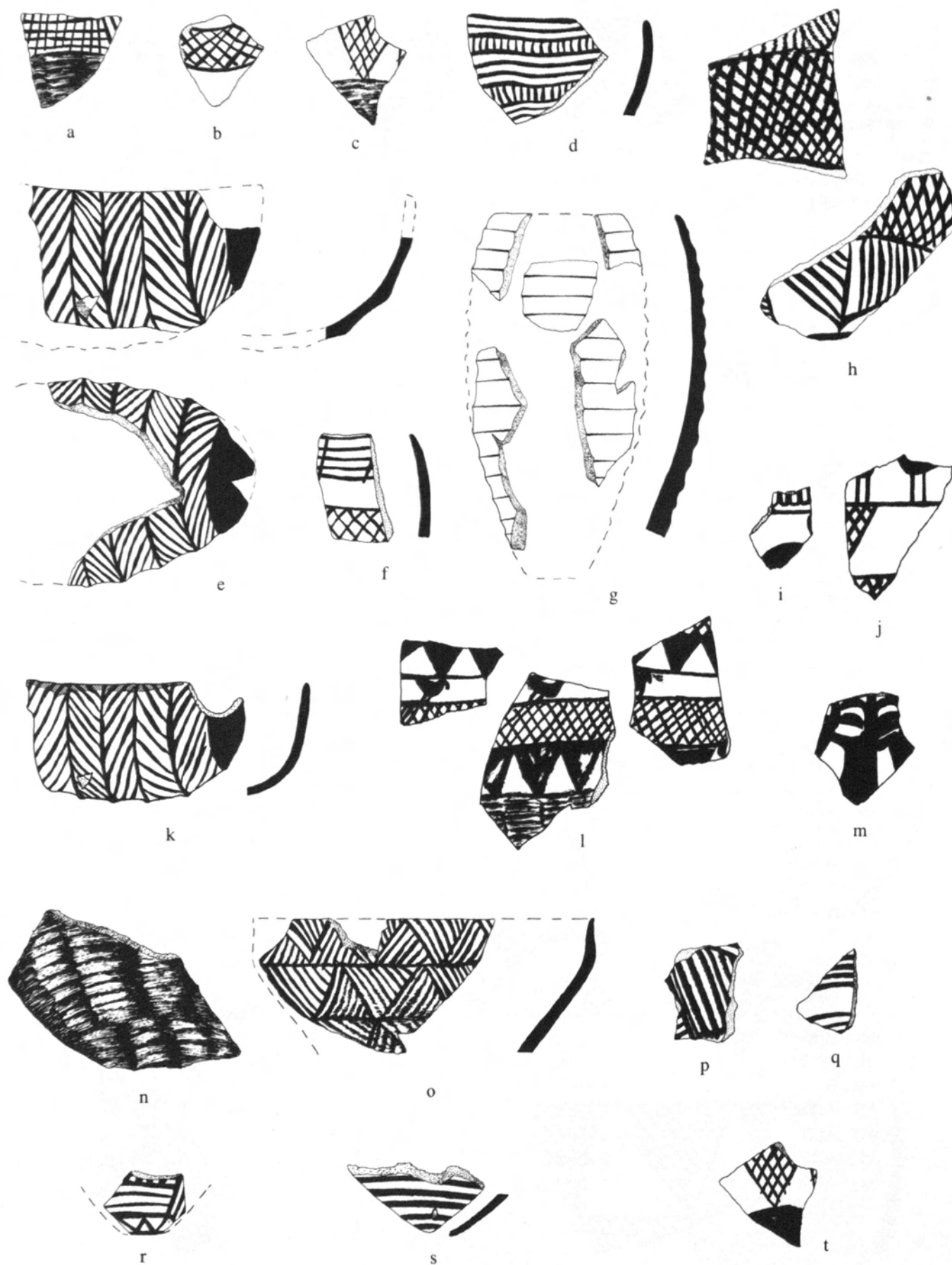
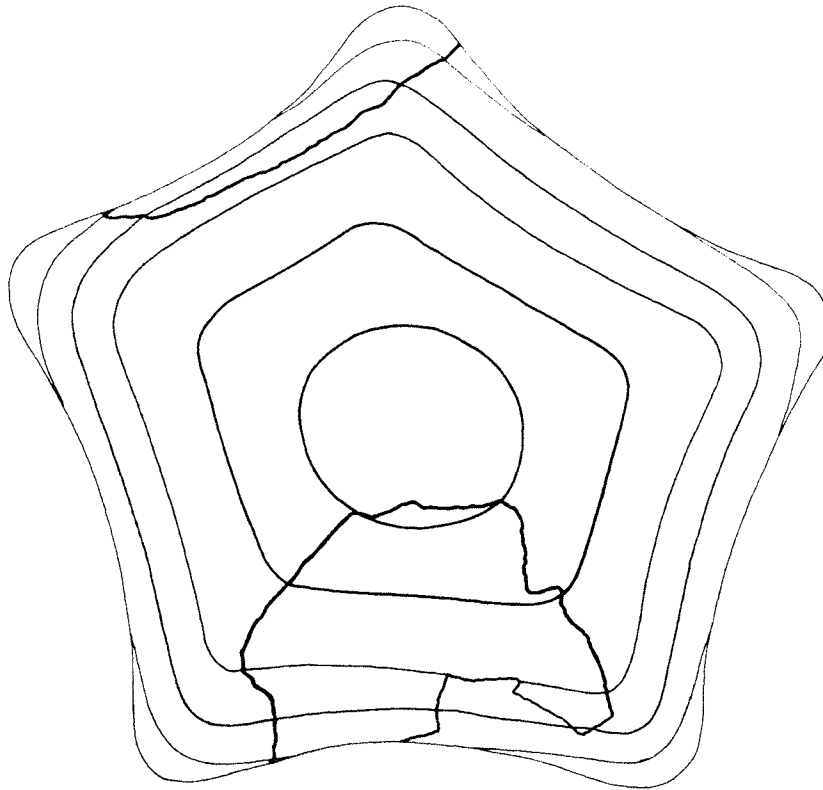
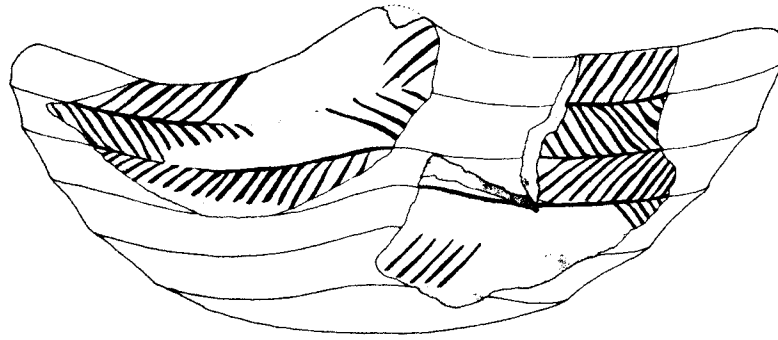


Figure 71. L 2: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) BK; (b) BM; (c) BO; (d) BT; (e) BS; (f) BW; (g) BU; (h) BQ; (i) BZ; (j) CA; (k) BX; (l) BY; (m) CB; (n) CC; (o) CD; (p) CL; (q) CN; (r) CO; (s) CQ; (t) CT. Scale 2:5.

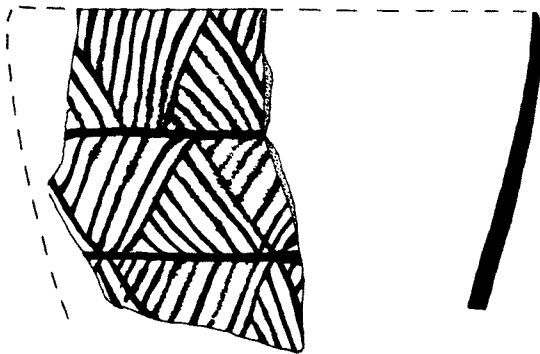
REGISTER OF FINDS

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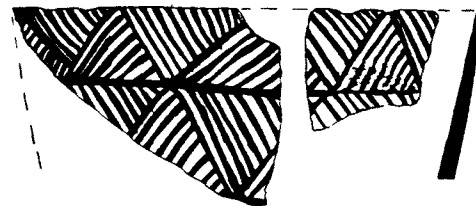
L 2		FIGURE	PLATE
AR. A/10	1 sherd		
AS. A/10	1 sherd	70h	
AT. A/10	1 sherd		
AU. A/4	1 sherd		
AV. A/63	1 sherd	70i	
AW. A/4	1 sherd		
AX. A/10	1/3 extant	70l	
AY. A/10	3 sherds		
AZ. A/10	2 sherds		
BA. A/10	1 sherd		
BB. A/10	1 base	70m	
BC. A/65	1 sherd (bands)		
BD. A/8	1 sherd		
BE. A/10	1 sherd	70o	
BF. A/7	2 sherds		
BG. A/7	1 sherd		
BH. A/7	1 base		
BI. A/4	1 sherd		
BJ. A/7	1 sherd		
BK. A/72	1 sherd	71a	
BL. Unc./65	1 sherd	12e, 70n	
BM. A/5	1 sherd	71b	
BN. A/51 (unc.)	2 sherds		
BO. A/5	2 sherds	71c	
BP. C/123b	1 sherd		
BQ. A/82	2 sherds (hatched triangles)	13b, 71h	
BR. A/50	1 sherd		
BS. D/4	7/10 extant (ribbed)	71e	
BT. D/73	2 sherds	12k, 71d	
BU. C/4?	(ribbed)	71g	
BV. D/34	1 sherd		
BW. D/62	1 sherd	12b, 71f	
BX. D/56	1/2 extant (vertical ribbing)	11i, 71k	
BY. A/165	3 sherds	18i, 71l	
BZ. A/163	1 sherd	18e, 71i	
CA. A/162	1 sherd	18d, 71j	
CB. A?/166	1 sherd	18h, 71m	
CC. A/38	3 sherds	71n	
CD. B/10	3 sherds	71o	
CE. A/27	9 sherds		
CF. A/10	6 sherds		
CG. A/10	3 sherds	72c	
CH. A/10	3 sherds	72b	
CI. A/10	1 sherd		
CJ. B/10	1 sherd		
CK. A/82	1 sherd		
CL. D/93	1 sherd	13l, 71p	



a



b



c

Figure 72. L 2: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) CU; (b) CH; (c) CG. Scale 2:5.

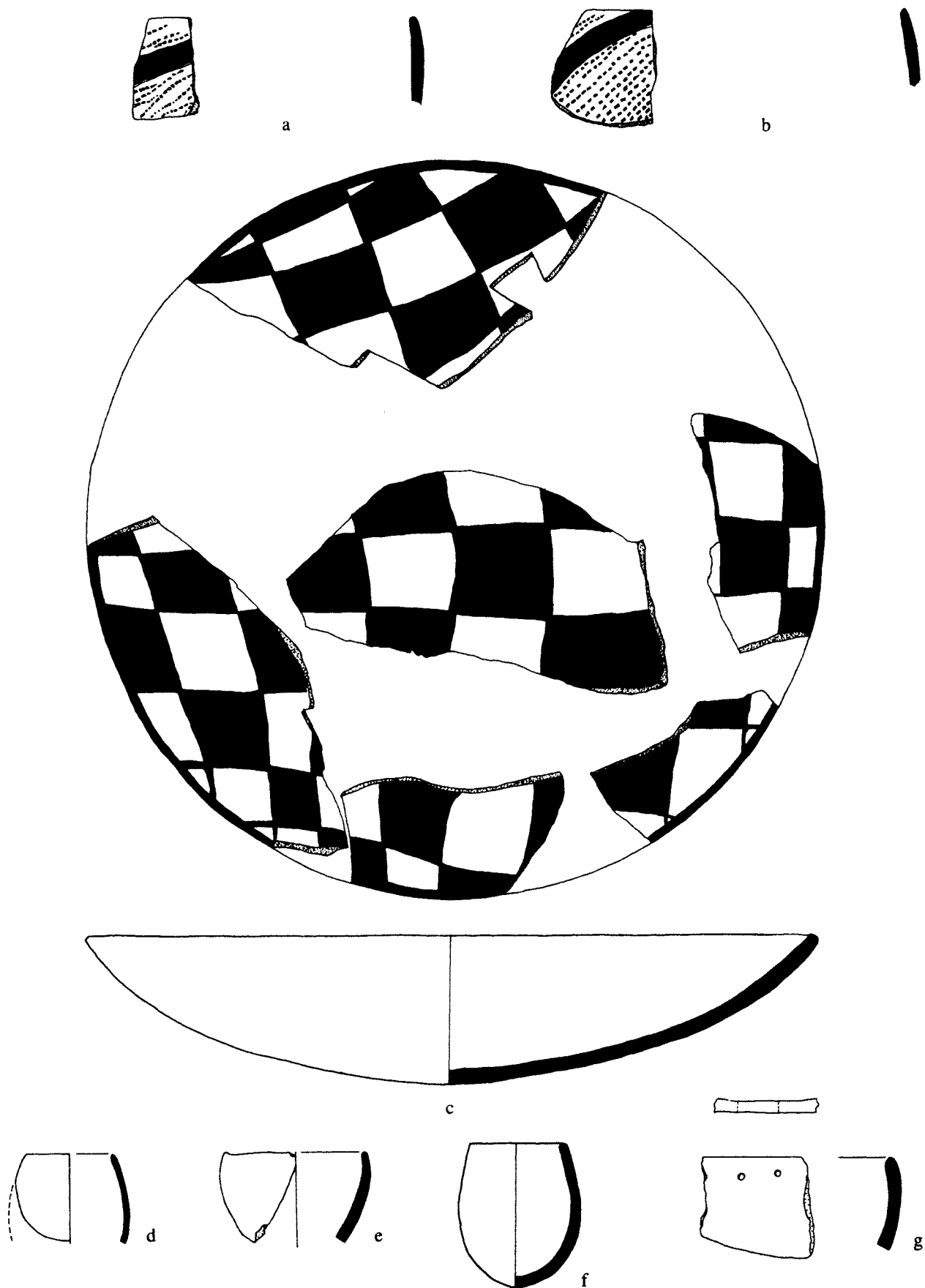


Figure 73. L 2, pottery: Form Group IV, Painted and Incised-Impressed—(a) A; (b) B; (c) Form Group V, Interior Painted, A; Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups—(d) A; (e) C; (f) B; (g) Form Group VI *gamma*, Simple Coarse, A. Scale 2:5.

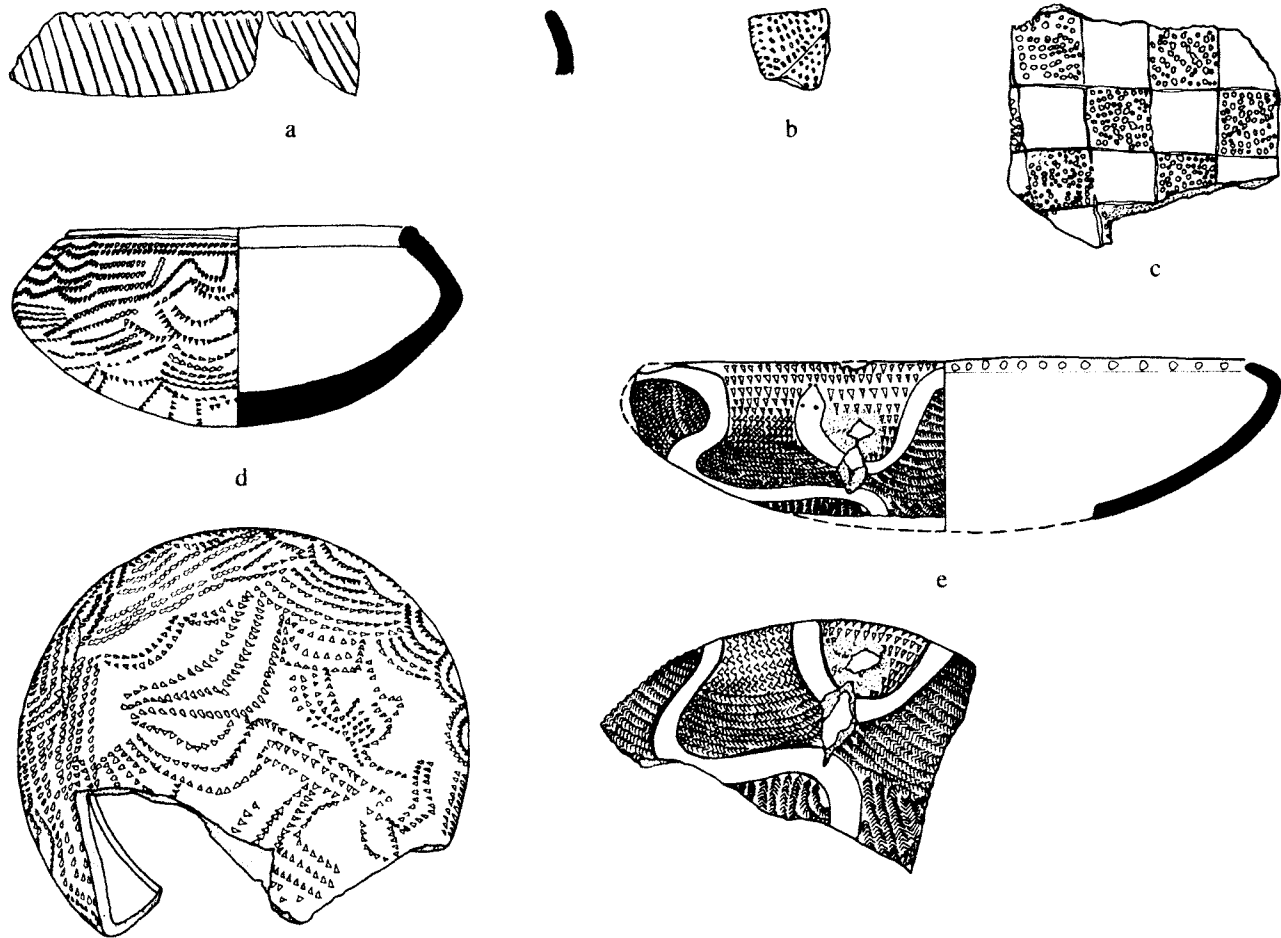


Figure 74. L 2, pottery: Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised—(a) A; (b) B; Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised—(c) H; (d) A; (e) I. Scale 2:5.

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L 2		FIGURE	PLATE
CM. A/86	1 sherd		
CN. A/6	1 sherd	71q	
CO. A/32	1 base	71r	
CP. A/10	1 base		
CQ. A/6	1 pierced base	71s	
CR. A/38	1 base		
CS. A/27	1 sherd (tall triangles)		
CT. A/15	1 sherd	71t	
CU. F/4	2 sherds	7b, 72a	
CV. A/38	5 sherds		
IV. Painted and Incised–Impressed:			
A. 1	3 sherds (white and red)	73a	
B. 1	4 sherds (poss. from L 9)	73b	
C. 1	1 sherd (white areas)		
V. Interior Painted:			
A. 9		25b, 73c	
VI <i>beta</i> . Miniature Cups:			
A.	sherd (surface discolored)	73d	
B.	sherd (surface discolored)	73f	
C.	sherd (surface discolored)	31c, 73e	
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:			
A. E?	(burnished, two holes for repair or suspension)	32f, 73g	
B. Unc.			
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone–Incised:			
A. 1		74a	
B. 7		33e, 74b	
VIII. Heavy Incised:			
A. 4		34f, 74d	
B. 3			
C. 1			
D. 1			
E. 6			
F. 8			
G. 10			
H. 9		34j, 74c	
I. 1		34a, 74e	
J. Unc.			
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. M1	(brown)	37d, 75a	
B. B2	4 sherds (brown)	75b	
C. B2	(brown)	75c	
D. B2	(brown)	75d	
E. B2	(brown)	75e	
F. W	1 base sherd		
G. P	(painted crosshatching)	38a, 75f	18f
H. X	(no. 5)	76g	78c (mark)

L 2

		FIGURE	PLATE
I. X	(no. 6)	76h	78a-b (marks)
J. X	"Pe-Hor" (BI/2, no. 4)		76, 77 (marks)
XI. Egyptian Coarse:			
A. A	strainer sherd	76d	
B. A	strainer sherd (no. 3)	76a	
C. C	base (no. 1)	45b, 76b	22c
D. B	(complete, broad, ext. grooved rim)		
E. D	(no. 7)	76e	24b
F. D	(no. 8)		24a
G. D	(no. 22)	45c, 76f	
H. B	(tall with triangles cut out)	76c	
I. B	(inc. with opposed hatching in bands—attribution doubtful)		

Supplementary Notes for L 2

Three storage jars were found in the trench with two narrow jars and a stand. Although the original placement of the storage jars was probably somewhat different, they were certainly placed in the trench. The other vessels may not have been found in their original positions, for they were not on the bottom of the trench.

The chamber contained a skull and one of the narrow jars.

Stone vessel fragments as recorded:

- A. From trench:
 - a. Two parts, base
 - b. Fragment, large jar, rim
 - c. Flaring bowl
 - d. Rim, small piece
 - e. Two pieces, small cylinder
 - f. Heavy fragments from cylinder jar
 - g. Alabaster base fragment
 - h. Two fragments, rim and body, dark stone
- B. From chamber:
 - i. Fragments of stone vessel
 - j. Base of cylinder vessel, alabaster
 - k. Rim of larger cylinder vessel
 - l. Thick body fragment, net-rope pattern
 - m. Wall fragment, rope pattern
 - n. Rim of bowl
 - o. Base of bowl
 - p. Fragment of rim
 - q. Body sherd of bowl
 - r. Fragment of rim, wavy pattern
 - s. Rim fragment
 - t. Body fragment, bowl
 - u. Straight rim
 - v. Base
 - w. Body and rim
 - x. Rim

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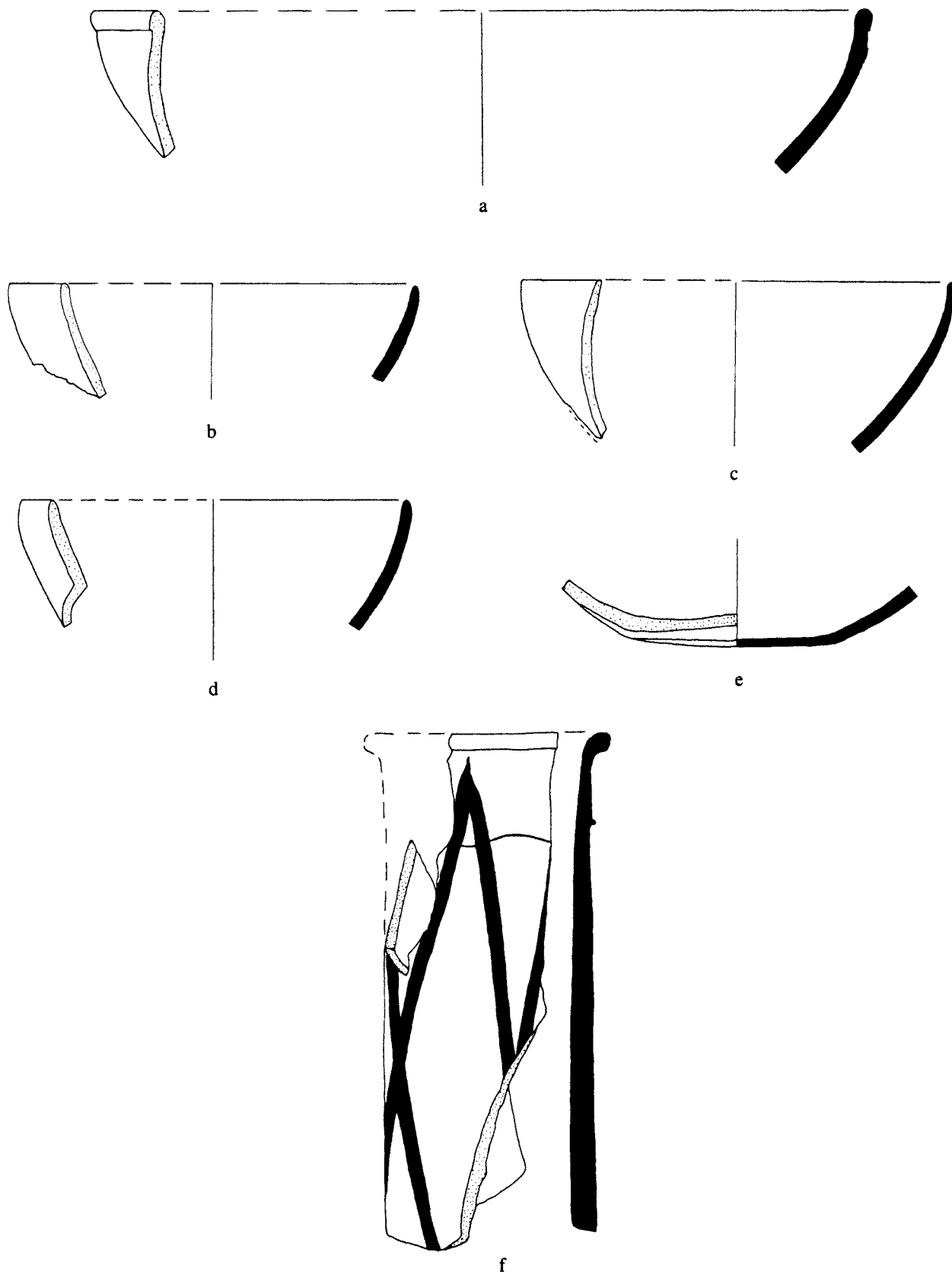


Figure 75. L 2: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) C; (d) D; (e) E; (f) G. Scale 2:5.

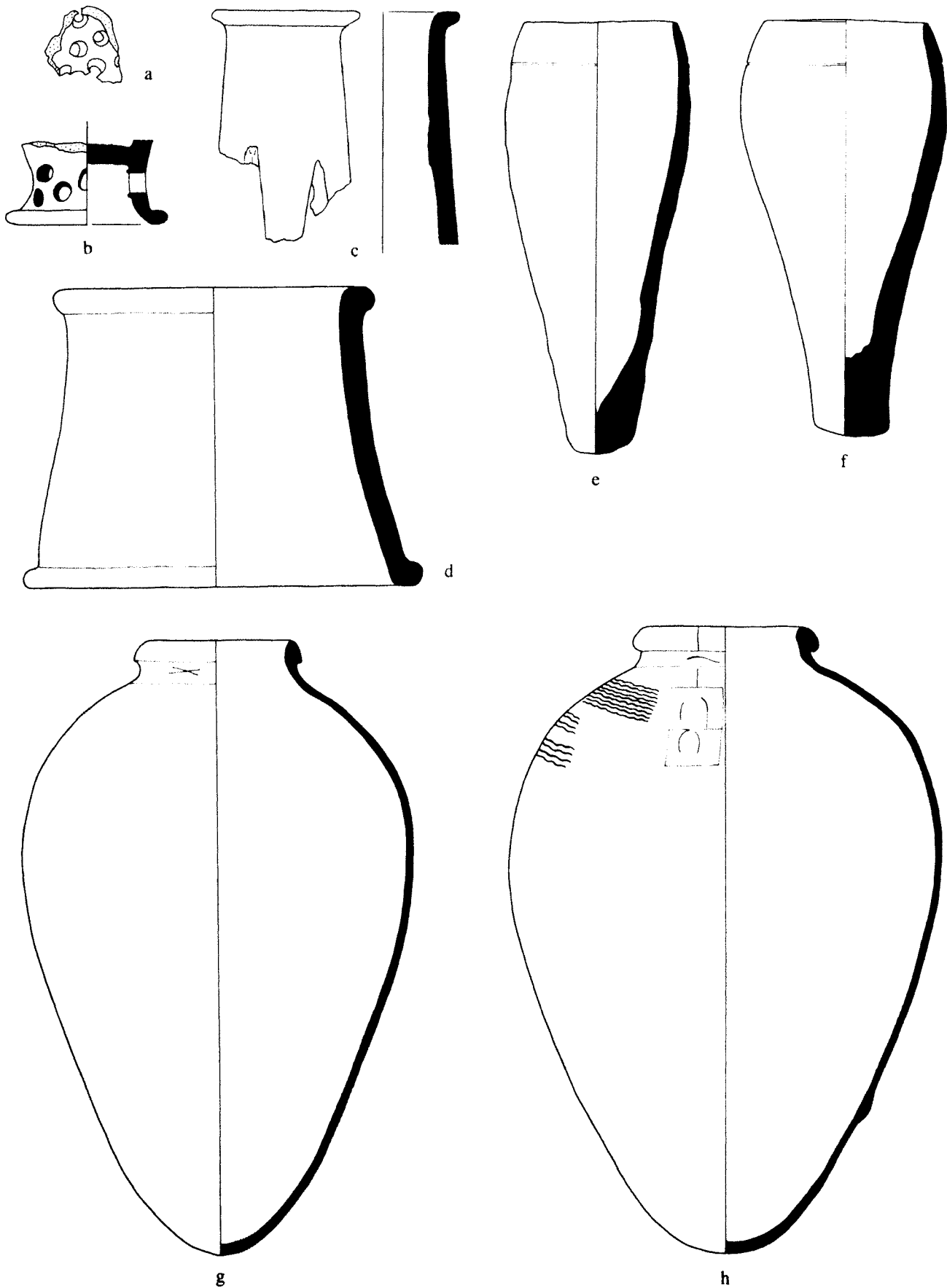


Figure 76. L 2, pottery: Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse—(a) B; (b) C; (c) H; (d) A; (e) E; (f) G; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(g) H; (h) I. Scale 1:5.

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L 2

y. Two body sherds

z. Rim

Faience fragment (from chamber?):

a. Neck sherd

Sherds as recorded:

A. From trench:

a. Net pattern, brown on red

b. Dark red on light red, black
inside

1. Crosshatching

2. Scale pattern

3. Triangles

4. Lozenges

c. Black incised

d. Plain red

e. Plain black

f. Red incised

g. Black-topped red

h. Thick, red, polished

i. Thick, red, crude

j. Large red jar

k. Brown polished

l. Light red with dark red
crosshatching

B. From chamber:

m. Large-mouthed jar

n. Large tapering jar

o. Very thick "ware"

p. Rim of smaller jar

q. Base of small bowl

r. Heavy rim of very large vessel

C. From chamber? ("only chosen sherds have been saved, rest discarded"):

s. Dark red on light red

1. Solid triangles

2. Vertical, horizontal stripe

3. Crosshatching

4. Herringbone

5. Heavy, pattern on inside

6. Bowl, pattern on inside

7. Bowl, scale pattern

8. Net pattern

t. Black incised, triangles

u. Dark brown

1. Black inside

2. Maroon inside

3. Buff inside

L 2

- v. Red incised
 - 1. Zigzag, white filled
 - 2. Crude, thick herringbone
 - 3. Triangles
- w. Dark red
 - 1. Burnished
 - 2. Dark burnished, horizontal outside, vertical inside
- x. Red burnished, black inside
- y. Red ware
 - 1. Strainer?
 - 2. Fluted?

L 3 (figs. 77–78)

Shaft: 2.00 × 1.10 × 0.90 m

FIGURE

PLATE

77a

105b

Burial: Animal

Body: Remains of bovine near bottom of shaft (2 long bones)

Objects:

- | | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|---------|-----|----------|
| 1. Mortar | A | 23734 | 77b | 39a, 40b |
| 2. Mortar | B1 (with spiral) | 23735 | 78a | 39b, 42a |
| 3. Mortar | B1 (with spiral) | 23736 | 77c | 39d, 42b |
| 4. Pestle | | 23737 A | 78e | |
| 5. Pestle | | 23737 B | 78d | 43a |
| 6. Pestle | | 23737 C | 78c | 43b |
| 7. Pestle | | 23737 D | 78d | 43c |
| 8. Shell hook | fragt. | samp. | | |

Supplementary Notes for L 3

This simple shaft was very probably originally a cattle–sacrifice burial. Most of the burial was removed and the deposit of mortars and pestles placed just below the surface (–20 to 30 cm). These were probably plundered from the nearby great tombs L 5 and L 2 (see also L 7 and L 27).

L 4 (fig. 79)

FIGURE

PLATE

Trench and chamber

79a

Trench: 3.50 × 1.90 × 0.28(?) m

Chamber: 1.95 × 1.05 × ? m

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------|----------|
| 1. Mortar | | unk. | |
| 2. Shell hook | | samp. | 79b |
| 3. Stone vessel | frags. | samp. | |
| Stone Vessels: | | | |
| A. J bowl | | | 50c, 79c |
| B. Unc. bowl | (very thin, open) | | |
| C. Unc. bowl | | | |

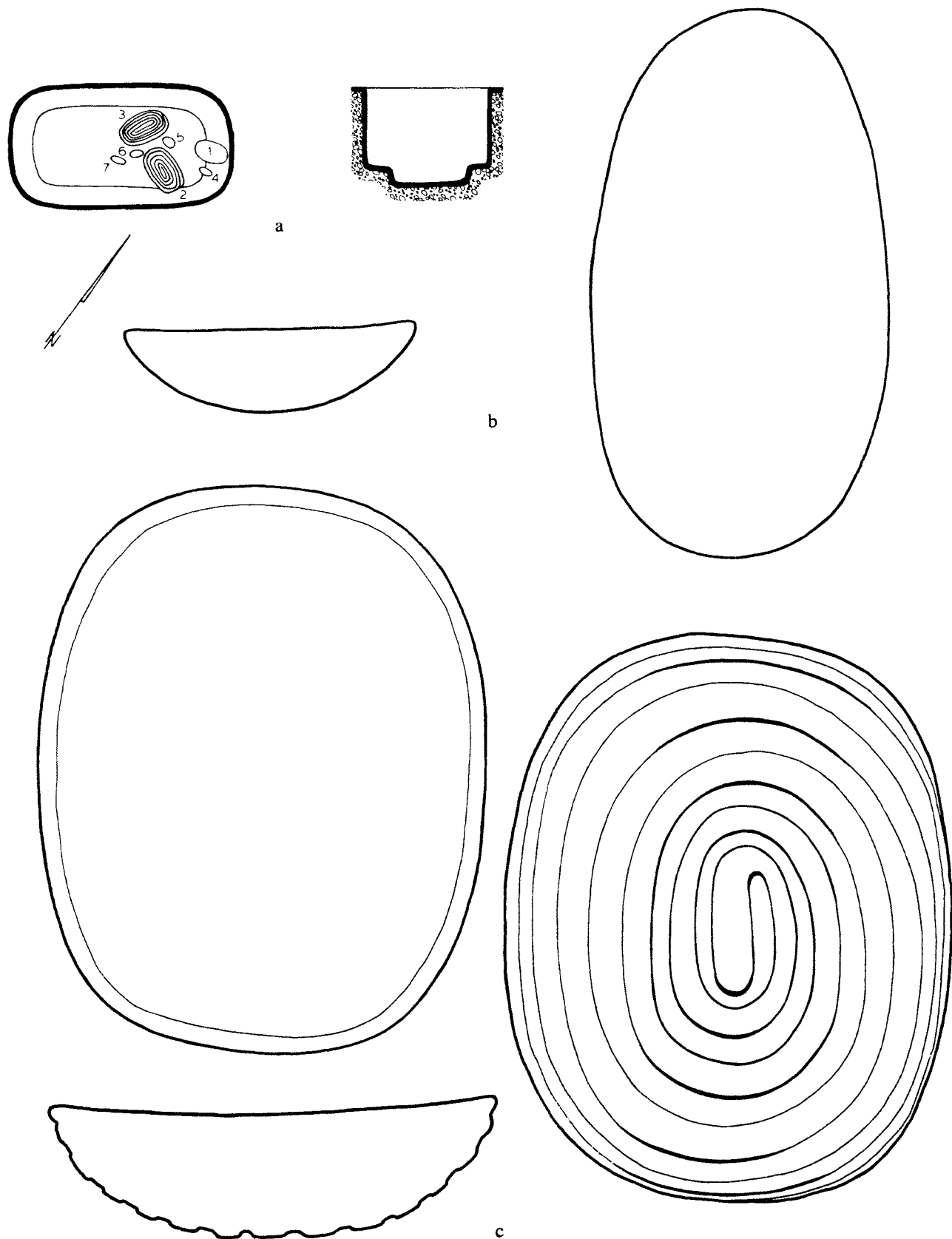


Figure 77. L 3: (a) Plan and section; Mortars—(b) No. 1; (c) No. 3. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

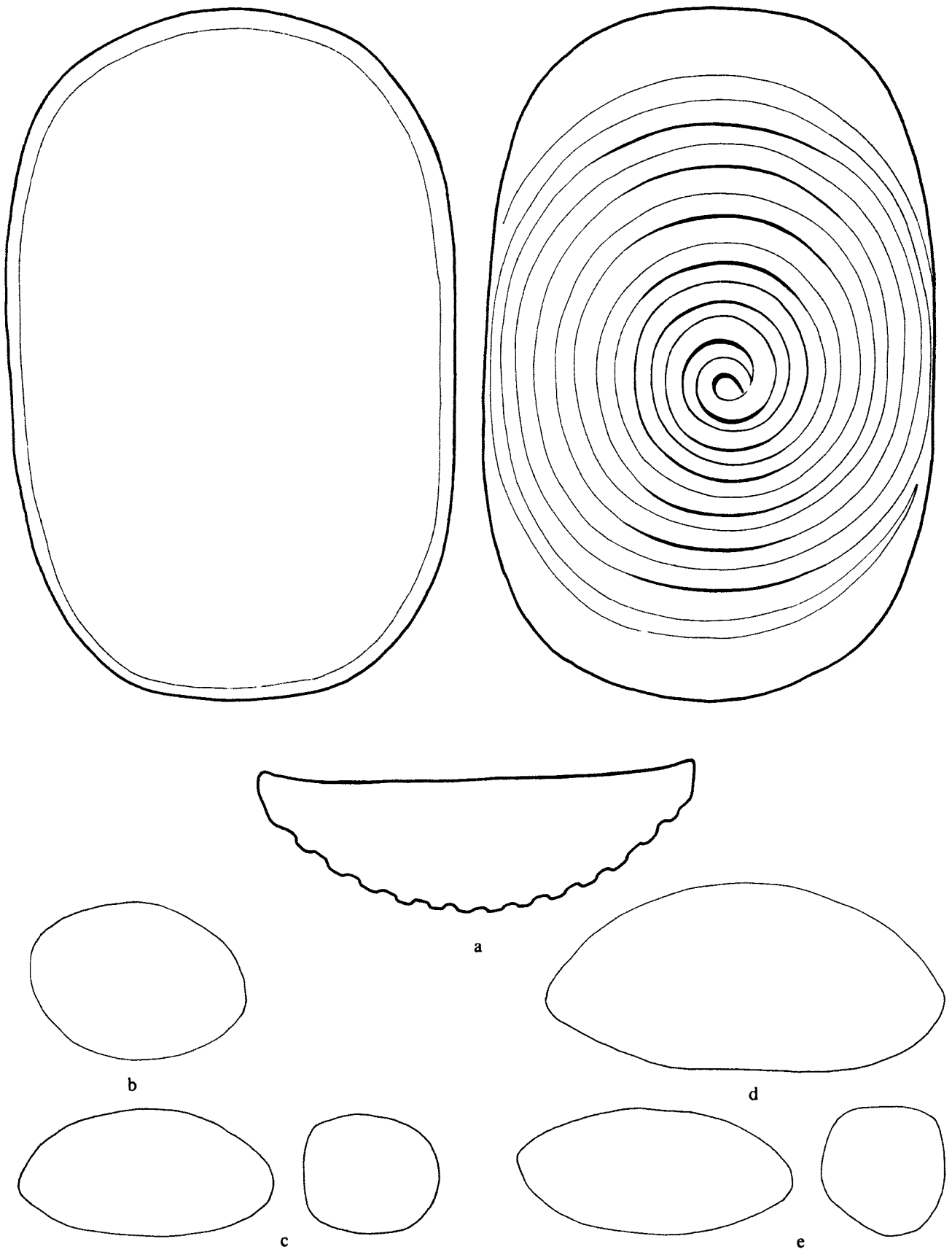


Figure 78. L 3: (a) Mortar, no. 2; Pestles—(b) No. 7, D; (c) No. 6, C; (d) No. 5, B; (e) No. 4, A. Scale 2:5.

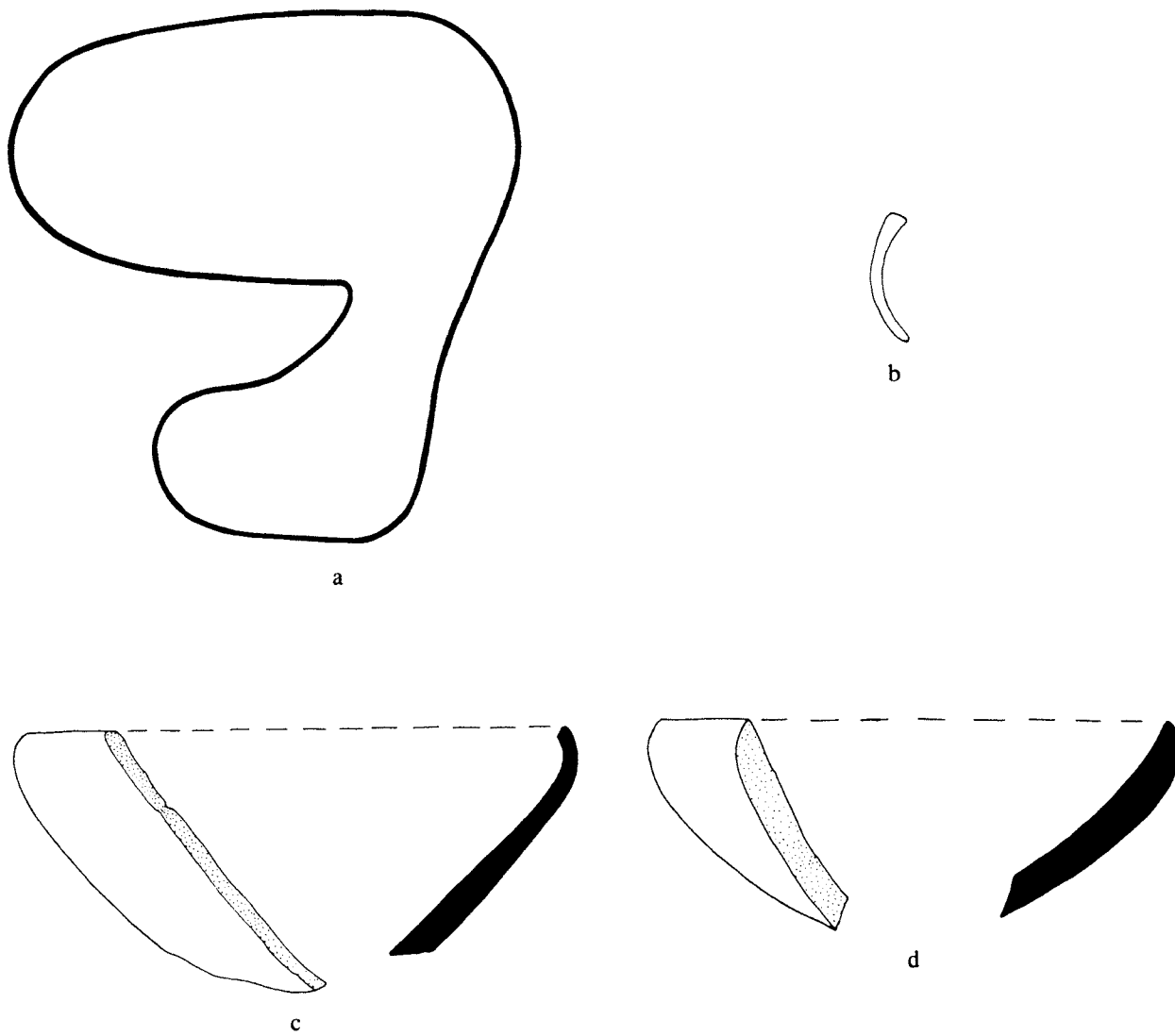


Figure 79. L 4: (a) Plan; (b) Shell hook, no. 2; Stone vessels—(c) A; (d) D. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

L 4

- D. K1 bowl
E. Unc. bowl (breccia)

FIGURE
79d PLATE

L 5 (figs. 80–84)

Trench and chamber

Trench: 6.20 × 1.50 × 1.10 m

Chamber: 4.00 × 2.00 × 1.60 m (floor 2.60 m below surface)

Blocking: stones, partially preserved over width of opening

Burial: — (intrusive)

Body: —

Objects:

- a. From trench fill:
1. Shell hooks 2 exx. 23651 80c
- b. From blocking of burial chamber:
2. Mortar disc.
- c. From chamber:
3. Egyptian rough potstand with serpents XI-B A 24197
4. Faience jar frags. 24062 80f 60a, 61b
5. Square beads(?) (1 bl., 1 wh. stone) 23650
6. Sherds of VIII bowls 24117
7. Sherds of VIII bowls H 24116
8. Carved wood frags. 24182 59a–b, d–e
9. Studs 23546 80e
10. Shell hooks 2 exx. 23651
11. Shell hooks 3 exx. 23545 80b, d
12. Mica fragt. samp.
13. Shell hooks 2 exx. + fragt. samp.

Stone Vessels:

- A. R jar 23679 52a, 80g
- B. T jar 52c, 80h 72f
- C. S jar? 81a
- D. L theriomorph 53i, 81b
- E. S jar 81e
- F. C bowl (slate) 49e, 81d
- G. G bowl 49l, 81f
- H. T jar
- I. A bowl 24063 81c

Pottery (all from chamber?):

I. Exterior Painted:

- A. A–B/27
- B. A/4 1/5 extant (ribbed) 81i
- C. D/153 2 sherds 17i, 81g
- D. A/30 1 sherd 9i, 81j

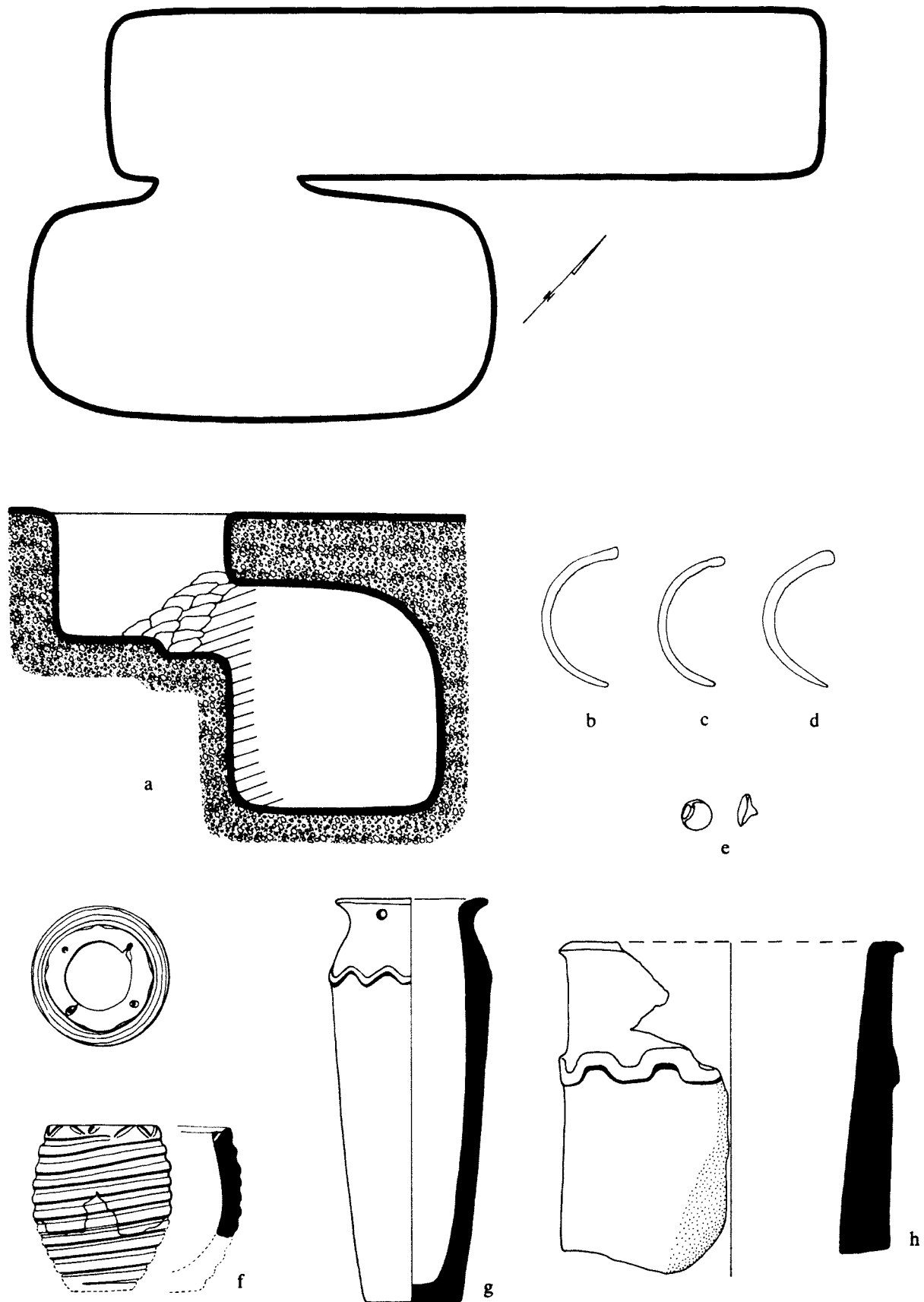


Figure 80. L 5: (a) Plan and section; Shell hooks—(b) No. 11; (c) No. 1; (d) No. 11; (e) Stud, no. 9; (f) Faience jar fragments, no. 4; Stone vessels—(g) A; (h) B. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

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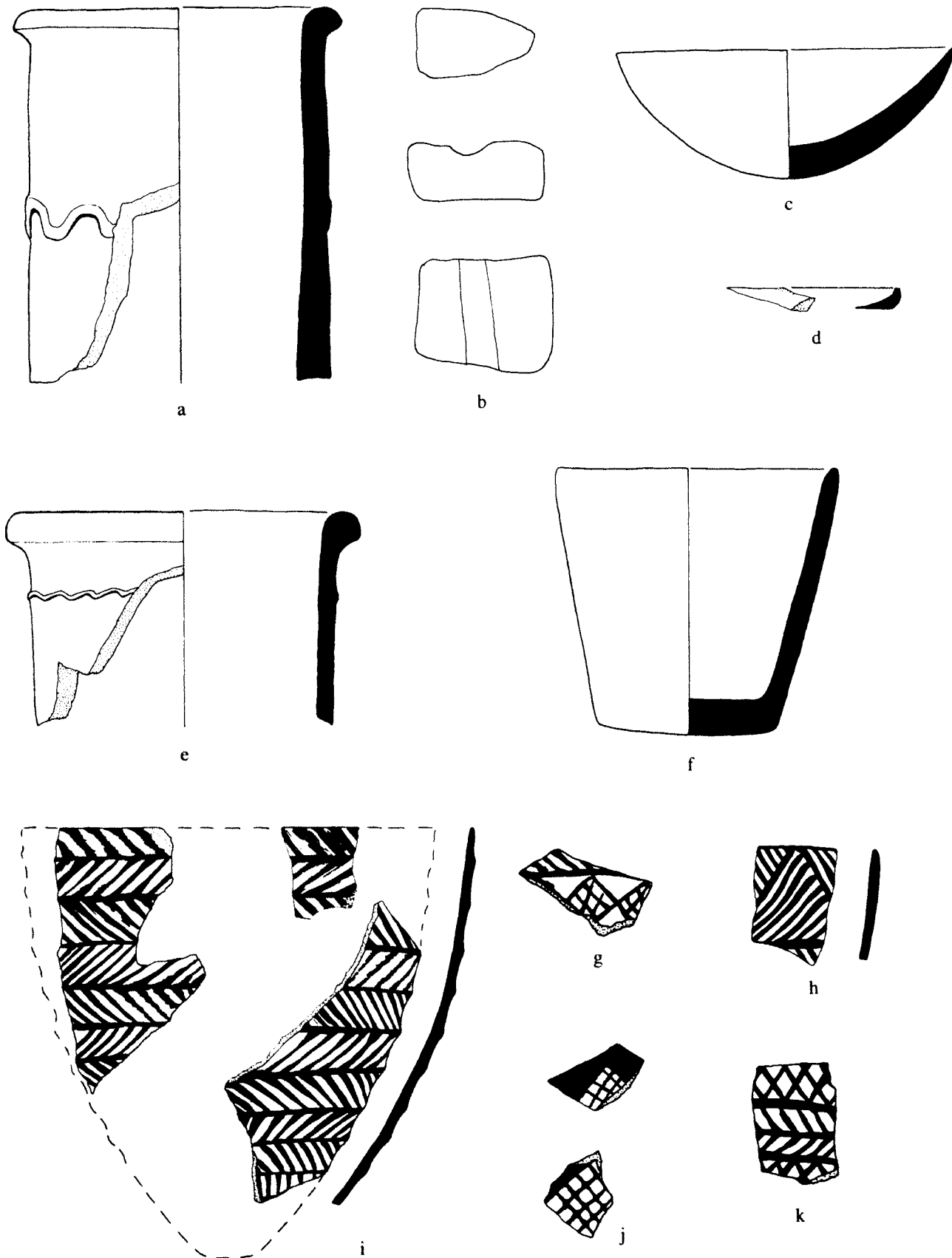


Figure 81. L 5: Stone vessels—(a) C; (b) D; (c) I; (d) F; (e) E; (f) G; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(g) C; (h) E; (i) B; (j) D; (k) F. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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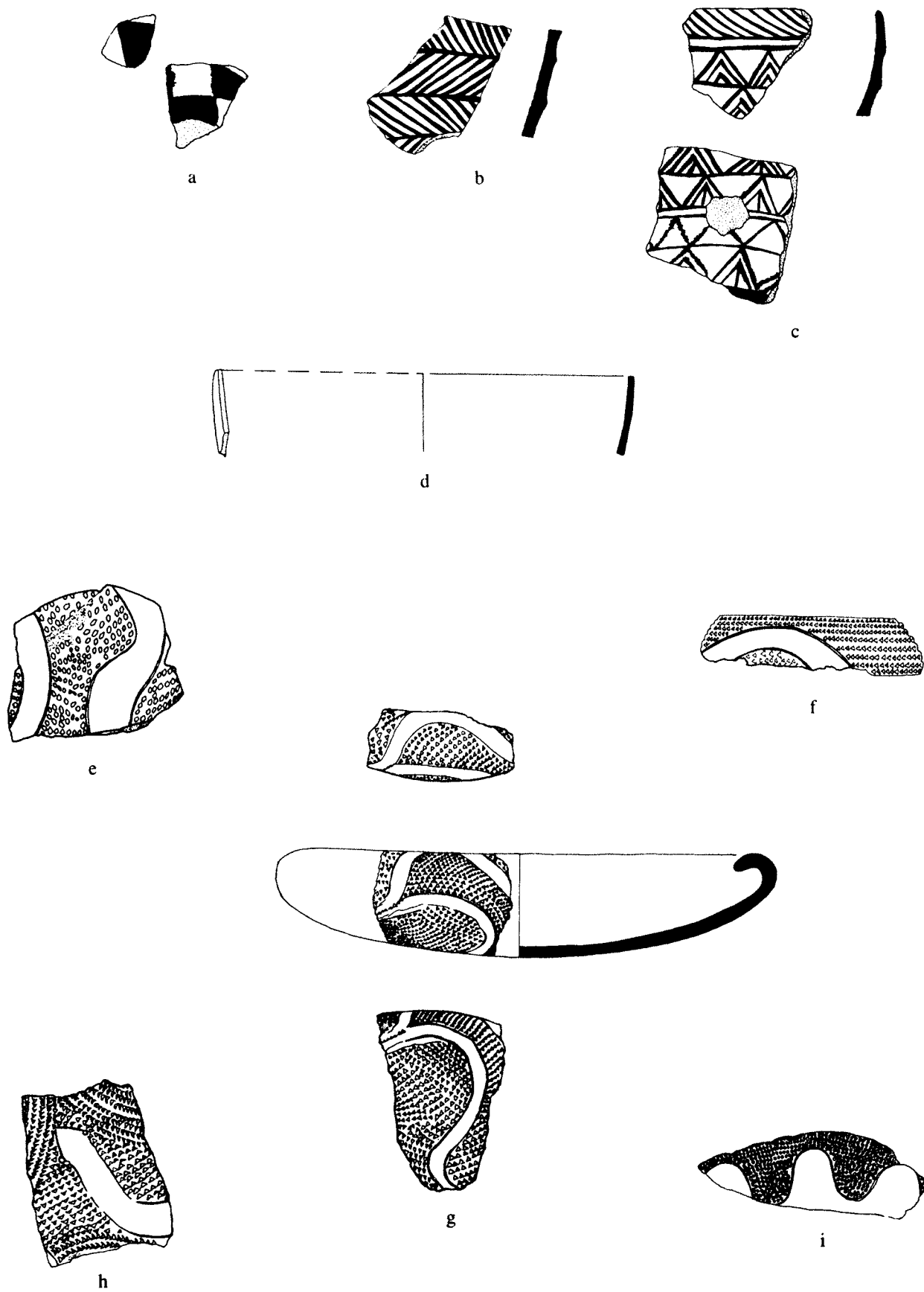


Figure 82. L 5, pottery: Form Group I, Exterior Painted—(a) G; (b) H; (c) I; (d) Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine, C; Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised—(e) B; (f) D; (g) A; (h) C; (i) F. Scale 2:5.

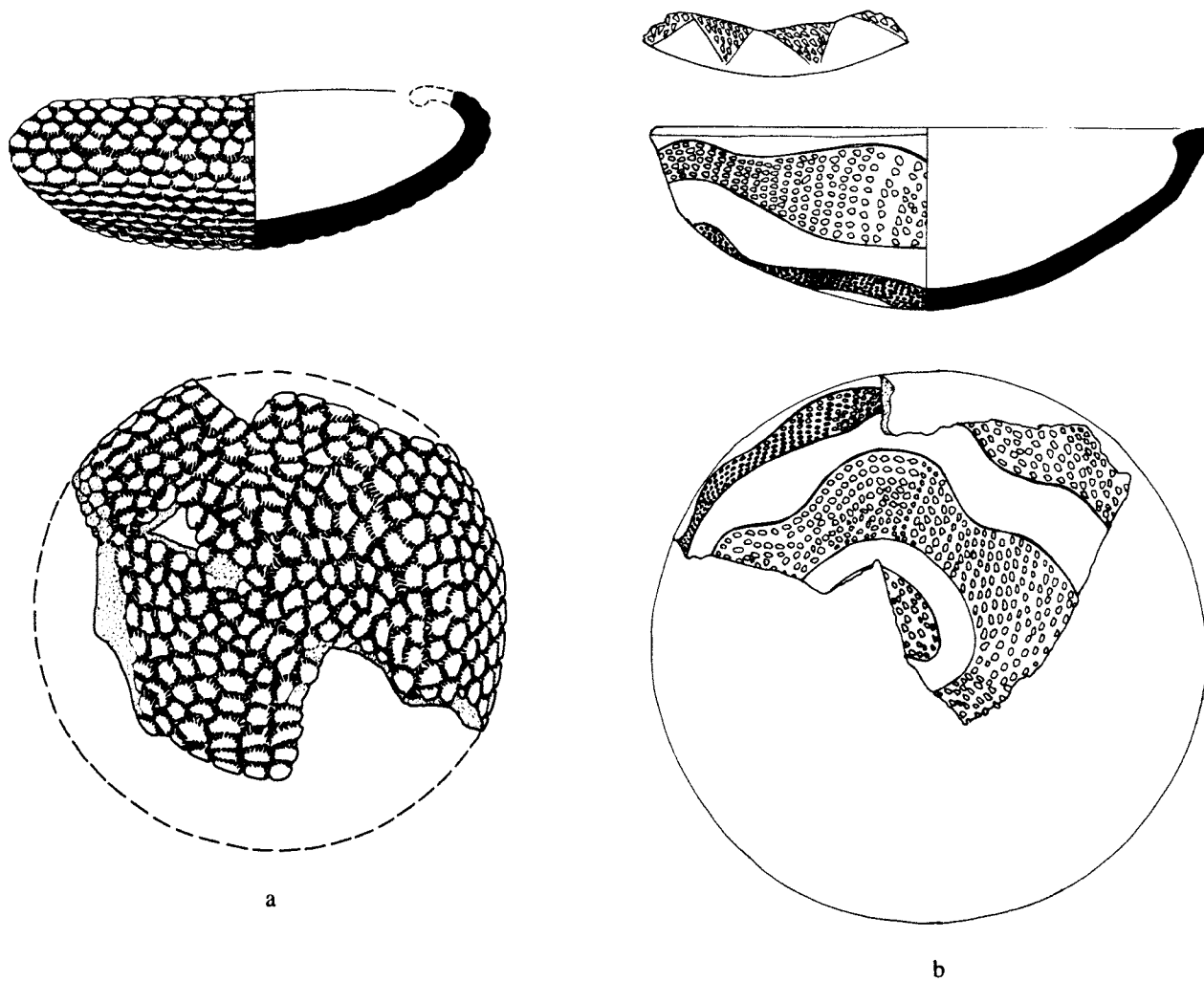


Figure 83. L 5: Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised pottery—(a) E; (b) G. Scale 2:5.

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L 5			FIGURE	PLATE
E. A/10	2 sherds		81h	
F. A-B/57	1 sherd		81k	
G. A-B/36	2 sherds		82a	
H. A/4	1 sherd (ribbed)		82b	
I. A/119	3 sherds (ribbed)		15b, 82c	
V. Interior Painted:				
A. Unc.				
B. Unc.				
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:				
A. Unc.				
B. Unc.				
C. Unc.			82d	
D. Unc.				
VIII. Heavy Incised:				
A. 1	(no. 6)		34c, 82g	
B. 1	(no. 6)		82e	
C. 1	(no. 6)		82h	
D. 1	(no. 6)		82f	
E. 3	(no. 6)		34e, 83a	16a
F. 2	(no. 6)		34d, 82i	
G. 1	(no. 6)		34b, 83b	
H.	(no. 7)			
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:				
A. Q	(rim only)		84a	
XI. Egyptian Coarse:				
A. B	almost complete stand (tall, with three serpents, no. 3)		46c, 84b	23

Supplementary Note for L 5

The tomb contained a Christian burial, placed on top of the fill of the chamber, head toward the entrance.

L 6 (fig. 85)		FIGURE	PLATE
Shaft: 3.00 × 1.30 × 1.60 m		85a	106a
Burial: Animal, head end north (skull missing) between two jars			
Body: Bovine	24175		
Objects:			
1. Storage jar X-X	24172		
2. Storage jar X-X	24173		
3. Stud	23546	85b	
Pottery:			
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. X	(no. 1)	85c	78h (mark)
B. X	(Label: "Devouring Hierakonpolis?", no. 2)	85d	78d-g, 86, 87 (marks)

REGISTER OF FINDS

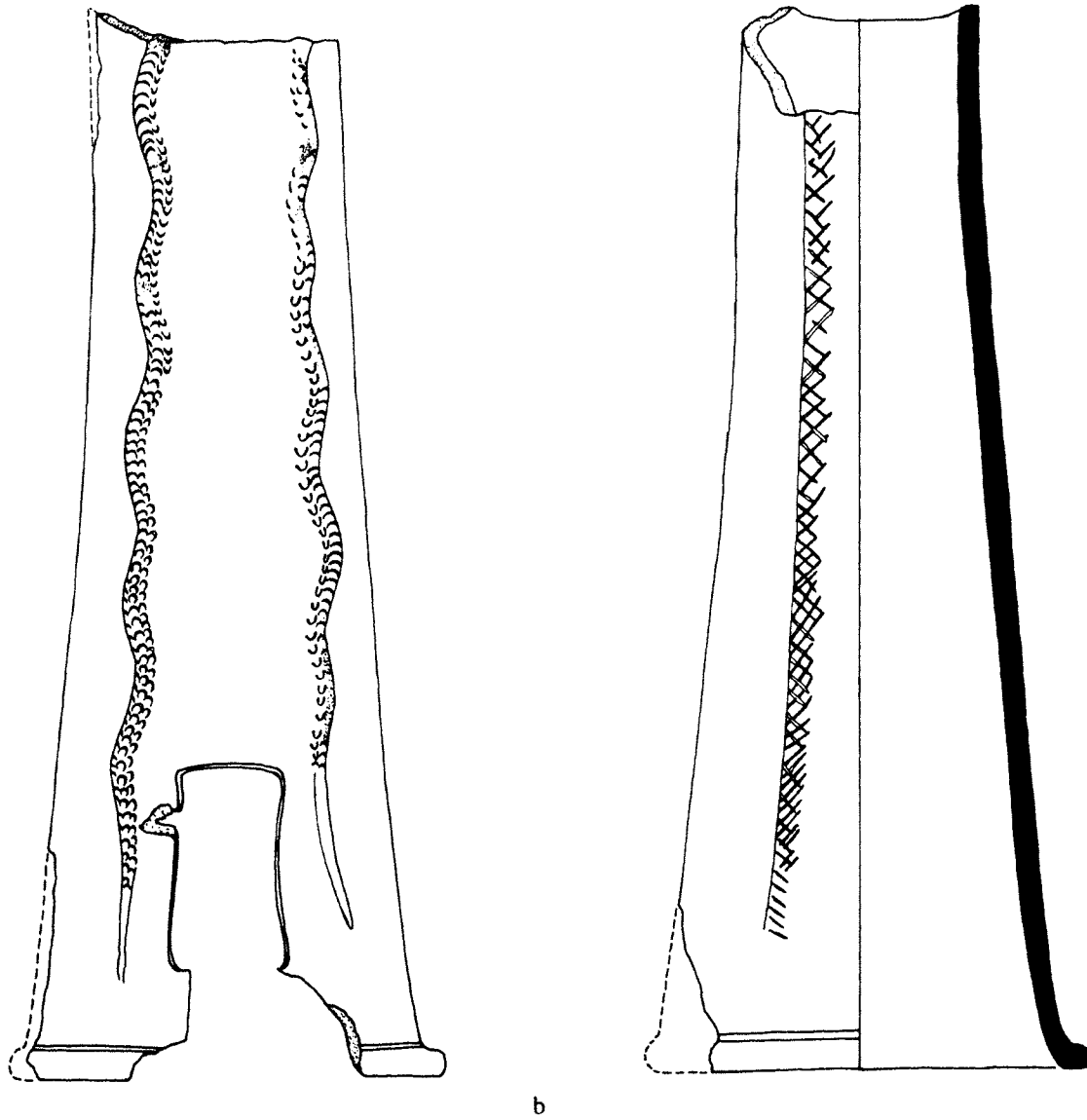
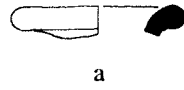


Figure 84. L 5, pottery: (a) Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink, A; (b) Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse, A. Scale 1:5.

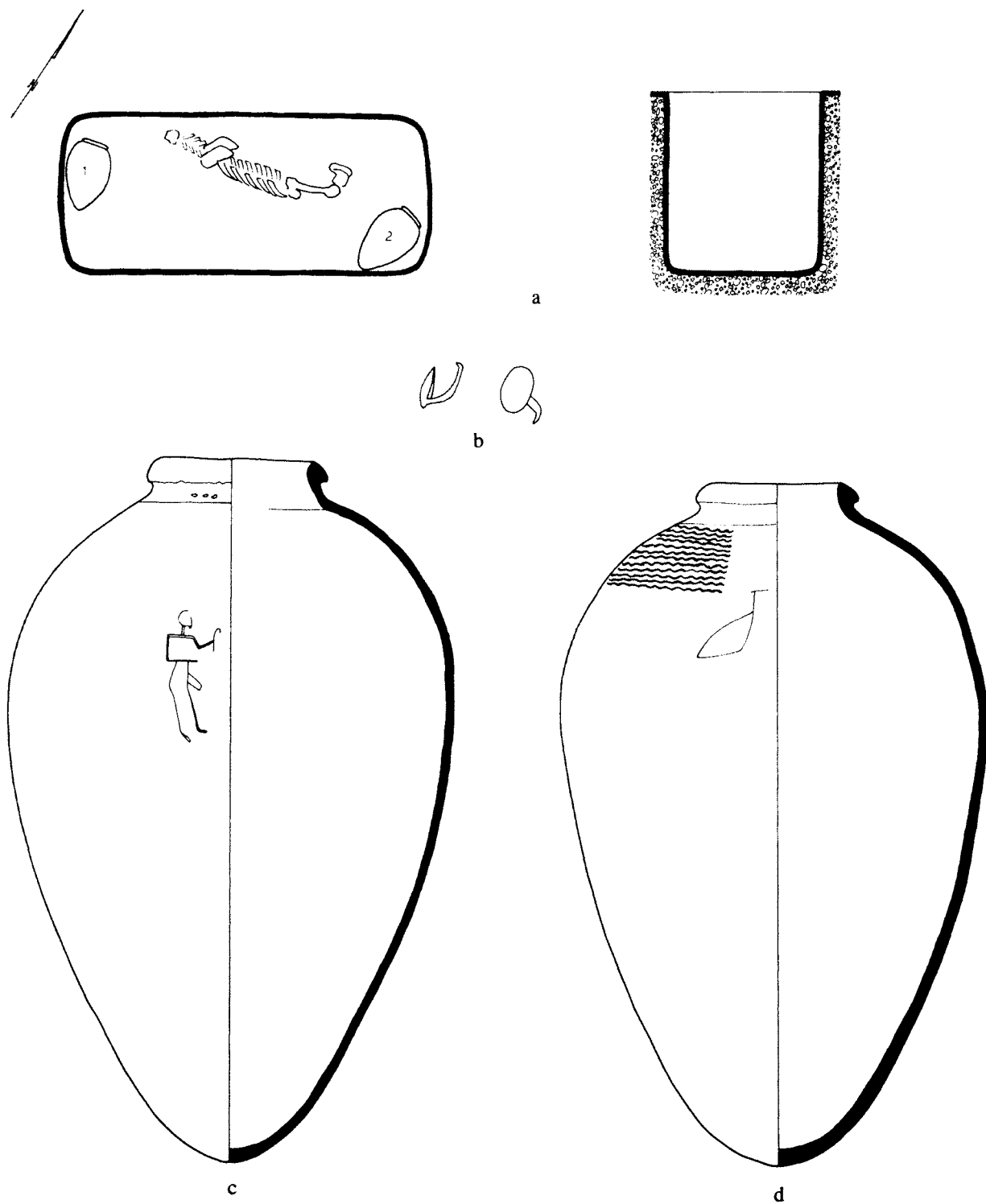


Figure 85. L 6: (a) Plan and section; (b) Stud, no. 3; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(c) A; (d) B. Scale 1:5 except (a) 1:50, (b) 2:5.

Supplementary Notes for L 6

The most important of the cattle sacrifice burials, L 6 also contained storage jars as an original deposit. The bovine, placed between the jars at the ends of the grave, was buried front northward, decapitated.

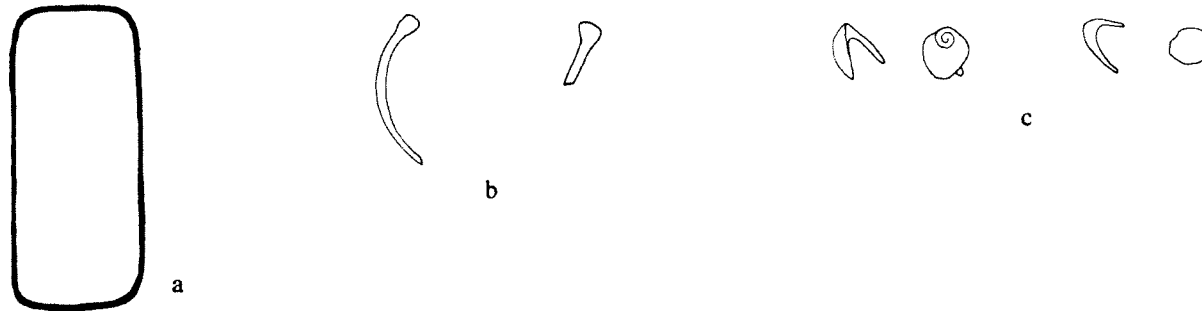


Figure 86. L 7: (a) Plan; (b) Shell hooks, no. 1; (c) Studs, no. 2. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

L 7 (fig. 86)

Shaft: $2.00 \times 0.90 \times 0.25$ m

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

1. Shell hooks	2 exx.	23549	86b
2. Studs	2 exx.	23549	86c

FIGURE

PLATE

86a

Supplementary Note for L 7

Although the shaft was badly denuded and contained no skeletal remains, its position and the lack of pottery indicate that it was not a human grave but an animal burial, like neighboring L 3 and L 27.

L 8 (figs. 87–89)

Trench and chamber

Trench: $4.00 \times 1.00 \times 1.90$ m (depth at blocking; at end, 0.60 m)

Chamber: $2.00 \times 2.00 \times 1.90$ m

Burial: Intrusive on blocking (not in *OINE* III)

Body: —

Objects:

a. From shaft near blocking:

1. Stone ball		samp.	87c
2. Stone ball		samp.	87d
3. Beads		23548	87b
a. Shell	fragts.		
b. Carnelian	(sizes 1, 2)		
4. Shell hook		23548	n/a

b. Uncertain location:

5. Ivory	(fragts. of cyl. jar and bracelet)	23547	87e	60i, 63e
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FIGURE

PLATE

87a

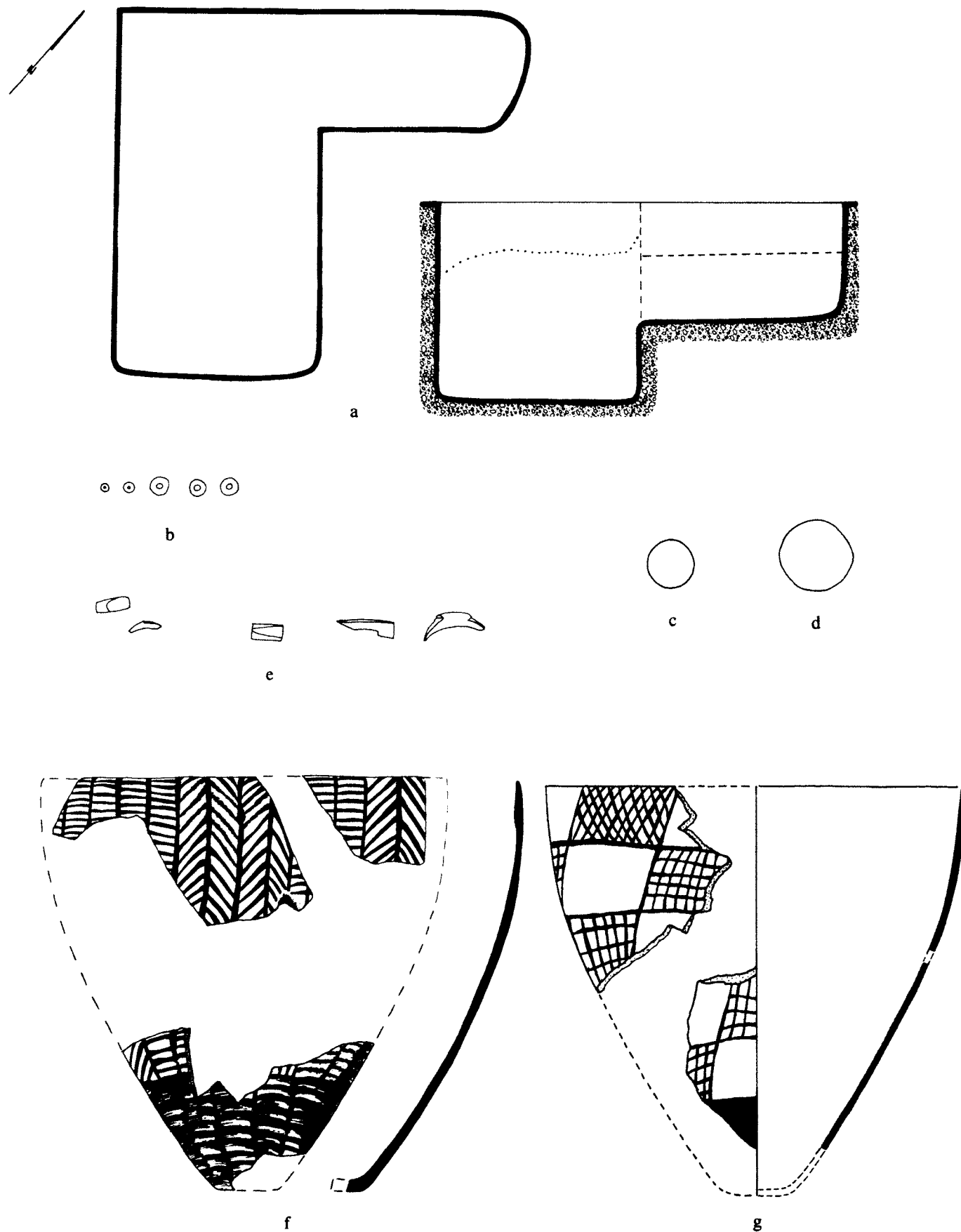


Figure 87. L 8: (a) Plan and section; (b) Beads, no. 3; Stone balls—(c) No. 1; (d) No. 2; (e) Ivory bracelet fragments, no. 5; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(f) A; (g) C. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

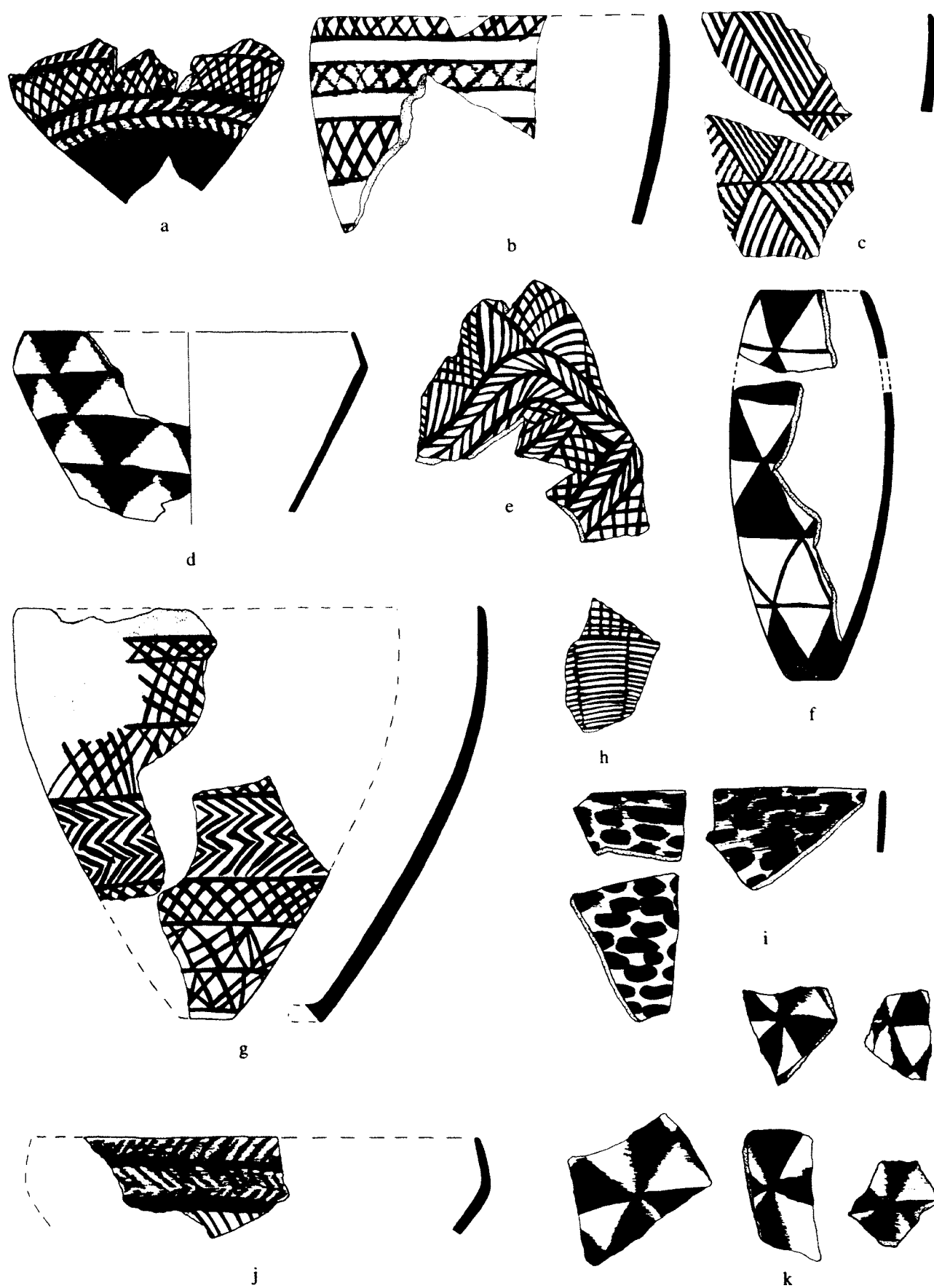


Figure 88. L 8: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) E; (b) F; (c) G; (d) H; (e) I; (f) J; (g) K; (h) M; (i) L; (j) N; (k) O. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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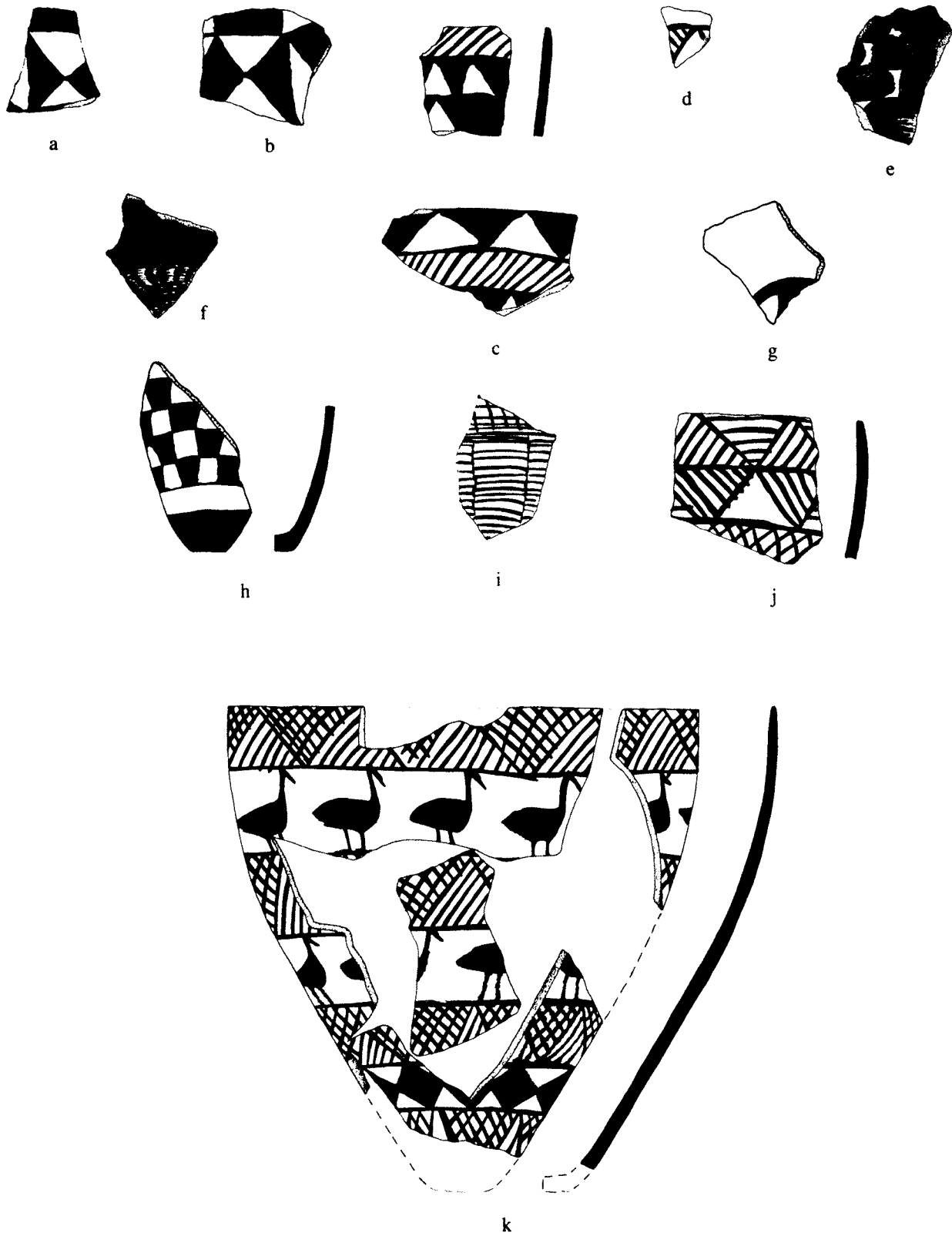


Figure 89. L 8: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) P; (b) Q; (c) AB; (d) AA; (e) AD; (f) AG; (g) AH; (h) AM; (i) AN; (j) AT; (k) AS. Scale 2:5.

L 8

FIGURE PLATE

Pottery:

I. Exterior Painted:

A. A/59	pot (rest.)	11l, 87f	
B. A/5	7 sherds		
C. A/33	1/4 extant	10c, 87g	
D. A/5	1 sherd		
E. B/57	1 sherd	11j, 88a	
F. A/5	2 sherds	88b	
G. A/10	1/5 extant	88c	
H. B/27	1/4 extant	88d	
I. F/102	2/5 extant	14g, 88e	
J. C/134	complete	15q, 88f	
K. A/61	3/10 extant	12a, 88g	
L. A/49	1/10 extant	11c, 88i	
M. A-B/10	2 sherds	88h	
N. B/4	2 sherds	88j	
O. A/35	5 sherds	10e, 88k	
P. A-B/136	2 sherds	89a	
Q. A-B/136	1 sherd	16b, 89b	
R. C/27	2 sherds		
S. A-B/136	1 sherd		
T. A/10	2 sherds		
U. B?/4	1 sherd		
V. A-B/57	1 sherd		
W. A-B/10	1 sherd		
X. B/5	4 sherds		
Y. A-B/4	1 sherd		
Z. A-B/7	1 sherd		
AA. A-B/7	1 sherd (bands)	89d	
AB. A-B/126	1 sherd	15i, 89c	
AC. A-B/27	1 sherd		
AD. A-C/47	1 sherd	89e	
AE. A-B/48	2 sherds		
AF. A-B/38?	1 sherd		
AG. A-B/42	1 sherd	89f	
AH. A-B/157	1 sherd	18a, 89g	
AI. A-B/4	1 sherd		
AJ. A-B/5	1 sherd		
AK. A-B/5	1 sherd (contiguous)		
AL. A?/10	1 sherd		
AM. A-B/72	1 sherd	89h	
AN. C/150	1/4 extant	89i	
AO. A/5	1 sherd		
AP. A/10	1 sherd		
AQ. ?/35?	1 sherd		
AR. A/10	2 sherds		
AS. A/160	2/3 extant (birds)	18f, 89k	9d

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L 8			FIGURE	PLATE
	AT. A/unc.	1 sherd	89j	
	AU. Unc.			

Supplementary Notes for L 8

The tomb contained a Christian burial, placed on the fill of the chamber, head toward the entrance.

The structure of L 8 had been damaged by denudation and reused, and the sketch given on the tomb sheets was much simplified. The chamber had collapsed. Despite these problems, it is clear that the structure was simpler than nearby L 1.

Sherds as recorded:

- a. Decorated sherds
- b. "Embossed sherd" (refers to plastic decoration)
- c. Bird painted sherd
- d. "Squat jar with snake decoration" (South-Western bowl)
- e. Miscellaneous

L 9 (figs. 90–105)			FIGURE	PLATE
Trench and chamber			90a	
Trench: 4.05 × 1.30 × 1.05 m				
Chamber: 2.65 × 2.30 × 1.95 m (floor 2.50 m below surface)				
Burial: —				
Body: —				
Objects:				
a. From trench:				
1. Bowl VIII–3		AB 1406		
		(Cairo 89980)		
2. Storage jar X–X		AW 23628		
3. Egyptian tall jar X–W		AV 23637		
4. Egyptian bowl X–M2		AU 24096		
b. Uncertain location:				
5. Palette of pottery X				
(painted)		samp.	90b	44i
6. Incense burner	fragt.	disc.		
7. Ext. ptd. bowl I–A/60		EO sherds		
8. Ext. ptd. cup I–C/15		EN 23756		8e
9. Stone jar AB		B 23714		
10. Int. ptd. bowl V–16		N 24285		12b
11. Egyptian bowl X–C		AT 24287		
12. Incense burner	fragt.	samp.	90c	
Stone Vessels:				
A. H? bowl				
B. AB jar		23714	53c, 90d	
C. G bowl		24086	91b	
D. H bowl		24088	50b, 91a	
E. S jar	(wavy band only)			
Pottery:				
I. Exterior Painted:				
A. A/130	1 ex. (rest.)		15o, 91c	

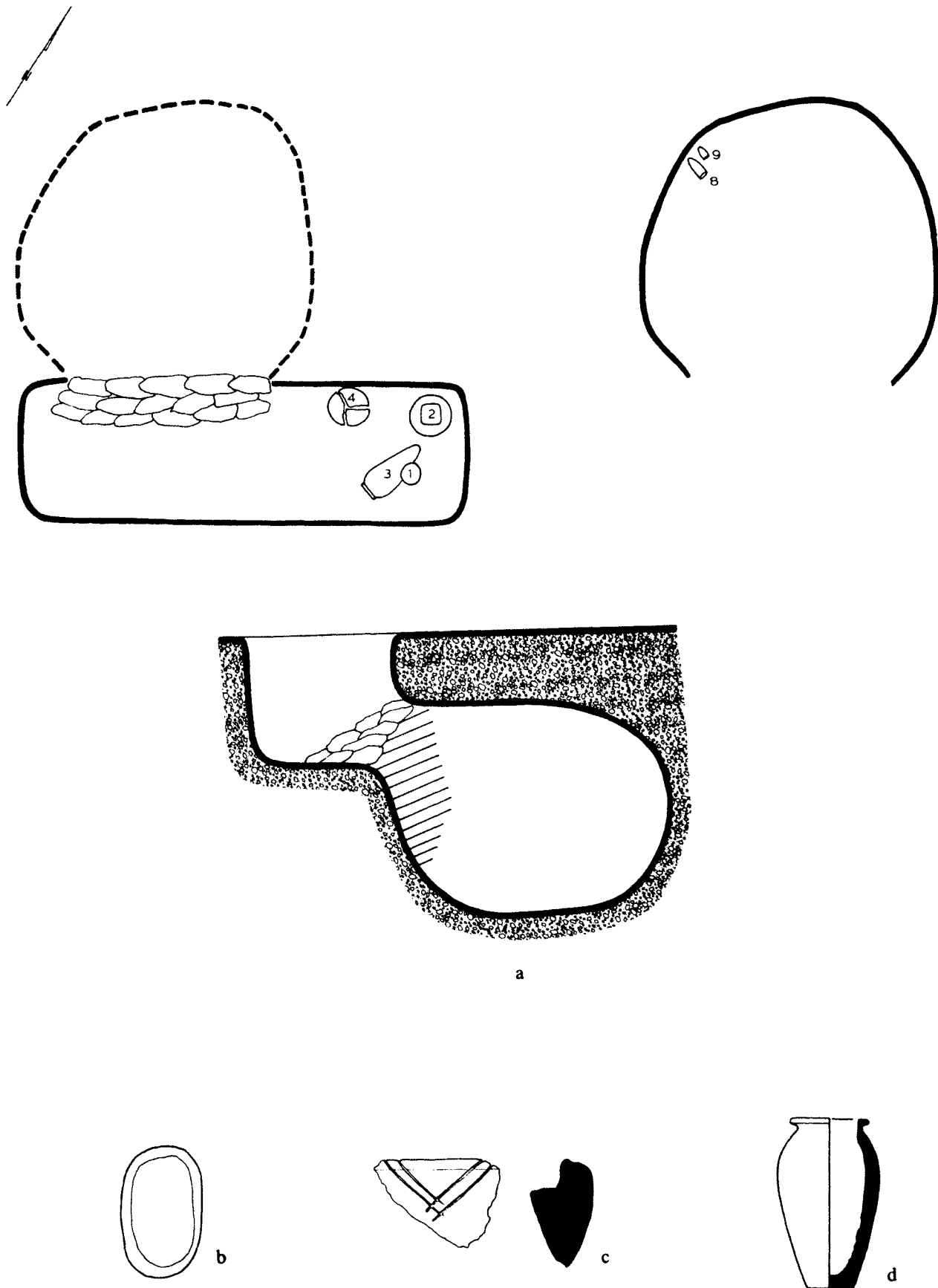


Figure 90. L 9: (a) Plan, chamber, and section; (b) Palette, no. 5; (c) Incense burner fragment, no. 12; (d) Stone vessel, B. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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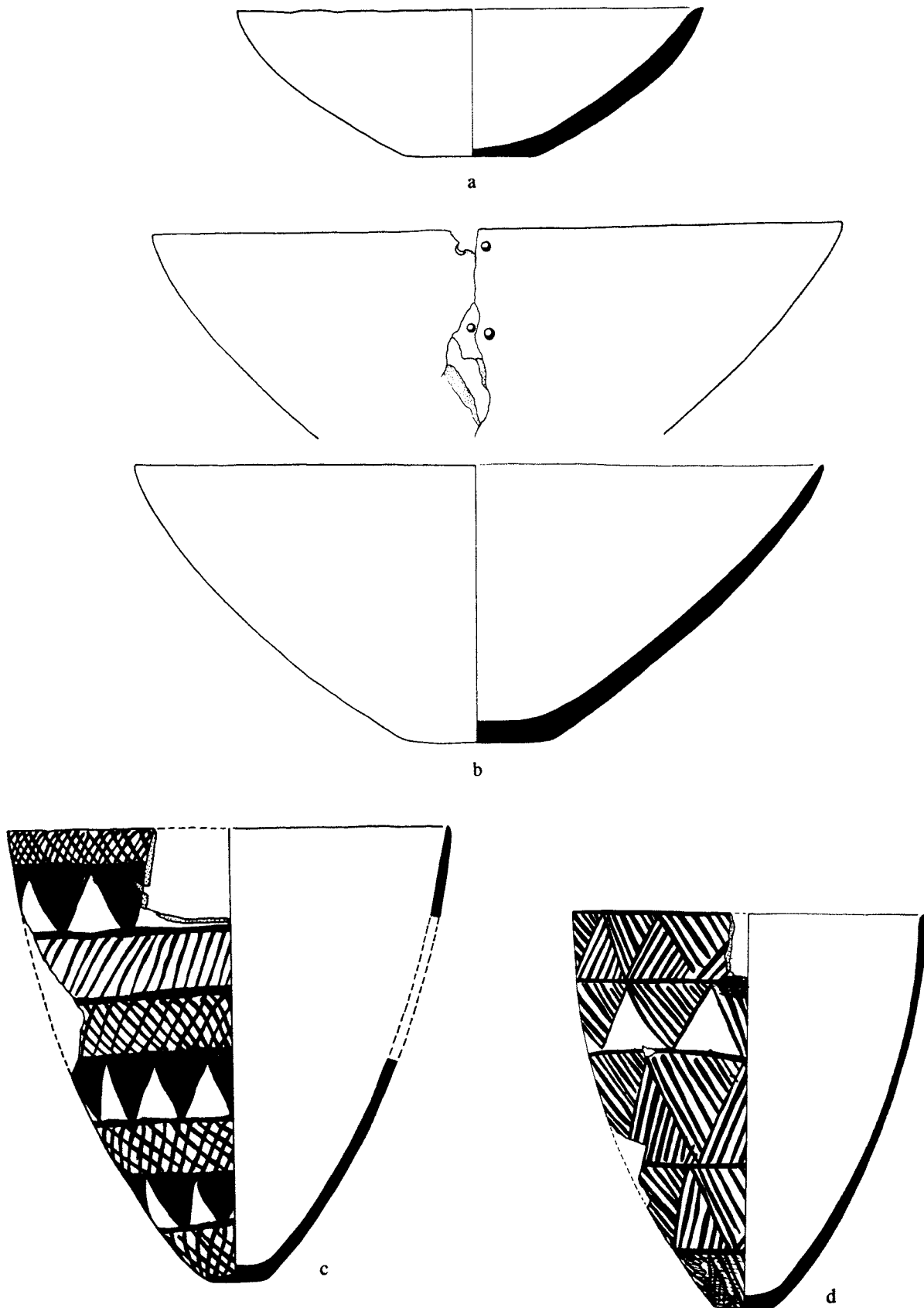


Figure 91. L 9: Stone vessels—(a) D; (b) C; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(c) A; (d) C. Scale 2:5.

L 9

		FIGURE	PLATE
B. A/15	1/5 extant	92a	
C. A/8	4 sherds	91d	
D. A/80	1 sherd		
E. C/127	1 sherd	15j, 92b	
F. A/89	1/4 extant	13e, 92c	
G. A/32	2/5 extant	92d	
H. A/46	1/5 extant	11a, 92e	
I. A/46	1 sherd		
J. A-B/40	2 sherds	92f	
K. A?/42	3 sherds	92h	
L. A/32	4 sherds		
M. A?/32	4 sherds		
N. A?/32	1 sherd		
O. A/32	2 sherds (checks, elongated)	92g	
P. A/10	3/4 extant	8o, 93a	
Q. A/10	7 sherds		
R. A/110	4 sherds	14l, 93b	
S. C/82	4 sherds	93c	
T. A/81c	2 sherds (ribbed)	93d	
U. A-B/169	1 sherd	19c, 93e	
V. A/85	1 sherd	13d, 93f	
W. A/10	pot		
X. A/10	2 sherds (bands)	93g	
Y. A/23	1 sherd		
Z. A/23	3 sherds	93h	
AA. A?/81a	1 sherd	93i	
AB. A/10	1 sherd		
AC. A/10	1 sherd (bands)		
AD. A?/7	1 sherd		
AE. A/10	1 sherd		
AF. A?/111	1 sherd	14m, 93j	
AG. A/90	1 sherd	13f, 93k	
AH. A/7	1 sherd	93l	
AI. A?/27	2 sherds		
AJ. A/32?	1 sherd	93n	
AK. A-B/32?	2 sherds (crosshatched)		
AL. D/32	2 sherds	93m	
AM. A?/32	1 sherd		
AN. A/32	7 sherds		
AO. A-B/unc.			
AP. A-B/unc.			
AQ. A-B/unc.			
AR. A-B/unc.			
AS. A-B/7	1 sherd		9d
AT. A/7	1 sherd		
AU. A?/27	2 sherds (small)		
AV. C/5	1 sherd (ancient repair)	93r	

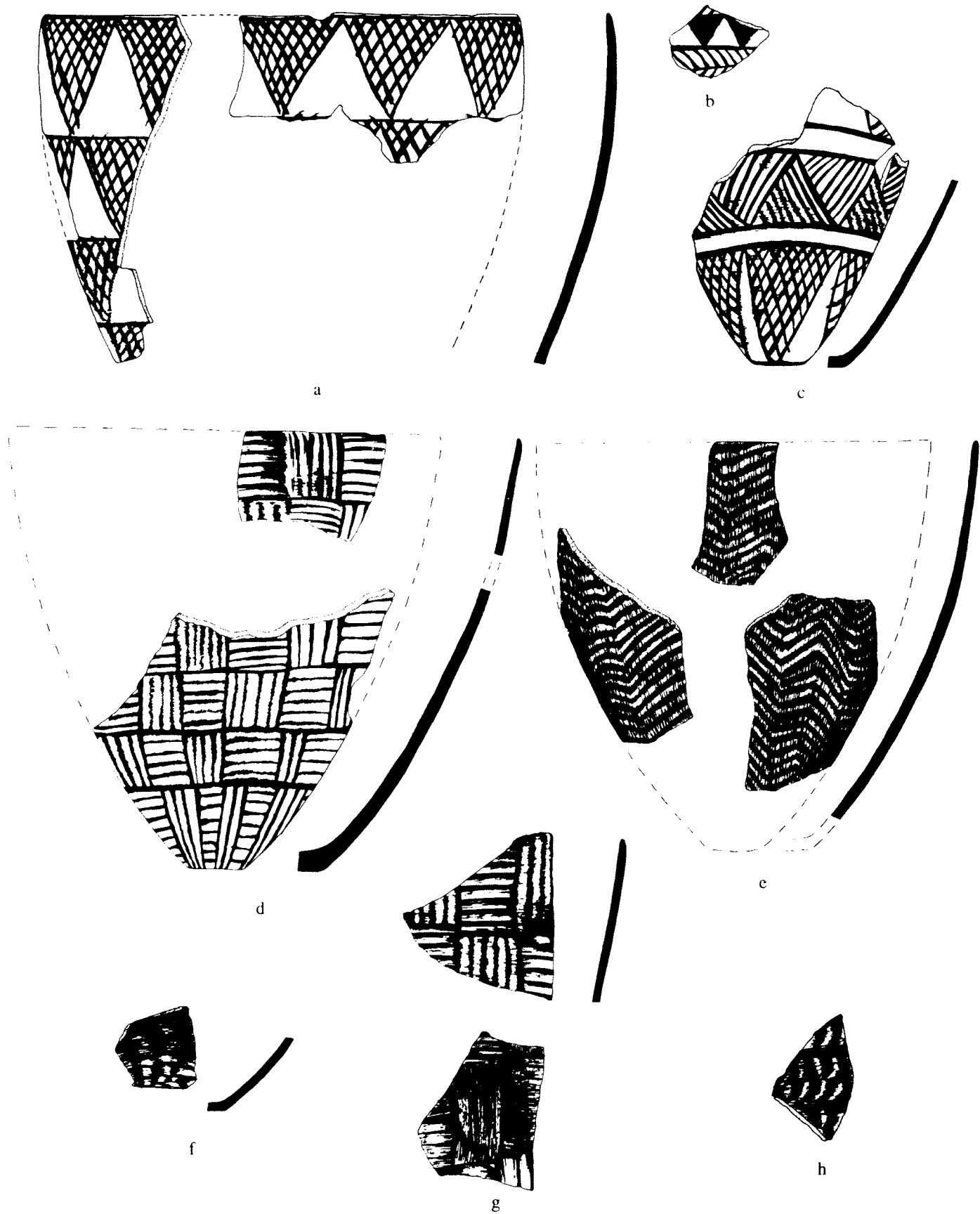


Figure 92. L 9: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) B; (b) E; (c) F; (d) G; (e) H; (f) J; (g) O; (h) K. Scale 2:5.

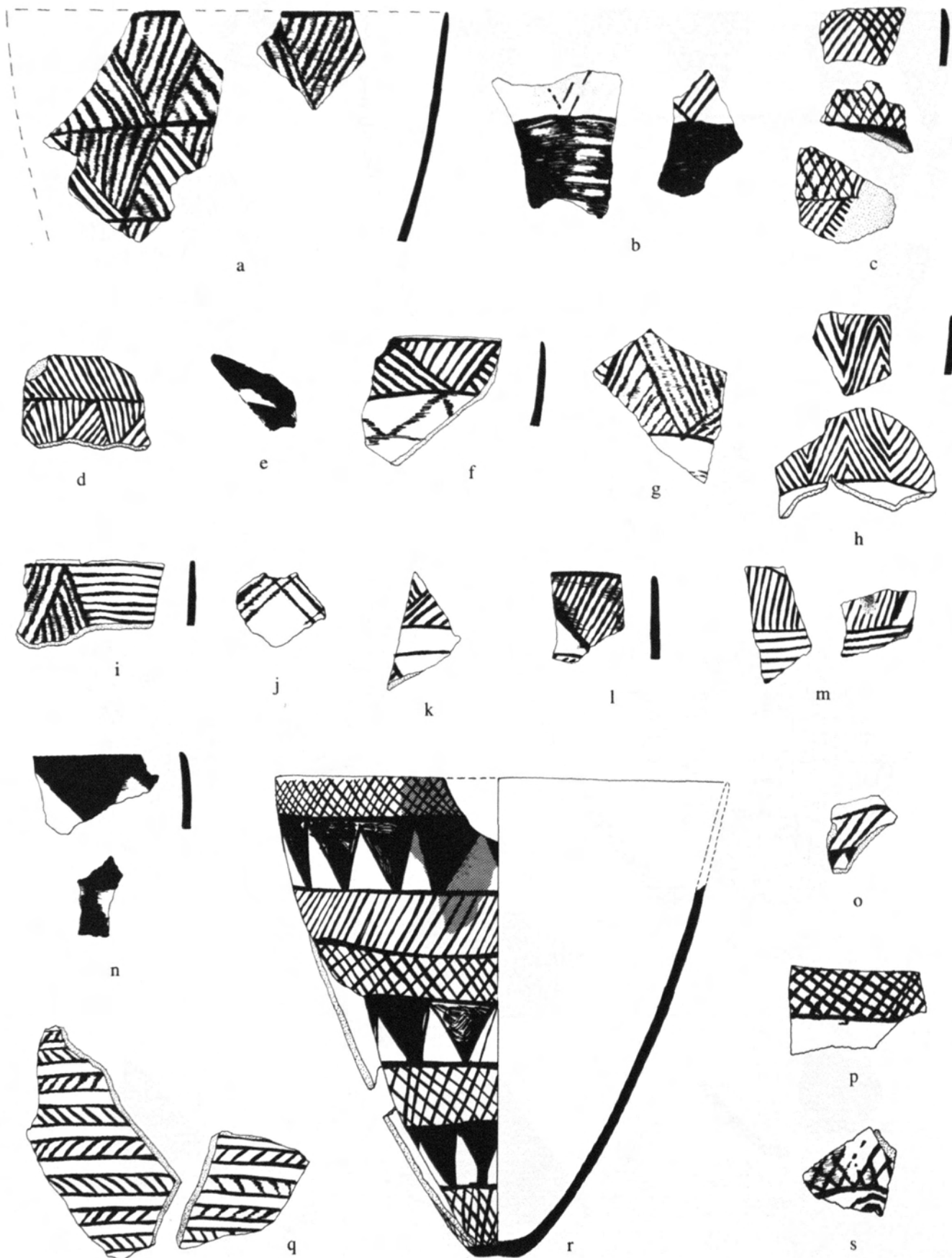


Figure 93. L 9: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) P; (b) R; (c) S; (d) T; (e) U; (f) V; (g) X; (h) Z; (i) AA; (j) AF; (k) AG; (l) AH; (m) AL; (n) AJ; (o) AX; (p) AZ; (q) AY; (r) AV; (s) BA. Scale 2:5.

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L 9

		FIGURE	PLATE
AW. A/96	2 sherds (var. crosshatch, tri., bands)		
AX. A?/126	1 sherd	93o	
AY. A/3	2 sherds	93q	
AZ. A/5	1 sherd	8f, 93p	
BA. A-B/168	1 sherd	19b, 93s	
BB. A/5	1 sherd (contiguous bands)		
BC. A/68	4 sherds	94a	
BD. A-B/57	1 sherd		
BE. A?/57	1 sherd	94b	
BF. A/64	3 sherds	12d, 94e	
BG. A?/113	1 sherd	14n, 94c	
BH. A?/38	1 sherd		
BI. A/4	1 sherd (bands)	8e, 94f	
BJ. A?/6	1 sherd		
BK. A?/4	1 sherd		
BL. C/11	1 sherd	94d	
BM. A?/3	1 sherd	8c, 94g	
BN. A/53	2 sherds	11d, 94h	
BO. C/54	1 sherd (bands)	11g, 94i	
BP. A?/16	1 sherd	94j	
BQ. C/4	1/3 extant	94o	
BR. A/4	4 sherds	94l	
BS. A/4	1 sherd		
BT. A?/2	1 sherd	94k	
BU. A?/7	1 sherd (bands)	94m	
BV. B/4	3 sherds		
BW. A/4	1 sherd		
BX. B/4?	1 sherd		
BY. A?/44	1 base	10n, 94n	
BZ. B/4	1 sherd		
CA. A/46	2 sherds		
CB. A/52	2 sherds	11f, 95a	
CC. A/44	1 sherd		
CD. A?/4	1 sherd		
CE. A/48	1/5 + extant	95b	
CF. F/32	5 sherds	7a, 95h	
CG. D/73	2 sherds	95c	
CH. C/2	1 ex. (rest.)		
CI. B-C/70	1 sherd	95e	
CJ. A?/32	1 sherd (bands, large)	95f	
CK. A/6	3 sherds	95d	
CL. A/38	7 sherds	95i	
CM. A/6	4 sherds		
CN. A/8	5 sherds	8i, 96a	

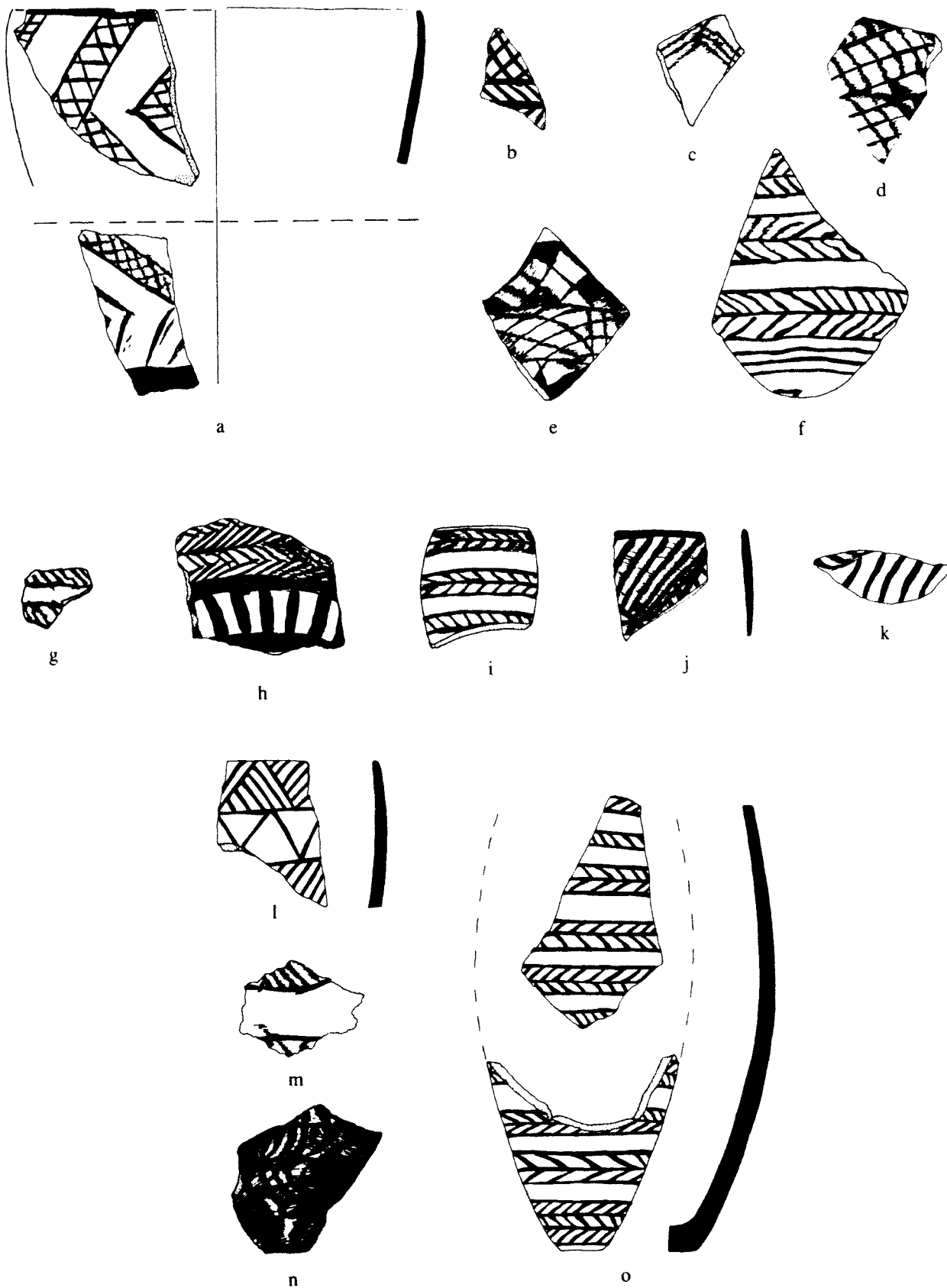


Figure 94. L 9: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) BC; (b) BE; (c) BG; (d) BL; (e) BF; (f) BI; (g) BM; (h) BN; (i) BO; (j) BP; (k) BT; (l) BR; (m) BU; (n) BY; (o) BQ. Scale 2:5.

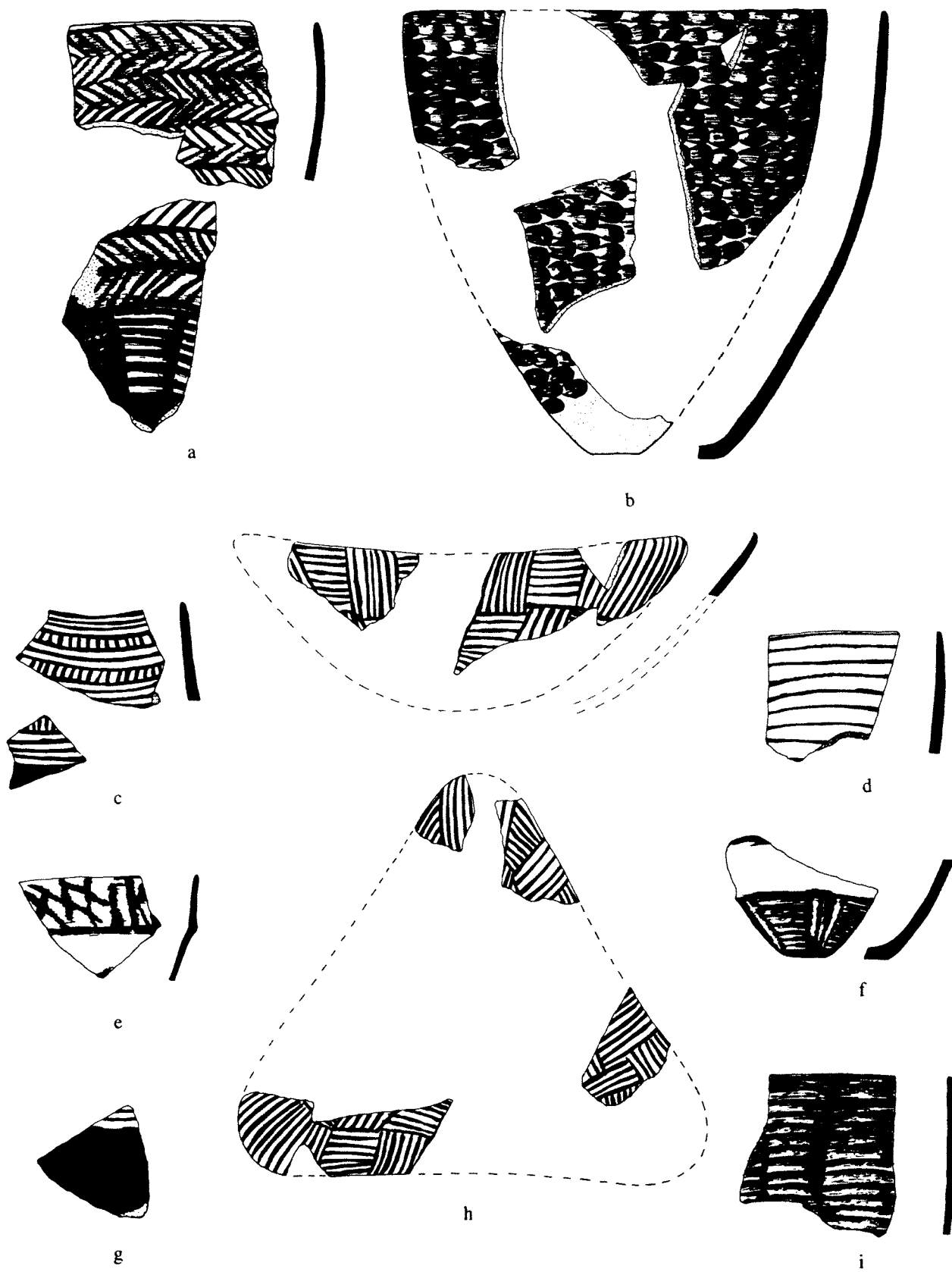


Figure 95. L 9: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) CB; (b) CE; (c) CG; (d) CK; (e) CI; (f) CJ; (g) CP; (h) CF; (i) CL. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

L 9

FIGURE PLATE

CO. A?/4?	1 sherd		
CP. A-B/74	1 sherd	12l, 95g	
CQ. A-B/39-40	1 sherd		
CR. A-B/39-40			
CS. A-B/39-40			
CT. A/15	1 sherd		
CU. A/87	1 ex. (rest.)	13g, 96b	6c
CV. A/155	5 sherds	17k, 96c	
CW. D/152	3 sherds	17h, 96e	
CX. A/154	2 sherds	17j, 96f	
CY. A?/118	3 sherds	15a, 96d	
CZ. A-B/151	1 sherd	17f, 96g	
DA. B/34	1 sherd	96h	
DB. B-C/81a	1 sherd	13a, 96i	
DC. A/15	12 sherds	8n, 96j	
DD. D/73	3 sherds	96k	
DE. A/5	3 sherds	96l	
DF. C/114	1 sherd	14p, 96o	
DG. A?/81a	1 sherd	96n	
DH. B/82	1 sherd		
DI. D/55	2 sherds		
DJ. A/5	1 sherd		
DK. A/15	1 sherd	96m	
DL. A/5	1 sherd	96p	
DM. A?/31	1 sherd	10a, 96q	
DN. C/57	1 sherd		
DO. A/38	1 sherd		
DP. D?/136	1 sherd	96r	
DQ. A/5?	1 sherd	96s	
DR. A/5?	1 sherd		
DS. A/6	2 sherds		
DT. C/unc.	1 sherd (large)		
DU. A/15	7 sherds (or ca. 1/4 extant)		
DV. C/154?	1 sherd		
DW. A/5	1 sherd	96t	
DX. A/95	4 sherds	13j, 97a	
DY. A?/96	6 sherds	14a, 97b	
DZ. D/57	1 sherd	97c	
EA. A/10	1 sherd (alternate upper triangles empty)		
EB. A?/77	1 sherd	12n, 97d	
EC. A/7	6 sherds		
ED. A/7	1 sherd (inverted triangles)		
EE. A/7	1 sherd		
EF. A/7	6 sherds		5b
EG. A/7	sherds and base (two groups of bands)		

REGISTER OF FINDS

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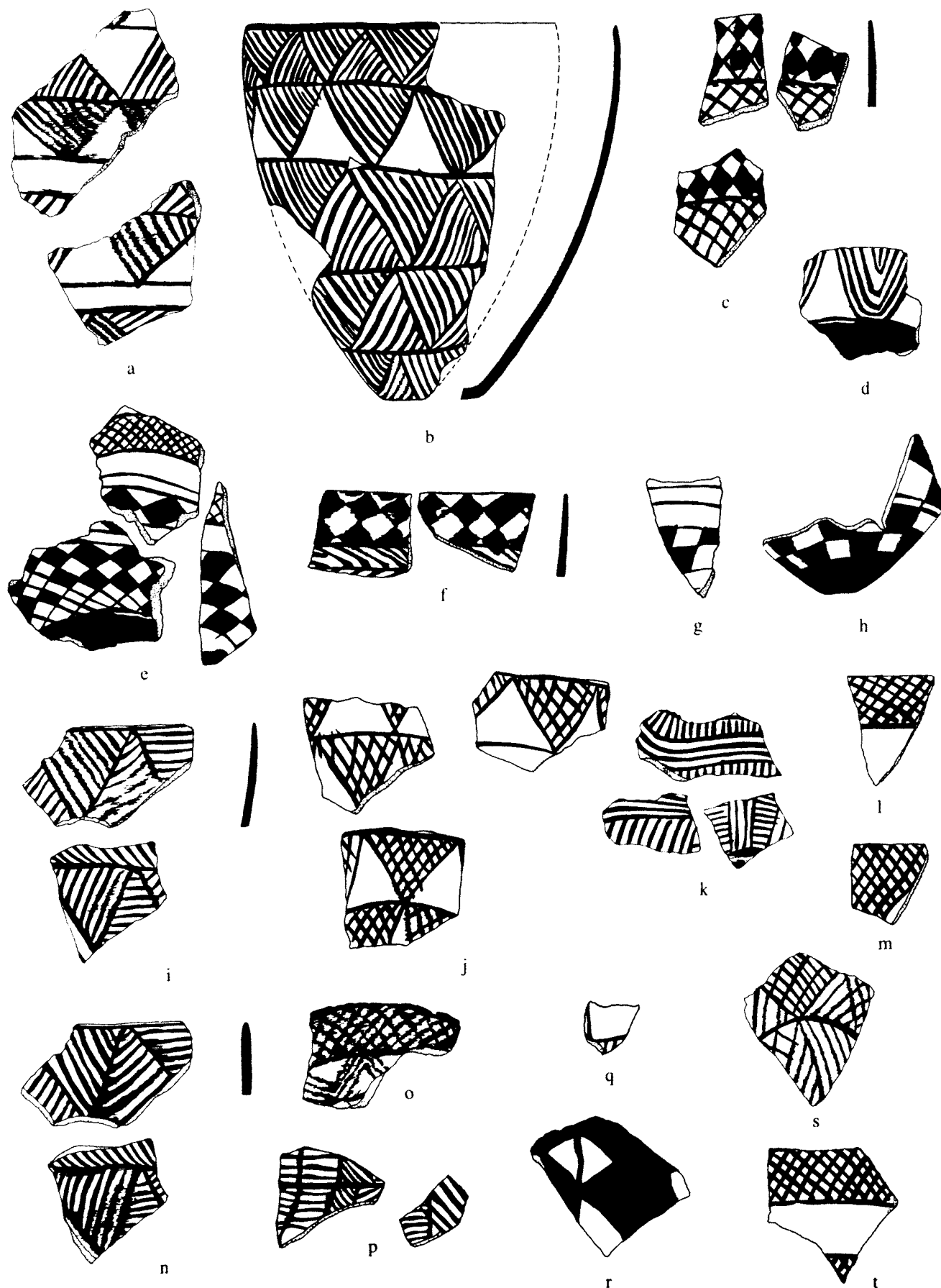


Figure 96. L 9: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) CN; (b) CU; (c) CV; (d) CY; (e) CW; (f) CX; (g) CZ; (h) DA; (i) DB; (j) DC; (k) DD; (l) DE; (m) DK; (n) DG; (o) DF; (p) DL; (q) DM; (r) DP; (s) DQ; (t) DW. Scale 2:5.

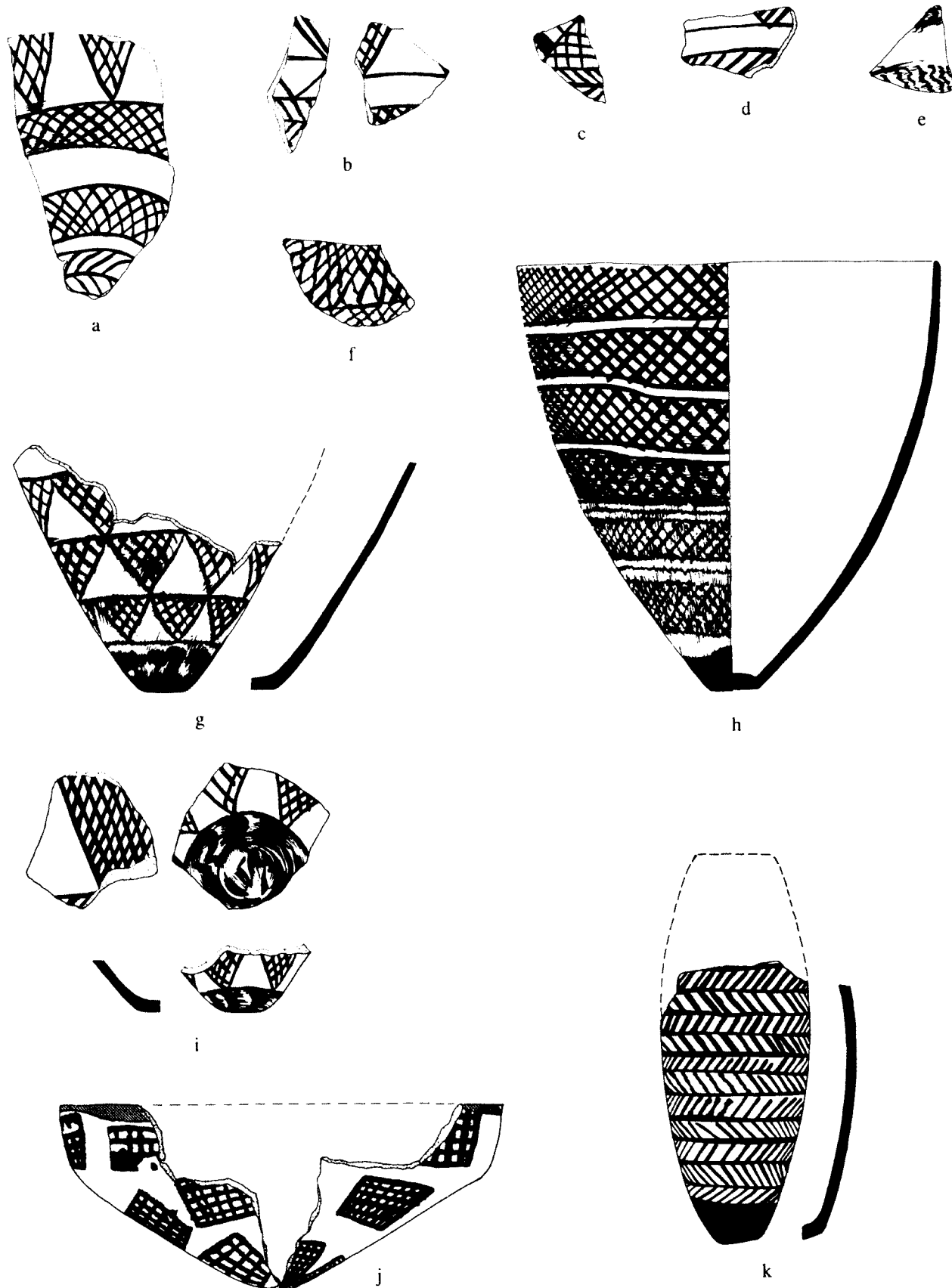


Figure 97. L 9: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) DX; (b) DY; (c) DZ; (d) EB; (e) EH; (f) EI; (g) EJ; (h) EO; (i) EQ; (j) ES; (k) ER. Scale 2:5.

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L 9			FIGURE	PLATE
	EH. A?/3	1 sherd	97e	
	EI. A-B/unc.	1 sherd (crosshatched)	97f	
	EJ. A/15	1 base	97g	
	EK. A?/5	1 sherd		
	EL. A/46	1 sherd		
	EM. A/5	1 ex. (almost rest.)		
	EN. C/15	pot	23756	8e
	EO. A/60	pot	97h	
	EP. A/63			
	EQ. A?/15	2 sherds and base	97i	
	ER. C/4	2/3 extant	97k	
	ES. B/33	pot (squares free floating)	5e, 97j	
II. Rippled:				
	A. Unc.			
	B. Unc.			
	C. Unc.			
	D. Unc.	sherds and rim		
IV. Painted and Incised–Impressed:				
	A. 1	many sherds	98a	
	B. 7	3 sherds	21h, 98b	
	C. 4	3 sherds	21d, 98c	
	D. 11	2 sherds	21j, 98d	
	E. 5	1 base	21e, 98e	
	F. 8	2 sherds	21g, 98h	
	G. 2	3 sherds	21b, 98f	
	H. 6	1 sherd	21f, 98g	
V. Interior Painted:				
	A. 3		23b, 99d	
	B. 14		25a, 98i	
	C. 10			
	D. 1?		99b	
	E. 13?			
	F. 11			
	G. 11			
	H. 13			
	I. Unc.			
	J. 13			
	K. 7		24b, 99c	
	L. 6?			
	M. 4		23c, 99a	
	N. 16			12b
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:				
	A. G	four cups joined at base (discolored)	30, 100b	
	B. F	(discolored)		
	C. F	(discolored)	101g	
	D. Unc.	base		



Figure 98. L 9, pottery: Form Group IV, Painted and Incised-Impressed—(a) A; (b) B; (c) C; (d) D; (e) E; (f) G; (g) H; (h) F; (i) Form Group V, Interior Painted, B. Scale 2:5.

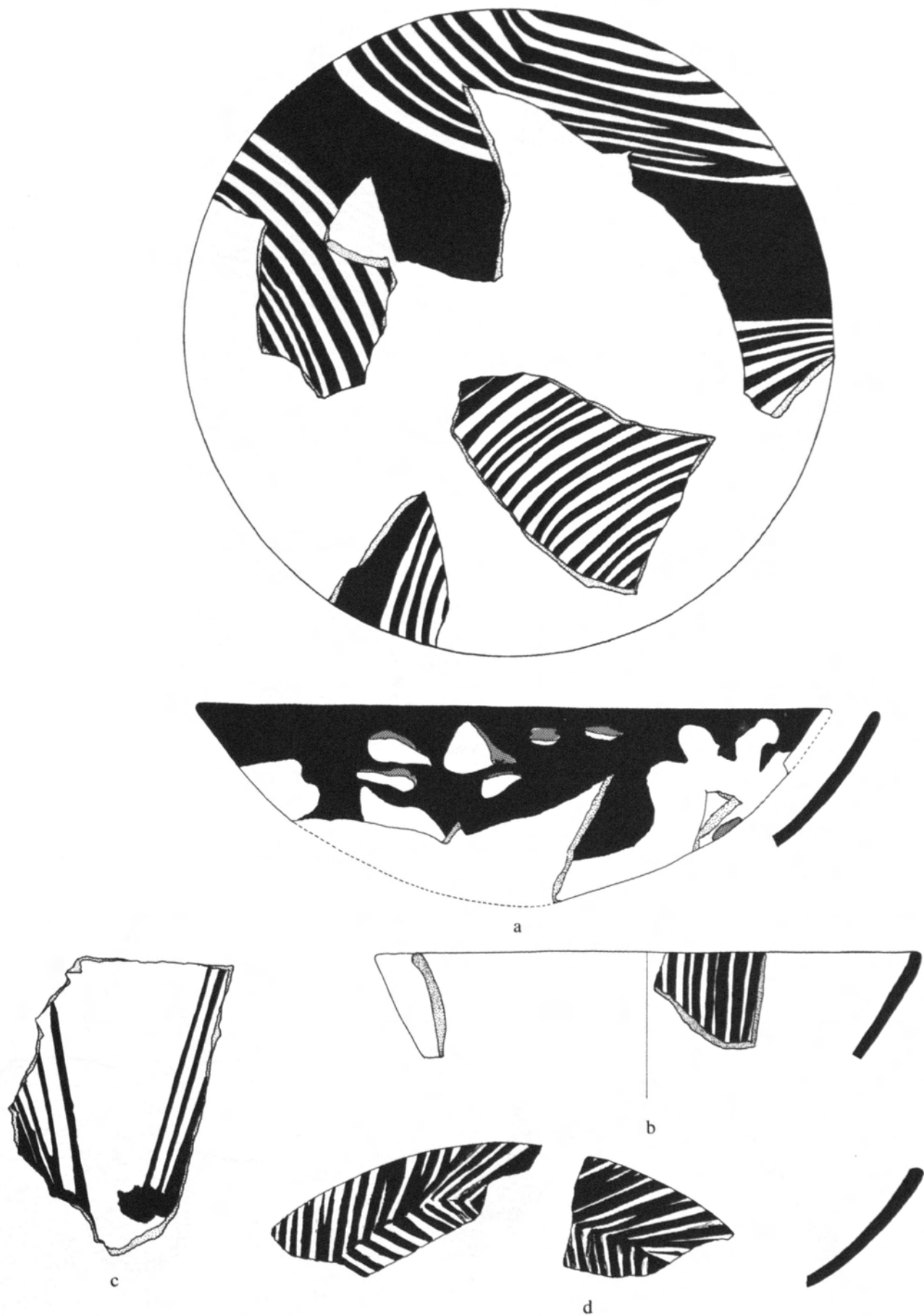


Figure 99. L 9: Form Group V, Interior Painted pottery—(a) M; (b) D; (c) K; (d) A. Scale 2:5.

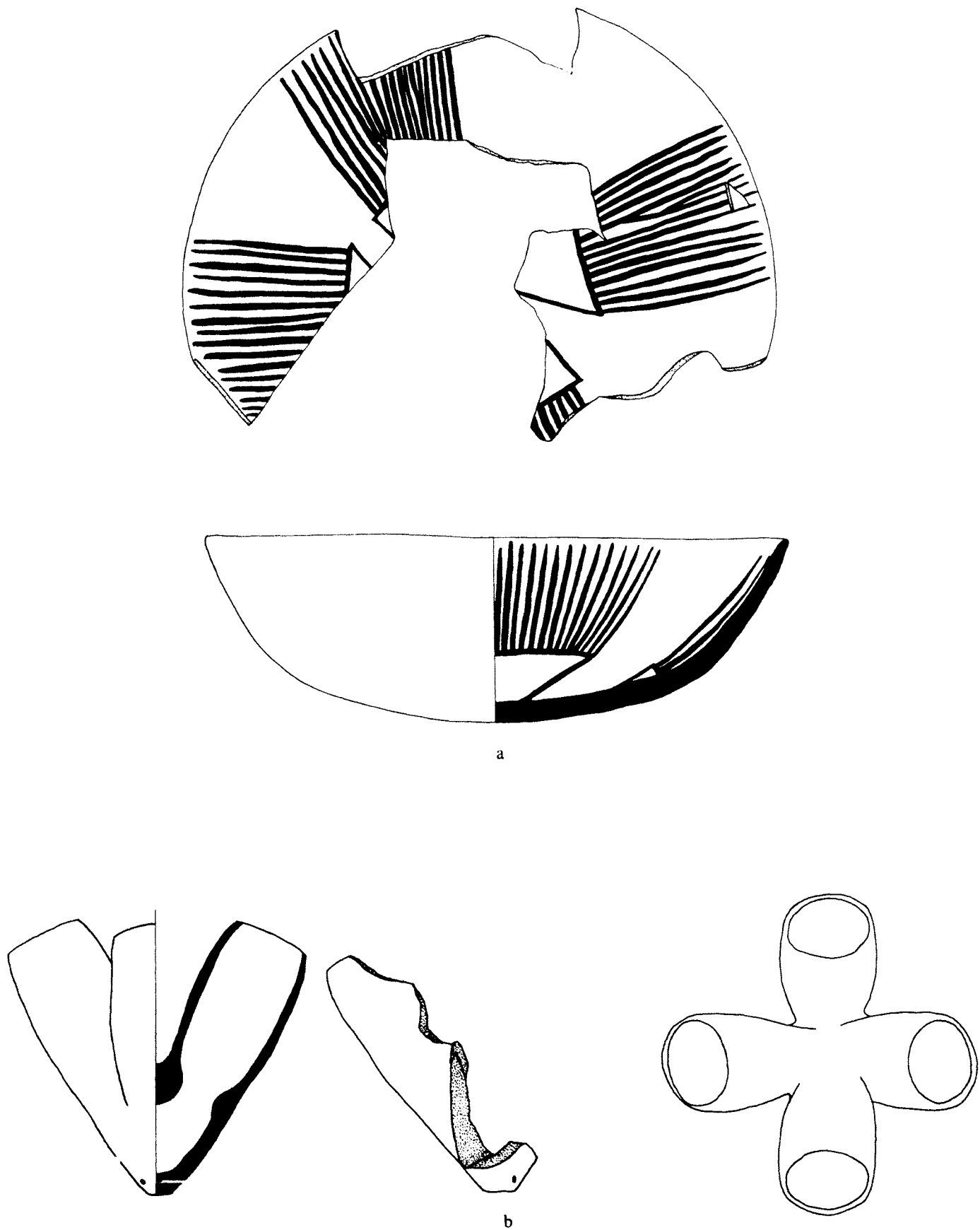


Figure 100. L 9: Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine pottery—(a) N; (b) A. Scale 2:5.

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L 9		FIGURE	PLATE
E. Unc.			
F. A3	(tan int.)	28d, 101c	
G. E2		101e	
H. F	(blackened)		13c
I. B-C	(grey-discolored)	28e, 101b	
J. B-C	(discolored)		
K. B-C	(discolored)		
L. F			
M. B-C	(black int.)		
N. C	(tan int.)	100a	
O. F	(discolored)		
P. C	(discolored)	28f, 101a	
Q. F?		29c, 101d	
R. D		101f	
VI <i>beta</i> . Miniature Cups:			
A.	(discolored)		
B.	(discolored)		
C.	(discolored)		
D.	(discolored)		
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:			
A. A?		32a	
B. Unc.			
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised:			
A. 8			
B. 2			
C. 2		101i	
D. 12		101h	
E. 2		101j	
F. Unc.			
VIII. Heavy Incised:			
A. 3	(no. 1)		16b
B. 4			
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. G		36c, 102a	
B. F		36a, 102b	
C. C?		102d	
D. B1	(brown)	102c	
E. G		102e	
F. C		102f	
G. B-C		102g	
H. A		35a, 103a	
I. C		103b	
J. B1		103d	
K. F		103c	
L. G	(brown)		
M. F		103e	
N. F		103h	

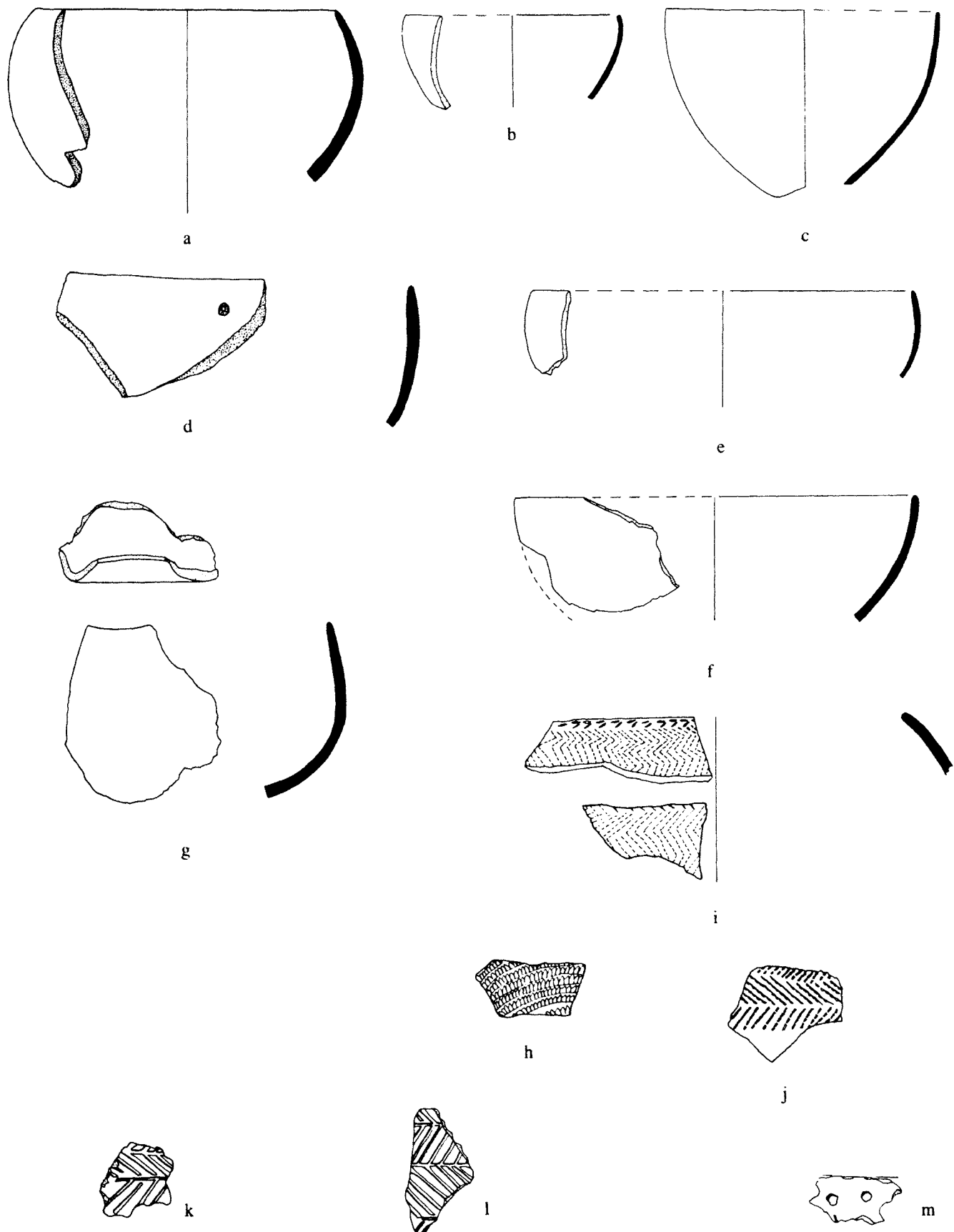


Figure 101. L 9, pottery: Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine—(a) P; (b) I; (c) F; (d) Q; (e) G; (f) R; (g) C; Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised—(h) D; (i) C; (j) E; Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse—(k) A; (l) B; (m) C. Scale 2:5.

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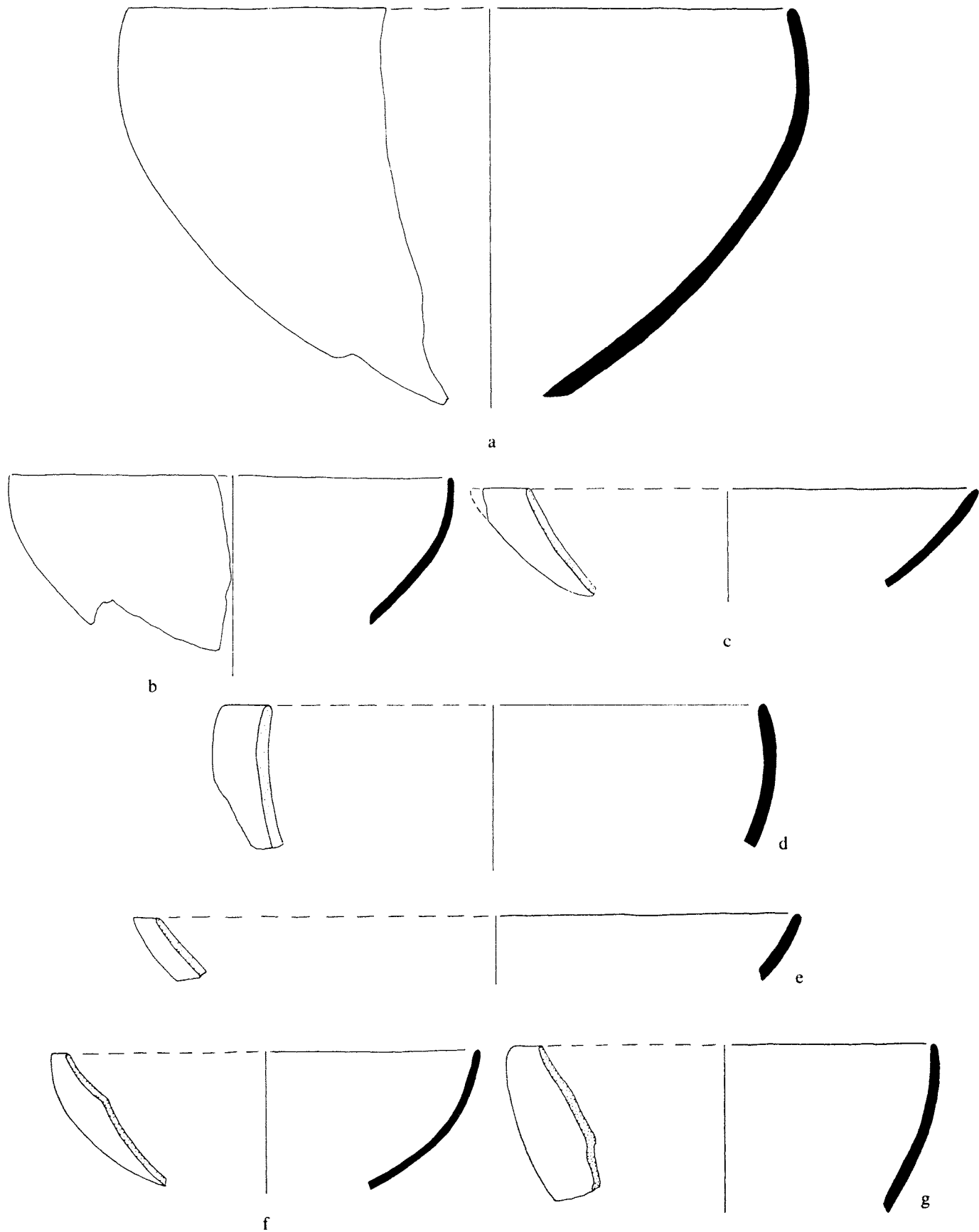


Figure 102. L 9: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) D; (d) C; (e) E; (f) F; (g) G. Scale 2:5.

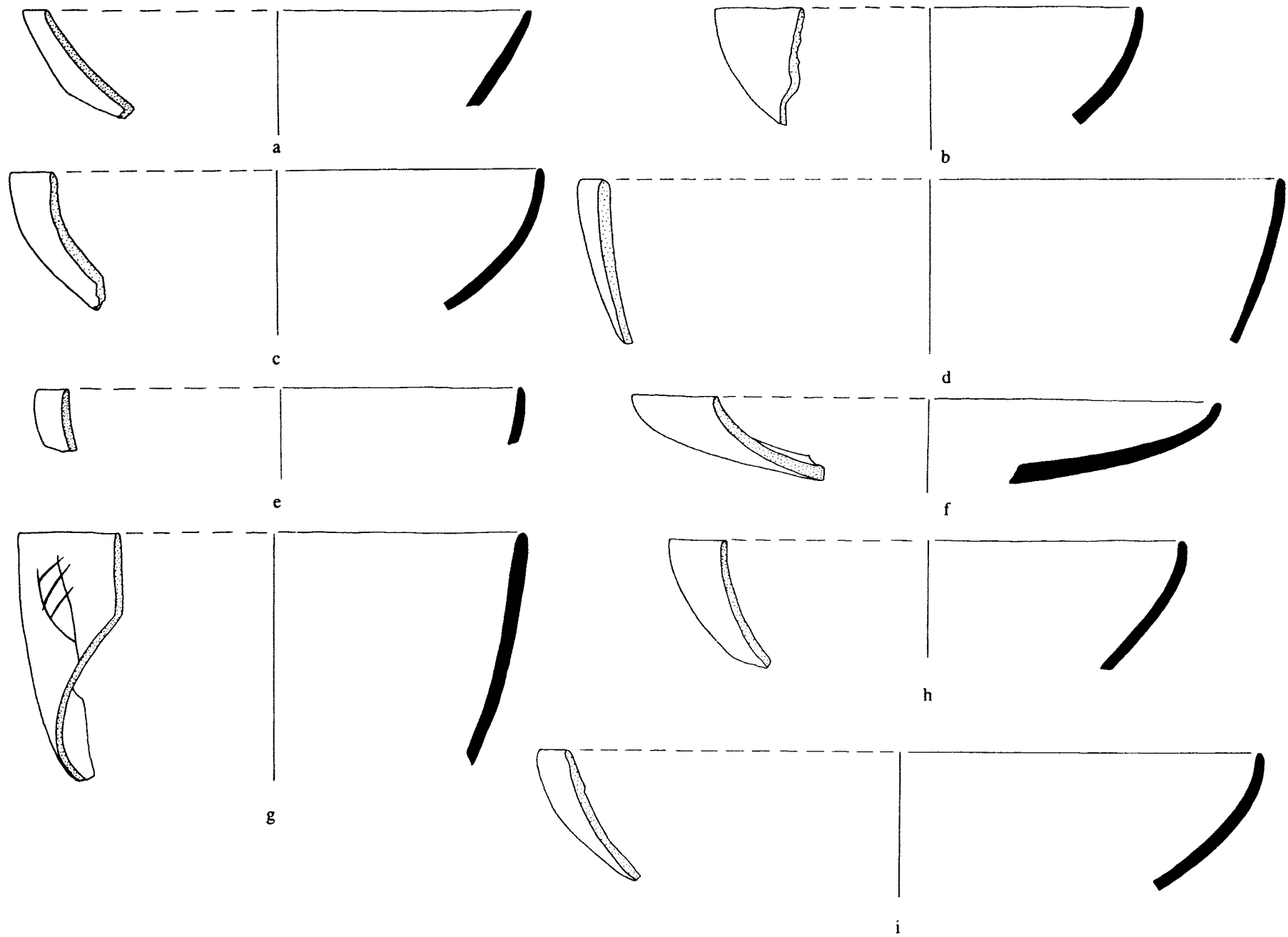


Figure 103. L 9: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) H; (b) I; (c) K; (d) J; (e) M; (f) P; (g) O; (h) N; (i) Q.
Scale 2:5.

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L 9		FIGURE	PLATE
O. H	(potmark)	36d, 103g	
P. E		35f, 103f	
Q. F		103i	
R. C		104a	
S. E	24286	35g, 104b	
T. G		104c	
U. Unc. bowl			
V. M2			
W. L		37c, 104f	
X. M2		104g	
Y. Base			
Z. Base			
AA. Unc. bowl		104d	
AB. Unc. bowl			
AC. Unc. bowl			
AD. Unc. bowl			
AE. Unc. bowl			
AF. Unc. bowl			
AG. Unc. bowl			
AH. Unc. bowl			
AI. Unc. bowl			
AJ. Unc. bowl			
AK. Unc. bowl			
AL. X?			
AM. X?	(potmark)		
AN. X	rim to shoulder		
AO. S2	rim-neck		
AP. S2	rim-neck		
AQ. S2	rim	105d	
AR. Unc. jar	(small)		
AS. W		105c	
AT. C	(no. 11)	24287	105a
AU. M2	(no. 4)	24086	104e
AV. W		23637	105b
AW. X		23628	105e
			78i-k (marks)
XI. Egyptian Coarse:			
A. B	(incised diagonal lines)	101k	
B. B	(incised diagonal lines)	101l	
C. A	strainer fragt.	101m	
XII. Syro-Palestinian EB I:			
A.	body sherd(?)	48f, 105f	

Supplementary Notes for L 9

In addition to the vessels enumerated in the categorical lists, a number were recovered after the manuscript was closed. One, a restorable vessel of Form Group I-A/10 was assigned to I-W. Others could not be added to the list without complete revision. These included about thirty small sherds of Form Group I vessels, with four bases,

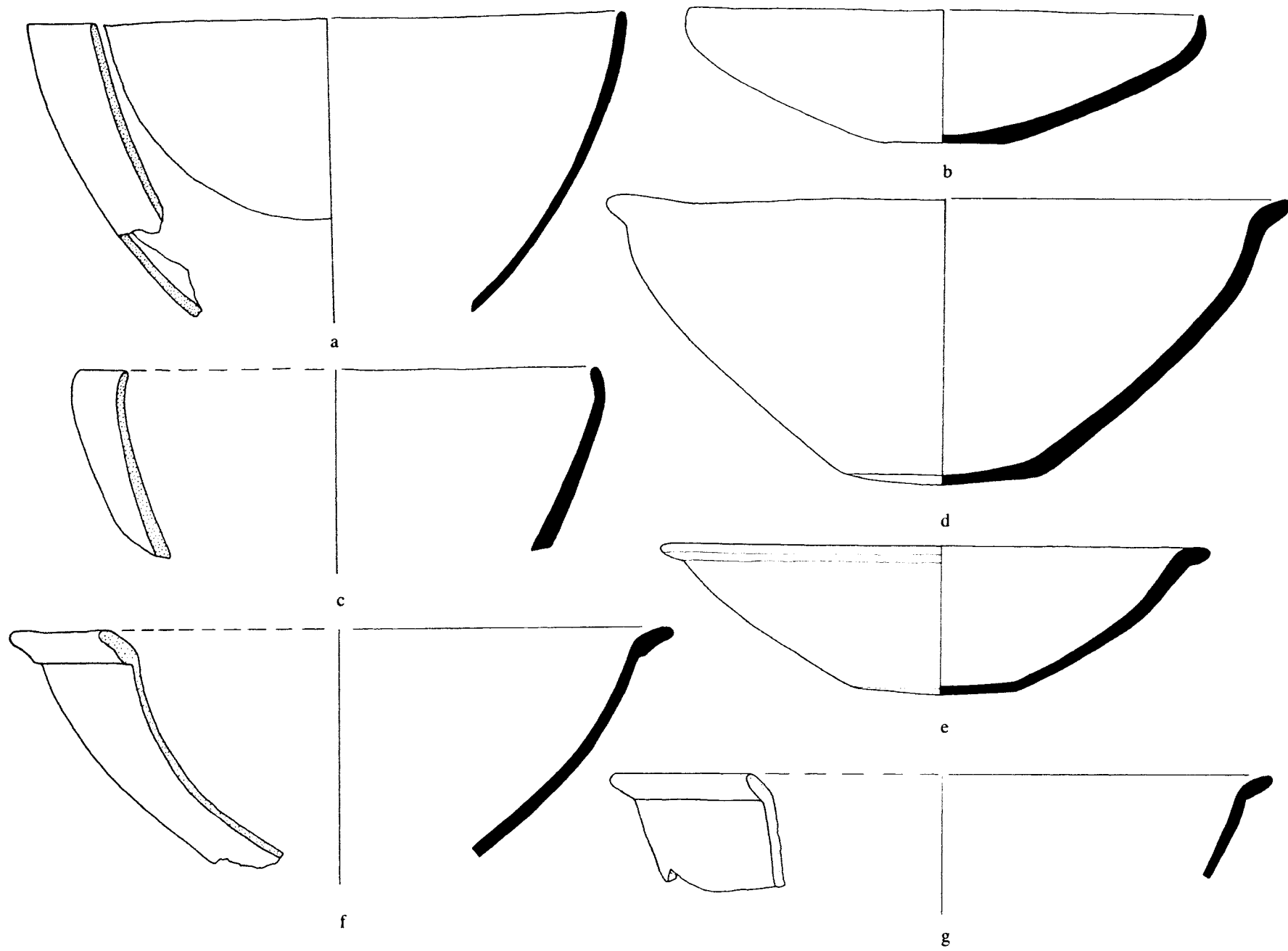


Figure 104. L 9: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) R; (b) S; (c) T; (d) AA; (e) AU; (f) W; (g) X. Scale 2:5.

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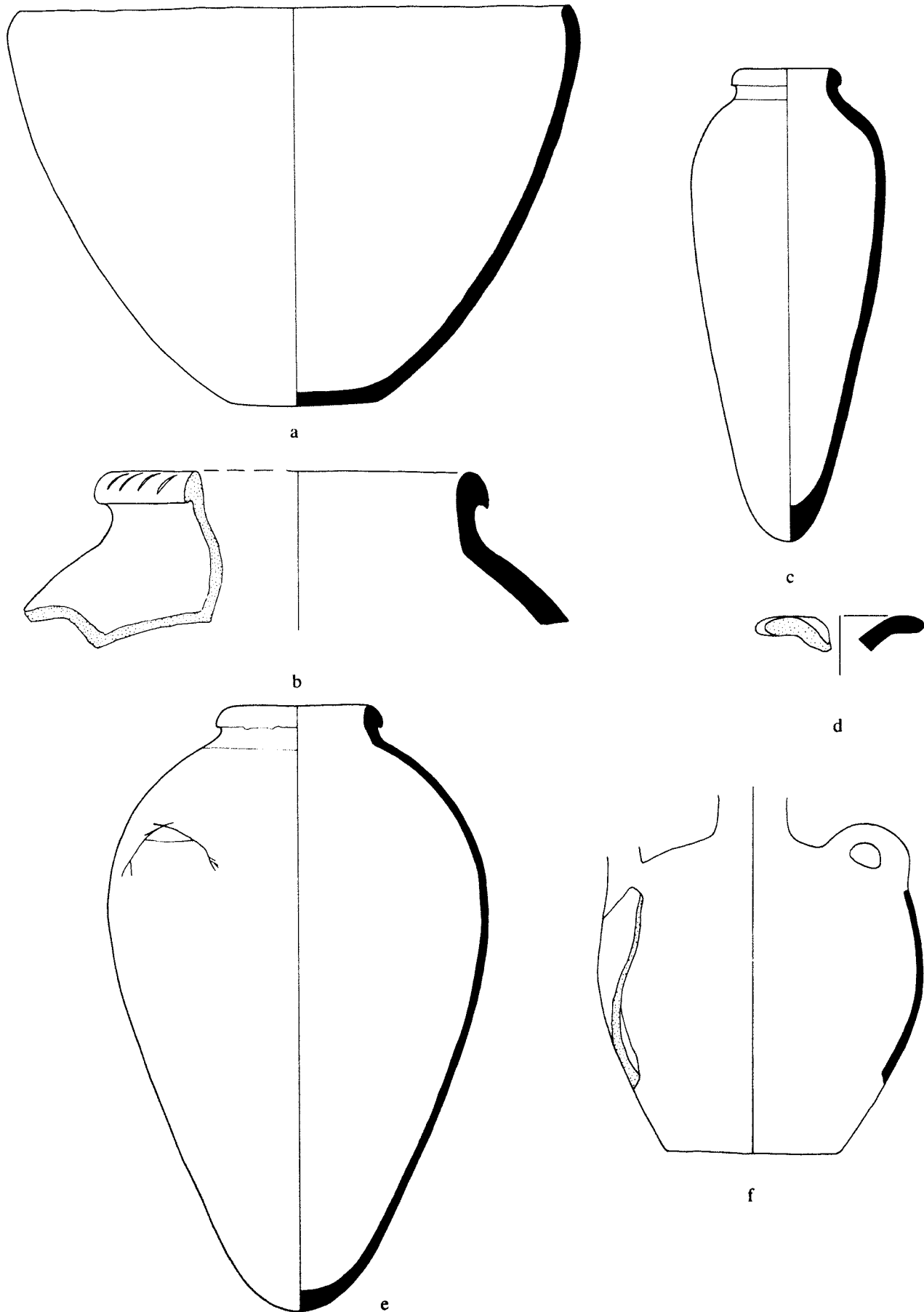


Figure 105. L 9, pottery: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(a) AT; (b) AV; (c) AS; (d) AQ; (e) AW; (f) Form Group XII, Syro-Palestinian EB I, A. Scale 2:5 except (c), (e) 1:5.

L 9

one VI *alpha* bowl with a red rim, a second with a grey–white firing zone at the surface, one of VI *gamma*, same, two unidentified sherds, grey, fourteen of IV, two of V, and one Egyptian Predynastic red polished bowl rim. There were also three grey–red (neolithic?) sherds and two late digging sherds.

Sherds as recorded:

- A. From burial chamber:
 - a. Decorated with red paint outside
 - b. Red burnished
 - c. Heavy crude red.
- B. Uncertain:
 - a. Dark red on light red
 - b. Crosshatching
 - c. Herringbone
 - d. Horizontal lines
 - e. Shallow bowl (24286)
 - f. Black on buff, triangles
 - g. Plain red ware
 - h. Dark brown, blackish
 - i. Cup, red on orange, solid triangles, black interior

Stone vessels as recorded:

- a. Parts of alabaster bowl and several other alabaster vessels (sample and 24086)

Late Nubian:

- a. Red wheel–marked
- b. Grey–white
- c. Red polished

L 10 (figs. 106–109)

Shaft: 3.20 × 1.37 × 1.05 m

Burial: —

Bodies: A. Adult male

B. Adult (right parietal)

Objects:

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|------|----------|
| 1. Egyptian jar X–U | | E 24122 | | |
| 2. Incense burner | | 23717 | 106b | 32a, 35a |
| 3. Mortar B1 | | 23725 A | 106d | 40d |
| 4. Pestle | (red–brown stain) | 23725 B | 106e | |
| 5. Carnelian pebble | | samp. | | |
| 6. Egyptian bowl X–G | | B 24103 | | |
| 7. Sudanese bowl VII–I | | C 24269 | | |
| 8. Carved wood (bovine leg?) | (hatched) | 24183 | | 59c, f, |
| + charred small frags. | | | | 61c, d |
| 9. Simple coarse bowl VI–C | (burnished) | A 24289 | | |
| 10. Ochreous clay | fragt. (with remains of leather) | samp. | | |

Stone Vessels:

- | | | |
|-----------|---------|------|
| A. AB jar | (small) | 106c |
|-----------|---------|------|

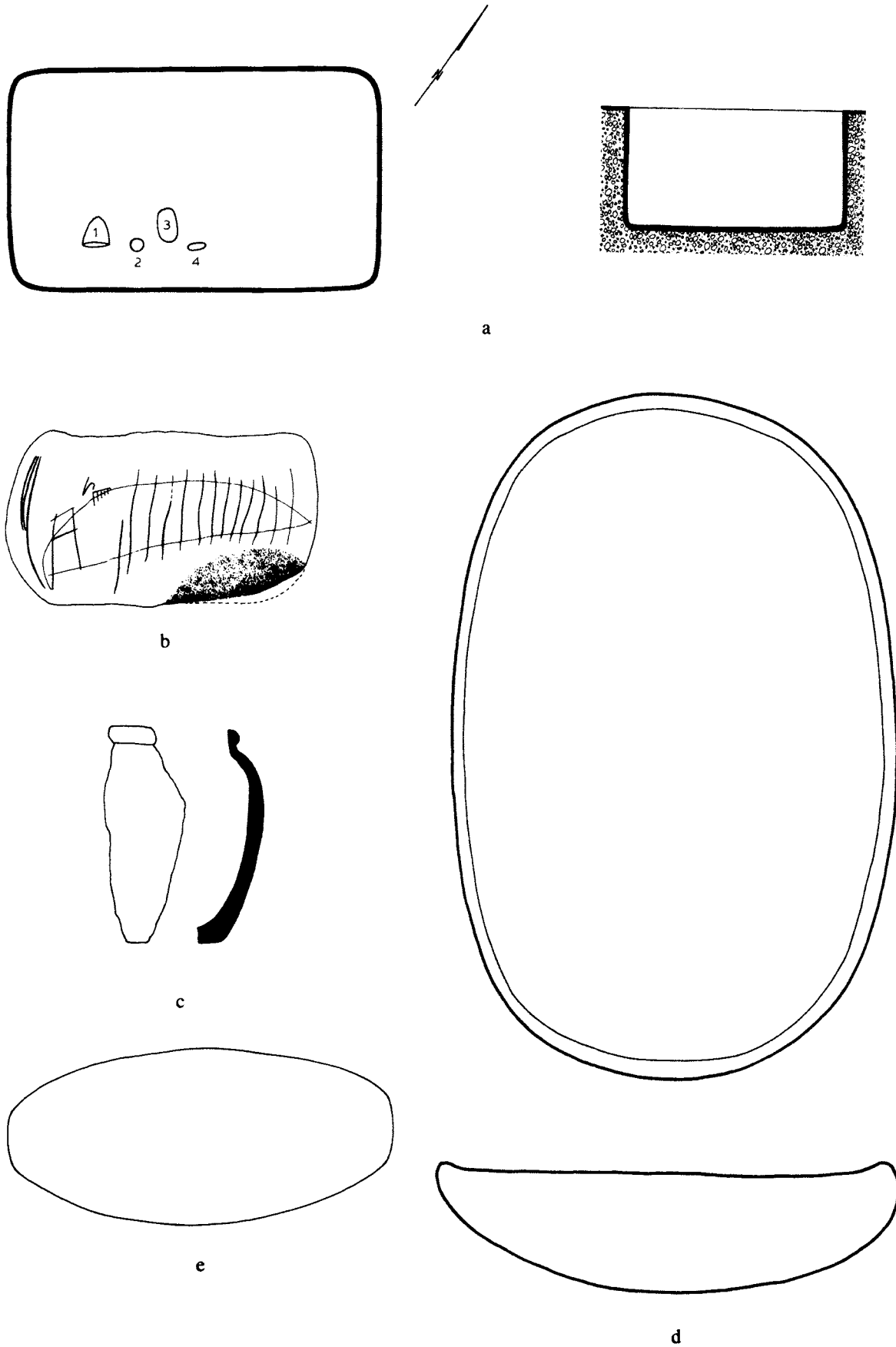


Figure 106. L 10: (a) Plan and section; (b) Incense burner, no. 2; (c) Stone vessel, A; (d) Mortar, no. 3; (e) Pestle, no. 4. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

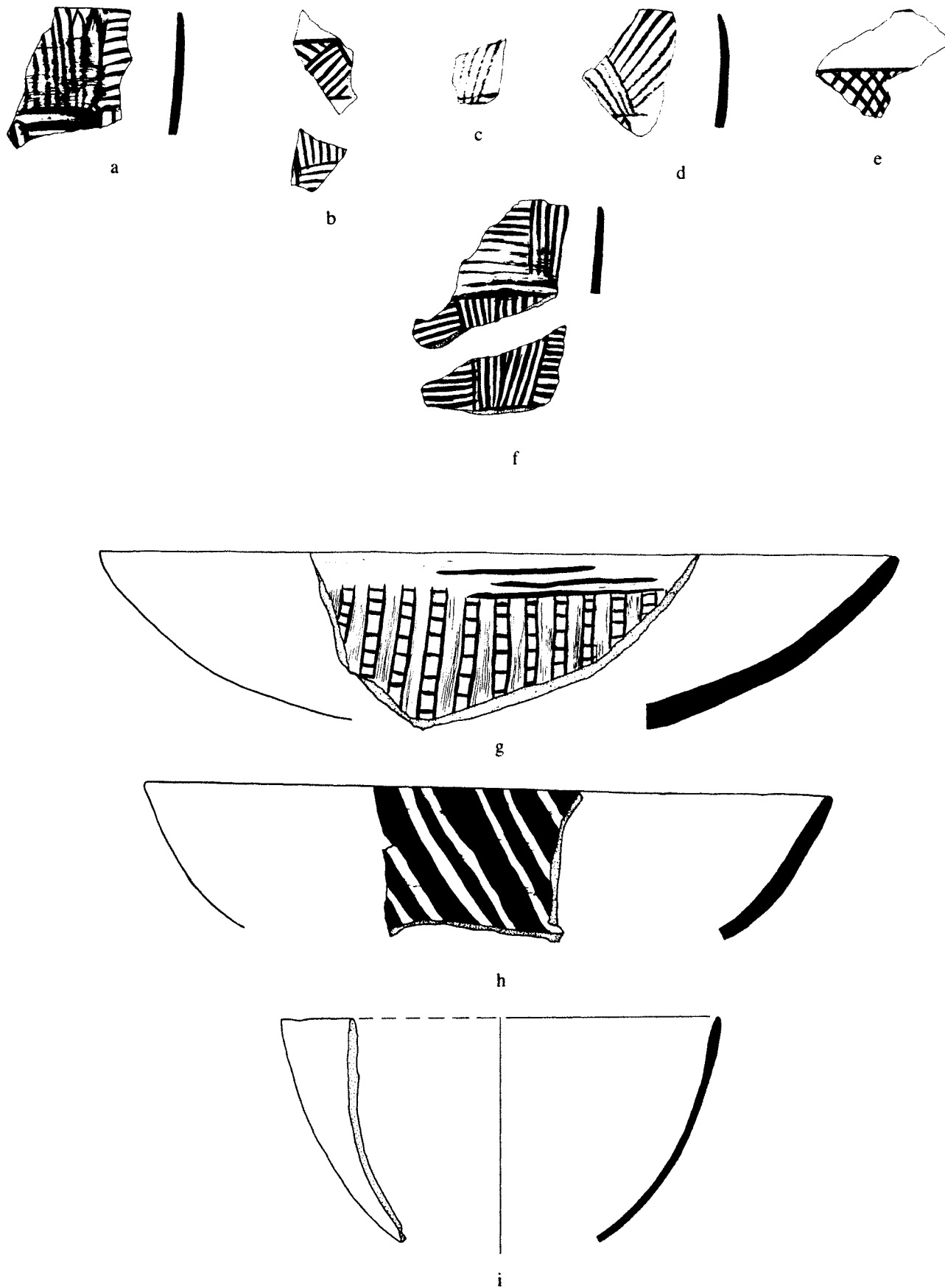


Figure 107. L 10, pottery: Form Group I, Exterior Painted—(a) A; (b) B; (c) D; (d) F; (e) G; (f) J; Form Group V, Interior Painted—(g) A; (h) B; (i) Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine, B. Scale 2:5.

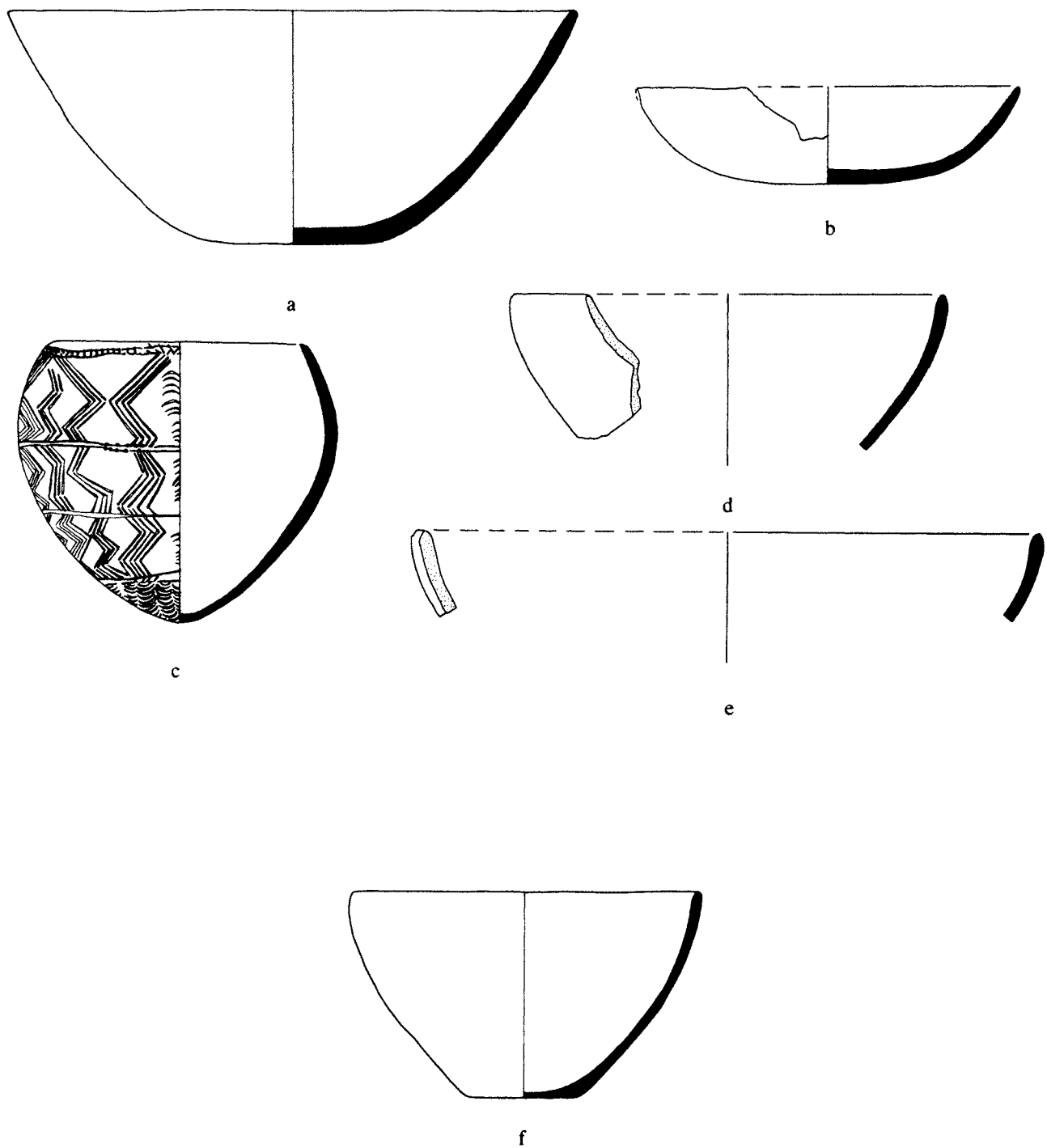


Figure 108. L 10, pottery: Form Group VI *gamma*, Simple Coarse—(a) A; (b) B; (c) Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised, C; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(d) A; (e) C; (f) B. Scale 2:5.

L 10		FIGURE	PLATE
Pottery:			
I. Exterior Painted:			
A. A/32	1 sherd	107a	
B. A-B/10	5 sherds	107b	
C. A-B/8	1 sherd		
D. A-B/112?	1 sherd	107c	
E. B/5	1 sherd (bands)		
F. A/11	1 sherd (bands)	107d	
G. A-B/5	2 sherds (bands)	107e	
H. A-B/4	1 sherd		
I. A/38	2 sherds		
J. A/32	2 sherds (poss. A)	107f	
IV. Painted and Incised–Impressed:			
A. Unc.	(white band)		
V. Interior Painted:			
A. 5		24a, 107g	
B. 4		23a, 107h	
C. Unc.			
D. 1			
E. 1			
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:			
A. A2	(mottled)		13a
B. A1		28a, 107i	
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:			
A. C	(burnished, mottled)	32d, 108a	
B. C	cookpot, body sherd	32e, 108b	
C. Unc.	(burnished, mottled)		
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone–Incised:			
A. 1			
B. Unc.			
C. 1		33a, 108c	14a
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. F		108d	17e
B. F		108f	
C. E		108e	
D. G		24103	
E. U	(no. 1)	24122	39a, 109 19a

Supplementary Notes for L 10

Sherds as recorded:

- a. Burnished dark red on lighter red (perhaps complete bowl)
- b. Incised, buff

Stone vessel fragments:

- a. Sherd of alabaster jar, small

REGISTER OF FINDS

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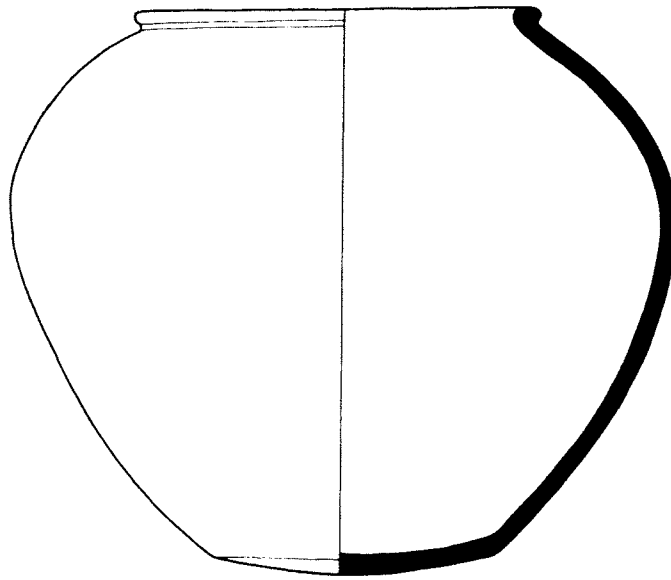


Figure 109. L 10: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery, E. Scale 2:5.

L 11 (figs. 110–122)

FIGURE

PLATE

Trench and chamber

110

107a

Trench: 7.15 × 1.70 × 1.45 m

Chamber: 4.70 × 3.40 × 1.70 m (floor 3.60 m below surface)

Blocking: Horizontal stones, present

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

a. From fill of trench:

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------|------|
| 1. Carnelian pebble | (ca. 1.10 m deep) | disc. | |
| 2. Mortar | 2 frags. | samp. | |
| 3. Food model of
earth and clay | | samp. | 111f |
| 4. Stone bowl | | B 24083 | |
| 5. "Incised piece of stone" | | samp. | |
| 6. Stone bowl S | | Q 24057 | |

b. From fill of chamber:

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|--------------------------|------|
| 7. Shell hooks | 7 exx. | samp. | 111d |
| 8. Beads | | | |
| a. Lg. barrel | (car.) | 23720 | 111c |
| b. Crushed gold | | B 1375a
(Cairo 89995) | 110c |

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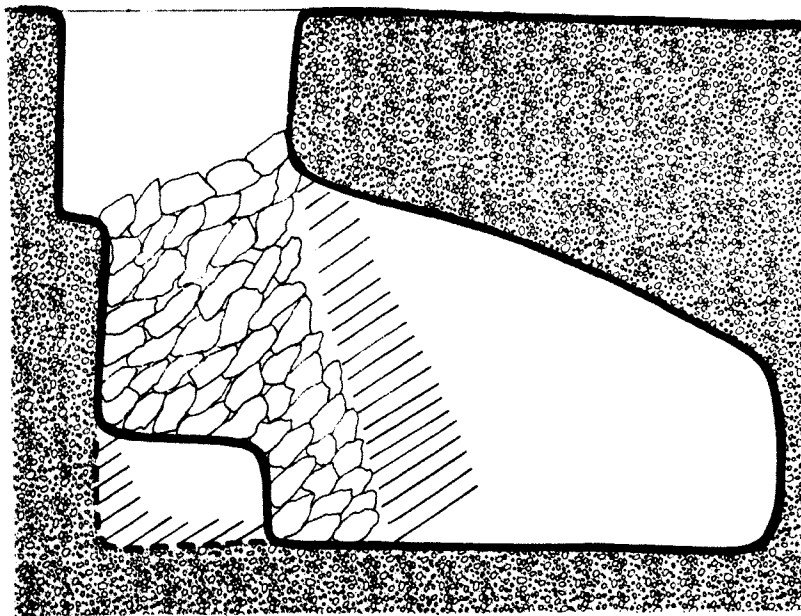
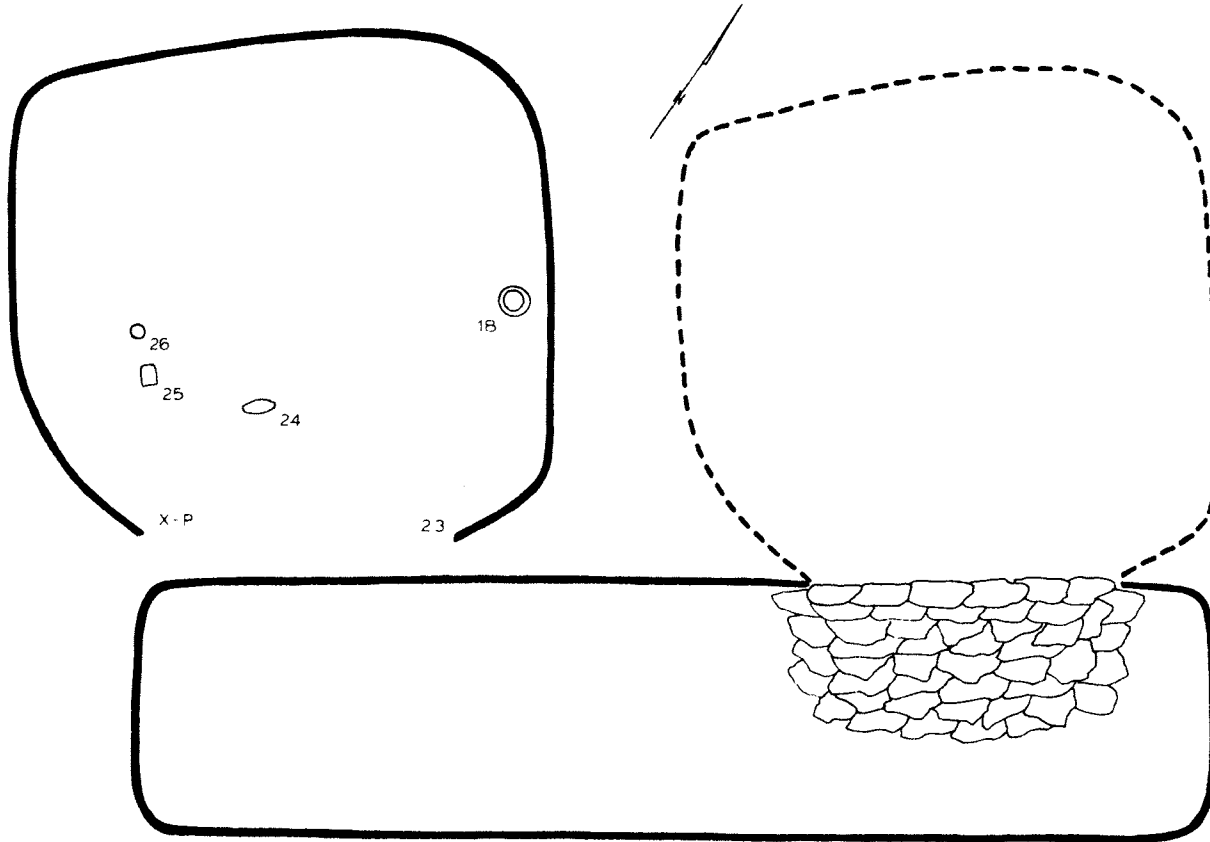


Figure 110. L 11: Plan, chamber, and section. Scale 1:50.

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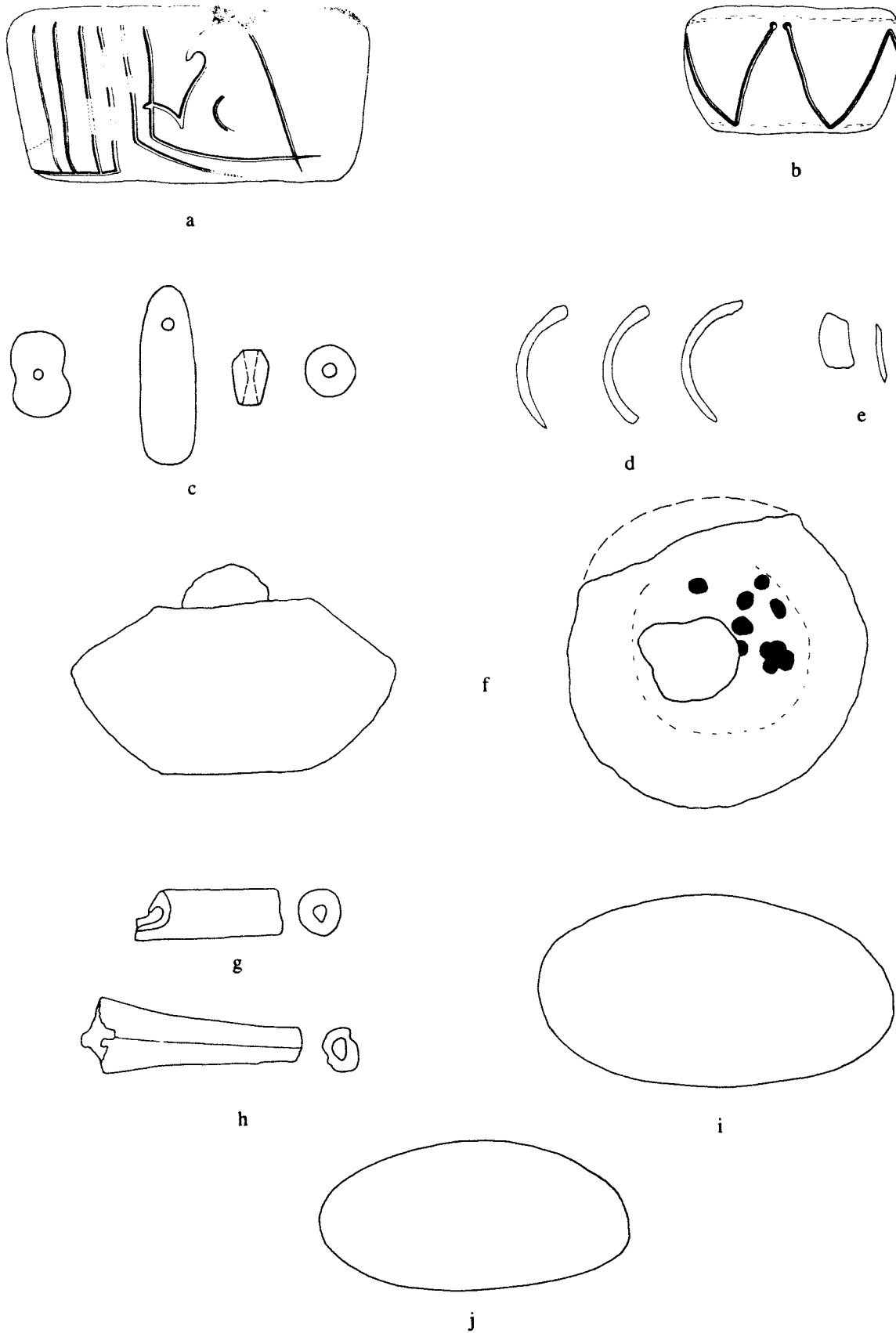


Figure 111. L 11: (a) Archaic Horus incense burner, no. 25; (b) Incense burner, no. 18; (c) Beads, no. 8a; (d) Shell hooks, no. 7; (e) Ivory fragment, no. 27; (f) Earth and clay food model, no. 3; Bone tool handles—(g) No. 29; (h) No. 30; Pestles—(i) No. 24, A; (j) No. 24, B. Scale 2:5.

L 11		FIGURE	PLATE
9. "Stone fragment, possibly part of macehead"	disc.		
10. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>	E 23747		
11. Beads	23720		56a, c, e, l, r
a. Size 1 garnet			
b. Size 2 car.	6 exx.		
c. Bilobate car.	2 exx.		
d. Bicone car.	2 exx.		
e. Elongate drop car.	9 exx. (1 small)		
f. Bag-shaped crystal	4 exx.		
12. Pestles	2 exx.	23783 C-D	43d-e
13. Stone bowl A	M 24090		
14. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>	G 24082		
15. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>	F 23840		
16. Pebbles	disc.		
17. Shell hook	samp.		
18. Incised incense burner	23719	111b	32b, 36a
19. Ivory	fragt. (stick)	samp.	
20. Mica fragments		samp.	68b
c. From floor of burial chamber:			
21. Exterior painted bowl I-C/unc.	24293		
22. Exterior painted bowl I-A/149	FK 24291		
23. Incense burner	23706		30, 36b
24. Pestles	2 exx.	23783 A-B	111i-j
25. Archaic Horus incense burner	24058	111a	33, 37a
26. Base of stone bowl	unc. which vessel		
d. Among blocking stones:			
27. Ivory	fragt.	samp.	111e
e. Above chamber on surface:			
28. Shell hook		samp.	
f. Uncertain location:			
29. Bone tool handle	samp.	111g	69a
30. Bone tool handle	samp.	111h	69a
31. Hippopotamus foot in Egyptian coarse pottery XI-E	J	112a	100b, 101b
32. Egyptian cylinder jar X-P	S 23754		
33. Eye inlay from statue (clay?)	samp.		61f, 103a
Stone Vessels:			
A. S jar		112b	
B. B bowl	(no. 4)	24083	49c, 112c 70a
C. X jar			52e, 112g

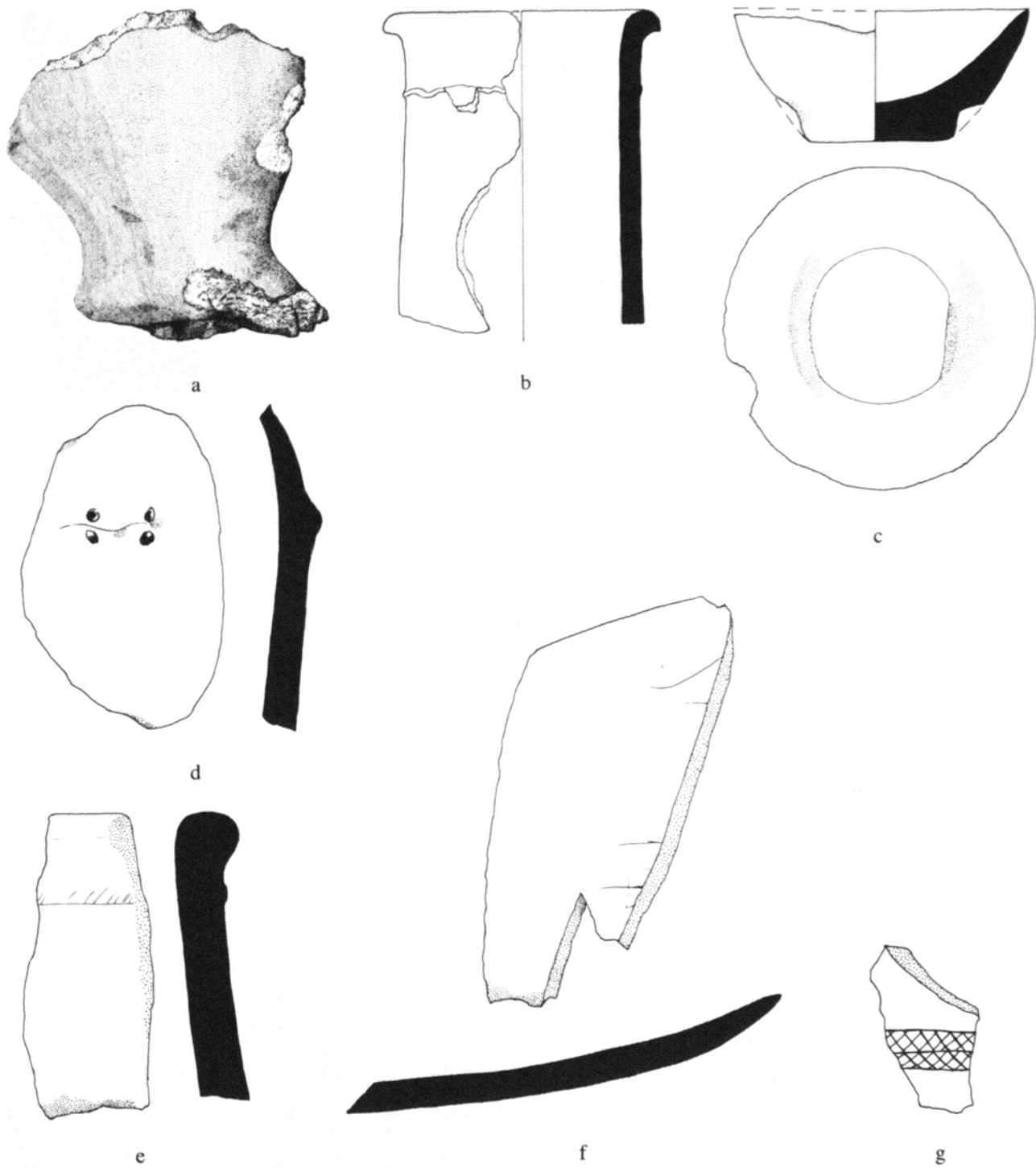


Figure 112. L 11: (a) Hippopotamus foot in clay, no. 31; Stone vessels—(b) A; (c) B; (d) D; (e) F; (f) H; (g) C. Scale 2:5.

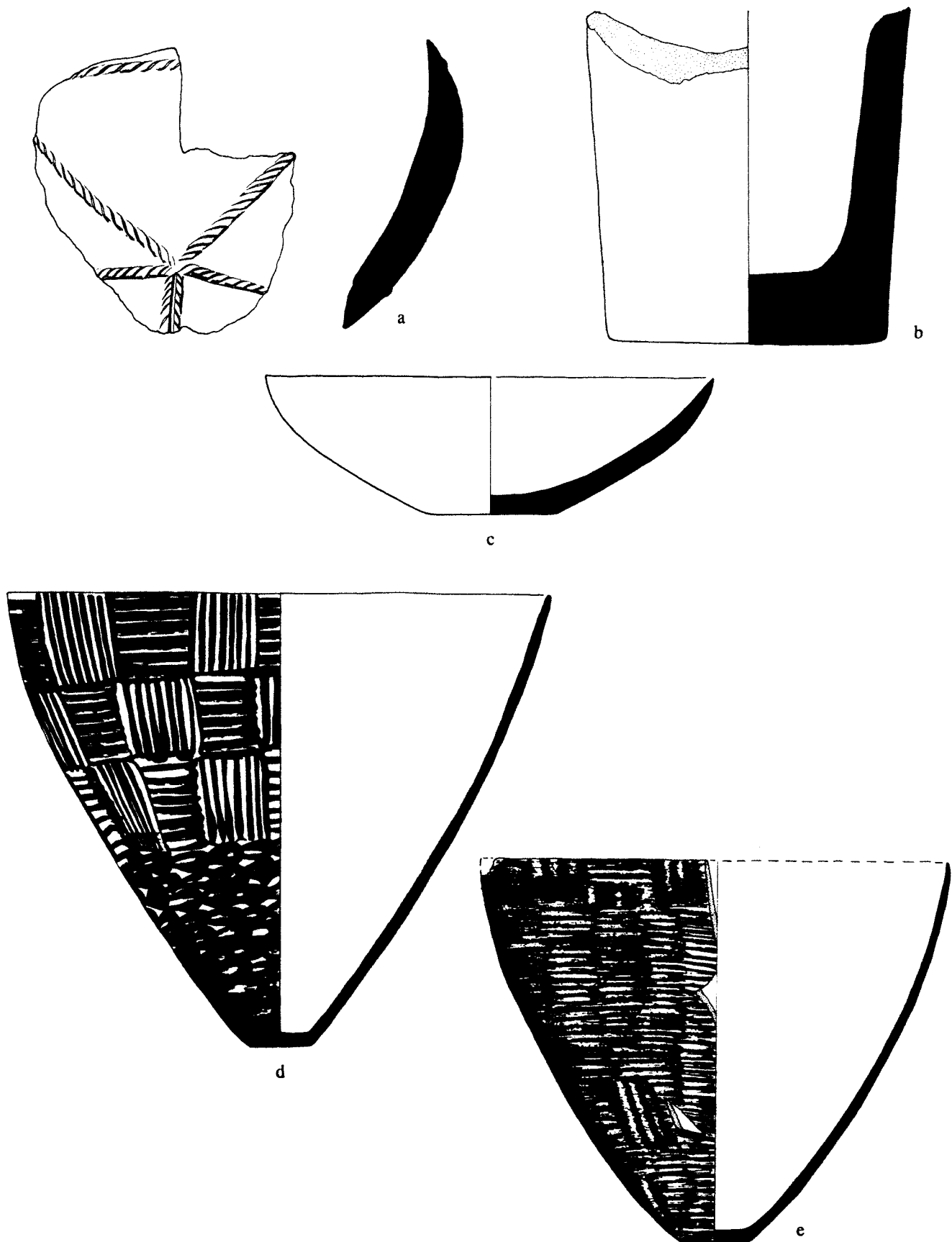


Figure 113. L 11: Stone vessels—(a) I; (b) L; (c) Q; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(d) A; (e) B. Scale 2:5.

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L 11		FIGURE	PLATE
D. M jar		51a, 112d	72a
E. Unc. cyl. jar			
F. U2 jar		112e	74b
G. Unc. cyl. jar			
H. A bowl	(serekh?, slate)	49b, 112f	71a
I. AD jar		53j, 113a	74g
J. R jar			
K. Y jar			
L. Y jar		113b	
M. A bowl	24090		
N. Unc. cyl. jar			
O. Unc. cyl. jar			
P. Unc. cyl. jar			
Q. I bowl?	24057	113c	
R. O jar?			
S. Unc. cyl. jar	base		
Pottery:			
I. Exterior Painted:			
A. A/145	pot	17a, 113d	
B. A/40	pot	10j, 113e	
C. A/38	6 sherds		
D. B/141	1 ex. (rest.)	114a	
E. A/39	pot	10i, 114b	
F. A/39	16 sherds		
G. A/40	4 sherds and base		
H. A-B/39	1 sherd		
I. A-B/39	2 sherds		
J. A?/170	7 sherds	19d, 114c	
K. A?/46	1 base	114d	
L. B?/41	1 sherd		
M. A-B/4	1 sherd		
N. B/38	1 sherd	114e	
O. A-B/41	1 sherd	114f	
P. A-B/38	1 base		
Q. A-B/39	3 sherds		
R. A-B/41	1 base		
S. A-B/41	1 base		
T. A-B/39	1 sherd		
U. A/41	3 sherds	10l, 114i	
V. A-B/142		16h, 114g	
W. A/38	1 sherd		
X. A-C/39	1 sherd		
Y. A-B/39	1 sherd		
Z. A-B/6?	2 sherds		
AA. A/2	3 sherds		
AB. A-B/39	1 sherd		
AC. A-B/39	1 sherd		

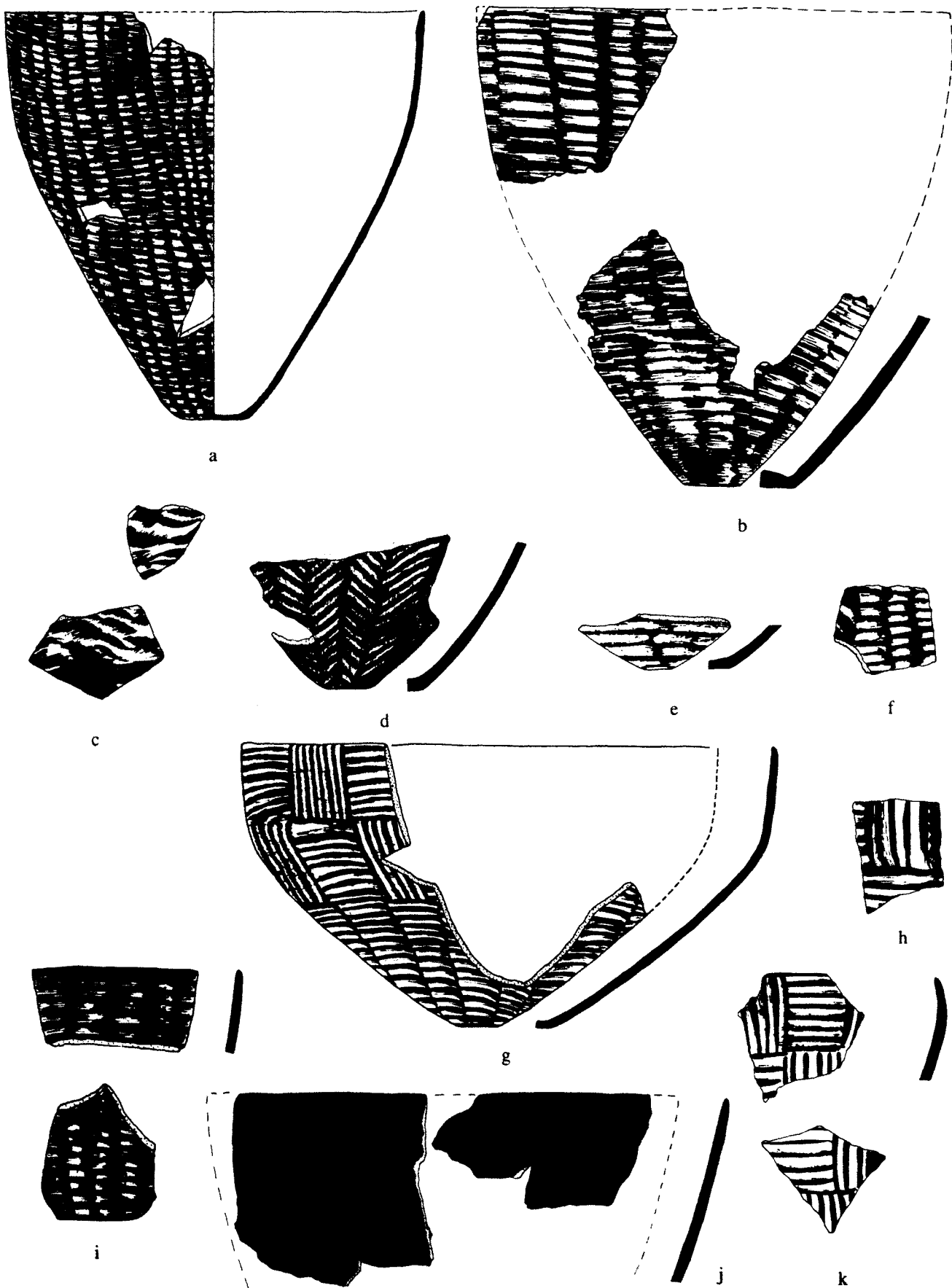


Figure 114. L 11: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) D; (b) E; (c) J; (d) K; (e) N; (f) O; (g) V; (h) AG; (i) U; (j) AO; (k) AL. Scale 2:5.

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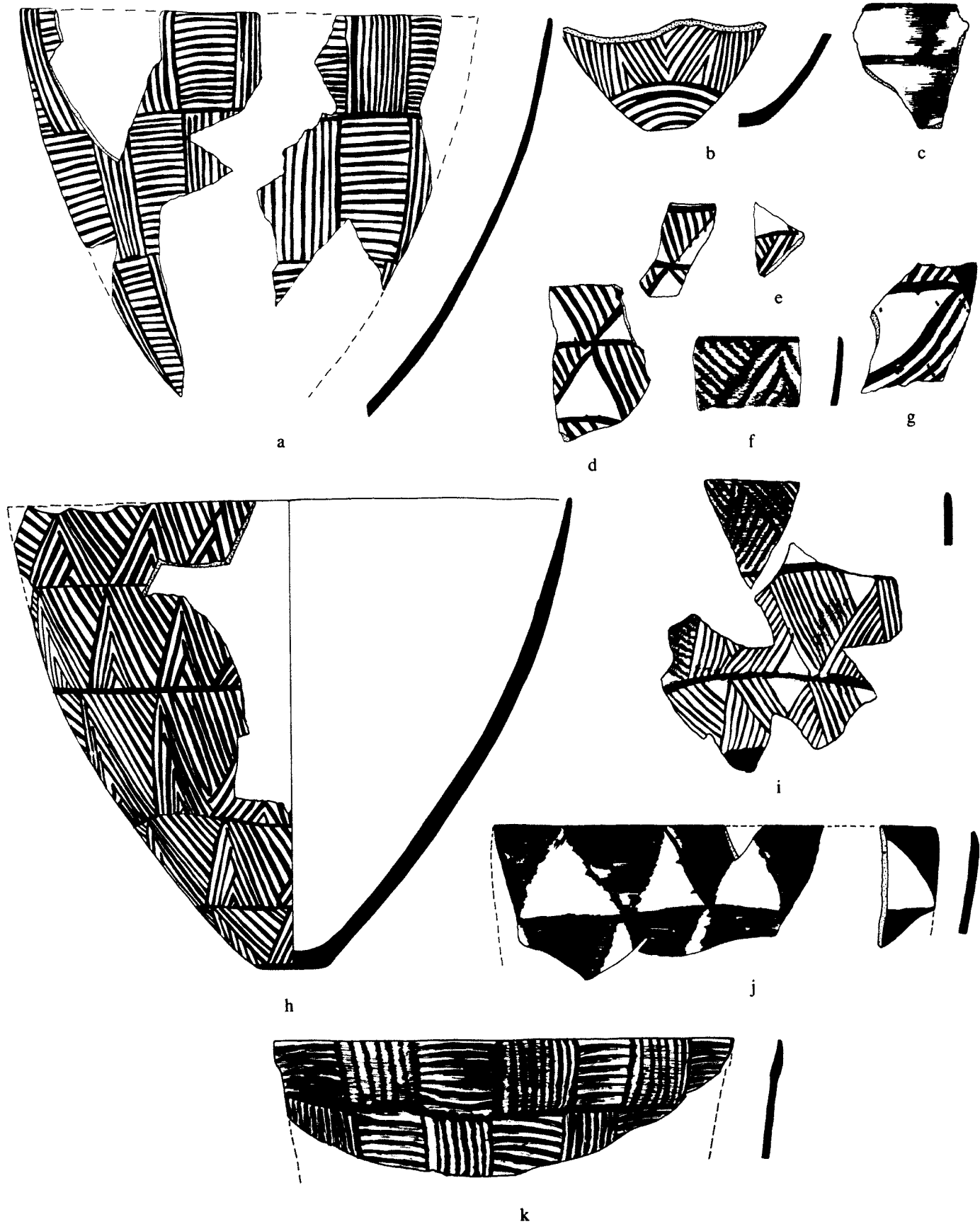


Figure 115. L 11: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) AP; (b) AR; (c) AU; (d) AW; (e) AY; (f) BD; (g) AX; (h) AQ; (i) BC; (j) BG; (k) AF. Scale 2:5.

L 11		FIGURE	PLATE
AD. A/32	1/3 extant		
AE. C/4	1 sherd		
AF. A-B/32	1 sherd	115k	
AG. A/32	1 sherd	114h	
AH. A/32	1 base (large)		
AI. A-B/32	1 sherd		
AJ. A/32	unc.		
AK. A/32	unc.		
AL. B/32	9 sherds	114k	
AM. A/?	1 sherd		
AN. B/142	1 ex. (rest.)		
AO. A/50	pot (nearly rippled)	114j	
AP. A/32	2/5 extant	115a	
AQ. A/21	1 ex. (rest.)	115h	
AR. A?/23	3 base sherds	9f, 115b	
AS. A-B/10	1 sherd		
AT. A-B/10	1 sherd		
AU. A/137	1 sherd (bands)	115c	
AV. A-B/10	1 sherd		
AW. C/7	2 sherds	8h, 115d	
AX. A/7	4 sherds	115g	
AY. A-B/85	1 sherd	115e	
AZ. C/23	1 sherd		
BA. A-B/10	1 sherd		
BB. D/79	1 sherd		
BC. A/94	7 sherds	13i, 115i	
BD. A/10	2 sherds	115f	
BE. A/10	1 sherd		
BF. A/10	1 sherd		
BG. A-B/27	2 sherds	115j	
BH. A/143?	1 sherd	16g, 116a	
BI. A/27	9 sherds	9h, 116b	
BJ. A-B/41	1 sherd		
BK. A-B/27?	1 sherd		
BL. B/47	2 sherds	11b, 116c	
BM. B?/27	7 sherds		
BN. A/27	4 sherds		
BO. A-B/27	1 sherd		
BP. A/123b	4 sherds		
BQ. A-B/unc.	1 sherd		
BR. A-B/27	1 sherd		
BS. A/11	1 sherd	8j, 116d	
BT. A/23	6 sherds (bands)		
BU. A/10	1 sherd	116f	
BV. A/11	1 sherd	115k, 116e	
BW. A-B/58	1 sherd	116g	
BX. A-B/10	1 sherd and base		

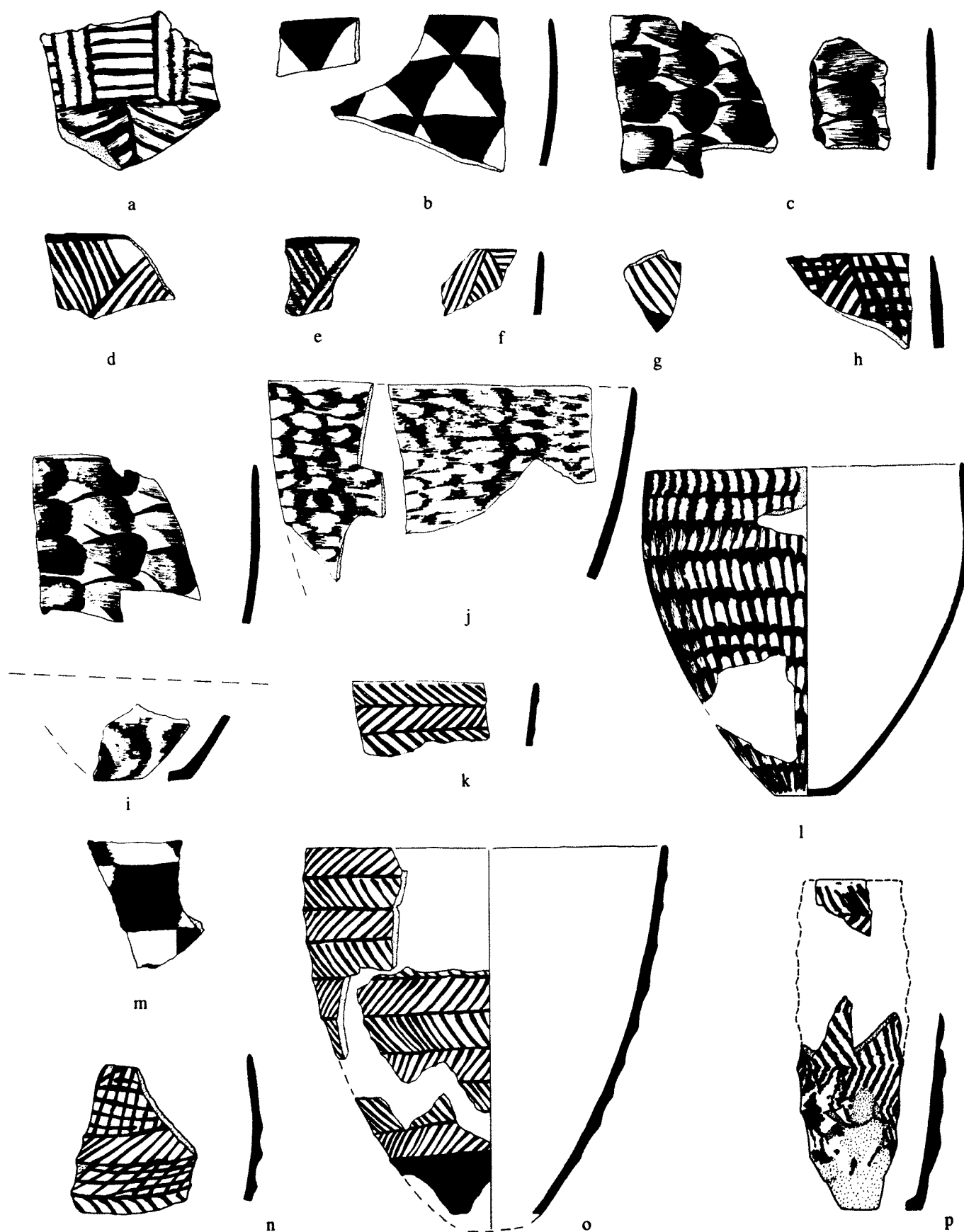


Figure 116. L 11: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) BH; (b) BI; (c) BL; (d) BS; (e) BV; (f) BU; (g) BW; (h) CJ; (i) CB; (j) CC; (k) CU; (l) CH; (m) CM; (n) CT; (o) CQ; (p) CS. Scale 2:5.

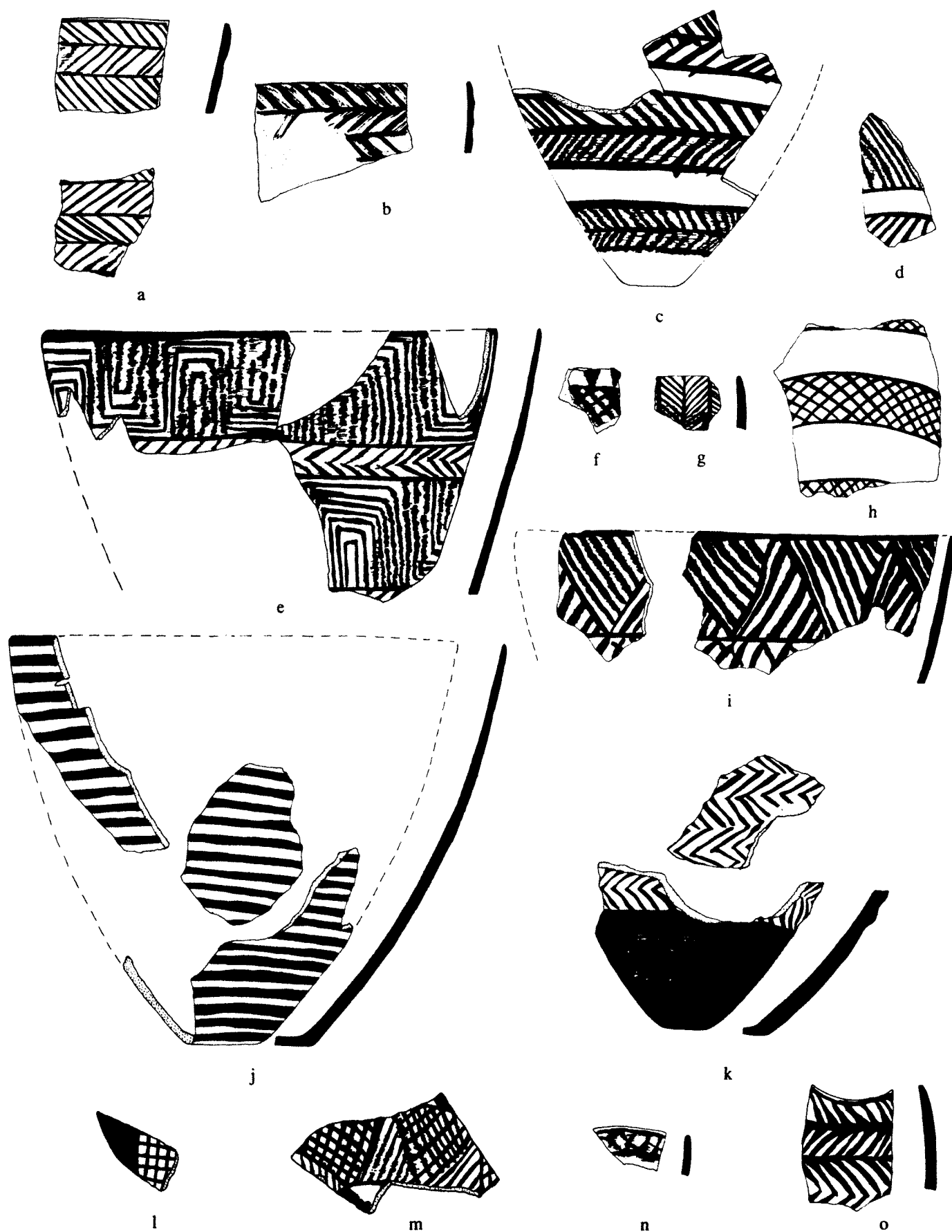


Figure 117. L 11: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) CV; (b) CW; (c) CX; (d) DC; (e) DI; (f) DF; (g) DQ; (h) DY; (i) DJ; (j) DL; (k) DU; (l) EC; (m) EF; (n) EI; (o) EJ. Scale 2:5.

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L 11		FIGURE	PLATE
BY. A/10	1 sherd		
BZ. A-B/10	1 sherd		
CA. A-B/unc.	2 sherds		
CB. A/47	6 sherds	116i	
CC. A/48	1/10-1/5 extant	116j	
CD. B/48	1 sherd		
CE. A-B/27?	1 base		
CF. A-B/50?	1 base		
CG. A-B/50?	1 base		
CH. A/42	pot	10p, 116l	
CI. C/50	1 sherd		
CJ. A-B/16	2 sherds	116h	
CK. A?/23	1 sherd (bands)		
CL. A/39	1 sherd		
CM. A-B/34	unc.	116m	
CN. Unc.			
CO. A-B/39	unc.		
CP. A-B/32?	1 sherd		
CQ. A/4	pot (incomplete, ribbed)	5b, 116o	
CR. A/53	3 sherds (ribbed)		
CS. C/2	1 base	8b, 116p	
CT. A/57	7 sherds	116n	
CU. A/4	7 sherds (ribbed)	116k	
CV. A/4	3 sherds (ribbed)	117a	
CW. A/4	4 sherds (ribbed)	117b	
CX. A/4	1/3 extant	117c	
CY. A/4	1/10-1/5 extant		
CZ. A/10	1 sherd		
DA. D/4	1 sherd (vertical)		
DB. A/10	1 sherd		
DC. A-B/3	2 sherds	117d	
DD. A/4	1 sherd		
DE. A-B/4	1 sherd (vertical)		
DF. A-B/4	3 sherds (bands)	117f	
DG. D/10	2 sherds		
DH. A-B/4	1 sherd		
DI. A/147	1/4 extant	17e, 117e	6d
DJ. A/82	1/5 extant	117i	
DK. A-B/32	1 sherd		
DL. A/6	1/4 base	117j	
DM. A/6	1 sherd		
DN. A-B/6	1 base		
DO. A-B/7	1 sherd		
DP. A-B/unc.	1 sherd		
DQ. A-B/126	1 sherd	117g	
DR. A-B/39	1 sherd		
DS. A-B/10?	1 sherd		

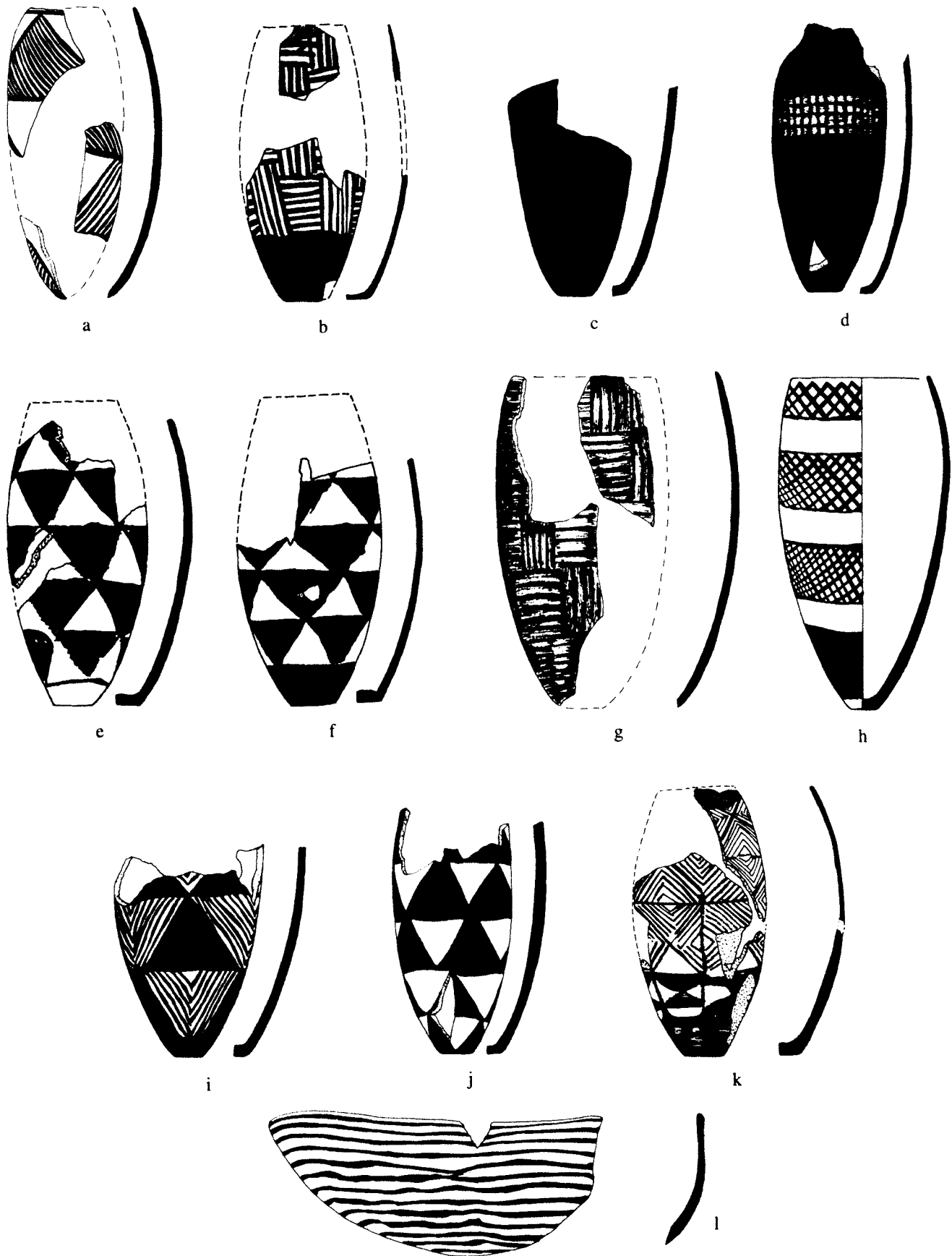


Figure 118. L 11: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) EL; (b) EO; (c) EP; (d) ET; (e) EW; (f) EZ; (g) ES; (h) EX; (i) EU; (j) EV; (k) FQ; (l) EQ. Scale 2:5.

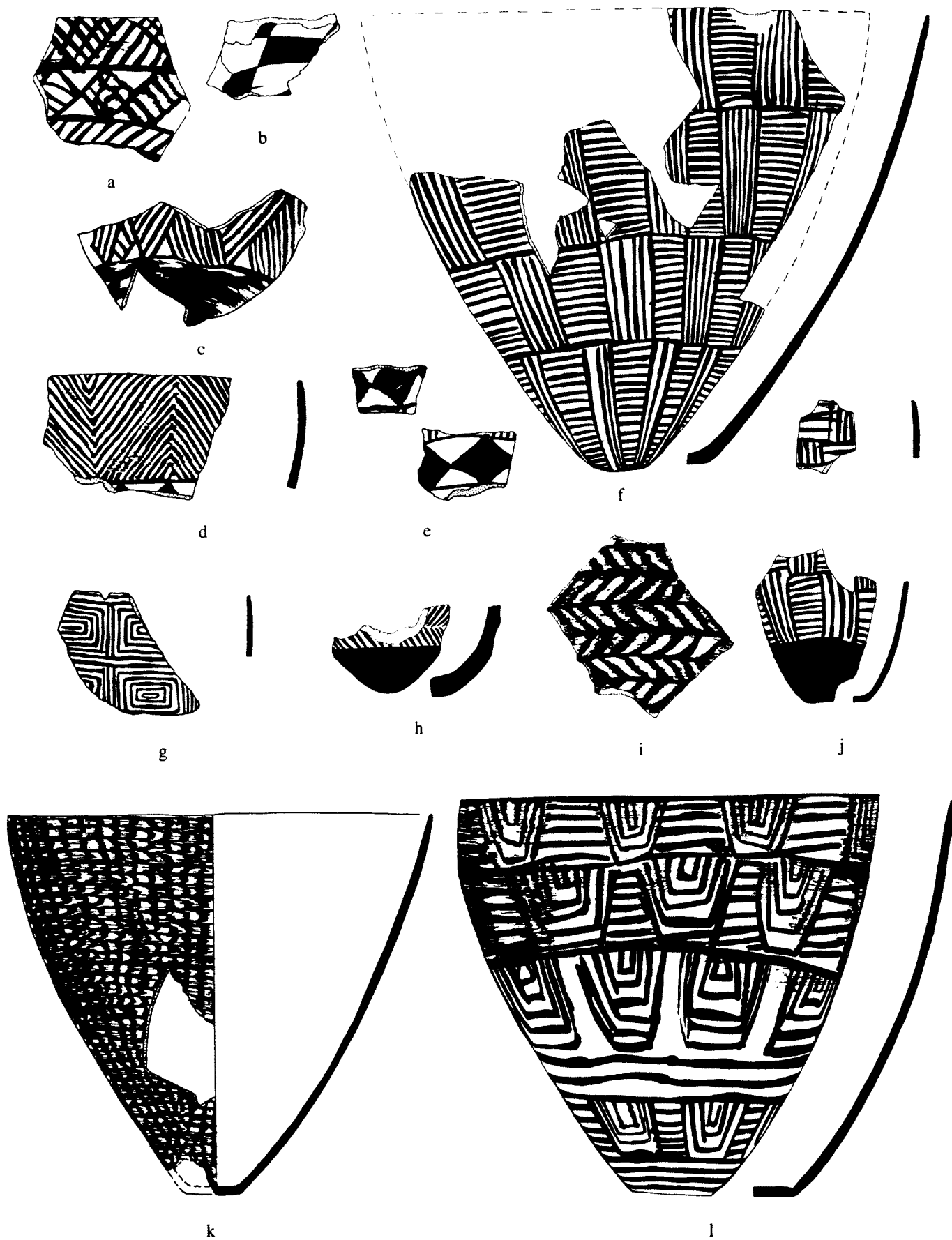


Figure 119. L 11: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) EN; (b) FG; (c) FA; (d) FB; (e) FC; (f) ER; (g) FH; (h) FJ; (i) FM; (j) FN; (k) FP; (l) FK. Scale 2:5.

L 11		FIGURE	PLATE
DT. A-B/7	1 sherd		
DU. A/2	2 sherds (ribbed)	117k	
DV. A/57	1 sherd		
DW. A-B/5	1 sherd		
DX. A-B/5	1 sherd		
DY. B?/5	2 sherds	117h	
DZ. A-B/57	1 sherd		
EA. A-B/5	1 sherd		
EB. D/103?	1 sherd		
EC. A-B/63	1 sherd	12c, 117l	
ED. A/2	3 sherds (ribbed)		
EE. A-B/5	1 sherd		
EF. A-B/91a/107	2 sherds	117m	
EG. C/5	2/5 extant		
EH. B?/48?	1 sherd		
EI. E?/5	1 sherd	117n	
EJ. C/4	1 sherd	117o	
EK. C/27	1 sherd		
EL. C/7	4 sherds	118a	
EM. C/38	2/5 extant		
EN. D/108	1 sherd	14j, 119a	
EO. C/32	1/3 extant (tall)	118b	
EP. C/50	2/5 extant	118c	
EQ. D/6	pot	118l	
ER. A/32	pot	119f	
ES. C/32	1/3 extant	118g	
ET. C/63	2/3 extant	118d	
EU. C/122/116	1/2 extant	15g, 118i	
EV. C/27	3/4 extant	118j	
EW. C/27	1 ex. (rest.)	118e	
EX. C/5	pot	6a, 118h	
EY. C/unc.	1/4 extant		
EZ. C/27	1/2 extant	118f	
FA. A?/11	3 sherds	119c	
FB. C/117	1/3 extant	14r, 119d	
FC. A-B/109	2 sherds	14k, 119e	
FD. A/48	2 sherds		
FE. C/unc.	3 sherds		
FF. A-B/4	1 sherd		
FG. C?/36	1 sherd	119b	
FH. C/148	1 sherd	17c, 119g	
FI. A/82	1/13 extant		
FJ. C/27	pot	119h	
FK. A/149	pot (no. 22)	17d, 119l	5a
FL. C/4	1 base sherd (ribbed)		
FM. A/4	1 sherd (ribbed)	119i	
FN. C/32	1/5 extant	119j	

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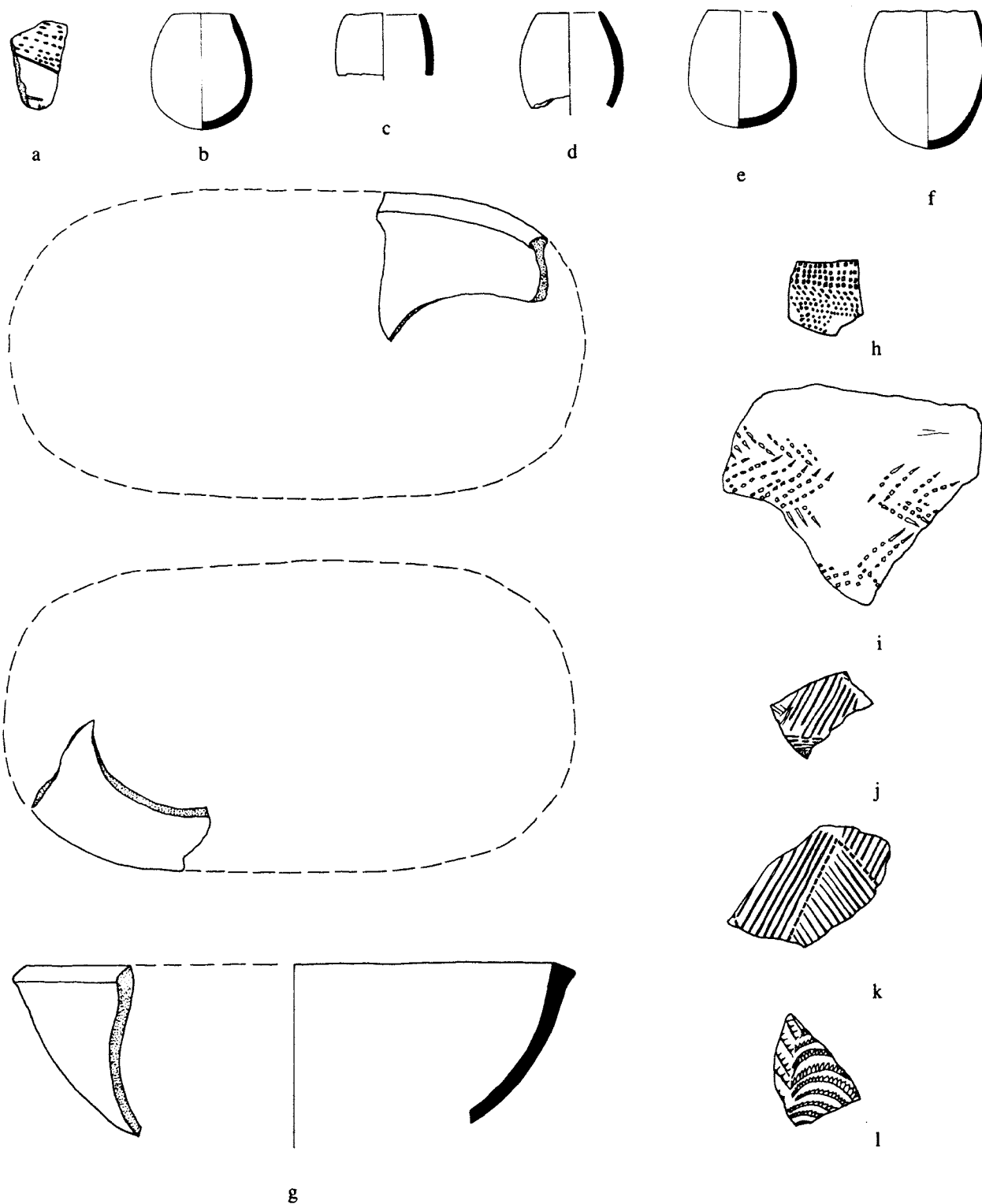


Figure 120. L 11, pottery: (a) Form Group IV, Painted and Incised-Impressed, F; Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups—(b) E; (c) B; (d) A; (e) F; (f) G; (g) Form Group V, Interior Painted, B; Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised—(h) A; (i) B; (j) C; (k) D; (l) F. Scale 2:5.

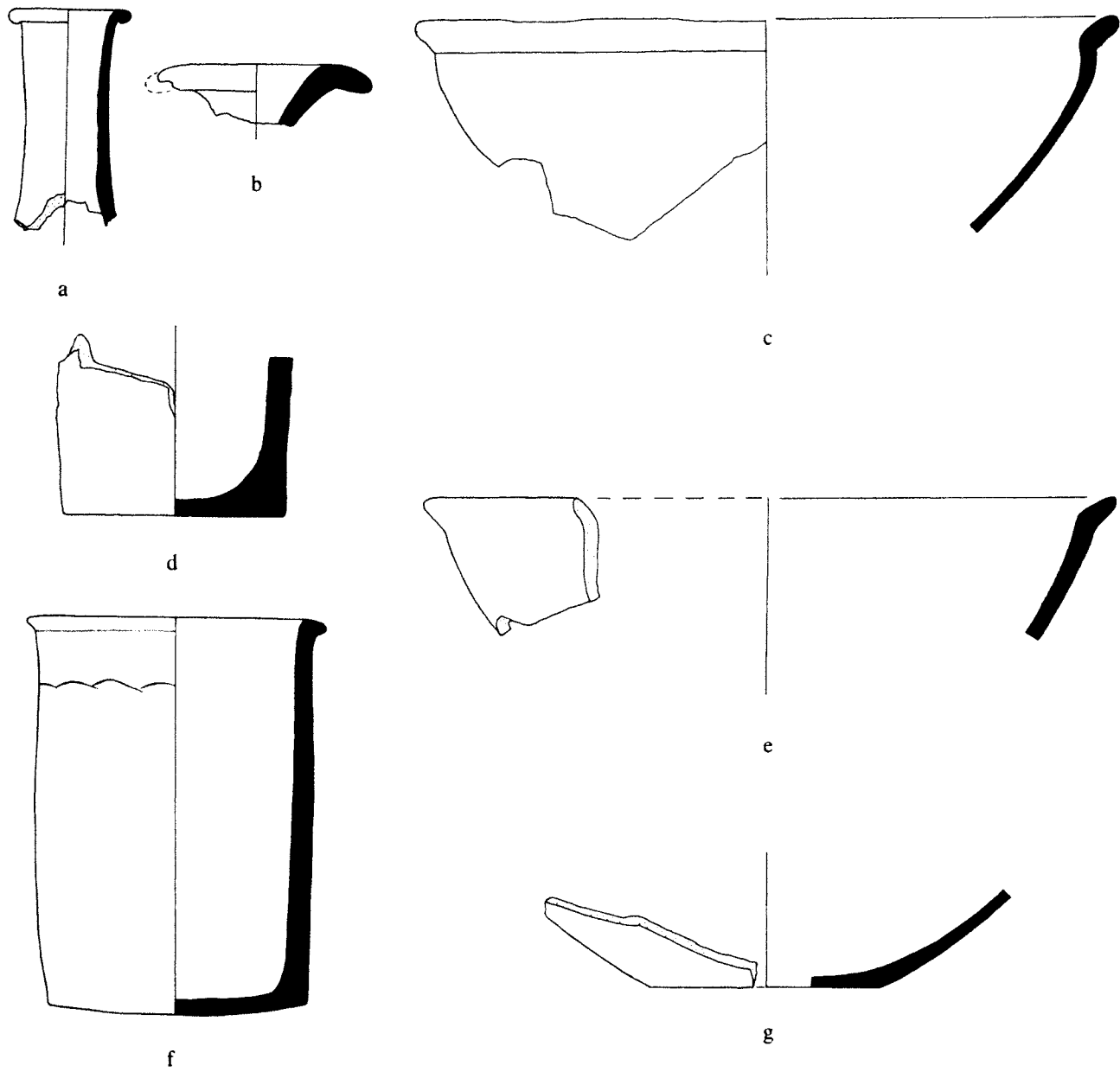


Figure 121. L 11: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) D; (d) R; (e) E; (f) S; (g) H.
Scale 2:5.

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L 11		FIGURE	PLATE
FO. A–B/unc.	1 sherd (crosshatched)		
FP. A?/172		119k	
FQ. C/120b		6b, 118k	
II. Rippled:			
A. Unc.	2 sherds		
IV. Painted and Incised–Impressed:			
A. Unc.			
B. 14			
C. Unc.	boat		
D. Unc.			
E. Unc.			
F. 1?		120a	
V. Interior Painted:			
A. Unc.			
B. 15	oval bowl (club rim, poss. bird dec.)	120g	
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:			
A. Unc.	(grey)		
B. F	(rest., very large, tan int. and ext.)		
C. G	hem. bowl with two feet or spouts	29d	
VI <i>beta</i> . Miniature Cups:			
A.		120d	
B.		120c	
C.			
D.			
E.	23747	120b	13j
F.	23840	120e	13i
G.	24082	120f	13h
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:			
A. C?			
B. B			
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone–Incised:			
A. 11		120h	
B. 2		120i	14d
C. 9		120j	
D. 9		120k	14d
E. 6			
F. 12		33i, 120l	14d
VIII. Heavy Incised:			
A. Unc.	(red and white)		
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. Q		121a	
B. Unc. S		121b	
C. X	(wavy band)		
D. M2		37e, 121c	

L 11		FIGURE	PLATE
E.	M2	121e	
F.	Unc. bowl	121f	
G.	Unc. bowl		
H.	Unc. bowl	121g	
I.	Unc. bowl		
J.	Unc. jar		
K.	Unc. jar		
L.	Unc. jar		
M.	Unc. jar		
N.	Unc. jar		
O.	Unc. bowl		
P.	Unc. bowl		18c
Q.	Unc. bowl		
R.	P	base	121d
S.	P	23754	38b, 121f
XI. Egyptian Coarse:			
A.	A	strainer fragt.	122a
B.	B	(plain)	122b
C.	B	(triangular holes)	122c
D.	B	(triangular holes)	122d
E.	B	(triangular holes)	122e
F.	B	(excision and holes)	122f
G.	B	(excision and holes)	122g
H.	C	top of pedestal platter	45a, 122h
I.	C	(pierced bottom)	122i
J.	E	foot of hippopotamus (no. 31)	112a 100b, 101b, 102
K.	B	(triangular holes)	122j
L.	B	(plain)	122k
M.	B	(triangular excision and holes)	122l
N.	B	(triangular excision)	122m
O.	B	(triangular excision)	122n
P.	B	(hor. bands, opposed hatching)	122o
Q.	B	(hor. bands, opposed hatching)	122p
R.	B	(hor. bands, opposed hatching)	122q
S.	B	(hor. bands, opposed hatching)	122r
T.	B	(hor. bands, opposed hatching)	122s

Supplementary Notes for L 11

The tomb sketch shows a subrectangular burial chamber placed near the northern end of the shaft, on the west side, a unique position in the cemetery. Knowledge of the structure is incomplete because the blocking was not removed.

In addition to the sherds individually identified, a number could not be assigned to any specific vessel, although no individual designation was justified. These were: about fifty sherds of Form Group I, two sherds of XI, one with round holes, indicating it was part of a stand, and sixteen of X.

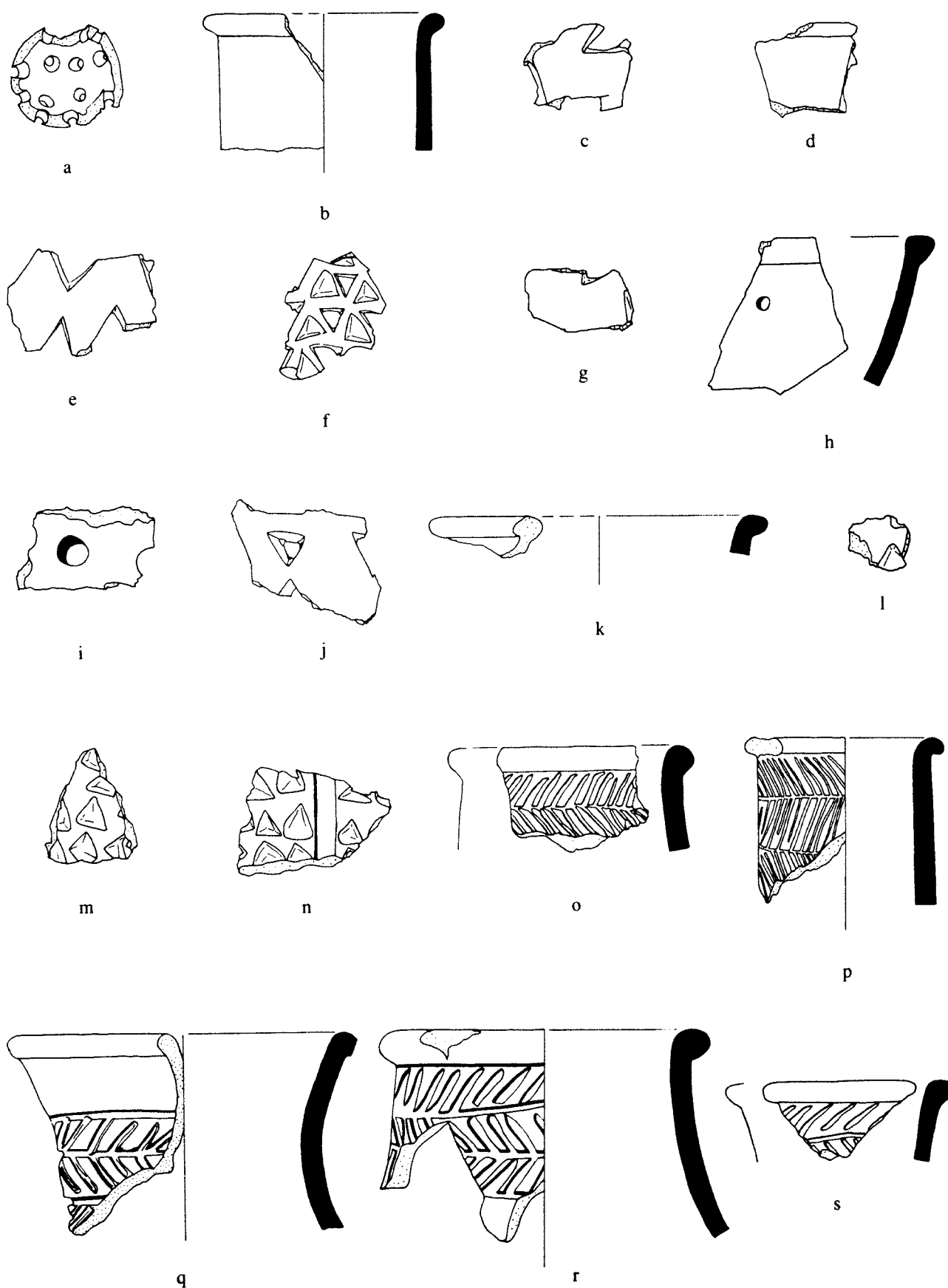


Figure 122. L 11: Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) C; (d) D; (e) E; (f) F; (g) G; (h) H; (i) I; (j) K; (k) L; (l) M; (m) N; (n) O; (o) P; (p) Q; (q) R; (r) S; (s) T. Scale 1:5.

Sherds as recorded:

- A. From fill of shaft (numbers according to burial sheet):
 - 5. Potstand fragment, angled with incised triangles
 - 15. Bowl stand with pierced ring-base (base only)
- B. From floor of burial chamber:
 - Cf. no. 21 above
- C. Entry of sherds on burial sheet, p. 1 ("only chosen sherds saved"):
 - a. Heavy red ware, triangle pattern
 - b. Plain red ware
 - c. Red ware, scratched design on very large jar
 - d. Dark red on light red, red inside
 - e. Medium red on light red, black inside, thin
 - f. Greenish cream base
 - g. Buff ware
 - h. Rim sherd of large red vessel
 - i. Sherd of red bowl, base
 - j. Rim of large red bowl
 - k. Incised red ware
 - l. "Very choice sherd" (24293)
- D. Entry on burial sheet, p. 2, "Sherds" (presumably all present):
 - a. Tall tapering jar
 - b. Strainer
 - c. Orange ware bowls
 - d. Hole-mouth cylindrical vessel
 - e. Ring stand
 - f. Burnished red
 - g. Polished orange
 - h. Crude brown
 - i. Red incised
 - j. Dark red on light red

Stone vessel fragments as recorded:

- A. From fill of burial chamber:
 - 17. Short part of alabaster bowl, sample
- B. Uncertain:
 - Fragment of alabaster with incised design
- C. Floor of burial chamber:
 - Cf. no. 13 above

Possibly later sherds or tools:

- a. Five sandy sherds, dark and discolored
- b. Jar neck and rim, limy-white

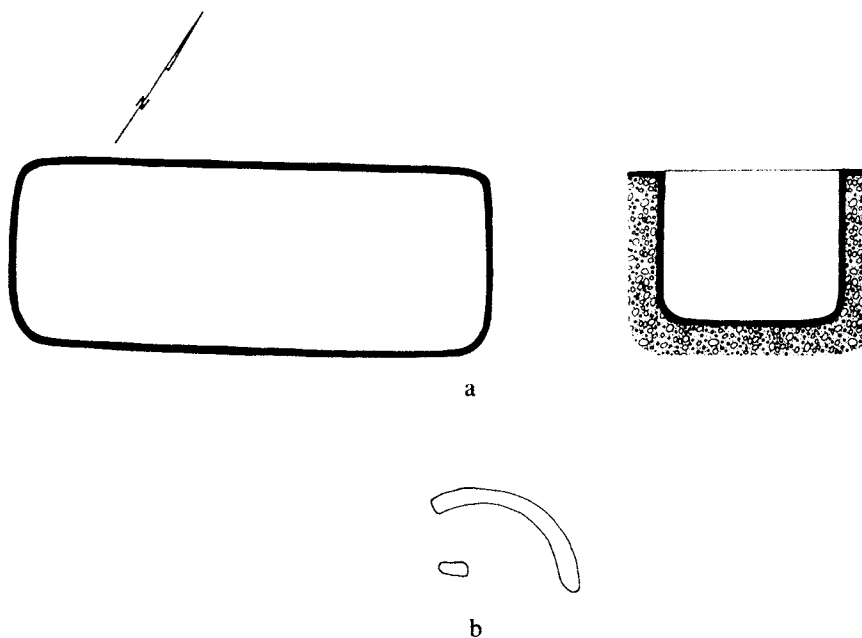


Figure 123. L 12: (a) Plan and section; (b) Ivory bracelet fragment, no. 1. Scales (a) 1:50, (b) 2:5.

L 12 (fig. 123)

Shaft: 3.16 × 1.23 × 0.95 m

Burial: —

Bodies: A. Adult, poss. male

B. Infant, ca. 2–4 years

Objects:

1. Ivory bracelet(?)

fragt.

samp.

123b

2. Sherds

unk.

Supplementary Note for L 12

Sherds as recorded:

a. A-Group painted

L 13 (figs. 124–127)

Shaft: 3.90 × 1.40 × 1.20 m

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

1. Stone jar N

2. Shell bracelets and hooks

fragts. (13 exx.)

A 23678

3. Beads

2 exx.

samp.

124b

samp. n/a

(Objects 4–7 were nested in uncertain order)

L 13		FIGURE	PLATE
4. Exterior painted bowl I—unc.			
5. Exterior painted bowl I—B/109		X 24126	
6. Exterior painted bowl I—B/27		Y 24198	
7. Exterior painted bowl I—B/2		Z 24199	
8. Simple fine bowl VI—D		B 24288	
9. Carnelian pebble		samp.	
Stone Vessels:			
A. N jar	(no. 1)	23678	51b, 124c 72b
Pottery:			
I. Exterior Painted:			
A. A/128	9 sherds	15k, 124e	
B. A/27	3 sherds	124g	
C. A/10	1 sherd	125g	
D. A/128	1/5 extant		
E. A/23	5 sherds (also solid diamonds)		
F. A/29	1 sherd	9l, 124j	
G. A/42	1/10—1/5 extant		
H. B/16	2 sherds	125e	
I. A—B/15	1 sherd		
J. B/57	1 sherd	125a	
K. A—B/30	1 sherd	125f	
L. A/4	6 sherds	125b	
M. D/33	1 sherd	125i	
N. A—B/16	2 sherds		
O. A/69	4 sherds	12h, 125c	
P. A/4	6 sherds		
Q. A/10	1 sherd		
R. A—B/129	1 sherd	15l, 125d	
S. A—B/128	1 sherd		
T. A—B/128	1 sherd		
U. A—B/unc.	1 sherd (strokes)		
V. A/12	1 sherd	8k, 125h	
W. A/5	1 sherd		
X. B/109	pot (no. 5)	24126	5d, 124d 8c
Y. B/27	pot (no. 6)	24198	8b
Z. B/2	pot (no. 7)	24199	124f 8a
AA. A/7	1 sherd	124h	
AB. A/unc.	2 sherds	124i	
II. Rippled:			
A. Unc.	(carinated)	20e, 125j	10c
B. Unc.			10c
C. Unc.			10c



Figure 124. L 13: (a) Plan and section; (b) Shell hooks and bracelet fragment, no. 2; (c) Stone vessel, A; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(d) X; (e) A; (f) Z; (g) B; (h) AA; (i) AB; (j) F. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

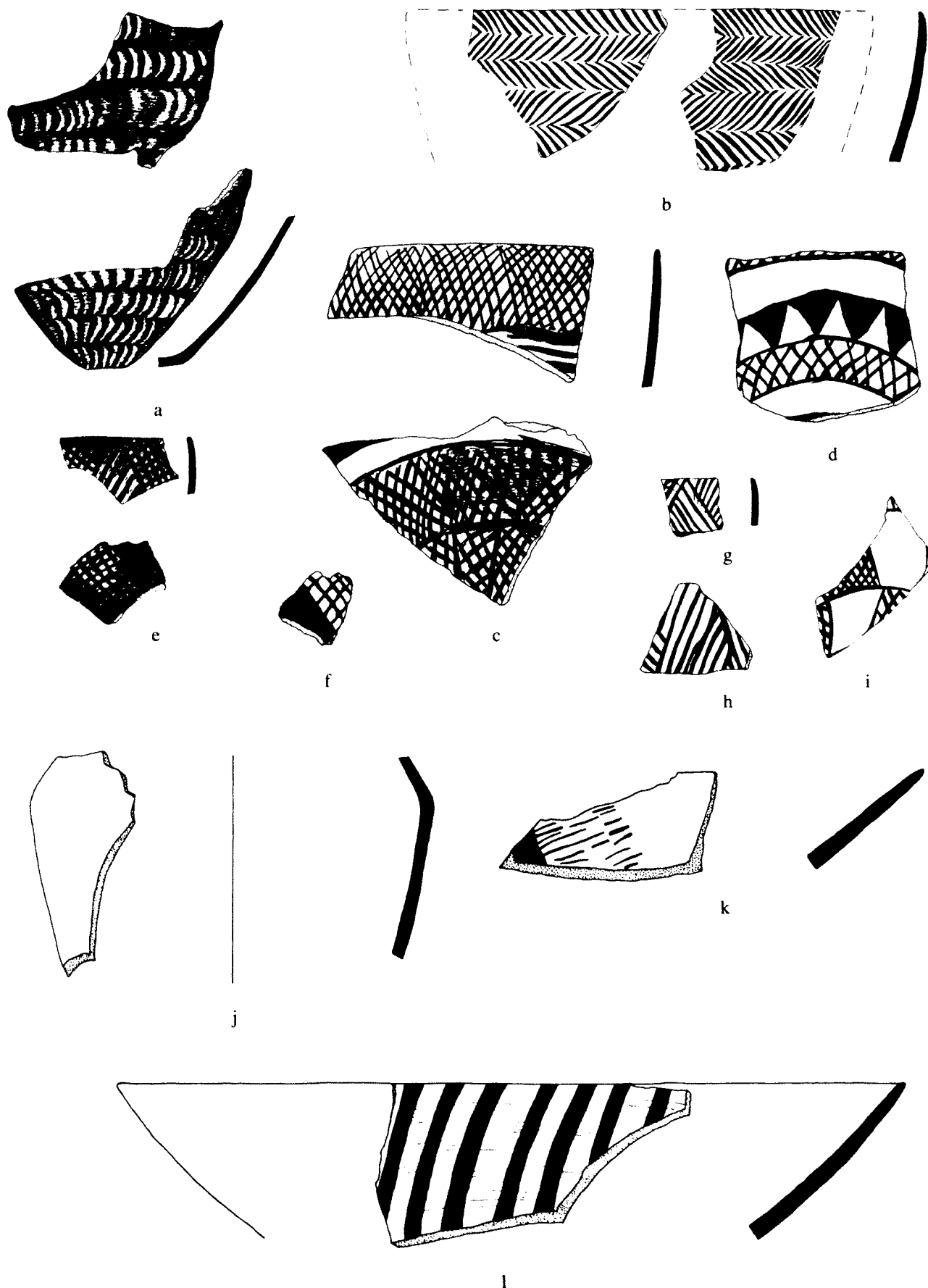


Figure 125. L 13, pottery: Form Group I, Exterior Painted—(a) J; (b) L; (c) O; (d) R; (e) H; (f) K; (g) C; (h) V; (i) M; (j) Form Group II, Rippled, A; Form Group V, Interior Painted—(k) D; (l) B. Scale 2:5.

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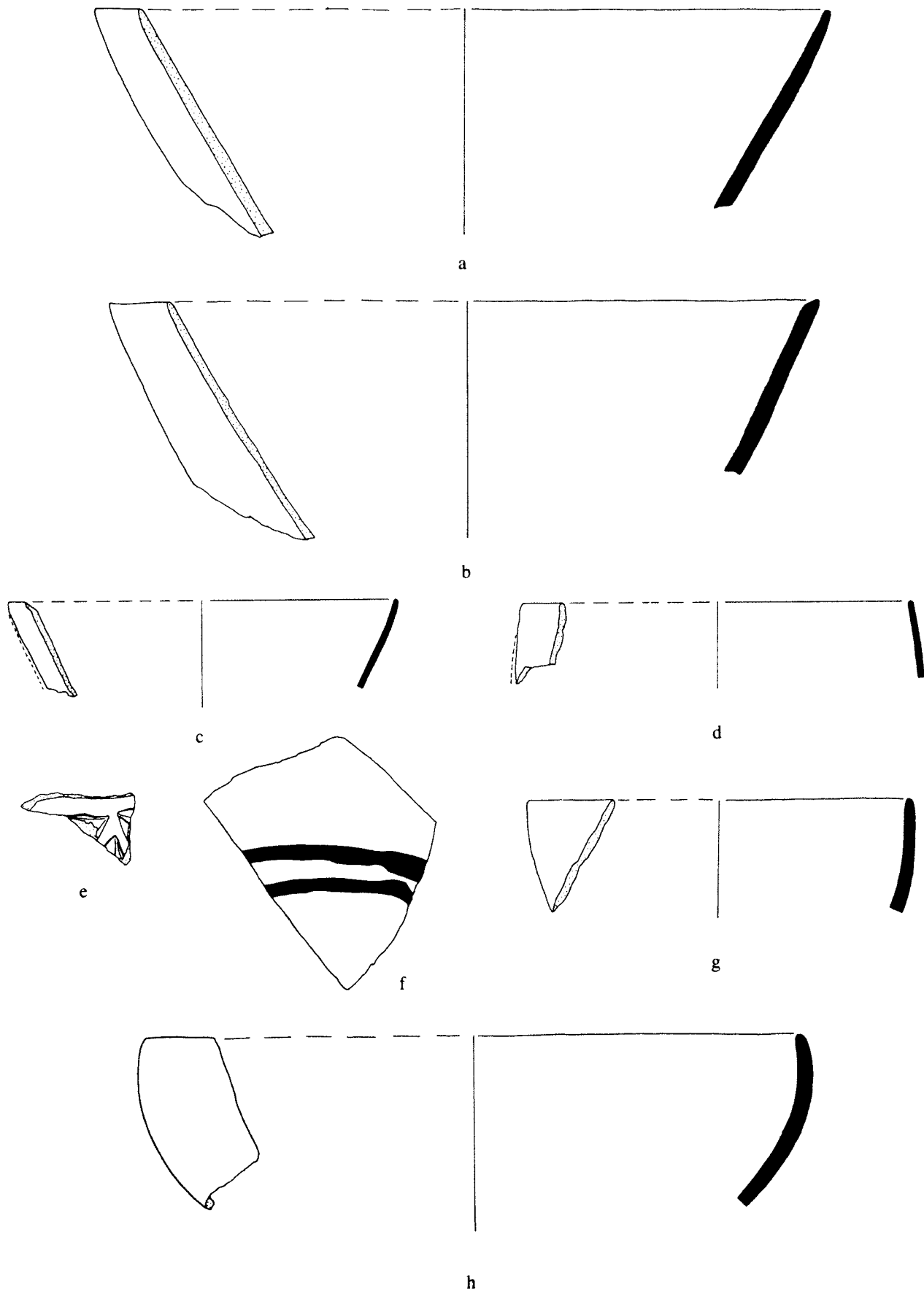


Figure 126. L 13, pottery: Form Group V, Interior Painted—(a) C; (b) A; Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine—(c) A; (d) B; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(e) A; (f) B; (g) C; (h) E. Scale 2:5.

L 13		FIGURE	PLATE
IV. Painted and Incised–Impressed:			
A. 1	base		11a
V. Interior Painted:			
A. 13		24e, 126b	
B. 1		22a, 125l	
C. 13		126a	
D. 17		26b, 125k	
E. 1			
F. Unc.			
G. 13			
H. 1			
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:			
A. Unc.	base	126c	
B. D	large vessel	28g, 126d	
C. A1			
D. Unc.			
E. D?			
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. AB		41b, 126e	
B. Unc.	bowl (painted)	126f	
C. X		126g	79b (mark)
D. B1			
E. F		126h	
F. H			
G. G		127a	
H. Unc.	bowl		
I. A		127b	
J. B1			
K. E		127c	
L. K		127d	
M. Unc.	bowl		
N. Unc.			
O. X	rim–shoulder	127e	
P. X	body–base		79a (mark)
Q. X?	body sherds (poss. three jars)		
R. W			

Supplementary Notes for L 13

Sherds not assigned to vessels or individually designated were: Form Group I, two sherds; II, two sherds.
 Sherds X–C, O, P, and Q (all X–jars) may belong to more or fewer vessels in different combinations.

Sherds as recorded other than specific objects:

- a. Red ware, burnished
- b. Black ware, polished
- c. Red and white

Later sherds, Meroitic–X–Group, reused

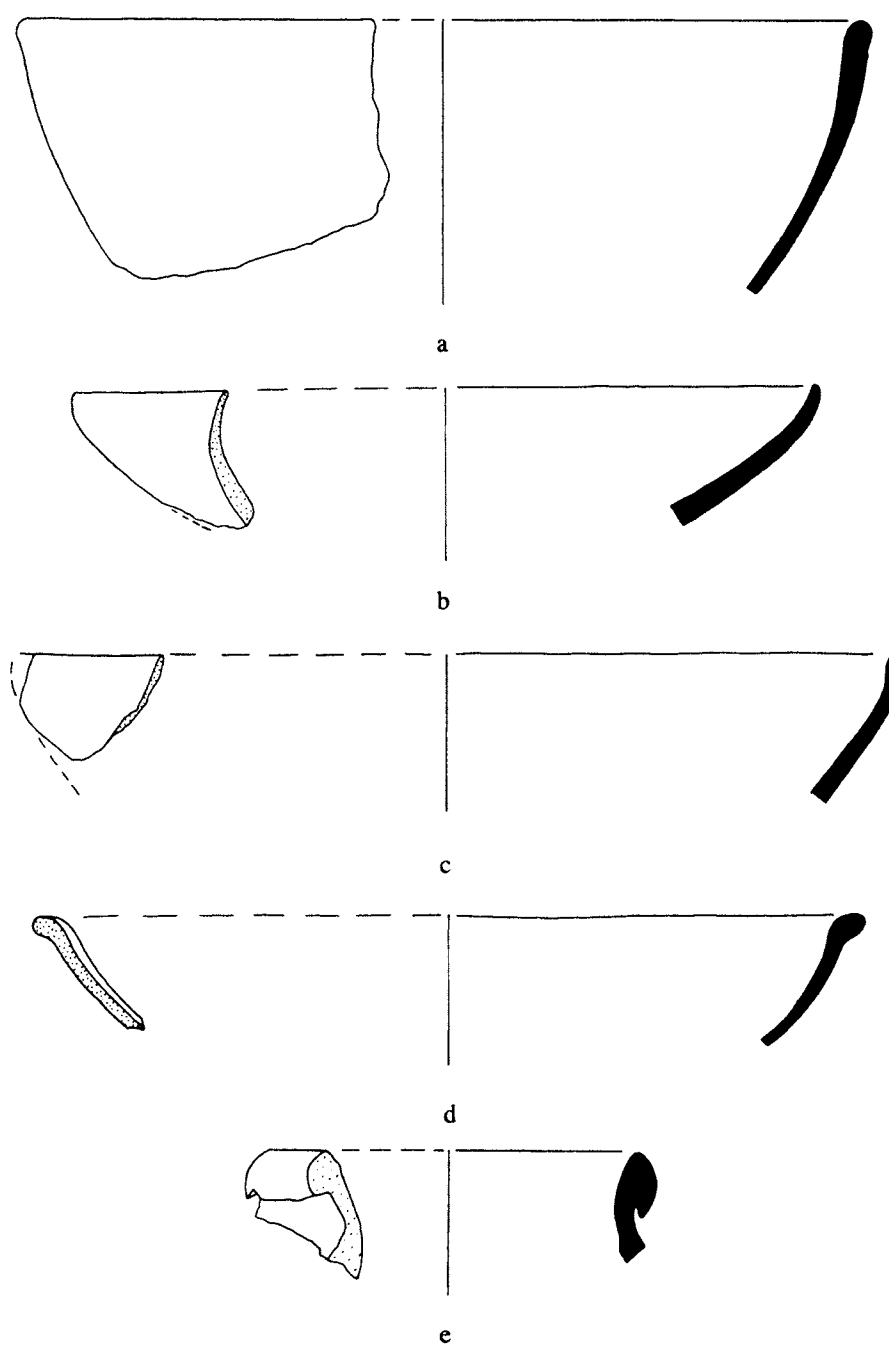


Figure 127. L 13: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) G; (b) I; (c) K; (d) L; (e) O. Scale 2:5.

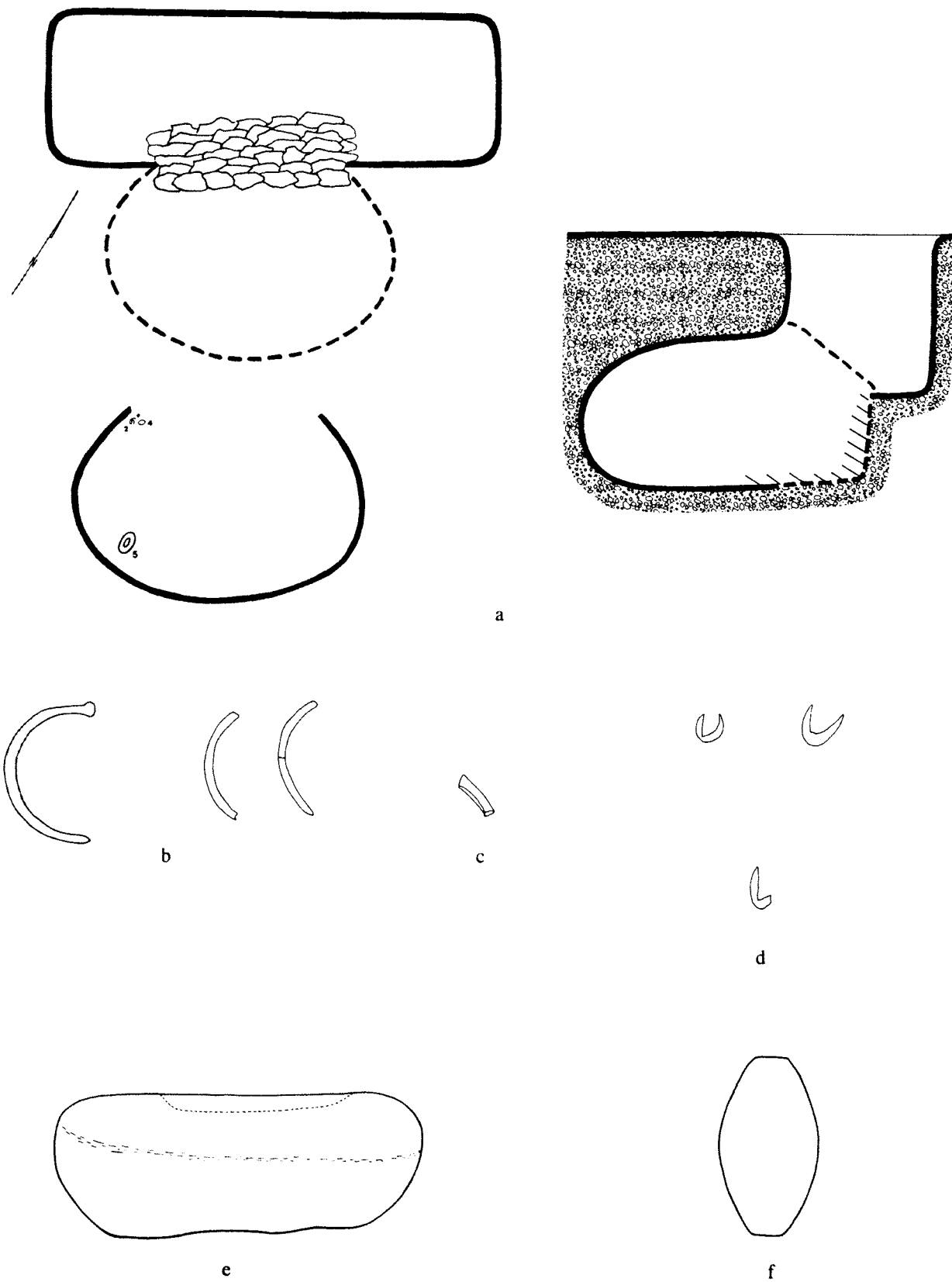


Figure 128. L 14: (a) Plan, chamber, and section; (b) Shell hooks, no. 8; (c) Ivory(?) bracelet fragment, no. 1; (d) Studs, nos. 6, 7, 4; (e) Incense burner, no. 5; (f) Palette, no. 2. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

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L 14 (fig. 128)

FIGURE
128a

PLATE

Trench and chamber

Trench: $4.00 \times 1.30 \times 1.40$ mChamber: $2.55 \times 1.80 \times 1.25$ m (floor 2.22 m below surface)

Blocking: Stones partly present

Burial: —

Body: Adult female

Objects:

1. Ivory(?) bracelet	fragt. (in fill of chamber)	samp.	128c	
2. Palette D1	(“amethyst”)	23658	128f	45a, 47a
3. Carnelian pebble		samp.		
4. Stud		samp.	128d	
5. Incense burner		23684	128e	26a, 35b
6. Stud		23550	128d	
7. Stud		23665	128d	
8. Shell hooks	2 exx.	samp.	128b	

Supplementary Note for L 14

The blocking was not entirely removed.

L 15 (figs. 129–131)

FIGURE
129aPLATE
107b, c

Trench, probably with chamber undiscovered

Trench: $5.50 \times 1.30 \times 1.30$ m

Burials: A. L/N/—/before chest; sacrifice?

B. —

Bodies: A. Mature female (“bushmanoid”)

B. Mature male

Objects:

a. From trench:

1. Storage jar X–X	A 23627		
2. Storage jar X–X	B 23630		
3. Storage jar X–X	C 23629		
4. Storage jar X–X	D 23632		
5. Storage jar X–X	E 23631		
6. Narrow storage jar X–W	F 23636		
7. Exterior-painted cup	A sherds		
I–C/127			
8. Stone double jar N	A 23655	129f	71e
9. Stone bowl D1	B 23680	129g	70f
10. Shell bracelet fragment	samp.		
11. Copper tray (under jars)	23668	129e	64e, 65e
12. Stone jar M	E 23681	129i	71d
13. Stone bowl B	D 23682	129h	71b
14. Stone bowl G	C 23683	129j	70e
15. Sudanese bowl VII/14	A 24130	130a	14b

b. From body:

16–23. Shell bracelets	(from left arm)	23689–96	129b	55f
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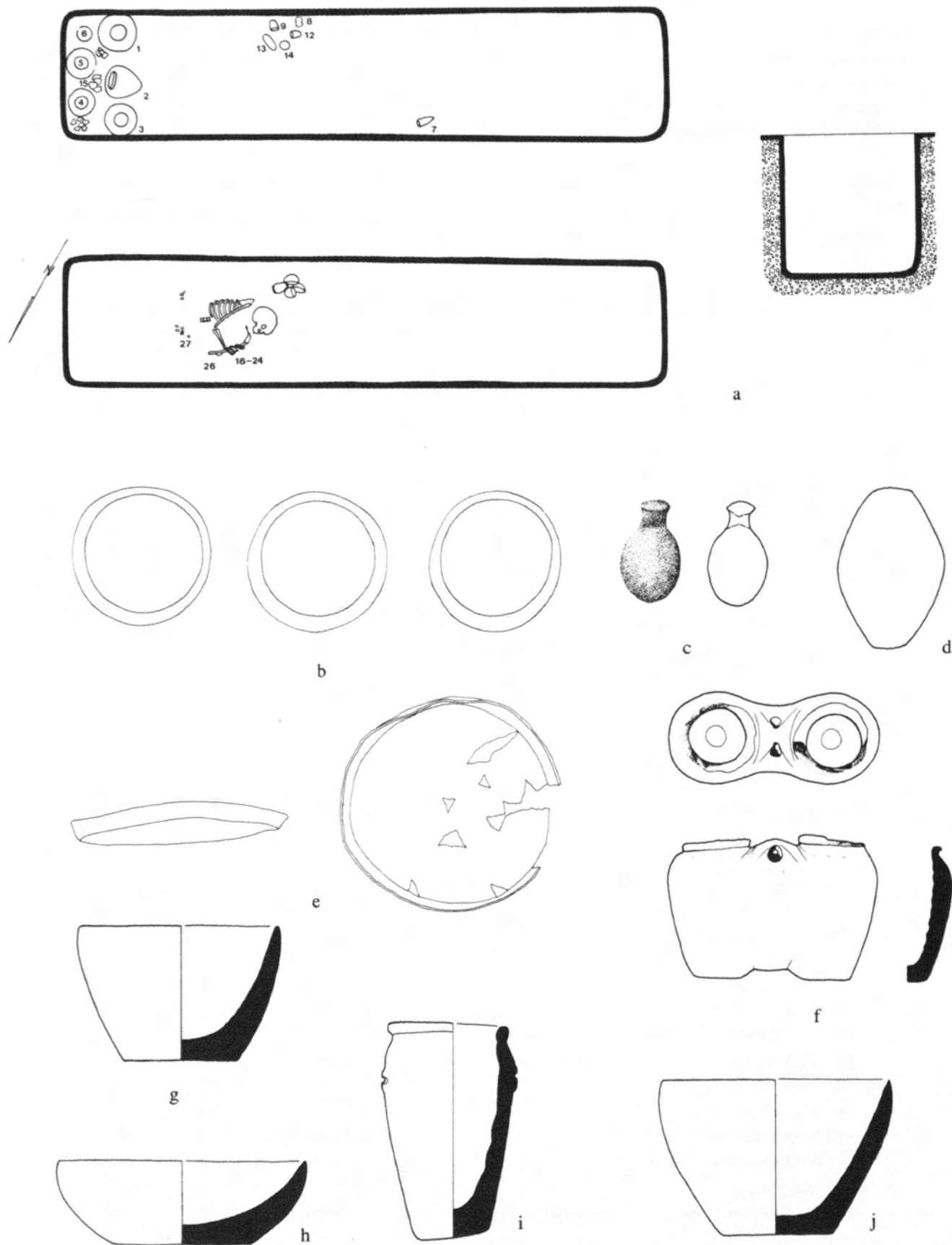


Figure 129. L 15: (a) Plans and section; (b) Shell bracelets, nos. 16-23; (c) Bead of quartz/agate, no. 25; (d) Palette, no. 26; (e) Copper tray, no. 11; Stone vessels—(f) A; (g) B; (h) D; (i) E; (j) C. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50, (c) 1.6:1.

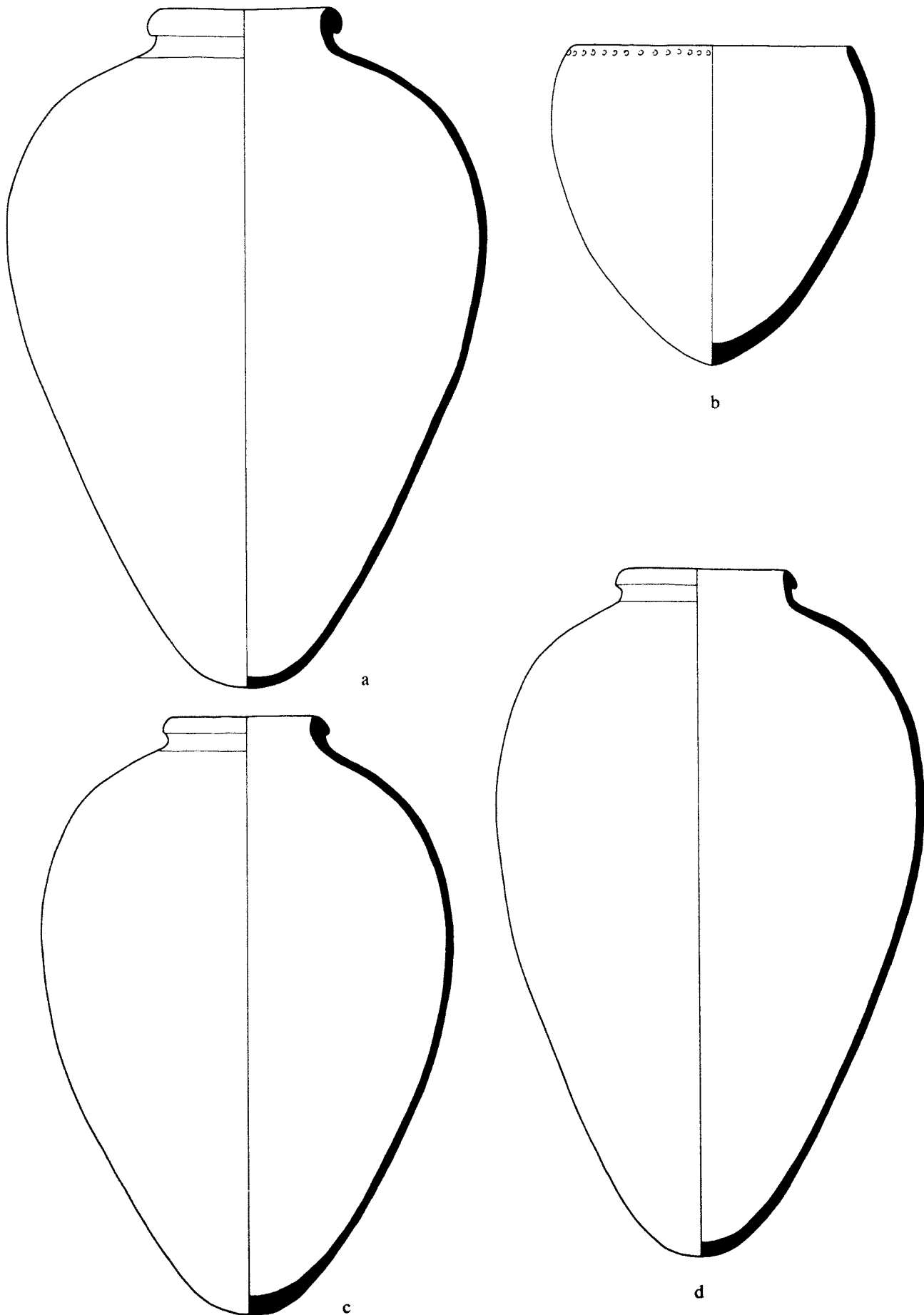


Figure 130. L 15, pottery: (a) Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink, A; (b) Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised, A; Form Group X—(c) C; (d) B. Scale 1:5 except (b) 2:5.

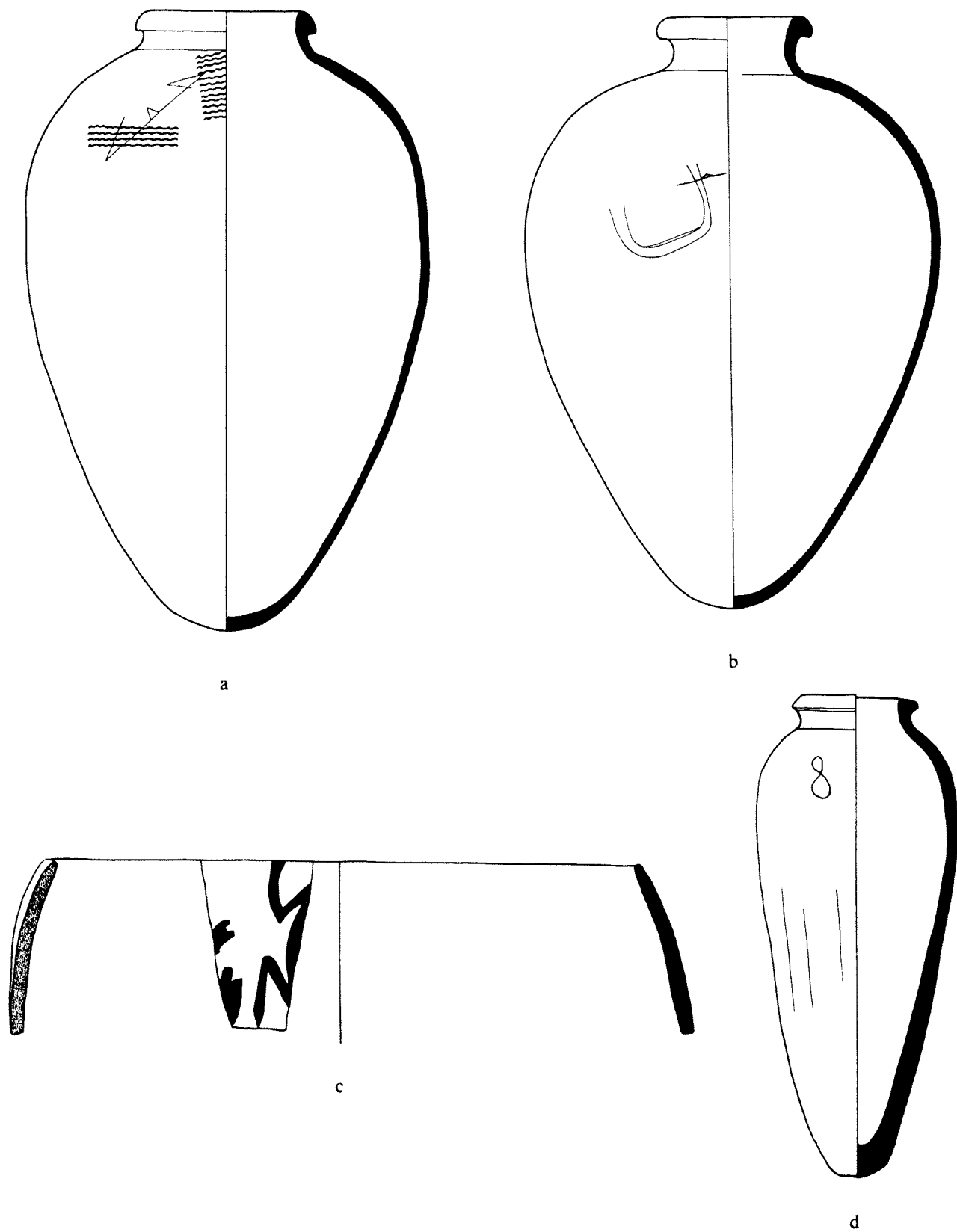


Figure 131. L 15: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) D; (b) E; (c) G; (d) F. Scale 1:5 except (c) 2:5.

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L 15			FIGURE	PLATE
24. Shell bracelet	(from right arm)	23688		
25. Bag-shaped bead	(quartz/agate)	23664	129c	56f
26. Palette D1	(under arm)	23687	129d	45b
27. Pebbles	(under body)	samp.		
c. South end of pit:				
28. Simple coarse VI		A sherds	n/a	
<i>gamma</i> bowl				
Stone Vessels:				
A. AA	(no. 8)	23655	53b, 129f	71e
B. D1	(no. 9)	23680	129g	70d
C. D1	(no. 14)	23683	49g, 129j	70c
D. B	(no. 13)	23682	49a, 129h	71b
E. Z1	(no. 12)	23681	53a, 129i	71d
Pottery:				
I. Exterior Painted:				
A. C/127	(no. 7)			
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:				
A. Unc. small bowl	(no. 28)			
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised:				
A. 14	(no. 15)	24130	130b	14b
B. 14				
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:				
A. X	(no. 1)	23627	130a	
B. X	(no. 2)	23630	130d	
C. X	(no. 3)	23629	130c	79h-j (marks)
D. X	(no. 4)	23632	131a	79e-g (marks)
E. X	(no. 5)	23631	131b	79c-d (marks)
F. W	(no. 6)	23636	40a, 131d	21c
G. Unc.	(with painted amphibian)		131c	
H. B2?	base sherd			

Supplementary Notes for L 15

Approximately the northern half of L 15 contained objects still in their original positions, although a number of objects, such as the small pile of vessels near the head of the burial, had been disturbed (sketches in the records give somewhat different positions for the pieces), and the legs and pelvis of the burial had been scattered or removed. The burial was made in typical A-Group fashion on the left side, head to the south, the larger storage vessels at the northern end. This left rather more than half of the shaft unoccupied by any remains in situ: this is the area where most small objects would be placed had the burial been made alone. Likewise, had the burial been made alone, it would have been put in the center of the shaft or even the south end. Remains of a mature male were found in this area, and, had the burials been made at different times, the first would have been made in the center of the shaft and the second would either have been made above it or disturbed it. The only plausible explanation for the presence of the two burials in these circumstances is that they were simultaneous. It is very likely that simultaneous main and sacrifice burials were made in L 15.

Sherds as recorded:

Late Nubian:

- a. Cookpot with impressed band near rim
- b. Red and black painted stripes

L 16 (fig. 132)

Shaft: 3.40 × 1.00 × 1.05 m

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|------------|------|----------|
| 1. Egyptian bowl X-F | | A 23647 | | |
| 2. Egyptian bowl X-G | | C 24111 | | |
| 3. Large potstand XI-B | | disc. | | |
| 4. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i> | | A 23643 | | |
| 5. Egyptian bowl X-C | | B 24098 | | |
| 6. Egyptian bowl? | | sherds n/a | | |
| 7. Hollow calcite vessel | (incense burner?) | 23704 | 132c | 26f, 35c |
| 8-9. Ivory bracelet | fragts. | samp. | 132b | 55g |

Pottery:

VI *beta*. Miniature Cup:

- | | | | | |
|----|--|-------|--|--|
| A. | | 23643 | | |
|----|--|-------|--|--|

X. Egyptian Hard Pink:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|-------|------|--|
| A. F | (no. 1) | 23647 | 132d | |
| B. C | (no. 5) | 24098 | 132e | |
| C. G | (no. 2) | 24111 | 132f | |
| D. ? | (no. 6) | | | |

XI. Egyptian Coarse:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|--|--|--|
| A. B | (no. 3) | | | |
|------|---------|--|--|--|

L 17 (figs. 133-138)

Shaft: 4.50 × ? × 0.88-1.04 m

Burial: R/N/-/-

Body: —

Objects:

- | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1. Palettes D1 | 2 exx. (with pebbles?) | 23673 A-B | 133h, j | 44g, 45e, 46a |
| 2. <i>Nerita</i> shell beads | (possibly from girdle) | 23672 | | 55e |
| 3. Egyptian storage jar X-Y? | (tent. I.D., sherds) | A | | |
| 4. Storage jar X-X | | B 23635 | 138c | 79k-l (marks) |
| 5. Storage jar X-X | | C 23634 | 138b | 79m-o (marks) |
| 6. Egyptian strainer jar XI-A | | A 24200 | 44a, 138a | 22b |
| 7. Exterior painted bowl I-A/47 | | A 24192 | 136g | 7d |
| 8. Stone jar L | | G 23686 | | 71f |
| 9. Stone bowl D1 | | H 23685 | 49f, 135i | |
| 10-11a. Shell bead necklace and stone beads | | 23663 | 133e | 56d, g-j, q, 57a, e, 58b |
| i. Discoid car. size 1 | 736 exx. | | | |
| ii. Discoid gar. size 1 | 313 exx. | | | |
| iii. Barrels, car. | 5 exx. | | | |
| iv. Bag-shaped cr. pendant | 3 exx. | | | |

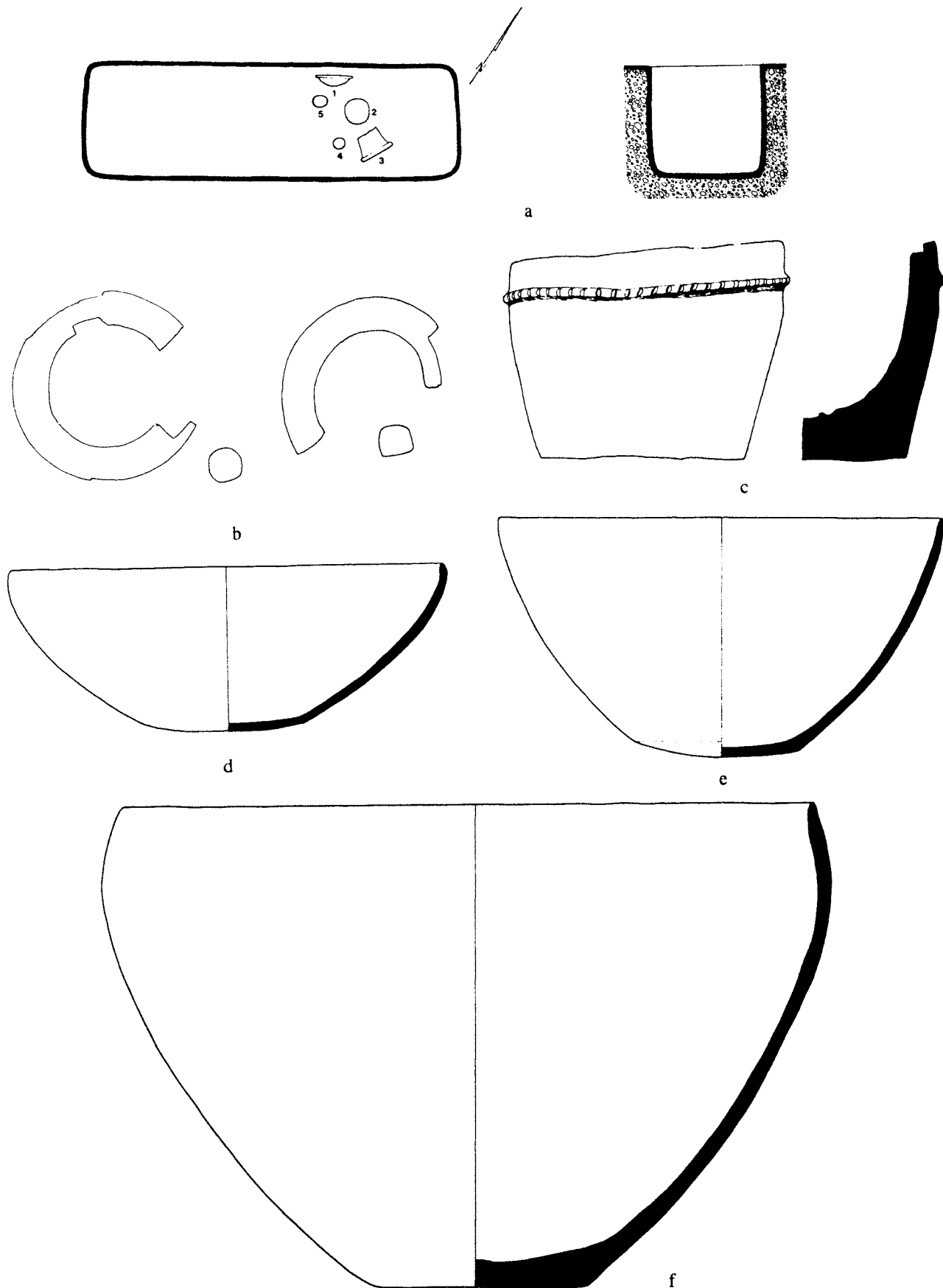


Figure 132. L 16: (a) Plan and section; (b) Bracelet fragments, no. 8; (c) Hollow calcite vessel (incense burner?), no. 7; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(d) A; (e) B; (f) C. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

L 17

FIGURE PLATE

v. Car. pendant (globular, with grooved shank)	3 exx.			
vi. Car. pendant (grooved cone)	2 exx.			
11b. Gold fly and beads		B 1314		
		(Cairo 89993)		110a, b
12. Copper awl		23671	133d	65h
13. Gold bracelet		23666	133c	65j
14. Pile of shell ornaments		23718	134	49–54, 55a–c
a. Shell hooks	1673 exx.			
b. Tokens or plugs	2642 exx.			
c. Studs	128 exx.			
d. Bracelets	31 exx.			
e. Ivory bracelets	15 exx.			
f. Shells	30 exx.			
g. Beads	201 exx.			
15. Exterior painted cup I–C/5		B 23649	6c, 136a	8d
16. Exterior painted bowl I–E/50		G 24157	136e	9b
17. Ivory spoon and two points		23667	133g	62a–b, 63a
18. Mortar B and pestle (yellow stain)		23715	135a, c	41c
19. Mortar B and pestle (red stain)		23716	135b, d	
20. Exterior painted boat I–D/82		C 24113	6d, 136c	9c
21. Exterior painted bowl I–E/39		D 24105	6f, 136d	9a
22. Exterior painted cup I–C/50		E 24193	136b	8f
23. Exterior painted bowl I–A/4 (ribbed)		F 24156	136f	7c
24. Copper rings	3 exx.	23660		65f
25. Palette D and green pebble		23661	133f	45d, 47c
26. Ivory cylinder seal		23662	57, 58c, 133b	
27. Palette C with four feet		23669	133i	44a, 46b, c
28. Row of drilled shells	fragts.	24155		
29. Egyptian bowl X–M2		D 24064	137b	17d
30. Interior painted bowl V–2		A 24114	22b, 137a	12a
31. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>		A 24196		
32. Exterior painted bowl I–A/47		H 24152	5c, 136h	7e
33. Egyptian bowl X–M2		E 24098		17b
34. Lumps and slivers of resin		samp.		
Stone Vessels:				
A. S jar			135g	
B. AE jar			53g, 135e	
C. Unc. cyl. jar			135f	
D. Unc. cyl. jar			135h	
E. Unc. cyl. jar				
F. D1 bowl?	(small)			
G. Z1 jar	(no. 8)	23686		71f
H. D1 bowl	(no. 9)	23685	49f, 135i	

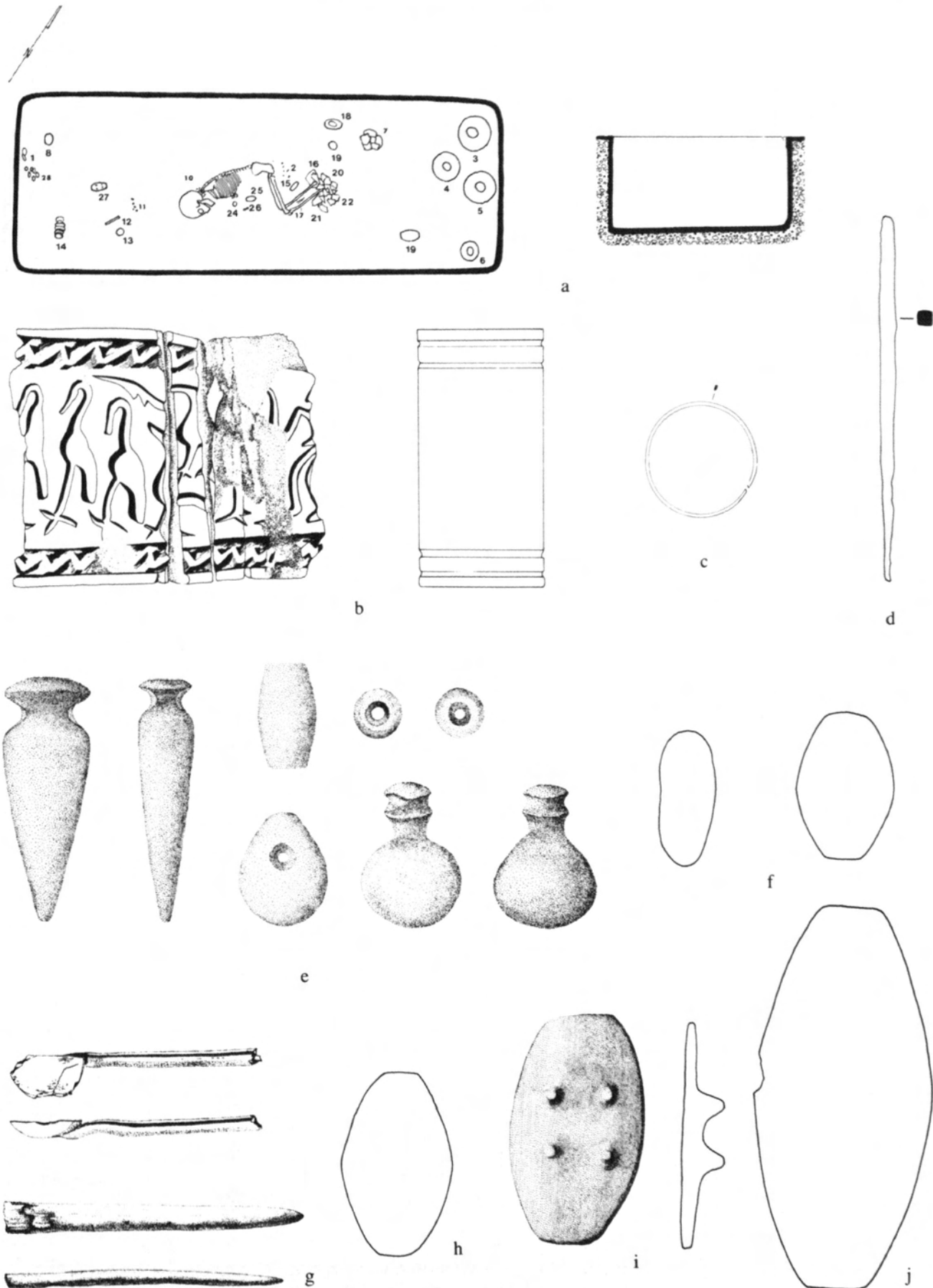


Figure 133. L 17: (a) Plan and section; (b) Ivory seal, no. 26; (c) Gold bracelet, no. 13; (d) Copper awl, no. 12; (e) Beads, nos. 10-11a; (f) Grinding pebble and palette, no. 25; (g) Ivory spoon and points, no. 17; Palettes—(h) No. 1, 23673 A; (i) No. 27; (j) No. 1, 23673 B. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50, (b), (e) 1.6:1.

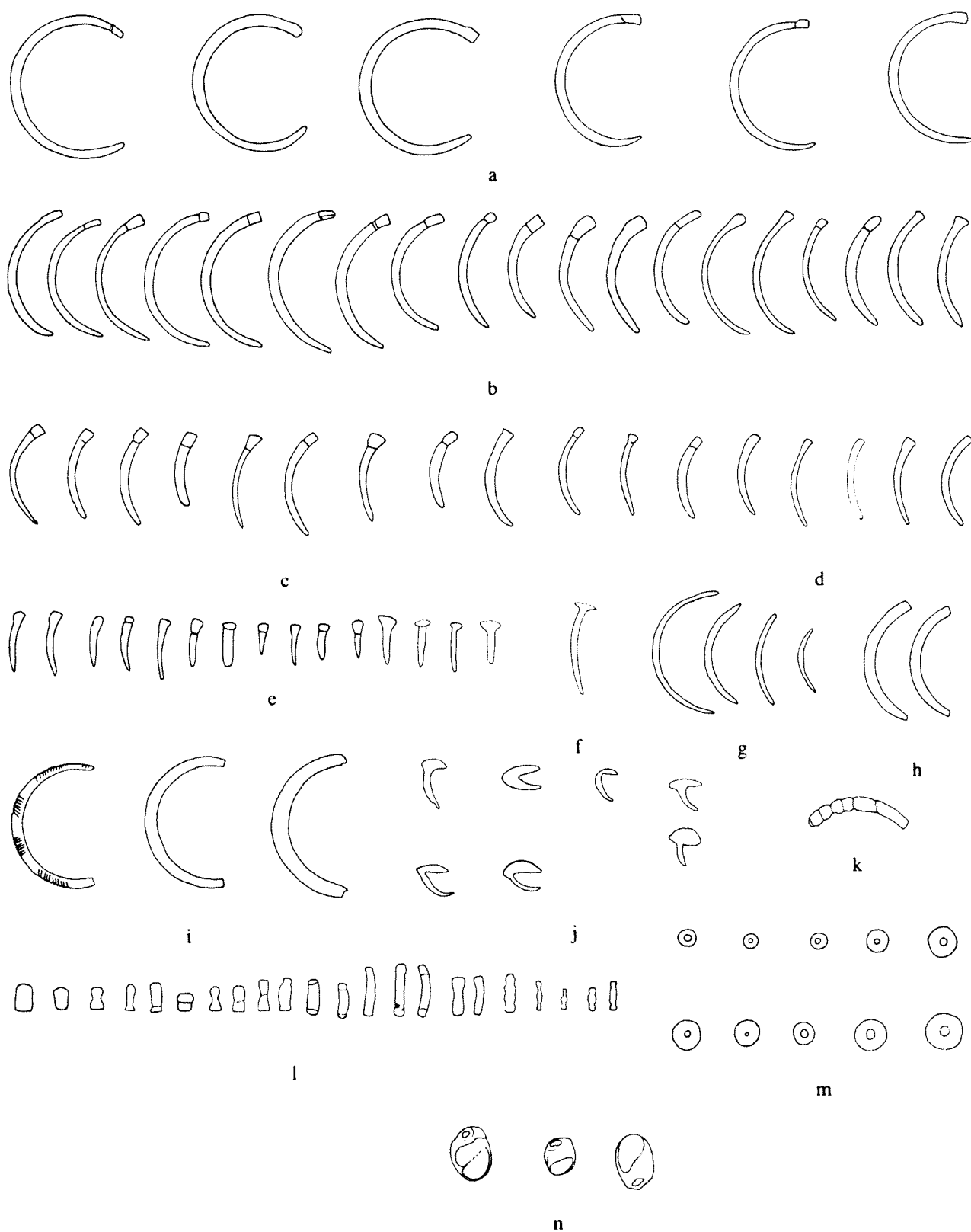


Figure 134. L 17: Shell ornaments, no. 14—(a) Over-semicircular hooks; (b) Semicircular hooks; (c) Sub-semicircular hooks; (d) Shallow-curved hooks; (e) Tusklike hooks; (f) Nailhead hook (g) Double-pointed hooks; (h) Headless hooks; (i) Bracelet fragments; (j) Studs; (k) Shaft of hook partly cut for plugs or tokens; (l) Plugs or tokens; (m) Beads; (n) Shells. Scale 2:5.

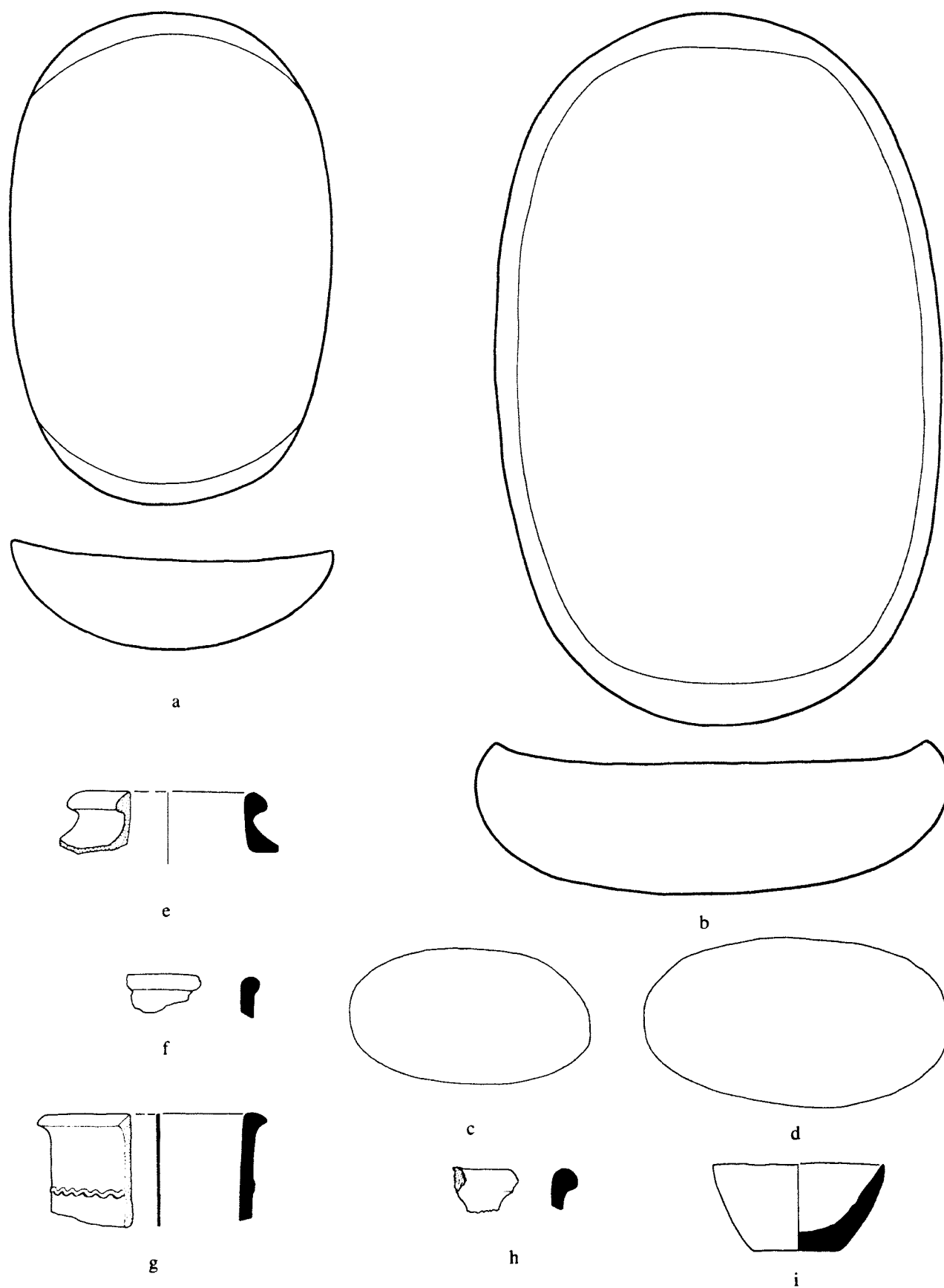


Figure 135. L 17: Mortars—(a) No. 18; (b) No. 19; Pestles—(c) No. 18; (d) No. 19; Stone vessels—(e) B; (f) C; (g) A; (h) D; (i) H. Scale 2:5.

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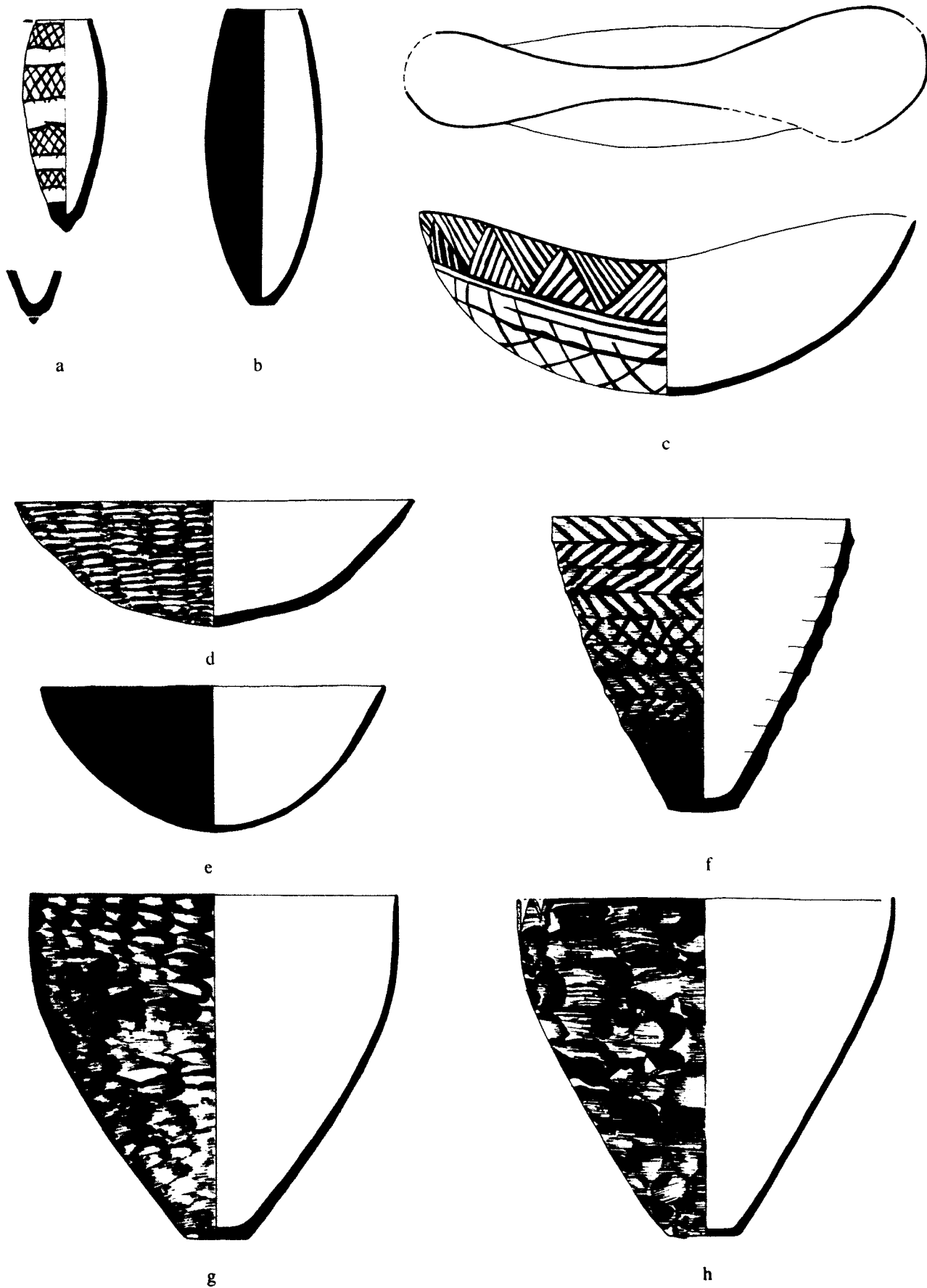


Figure 136. L 17: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) No. 15, B; (b) No. 22, E; (c) No. 20, C; (d) No. 21, D; (e) No. 16, G; (f) No. 23, F; (g) No. 7, A; (h) No. 32, H. Scale 2:5.

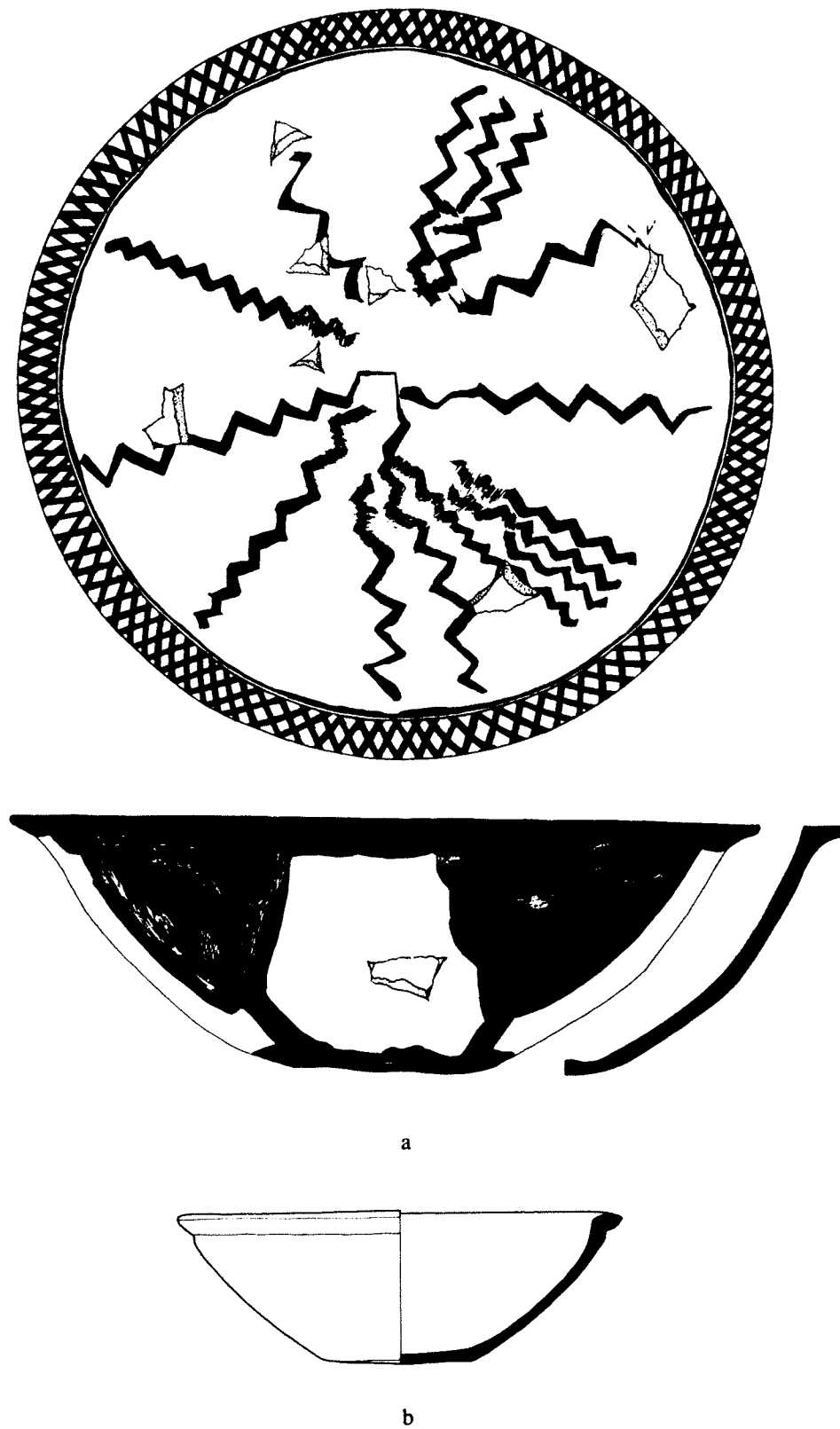


Figure 137. L 17, pottery: (a) Form Group V, Interior Painted, no. 30, A; (b) Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink, no. 29, D. Scale 2:5.

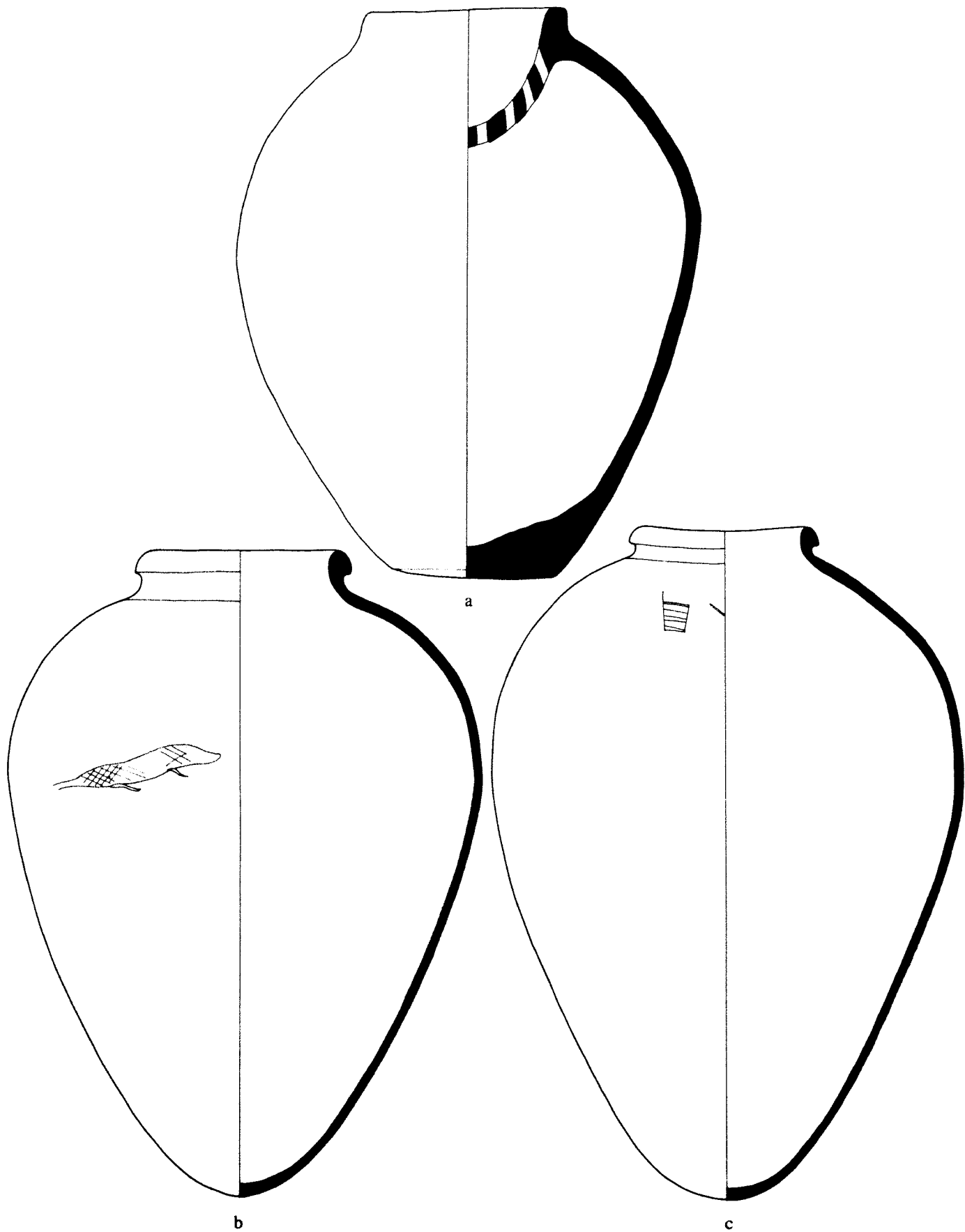


Figure 138. L 17, pottery: (a) Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse, no. 6, A; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(b) No. 5, C; (c) No. 4, B. Scale 1:5 except (a) 2:5.

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Supplementary Notes for L 17

Although there may have been some disturbance on the legs and arms, the burial in L 17 was substantially intact. Only one uncertain sherd was located.

Sherds as recorded:

- a. Rough ware sherds (discarded)
- b. Red painted sherds (24114 bowl)
- c. Black incised sherd

L 18 (fig. 139)

Shaft: $2.55 \times 1.10 \times 0.95$ m

Burial: —

Body: Adult female

Object:

1. Egyptian bowl X-B2 (in southwest corner) A 23648 139b

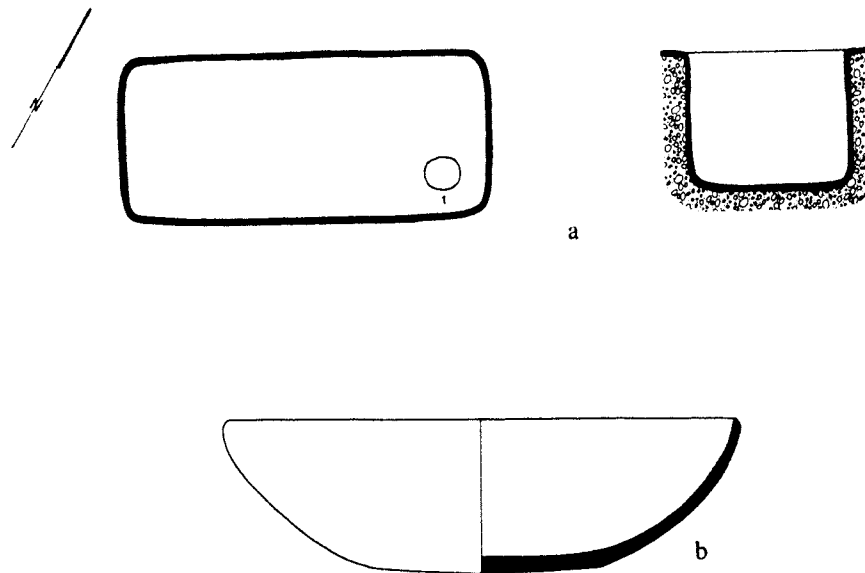


Figure 139. L 18: (a) Plan and section; (b) Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery, no. 1, A. Scales (a) 1:50, (b) 2:5.

L 19 (figs. 140–152)

Trench and chamber

Trench: $7.40 \times 1.50 \times 1.20$ m

Chamber: $3.70 \times 2.25 \times$ total depth from surface 2.60 m

Blocking: 2.05×0.17 m (remaining $\times 1.20$ m)

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

- a. From fill of shaft or uncertain:
 1. Shell hook

23701

FIGURE

PLATE

140a

			FIGURE	PLATE
L 19				
2. "Piece of open tile"?	(trench)	disc.		
3. Alabaster	2 frags.	samp.		
		(st. vessels)		
b. From fill of chamber:				
4. Potstand XI-B	2 frags.	E disc.		
5. Pestle		23723 A	141l	
6. Potstand XI-B		B 23640		
7. Pestle		23723 B	141j	
8. Pestle		23723 C	141k	
9. Hippopotamus head	(pottery, XI-D)	D 23845	140b	98-99, 102
10. Stone bowl E		E 24087		
11. Bead	(drop, car.)	samp.		
12. Stone bowl G		D 24085		
13. Strainer sherd XI-A		A sherd		
14. Blue quartz/amethyst palette reshaped as scraper		23200	141h	62d, 65g
15. Shell hooks	3 exx.	23701	141a	
16. Shell hooks		samp.	141b	
17. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>		E 24196		
18. Incised incense burner		disc.		
19. Ivory bracelet frags., shells, beads (car.)		samp.	140f, 141c-e	
a. Car. size 1	4 exx.			
b. Car. size 2	1 ex.			
c. Car. barrel	1 ex.			
20. Pebbles		samp.		
21. Painted Egyptian bowl X-G		E 24153		
22. Stone cyl. jar J		C 23503		
23. Potstand XI-B		C 23952		
24. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>		A 23749		
25. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>		B 23751		
26. "Piece of a black object"		disc.		
27. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>		C 23750		
28. Exterior painted bowl I-A/10		CM 24158		
29. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>		D 23761		
30. Incised incense burner	(EI-barks)	23705	140c	27c, 37b
31. "Mass of ochre below 30"		disc.		
32. Stone bowl A		F 24059		
33. Egyptian bowl X-I		U 23755		
34. Copper awl		23710	140e	65i
35. Burnt ivory	2 frags.	samp.	141f	
c. Uncertain location:				
36. Ivory bracelet	frags.	samp.	141g	
37. Polished pebble		samp.		
38. Ivory casket leg	frags.	samp.	140d	60e, 63b

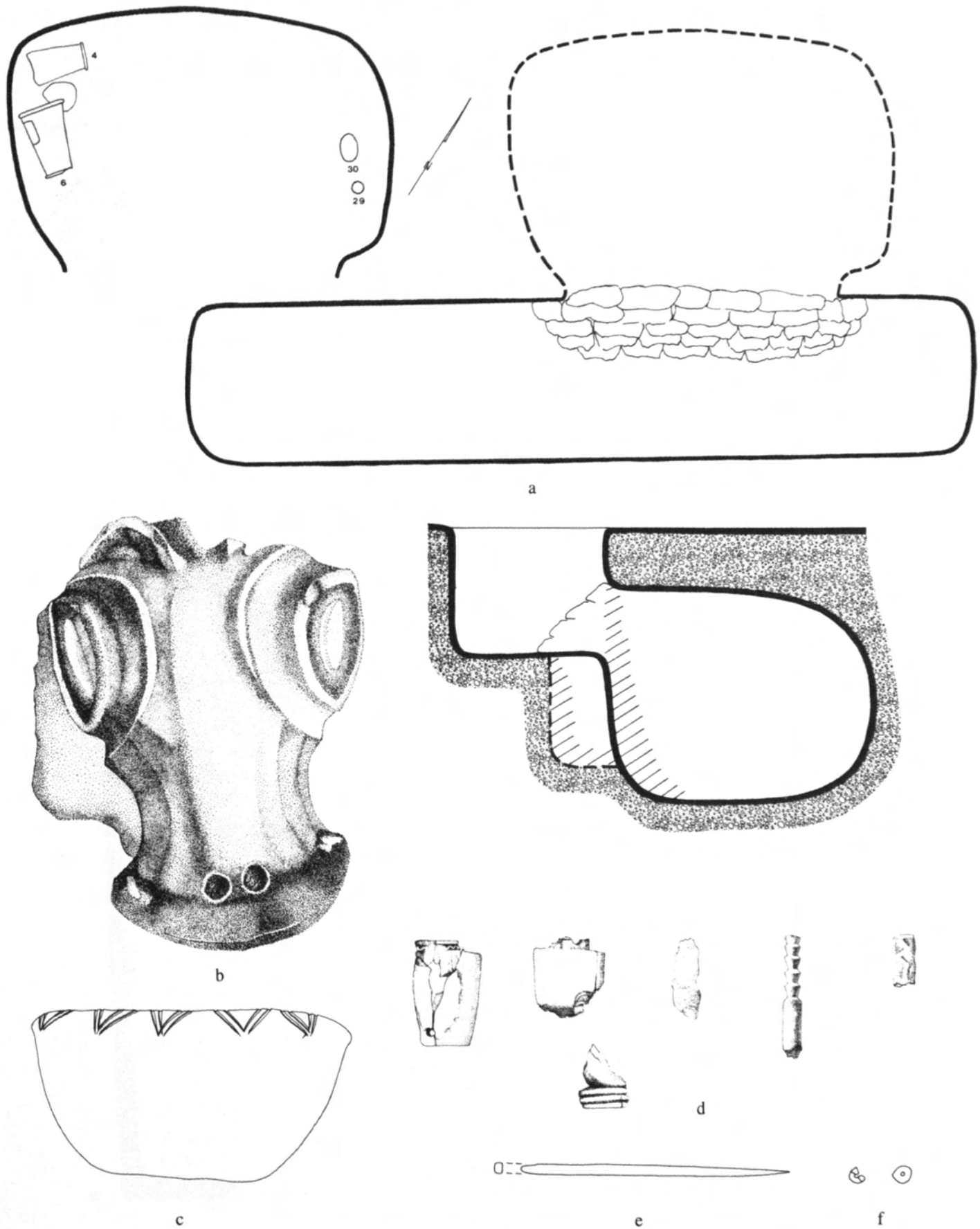


Figure 140. L 19: (a) Plan, chamber, and section; (b) Hippopotamus head of pottery, no. 9; (c) Incense burner, no. 30; (d) Ivory fragments, nos. 40, 38, 42, 39, 43; (e) Copper awl, no. 34; (f) Carnelian beads, no. 19. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.



Figure 141. L 19: (a) Shell hooks, no. 15; (b) Fragments of shell hooks and shell hook, no. 16; (c) Shells, no. 19; (d) Ivory bracelet fragments, no. 19; (e) Beads, no. 19; Ivory fragments—(f) No. 35; (g) No. 36; (h) Blue quartz palette reshaped as scraper, no. 14; (i) Mica fragments, no. 50; Pestles—(j) No. 7; (k) No. 8; (l) No. 5; (m) Stone vessel, A. Scale 2:5.

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L 19			FIGURE	PLATE
39. Ivory pin with ribbed head	fragt.	samp.	140d	60g, 63b
40. Ivory cyl. jar	fragt.	samp.	140d	60d, 63b
41. Ivory cup	fragt.	samp.		63b
42. Ivory bulged jar	fragt.	samp.	140d	60f, 63b
43. Ivory inlay	fragt.	samp.	140d	60h, 63b
44. Ivory	fragts.	samp.		63b
45. Copper	fragt.	samp. n/a		
46. Ivory bracelet	fragts.	samp.		
47. Palette	fragt.	samp. n/a		
48. Incense burner	2 frags.	samp. unc.		
49. Shell object		samp. n/a		
50. Mica	7 frags.	samp.	141i	68a
<i>d. From trench:</i>				
51. Polished pebbles	2 exx.	samp.		
52. Shell		samp.		
53. Polished pebbles	4 exx.	samp.		
<i>e. Uncertain location:</i>				
54. Exterior painted bowl				
I-A/5		CO 24259		
Stone Vessels:				
A. W jar		24089	52g, 141m	74e
B. AF jar	(rhomb-porphry)		53h, 142b	
C. V jar	(no. 22)	23503	52f, 142a	
D. G bowl	(no. 12)	24085		70b
E. E bowl	(no. 10)	24087	49i, 142d	
F. A bowl	(no. 32)	24054	49d, 142e	
G. K1 bowl			142c	
H. G? bowl				
I. A bowl				
Pottery:				
I. Exterior Painted:				
A. A/19	1/5 extant		9e, 142f	
B. A/137	pot		16c, 142g	
C. A/7	pot		147h	5c
D. A/128	6 sherds		142h	
E. A/16	2/5 extant		9a, 143a	
F. A/17	8 sherds		9b, 142i	
G. A/128	1/11 extant		143b	
H. A/27	1 ex. (rest.)		143c	
I. A/10	3 sherds		143d	
J. A/10	2 sherds and base			
K. B/32	1 ex. (rest.)		10b, 143h	
L. A/5	1 sherd			
M. A/48	6 sherds		143g	
N. D/27	1 sherd		143f	
O. C/27	pot		143e	
P. C/1	1 sherd		8a, 144a	

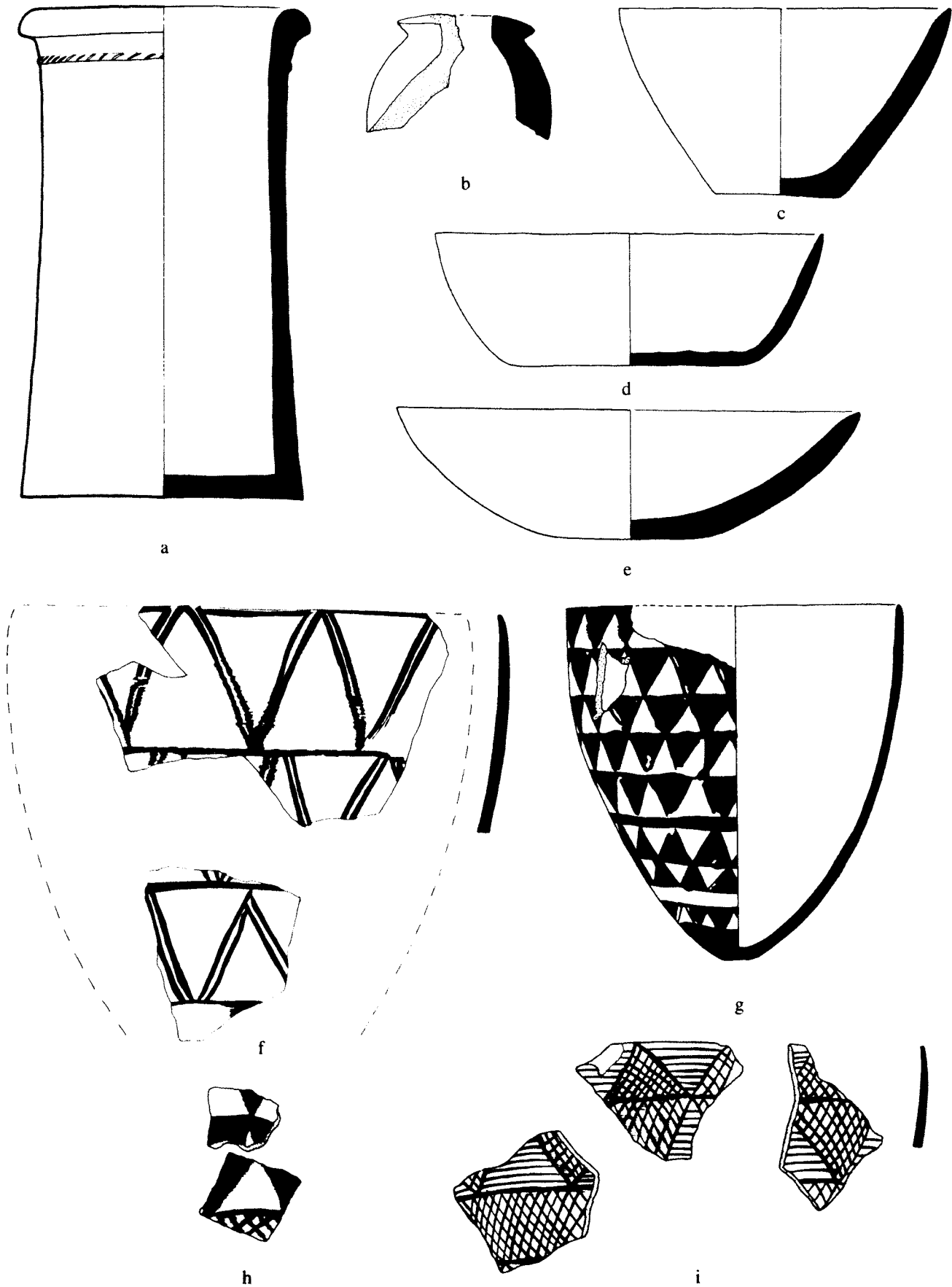


Figure 142. L 19: Stone vessels—(a) C; (b) B; (c) G; (d) E; (e) F; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(f) A; (g) B; (h) D; (i) F. Scale 2:5.

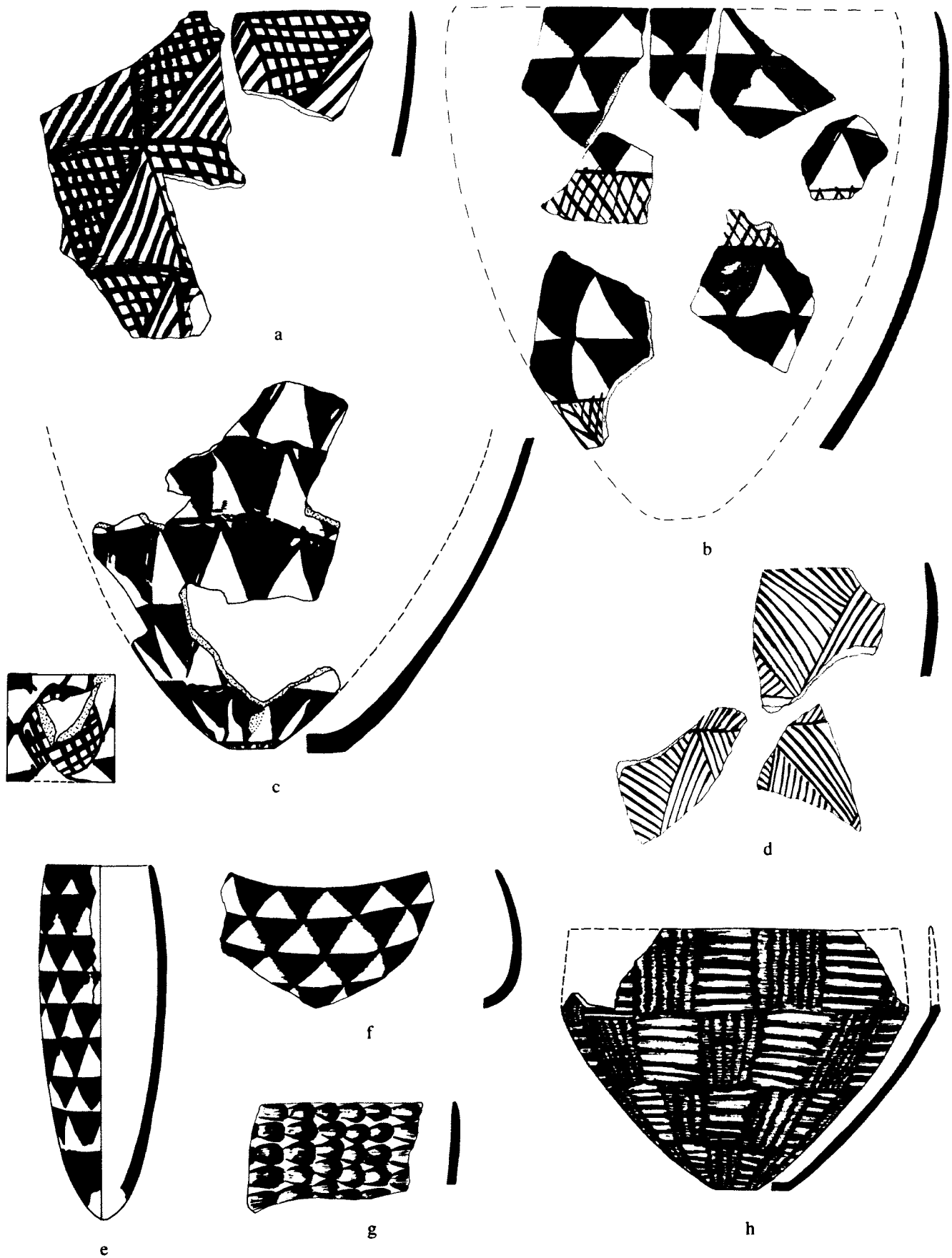


Figure 143. L 19: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) E; (b) G; (c) H; (d) I; (e) O; (f) N; (g) M; (h) K. Scale 2:5.

L 19

		FIGURE	PLATE
Q. A-B/5	1 sherd		
R. C/128	1 sherd (ribbed)		
S. A/158	1 sherd	18b, 144b	
T. A/32	pot	5a, 144c	5d
U. B/5	1/4 extant	147g	
V. A/88	pot	144d	
W. A/39	1 ex. (rest.)	144e	
X. A/32	1/5 extant	144f	
Y. A/32	1/10-1/5 extant	144g	
Z. B/18	1/10-1/5 extant	9c, 145a	
AA. B/155	1/10-1/5 extant	145b	
AB. C/46	3/4 extant	145d	
AC. A/5	1/5 extant	145f	
AD. A/27	1/5 extant	145g	
AE. C/159/164	2 sherds	18g, 145e	
AF. C/57	1 sherd	145h	
AG. A/17	1 sherd	145c	
AH. D/39	pot	6e, 146a	
AI. D/6	1 ex. (rest.)	8g, 146b	
AJ. A/39	1 ex. (rest.)		
AK. A/39	1/4 extant	146d	
AL. A/78	7 sherds	12p, 146e	
AM. A/41	4 sherds	146g	
AN. C/5	2 sherds		
AO. A/10	2 sherds		
AP. A-B/39?	5 sherds		
AQ. A/128	1 ex. (rest.)		
AR. A-B/38	2 sherds		
AS. A/42	6 sherds		
AT. A/141	3 sherds	146c	
AU. A-B/38	1 sherd		
AV. A-B/38	1 sherd		
AW. B/40	1 sherd		
AX. A-B/32	2 sherds		
AY. A/39	3 sherds		
AZ. A-B/39	1 sherd (vertical panels)		
BA. A/38	1 sherd	146f	
BB. A/39	1 sherd		
BC. A/16	1 sherd	146h	
BD. A/4	1 sherd	146i	
BE. A/4	1 sherd		
BF. A-B/5	2 sherds		
BG. A/46	1 sherd	146j	
BH. A/143	1 sherd		
BI. A-B/36		10f, 146k	
BJ. A/5?	1 sherd		
BK. A-B/27?	1 sherd		

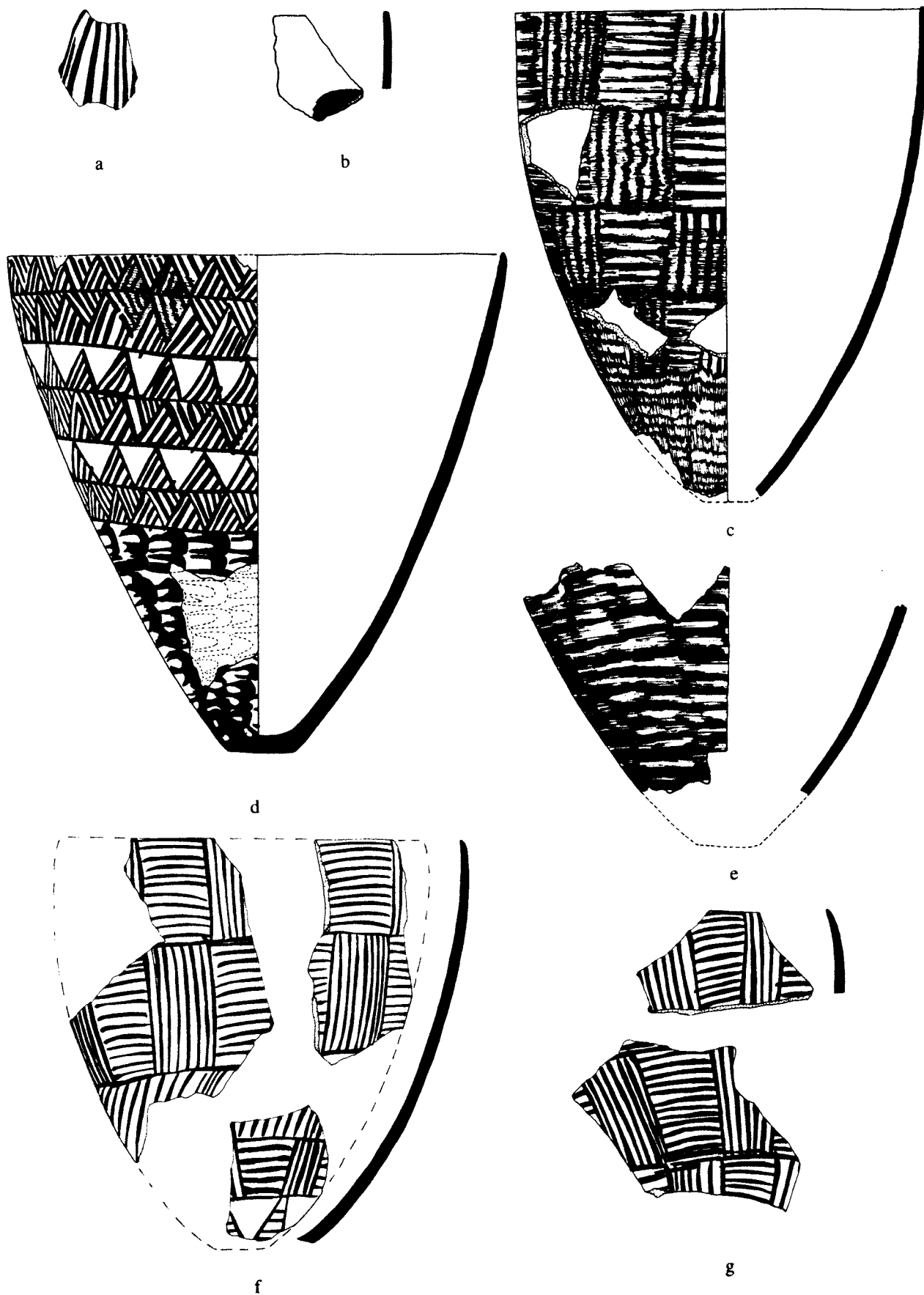


Figure 144. L 19: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) P; (b) S; (c) T; (d) V; (e) W; (f) X; (g) Y.
Scale 2:5.

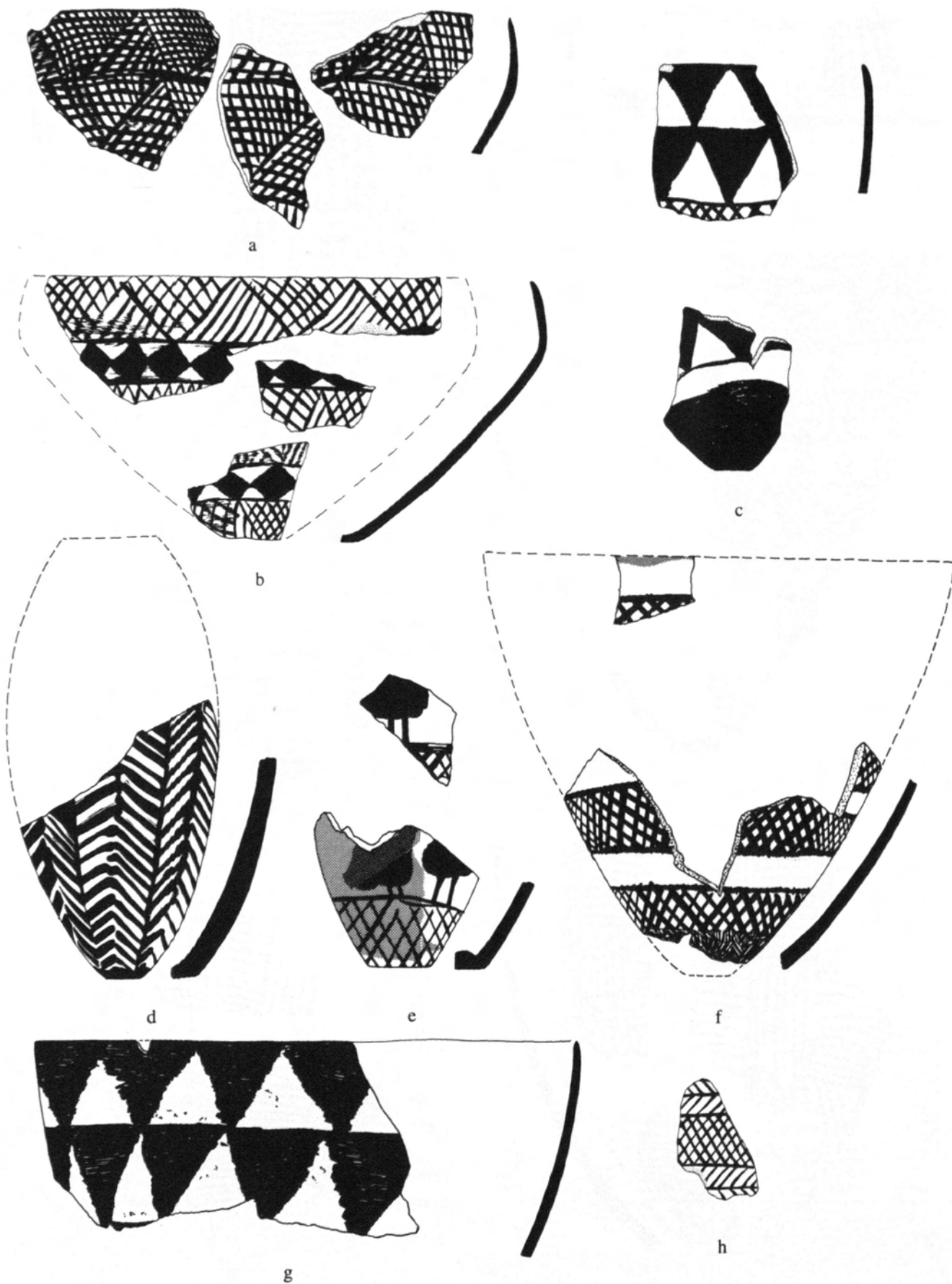


Figure 145. L 19: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) Z; (b) AA; (c) AG; (d) AB; (e) AE; (f) AC; (g) AD; (h) AF. Scale 2:5.

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L 19		FIGURE	PLATE
BL. A-B/58	1 sherd	146l	
BM. C/16	1 sherd		
BN. A-B/?	1 sherd		
BO. A-B/32			
BP. A-B/4	1 sherd		
BQ. A/156	1/10 extant	147a	
BR. A/91b	4 sherds	13h, 147b	
BS. A-B/57	1 sherd and base	147d	
BT. C/4	1 sherd		
BU. A/27	4 sherds		
BV. A/4	1 sherd		
BW. A-B/84	2 sherds	13c, 147c	
BX. C/11	1 sherd	147e	
BY. A-B/32?	1 sherd		
BZ. A-B/37?	1 sherd	10g, 147f	
CA. A-B/6	2 sherds		
CB. A-B/10	1 sherd		
CC. A-B/5	1 sherd		
CD. A-B/5	1 sherd		
CE. A-B/38	1 sherd		
CF. B/4	1 sherd		
CG. A-B/4	1 sherd		
CH. A/15	1 sherd		
CI. A-B/4	8 sherds (small)		
CJ. A/57?			
CK. A/28	1 ex. (rest., with hatched rim)		6a
CL. D/27	1 sherd		
CM. A/10	pot (no. 28)	24158	6b
CN. A/38	1/4 extant	147i	
CO. A/5	pot (no. 54)		
II. Rippled:			
A. Unc.	carinated bowl or jar (mottled)		
B. Unc.	2 sherds (mottled)		
C. Unc.	(black)		
IV. Painted and Incised–Impressed:			
A. 1		21a, 148a	11b
B. 2		148b	11b
C. 2		148c	11b
D. 12		21k, 148d	11b
E. 13		21l, 148e	11b
F. 10		148f	11b
G. 1?		148g	11b
H. 1			11b
V. Interior Painted:			
A. 15		26a, 148i	
B. 1		149a	

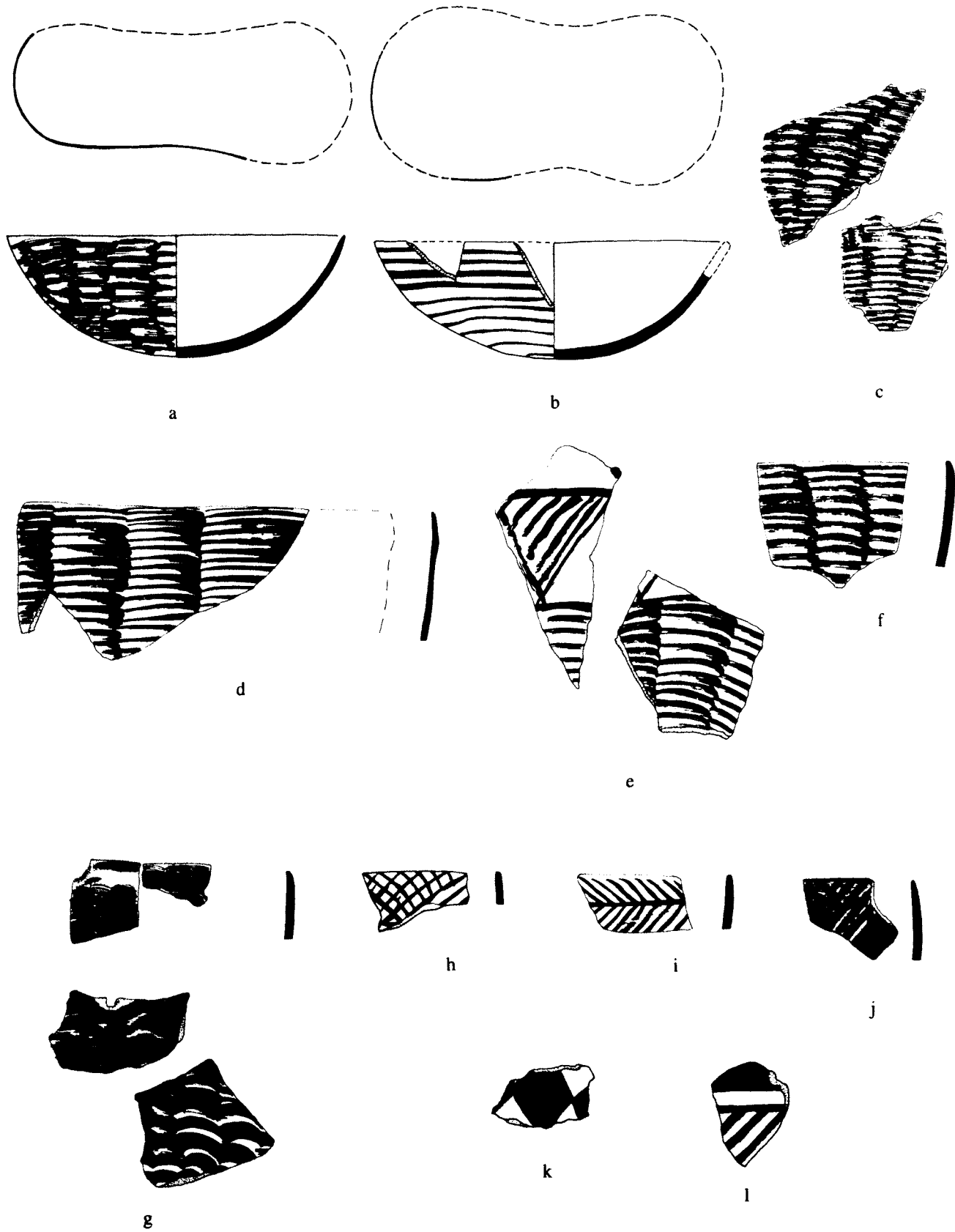


Figure 146. L 19: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) AH; (b) AI; (c) AT; (d) AK; (e) AL; (f) BA; (g) AM; (h) BC; (i) BD; (j) BG; (k) BI; (l) BL. Scale 2:5.

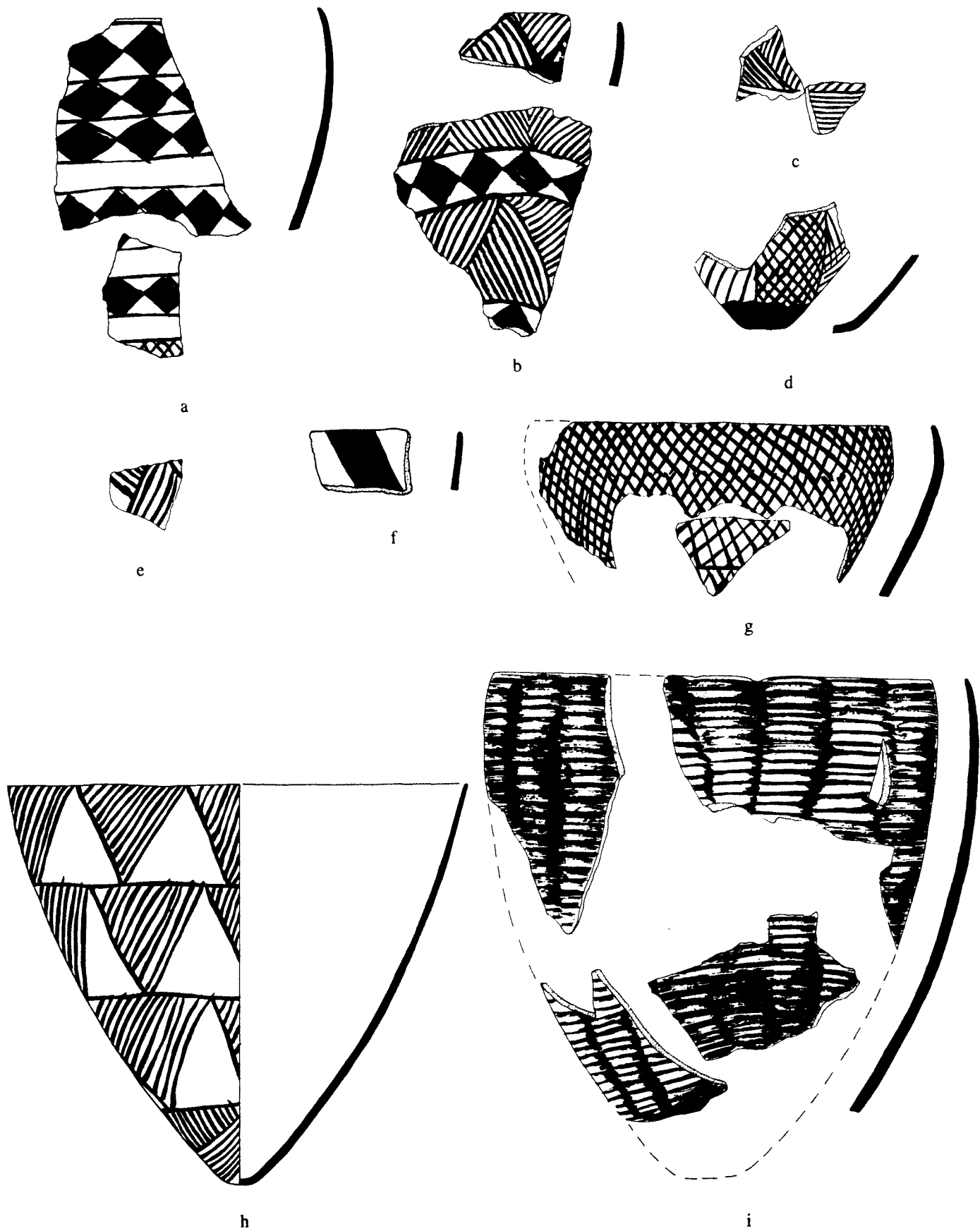


Figure 147. L 19: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) BQ; (b) BR; (c) BW; (d) BS; (e) BX (f) BZ; (g) U; (h) C; (i) CN. Scale 2:5.

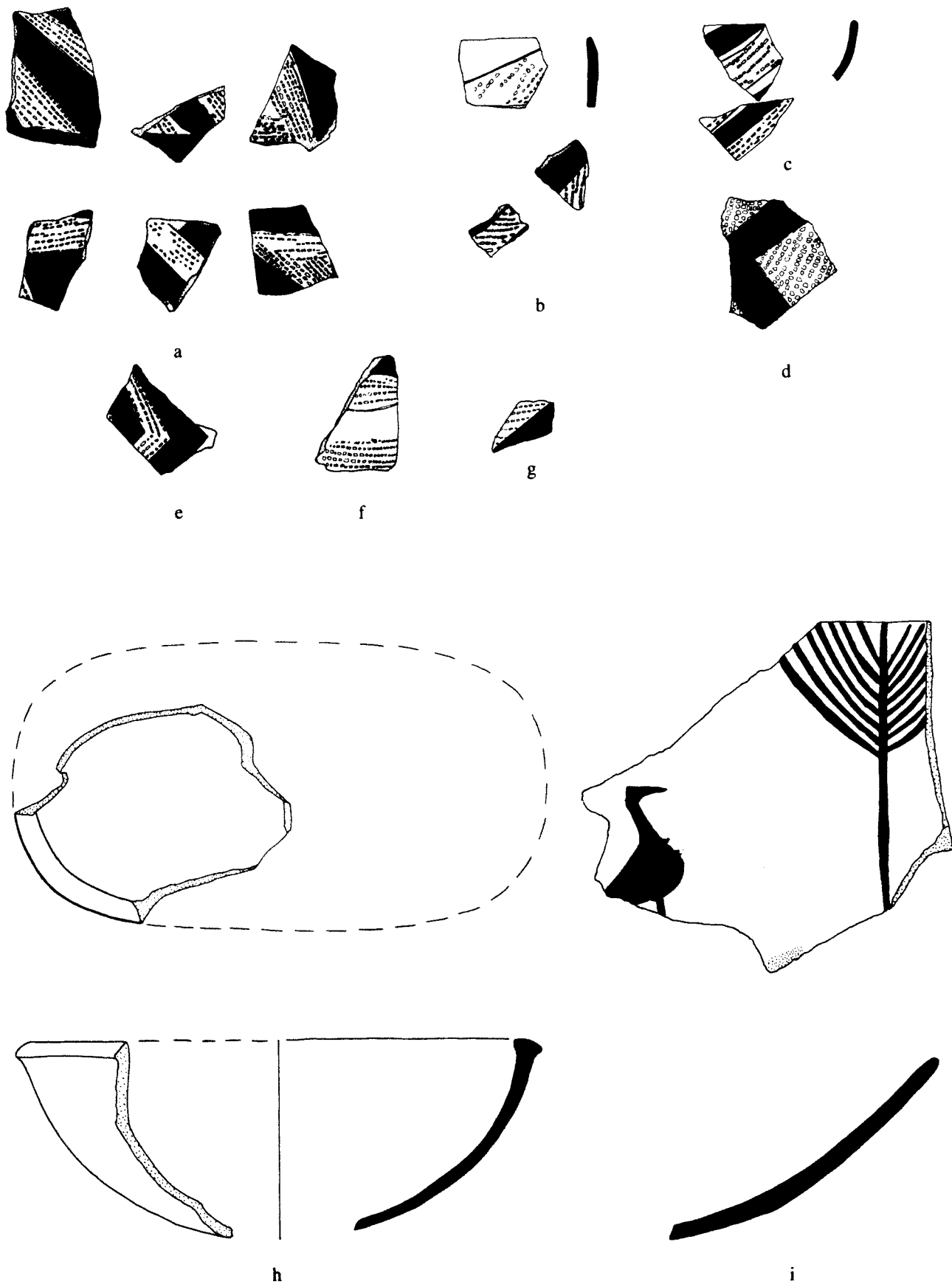


Figure 148. L 19, pottery: Form Group IV, Painted and Incised-Imprinted—(a) A; (b) B; (c) C; (d) D; (e) E; (f) F; (g) G; Form Group V, Interior Painted—(h) D; (i) A. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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L 19		FIGURE	PLATE
C. 1?			
D. 15?	oval vessel (birds?)	148h	
E. Unc.			
F. Unc.			
G. Unc.			
H. Unc.			
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:			
A. G	double jar/cup (tan int.)	29e, 149b	
B. C	(tan interior)	149c	
C. G	tricorner boat	149e	
D. Unc.	(discolored)		
E. E2	(convex)	149f	
F. Unc.	(discolored)		
G. Unc.	(discolored)		
H. C	(discolored)		
I. Unc.	(discolored)		
J. A2	(discolored)	28b, 149d	
VI <i>beta</i> . Miniature Cups:			
A.	(no. 24)	23749	31d, 149g 13e
B.	(no. 25)	23751	31b, 149g 13g
C.	(no. 27)	23750	31a, 149g 13f
D.	(no. 29)	23761	31e, 149g 13d
E.	(no. 17)	24196	
F.	sherd		
G.	sherd		
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:			
A. Unc. jar		150a	
B. A	(shallow)		
C. Unc. cookpot		150b	
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised:			
A. 2		33b, 150d	
B. 2		150f	
C. 2		150c	
D. 5		33d, 150h	
E. 9		33g, 150i	
F. 4			
G. 2		150e	
H. Unc.		150g	
VIII. Heavy Incised:			
A. 5		34g, 150j	
B. Unc.		150k	
C. 10?		150l	
D. 5		150m	
E. 7		34h, 150n	
F. 10		150o	
G. 6			

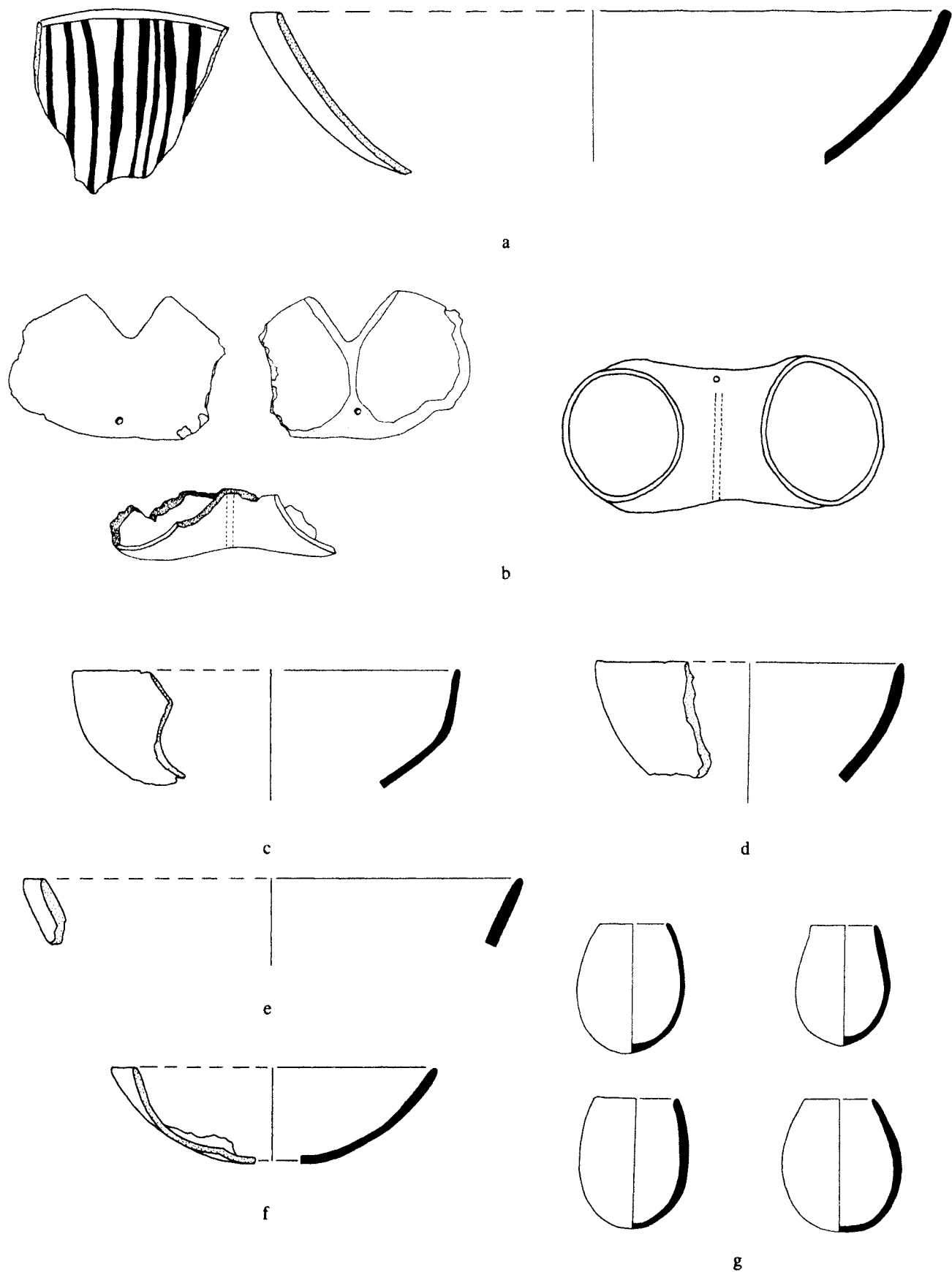


Figure 149. L 19, pottery: (a) Form Group V, Interior Painted, B; Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine—(b) A; (c) B; (d) J; (e) C; (f) E; (g) Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups, C, B, A, D. Scale 2:5.

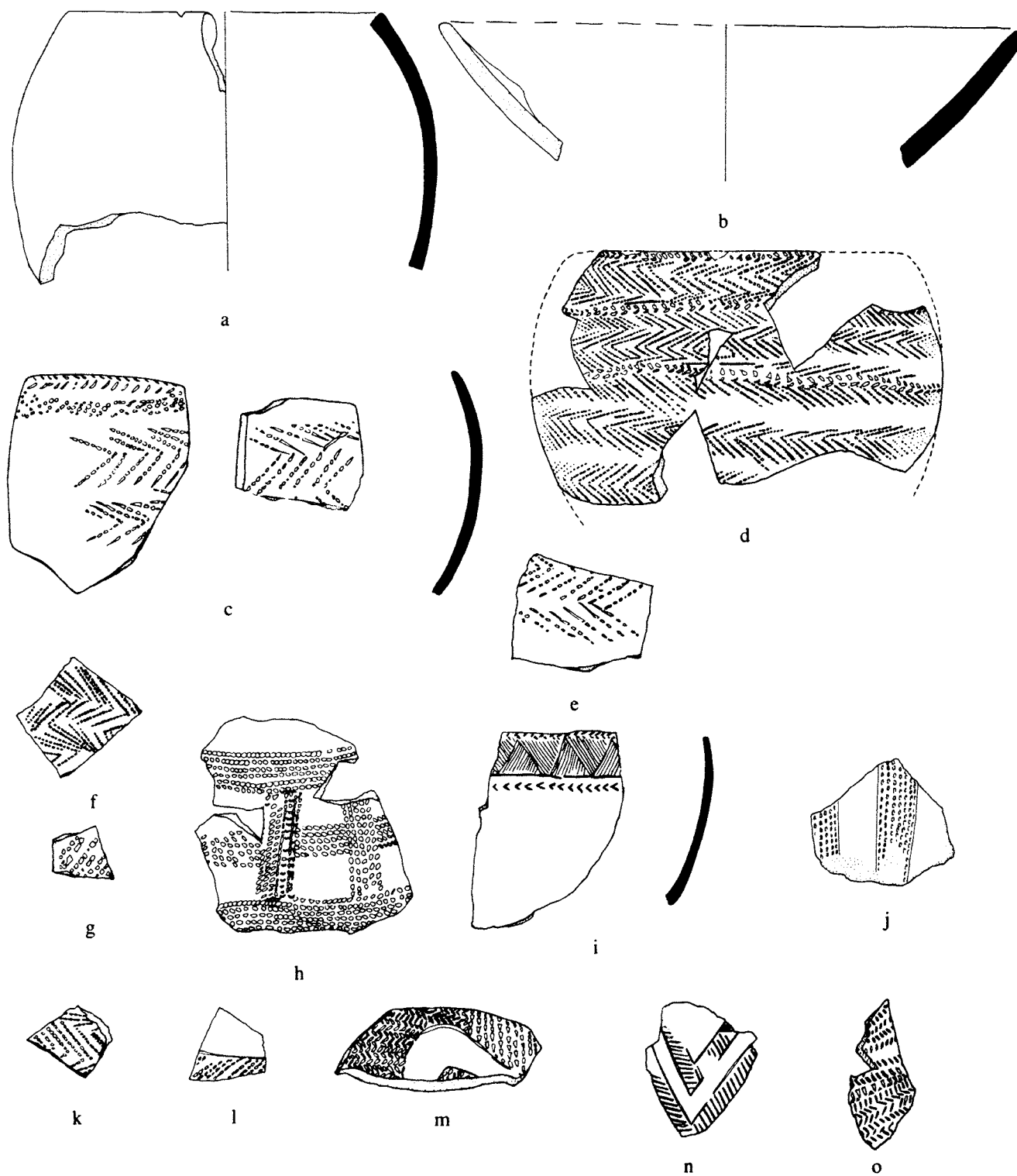


Figure 150. L 19, pottery: Form Group VI *gamma*, Simple Coarse—(a) A; (b) C; Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised—(c) C; (d) A; (e) G; (f) B; (g) H; (h) D; (i) E; Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised—(j) A; (k) B; (l) C; (m) D; (n) E; (o) F. Scale 2:5.

L 19		FIGURE	PLATE
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:			
A. G		151a	
B. L		151d	
C. K	(shallow)	151b	
D. K	(shallow)	151c	
E. G	painted bowl (no. 21)	24153 152e	88-92
F. B2		152a	
G. L		151e	
H. B2		152b	
I. W			
J. X			
K. X			
L. X		152i	
M. X			
N. Unc. bowl			
O. Unc. S			
P. Unc. jar			
Q. S2		38h, 152d	18a
R. S2		38i, 152c	18b
S. T	(with painting)	38c, 152g	
T. Unc. S	spout	38j, 152f	
U. I	(no. 33)	23755 36b, 152h	17a
XI. Egyptian Coarse:			
A. A	strainer fragt. (no. 13)		
B. B	(med., pierced and incised dec., no. 6)	23640 47d, 152k	24c
C. B	(broad, dec., no. 23)	23952 46b, 152j	24f
D. E	hippopotamus head (no. 9)	23845 140b	98-99, 102
E. B	(disc., no. 4)		
XII. Syro-Palestinian EB I:			
A. Unslipped sherd (flat bottom, curved body, could also be X-Q or S)			

Supplementary Notes for L 19

Unassigned sherds included two of Form Group VI *alpha*, one of X, and a small number of uncertain or damaged sherds.

Sherds as recorded ("only chosen sherds are saved"):

- a. Incised
- b. Cream ware
- c. Dark red on light red
- d. Red burnished
- e. Large reddish vessels
- f. Strainer
- g. Heavy crude incised red
- h. Fine ripple pattern
- i. Black decoration on inside of red bowl
- j. Black and white triangles

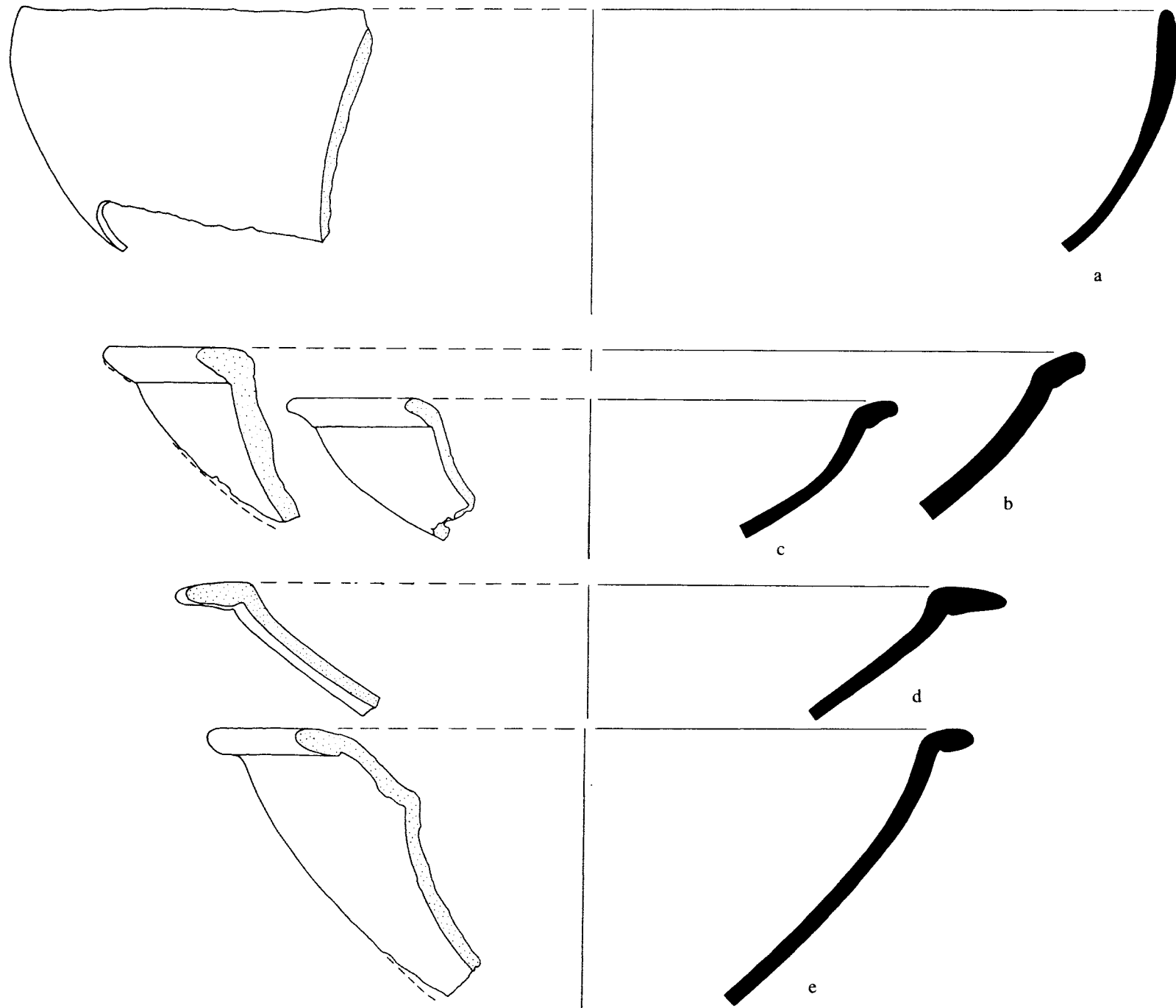


Figure 151. L 19: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) A; (b) C; (c) D; (d) B; (e) G. Scale 2:5.

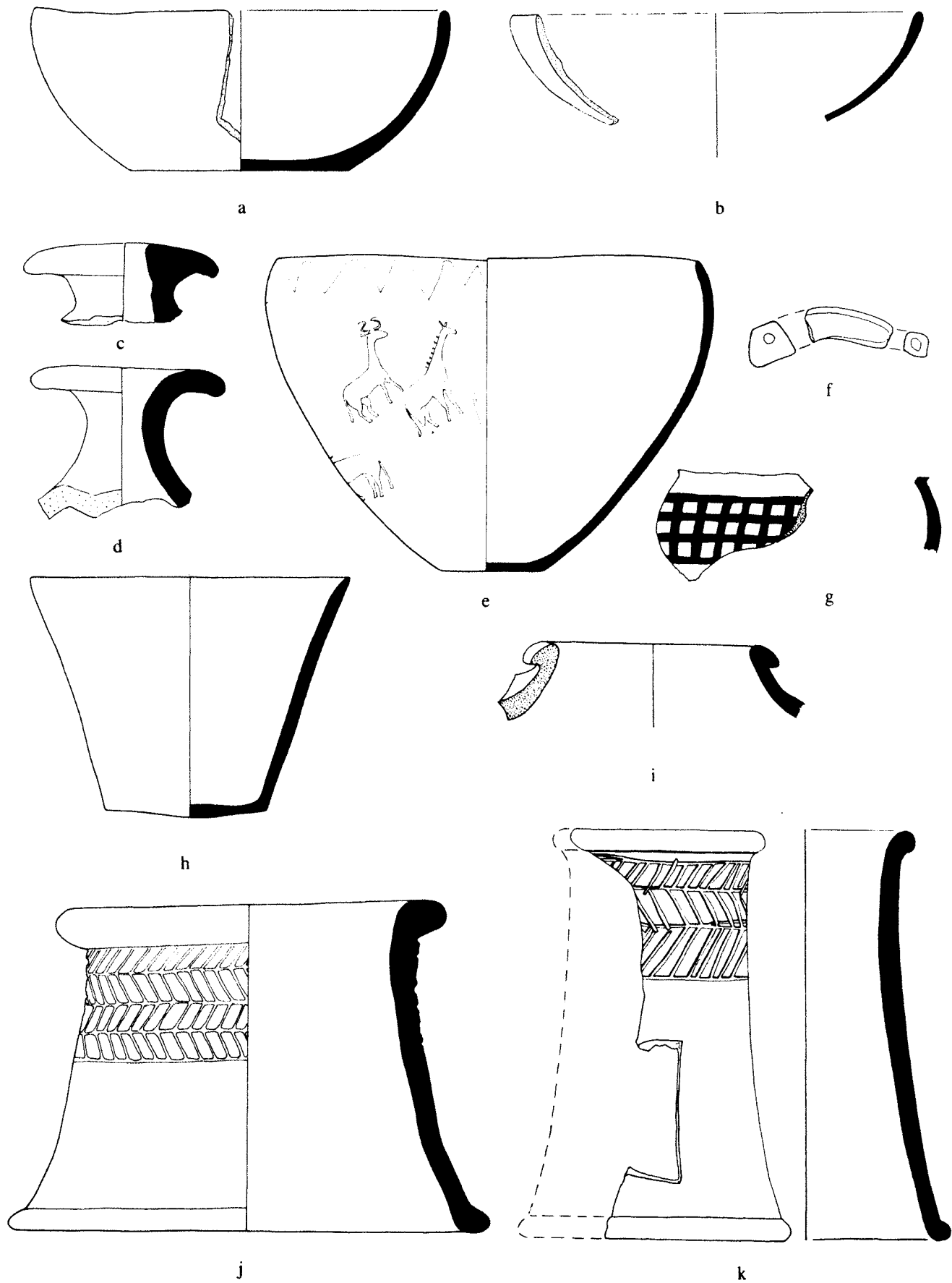


Figure 152. L 19, pottery: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(a) F; (b) H; (c) R; (d) Q; (e) E; (f) T; (g) S; (h) U; (i) L; Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse—(j) C; (k) B. Scale 2:5 except (e), (j), (k) 1:5.

L 20

- k. White paint on red
- l. No. 16, unusual top of jar
- m. No. 18, sherds of curved pottery vessel
- n. No. 20, strainer top of jar
- o. Unnumbered sherds of large pots with bits of scratched marking around diameter of shaft (cf. also nos. 2, 4 here)
- p. "More sherds, polished red, different patterns, pieces of rims and bases"

Stone vessel fragments as recorded:

- a. Cf. no. 2 in list
- b. No. 17, on grave sheet "pieces of alabaster plates and cylinder jar"
- c. Fragment of alabaster bowl, very thick, incised
- d. Fragment of cylindrical alabaster vessel, cord pattern
- e. Fragment of stone vessel rim

L 20

Shaft: $2.18 \times 0.70 \times 0.80$ m

Burial: Animal, bovine folded into grave, westward, without skull

Body: Bovine, sample

24175 n/a

Objects: —

FIGURE

PLATE

108a

Supplementary Notes for L 20

Three bovine burials were located directly west of L 1, but not convincingly related to any one royal tomb or pair. Only L 20 contained evidence of the original manner of burial; the carcass of the bovine was folded into the grave. No objects were found in these three graves. The notes indicate that the skull was present, but not retained.

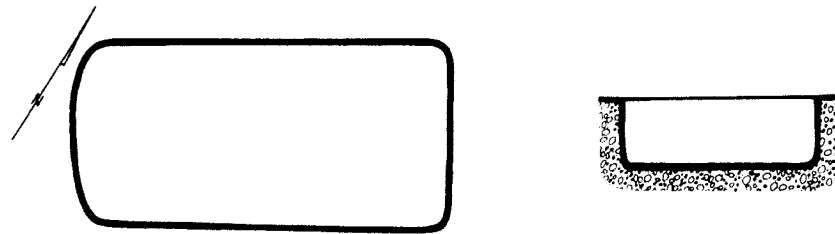


Figure 153. L 21: Plan and section. Scale 1:50.

L 21 (fig. 153)

Shaft: $2.55 \times 1.20 \times 0.45$ m

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

- 1. Shell hooks

frags.

23659

FIGURE

PLATE

153

		FIGURE		PLATE
L 22 (figs. 154–158)		154a		
Trench and chamber				
Trench: 6.95 × 1.20 × 1.40 m				
Chamber: 3.15 × 2.00 × 1.00–1.10 m (floor 2.40 m below surface)				
Blocking: Stone, in step 2.40 × 0.95 × 0.60 m				
Burial: —				
Body: Adult, possibly male				
Objects:				
a. In trench:				
1. Shell hooks	5 exx.	23697	154d	
2. Egyptian flask X–R		A 23644		
b. At blocking in trench:				
3. Shell beads		samp. n/a		
4. Shell hook and ivory	fragts.	samp.	154e	
5. Ivory	fragts.	samp.		
c. In chamber:				
6. Stone cyl. jar S		A 24091		
7. Faience vessel	fragt.	samp.	154c	60c, 61e
8. Pestle		23722	155a	
9. Pestle		23722	155b	
10. Pestle	(pumice)	23722	155c	
11. Incense burner E2	(decorated)	24060		28, 36d
12. Pestle		23722	155d	
13. Pestle	(red stain)	23722	155e	
14. Pebbles	3 exx. ("flat")	samp.		
15. Palette D1		23670	154h	44d
16. Beads		unk. loc.	154g	
a. Shells	3 exx.			
b. Car.	3 exx.			
c. Am.	3 exx.			
d. "Long"	1 ex.			
e. "White"				
f. Car. bar.	1 ex.			
g. Irreg. shell	1 ex.			
17. Miniature cup				
VI <i>beta</i>		E 23642		
18. End of Egyptian lentoid jar				
used as saucer X–AA?		C sherd		
19. Incense burner E2		23708	154b	26c, 35e
20. Polished pebbles		samp.		
21. Palette D1		23677	154i	
22. Stone jar Z		B 24092		
23. Pestle		23722	155f	
24. Ivory	2 fragts.	samp.	154f	
25. Pottery (poss. intrusive)				
a. Small bowl	(red painted band)	24290		
b. Sherd used as tool				
26. Ostrich egg	3 fragts.	samp.		

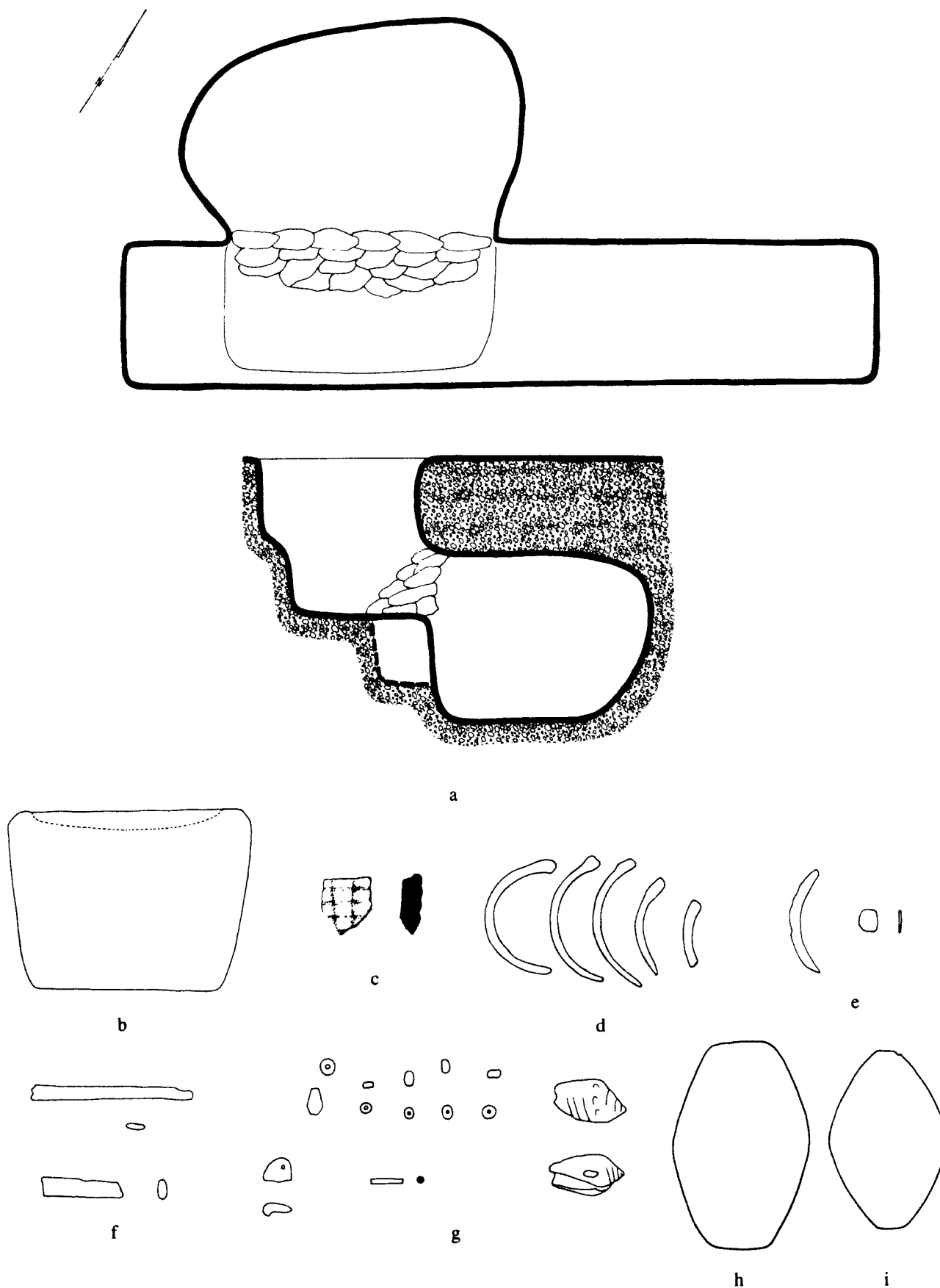


Figure 154. L 22: (a) Plan and section; (b) Incense burner, no. 19; (c) Faience vessel fragment, no. 7; (d) Shell hooks, no. 1; (e) Shell hook fragment and ivory fragment, no. 4; (f) Ivory fragments, no. 24; (g) Beads and shell, no. 16; Palettes—(h) No. 15; (i) No. 21. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

L 22			FIGURE	PLATE
27. Polished pebble		samp.		
28. Incense burner	fragt.	samp.		
Stone Vessels:				
A. S jar	(no. 6)	24091	155g	72e
B. Z1 jar	(no. 22)	24092	155h	
C. K1 bowl	(possibly)			
D. Unc. cyl. jar				
E. Unc. bowl	base			
Pottery:				
I. Exterior Painted				
A. A/38	1/3 extant		10h, 155i	
B. A/38	1/3 extant		155k	
C. A/4	15 sherds			
D. A/39	3 sherds			
E. A/39	1 sherd			
F. A/37	1 sherd		155l	
G. A-B/97	2 sherds		14b, 155j	
H. B?/38	1 sherd			
I. D/38	3 sherds			
J. A-B/41	1 sherd		155m	
K. A-B/38	1 sherd			
L. A/132	1 ex. (rest.)		16a, 155n	
M. A/10	pot (opposed hatched triangles in same band)		155o	
N. A/99	10 sherds		14d, 156a	
O. A/22	3 sherds		9d, 156c	
P. A-B/98	2 sherds		14c, 156e	
Q. D/81b	3 sherds		156b	
R. B/7	2 sherds			
S. B/13	1 sherd		8l, 156f	
T. A-B/5	1 sherd			
U. A-B/10	1 sherd			
V. A-B/13	2 sherds		156d	
W. C?/4	2 sherds (hatched)			
X. A-B/27	1 sherd			
Y. A-B/15	1 sherd		156g	
Z. A/32	3 sherds		156h	
AA. A/32	2/5 extant		156i	
AB. A/32	20 sherds			
AC. A-B/32	3 sherds			
AD. A?/32	3 sherds			
AE. A-B/32	1 sherd			
AF. A-B/32	1 sherd			
AG. B/32	2 sherds		156j	
AH. A/32	19 sherds		156n	
AI. D/32	2 sherds			
AJ. A/32	7 sherds			

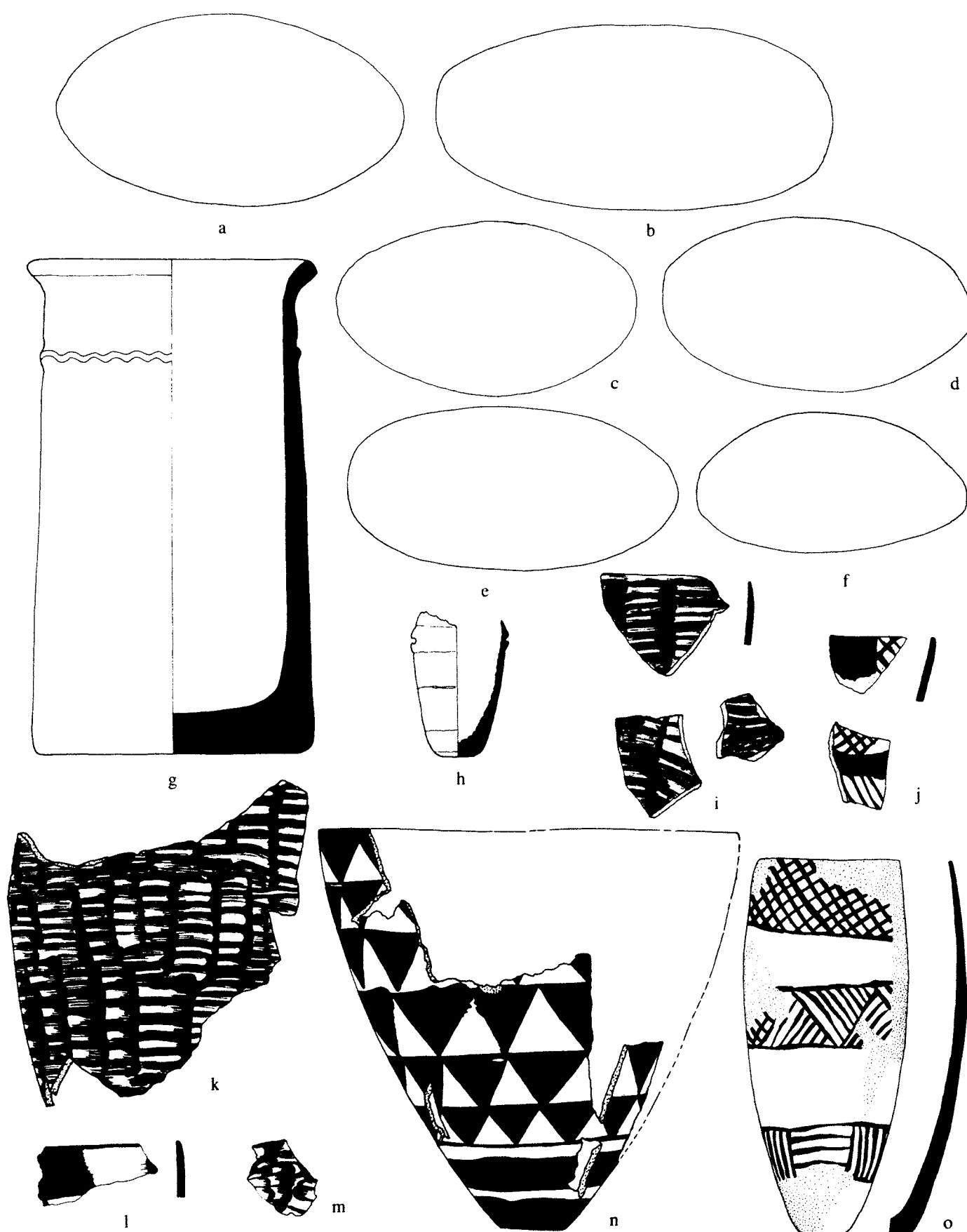


Figure 155. L. 22: Pestles—(a) No. 8; (b) No. 9; (c) No. 10; (d) No. 12; (e) No. 13; (f) No. 23; Stone vessels—(g) A; (h) B; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(i) A; (j) G; (k) B; (l) F; (m) J; (n) L; (o) M. Scale 2:5.

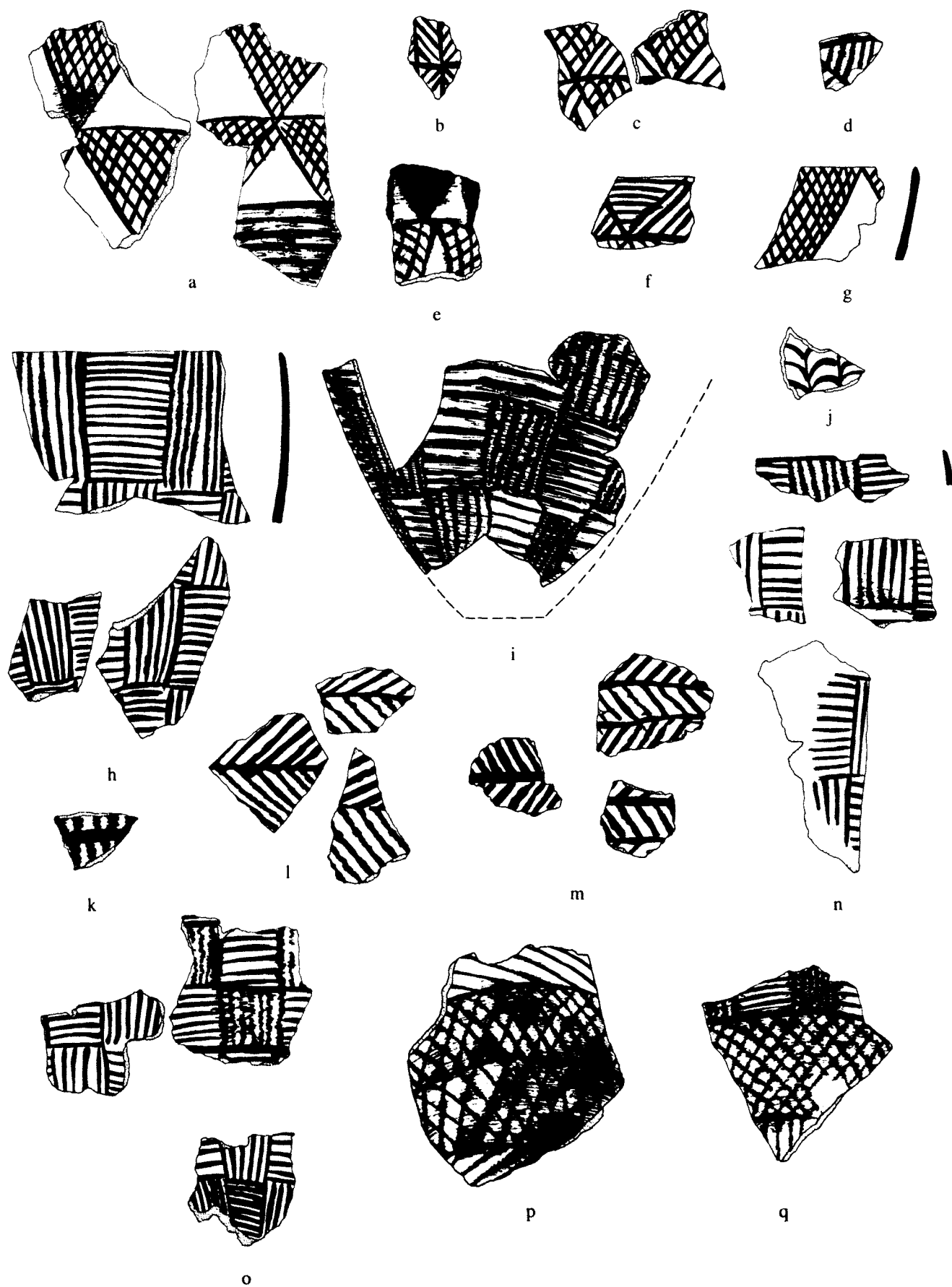


Figure 156. L 22: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) N; (b) Q; (c) O; (d) V; (e) P; (f) S; (g) Y; (h) Z; (i) AA; (j) AG; (k) AP; (l) AL; (m) AM; (n) AH; (o) AK; (p) AT; (q) AU. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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L 22		FIGURE	PLATE
AK. A/32	6 sherds	156o	
AL. A/4	4 sherds	156l	
AM. A/4	4 sherds	8d, 156m	
AN. A/4	6 sherds		
AO. D/57	5 sherds		
AP. A-B/42	1 sherd	156k	
AQ. A-B/41	1 sherd		
AR. A-B/4	2 sherds		
AS. A/4	1/3 extant (rest.)	157a	
AT. A/57	3 sherds	156p	
AU. A/71	4 sherds	156q	
AV. C/83	1 ex. (rest.)	157b	
AW. A?/140	10 sherds	16f, 157c	
AX. A-B/57	1 sherd		
AY. C/57	1 sherd	157d	
AZ. D/4	2 sherds	157e	
BA. A/5	1 sherd	157h	
BB. A/1	1 sherd	157i	
BC. A?/58	5 sherds	11k, 157g	
BD. A-B/5	1 sherd		
BE. A/5	3 sherds		
BF. A-B/5	3 sherds		
BG. A-B/?	6 sherds (ribbed)		
BH. A?/131	5 sherds	15m, 157f	
BI. A/26	2 sherds	9g, 157l	
BJ. A?/27	1 sherd	157j	
BK. A/4		157k	
BL. A-B/?	4 sherds		
IV. Painted and Incised–Impressed:			
A. 9			11c
V. Interior Painted:			
A. 18		26c, 158a	
B. 12	(blobs)		
C. 13			
D. 12	(double–stroke)		
E. 12	(double–stroke)	24d, 158b	
F. Unc.			
G. Unc.			
H. Unc.			
I. 19	exterior painted type vessel, painted inside (see Form Group I, BH)	26d, 158c	
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:			
A. A1		28c, 157r	13b
VI <i>beta</i> . Miniature Cups:			
A.		157m	

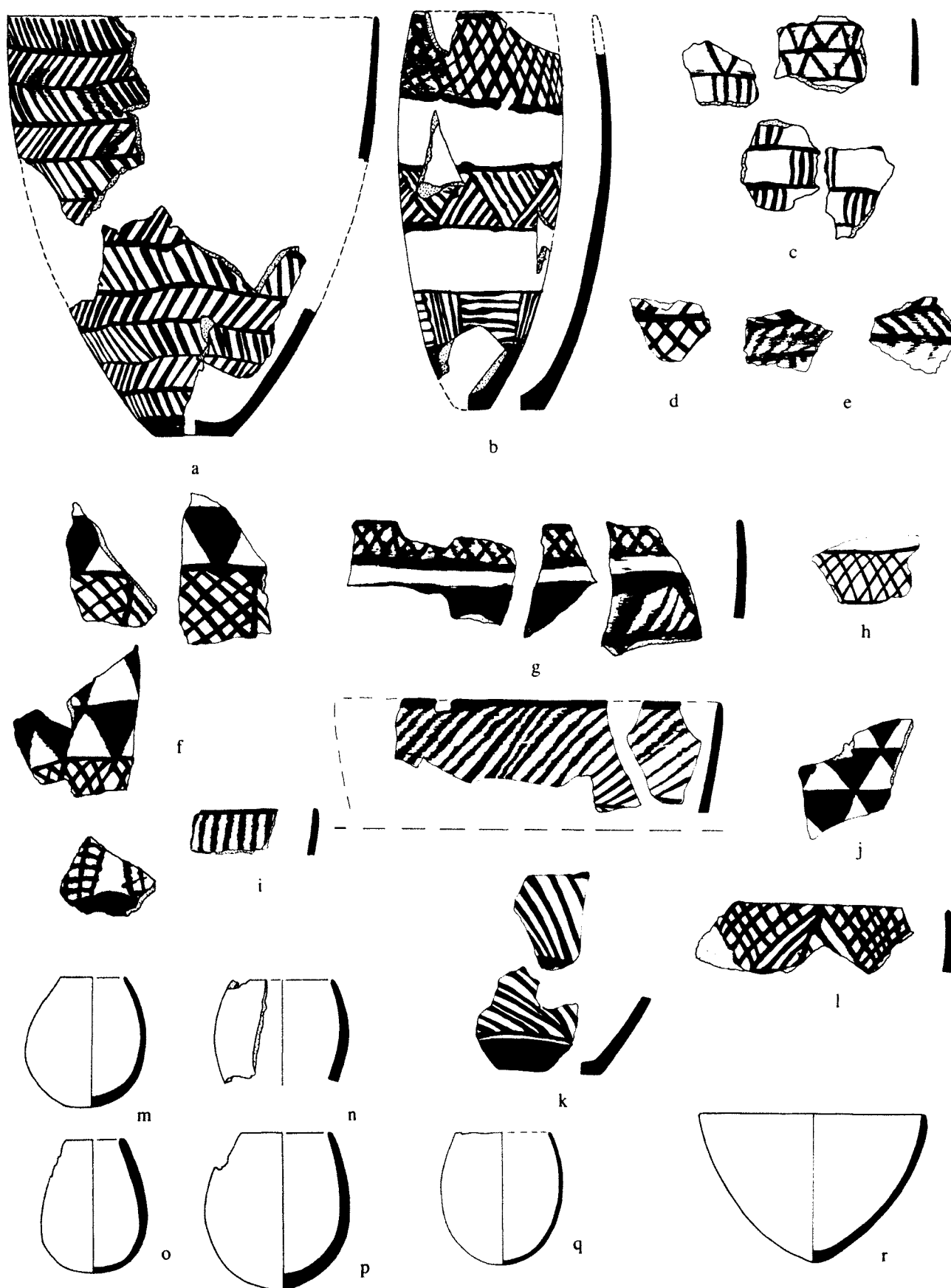


Figure 157. L 22, pottery: Form Group I, Exterior Painted—(a) AS; (b) AV; (c) AW; (d) AY; (e) AZ; (f) BH; (g) BC; (h) BA; (i) BB; (j) BJ; (k) BK; (l) BI; Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups—(m) A; (n) B; (o) D; (p) C; (q) E; (r) Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine, A. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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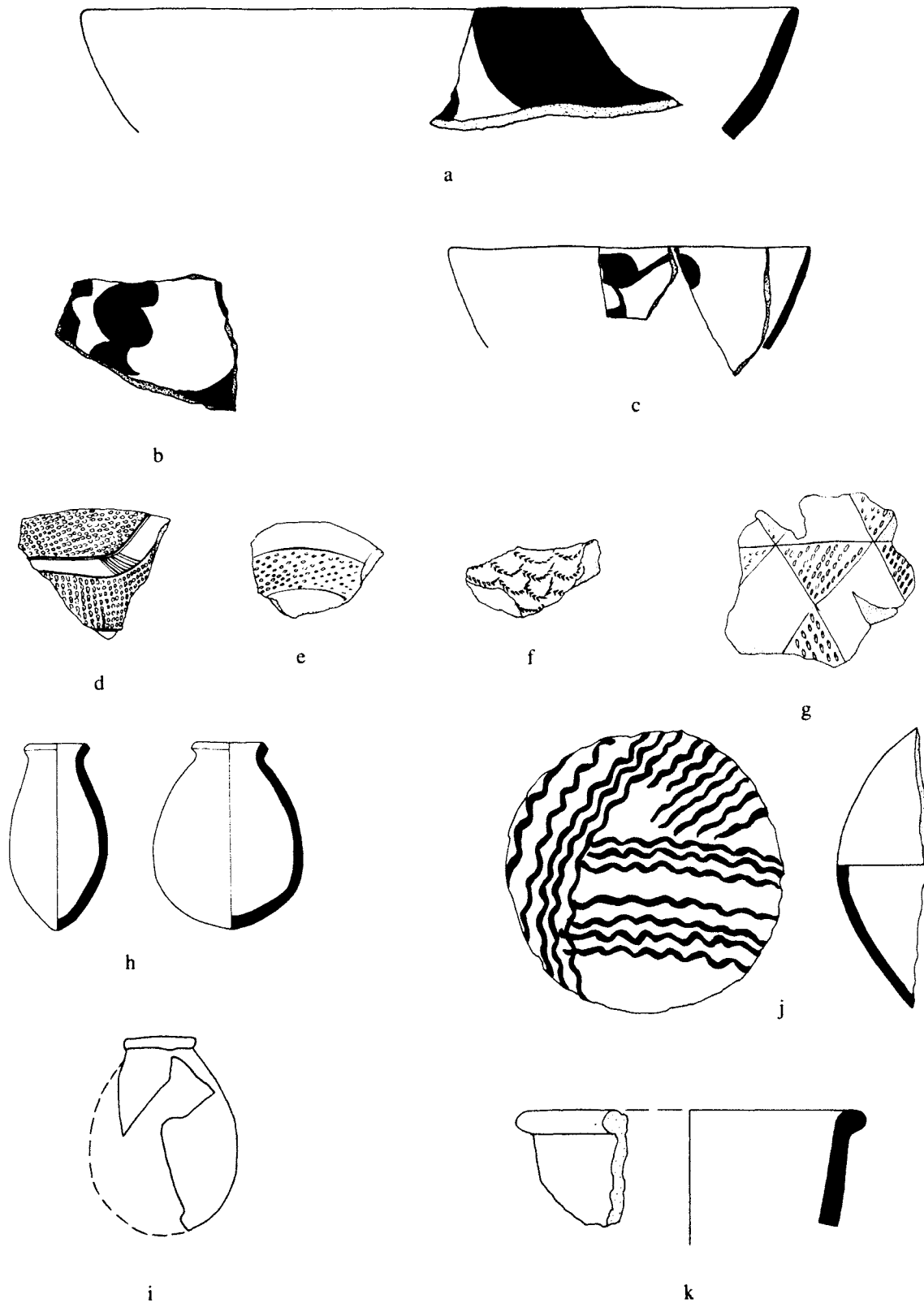


Figure 158. L 22, pottery: Form Group V, Interior Painted—(a) A; (b) E; (c) I; Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised—(d) A; (e) B; (f) C; (g) D; Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(h) A; (i) B; (j) C; (k) Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse, A. Scale 2:5.

L 22			FIGURE	PLATE
	B.		157n	
	C.		157p	
	D.		157o	
	E.	(no. 17)	23642	157q
VIII. Heavy Incised:				
	A. 1		158d	
	B. 1		158e	
	C. 3		158f	
	D. 11		34i, 158g	
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:				
	A. R1	(no. 2)	23644	158h
	B. R1			158i
	C. AA?	segment of painted jar (no. 18)		158j
XI. Egyptian Coarse:				
	A. B	(plain)		158k

Supplementary Notes for L 22

The sketch of the section in the notebook indicates the burial chamber had collapsed.

Sherds as recorded:

- A. From chamber:
 - a. Burial sheet no. 20, sherd of flat red jar
 - b. Burial sheet no. 21, two small jars, one buff, one red
- B. From fill of trench:
 - c. Dark red on light red
 - d. Red burnished
 - e. Crude red
 - f. Dark brown or buff
 - g. Black-white incised (snake pattern)
 - h. Red incised
 - i. Fragments of large shell
 - j. Red ware painted inside
 - k. Black incised sherd
 - l. Red ware painted red or black, different designs
 - m. Black stamped
 - n. Red painted inside only
 - o. Buff

Stone vessels as recorded in fragments:

- a. Burial sheet no. 2, fragments of alabaster bowl, fill of shaft (sample)
- b. Burial sheet no. 6, fragment of alabaster bowl (discarded)
- c. Burial sheet no. 10, 1/4 of alabaster bowl (sample)
- d. Burial sheet no. 27, fragment of incense burner (sample)

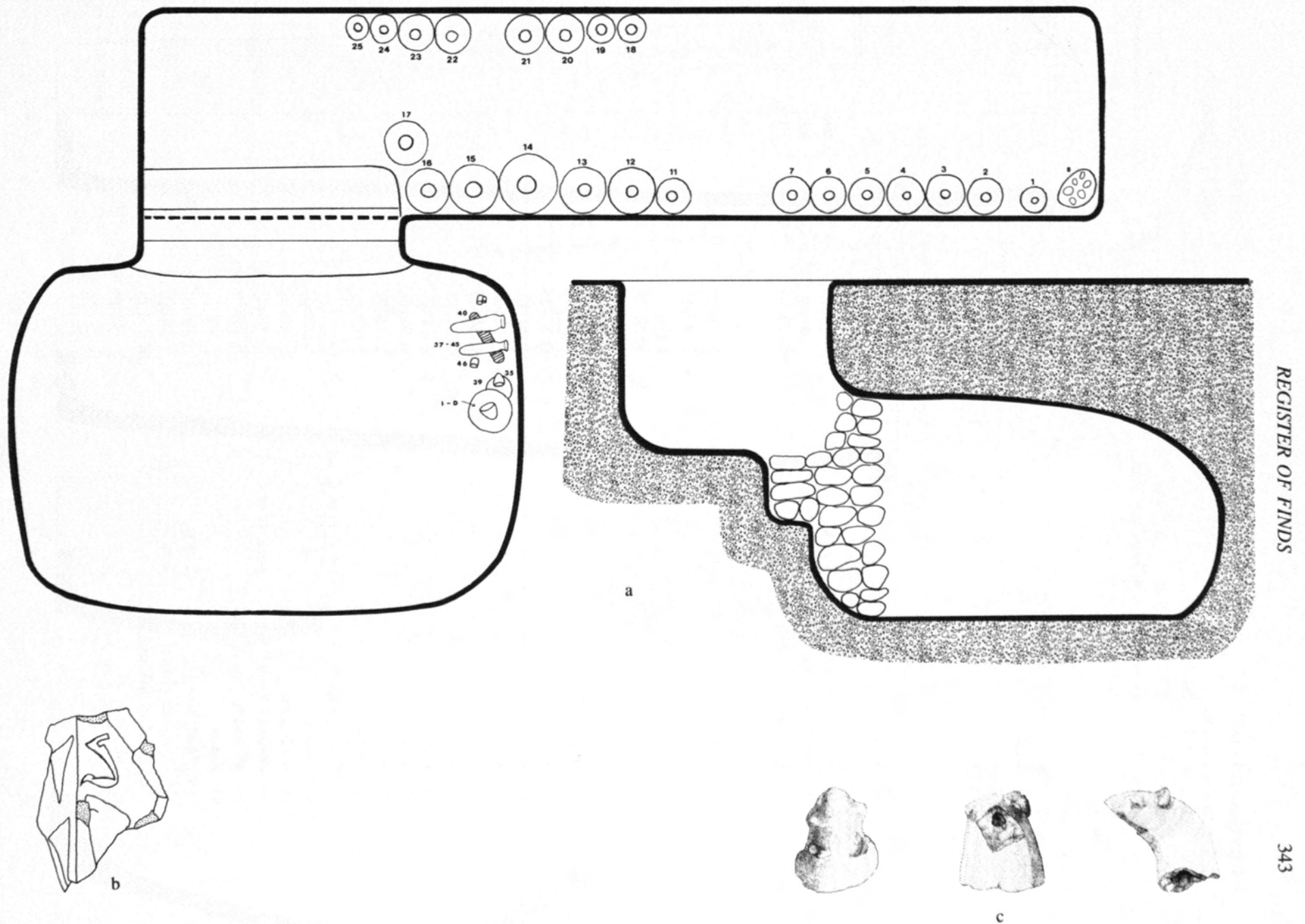


Figure 159. L 23: (a) Plan, chamber, and section; (b) Rectangular stand fragment with Edjo incised on it, no. 33b; (c) Hippopotamus head spout, no. 10. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

L 23 (figs. 159–169)

FIGURE	PLATE
159a	108b, 109

Trench and chamber

Trench: $9.25 \times 2.00 \times 1.50$ mChamber: $4.80 \times 3.30 \times 2.20$ mBlocking: In step below, 2.50×1.30 m hor. dim.

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

a. In trench, storage jars, row 1:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. X-Z | A 24141 |
| 2. X-Z | B 23641 |
| 3. X-Z | C 24106 |
| 4. X-Z | D 24128 |
| 5. X-X | E 24167 |
| 6. Probably X-X | F sherds n/a |
| 7. X-X | G 24143 |

b. In trench:

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|------|------------|
| 8. Baked clay oval objects | 6 exx. | samp. | 161b | 69c |
| 9. Baked clay oval objects | 20 exx. | samp. | 161b | 69c |
| 10. Hippopotamus head spout | | W 23748 | 159c | 103c, 104b |
| X-S2? | | | | |

c. In trench, storage jars, row 2:

- | | | |
|---------|---------|------|
| 11. X-X | H 24107 | 165c |
| 12. X-X | I 24108 | |
| 13. X-X | J disc. | |
| 14. X-X | K 24124 | |
| 15. X-X | L 24166 | |
| 16. X-X | M 24129 | |
| 17. X-X | N 24142 | |
| 18. X-X | O 24125 | |
| 19. X-X | P 24112 | |
| 20. X-X | Q 24109 | |
| 21. X-X | R 24145 | |
| 22. X-X | S 24110 | |
| 23. X-X | T 23143 | |
| 24. X-X | U 24144 | |
| 25. X-W | V 24077 | |

d. Fill of chamber:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------|
| 26. Potstand XI-B | unc., B or C sherds | | |
| 27. Shell hook | | samp. | |
| 28. Shell hook | | samp. | |
| 29. Potstand XI-B | poss. B or C | disc. | |
| 30. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i> | | A 23839 n/a | |
| 31. Beads: | | samp. | |
| a. Shell, size 1 | 2 exx. | samp., unc. | 160h |
| b. Long car. barrel | 1 ex. | samp. | |
| c. Crushed gold cyl. or bicone | | B 1375b | |
| | | (Cairo 89995) 110d | |

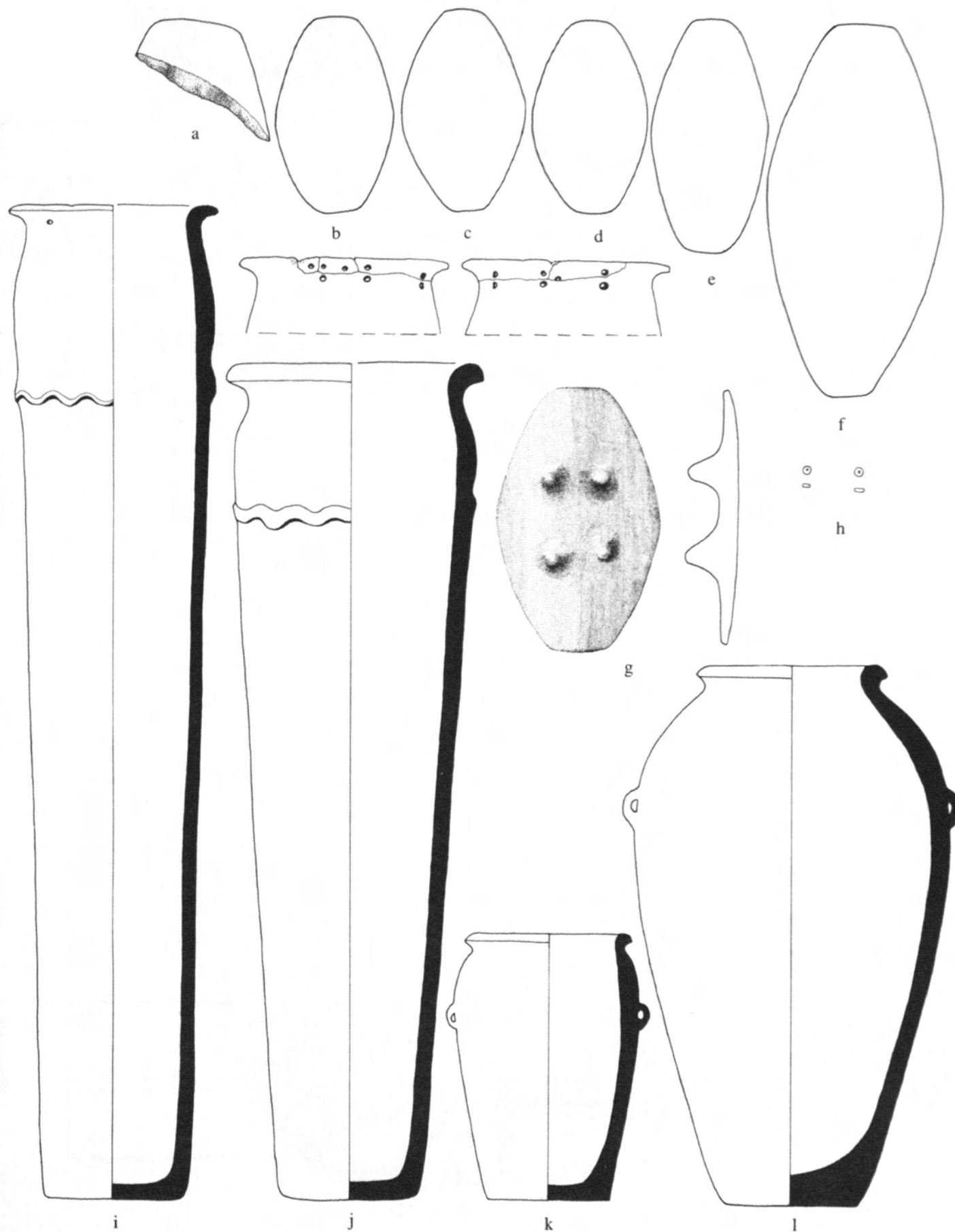


Figure 160. L 23: Palettes—(a) Fragment, no. 32; (b) No. 42a; (c) No. 42c; (d) No. 42d; (e) No. 42e; (f) No. 42b; (g) No. 41; (h) Shell beads, no. 31a; Stone vessels—(i) B; (j) A; (k) D; (l) C. Scale 2:5.

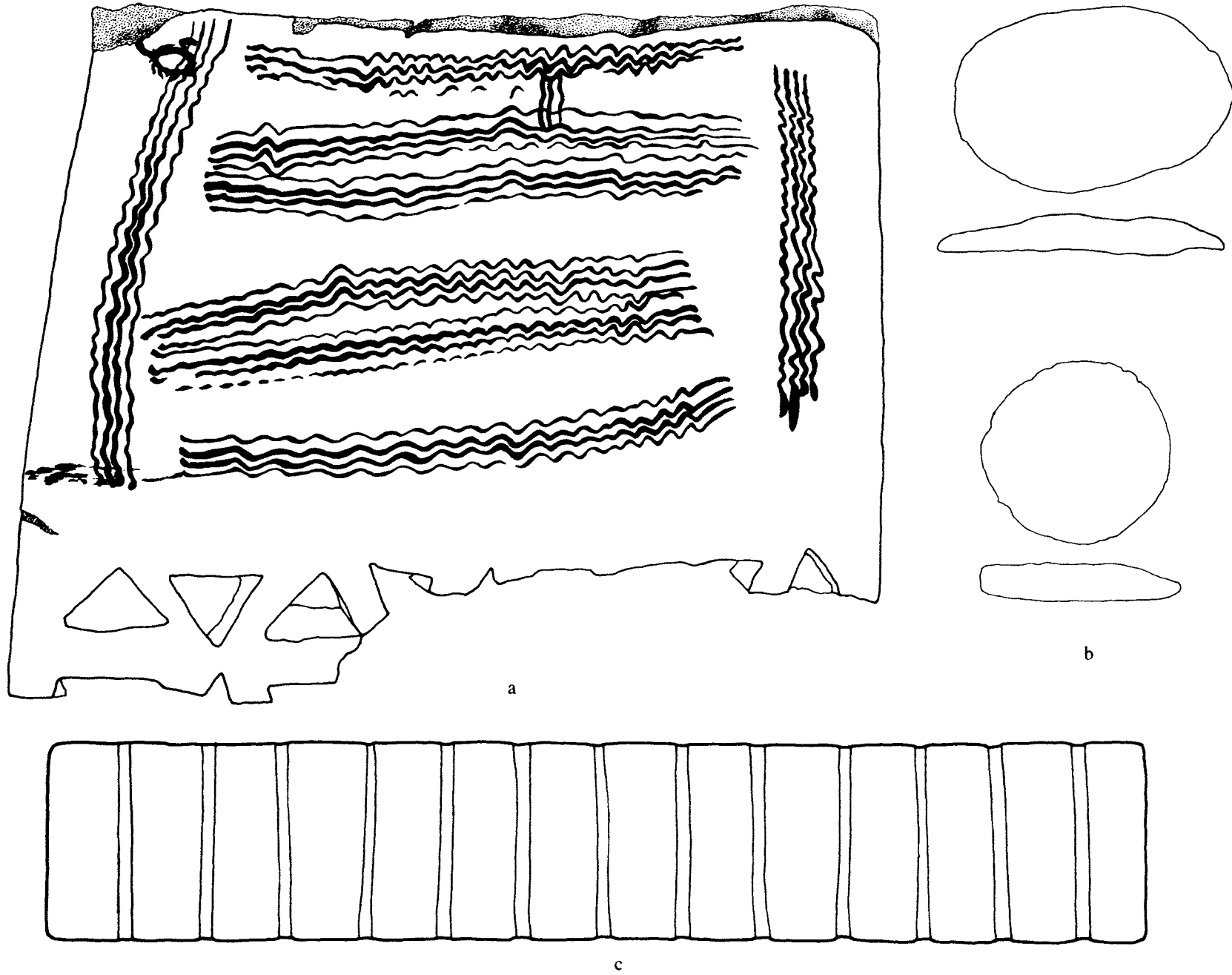


Figure 161. L 23: (a) Rectangular stand fragment, no. 33a; (b) Baked clay oval objects, nos. 8-9; (c) Gaming board, no. 40. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:5.

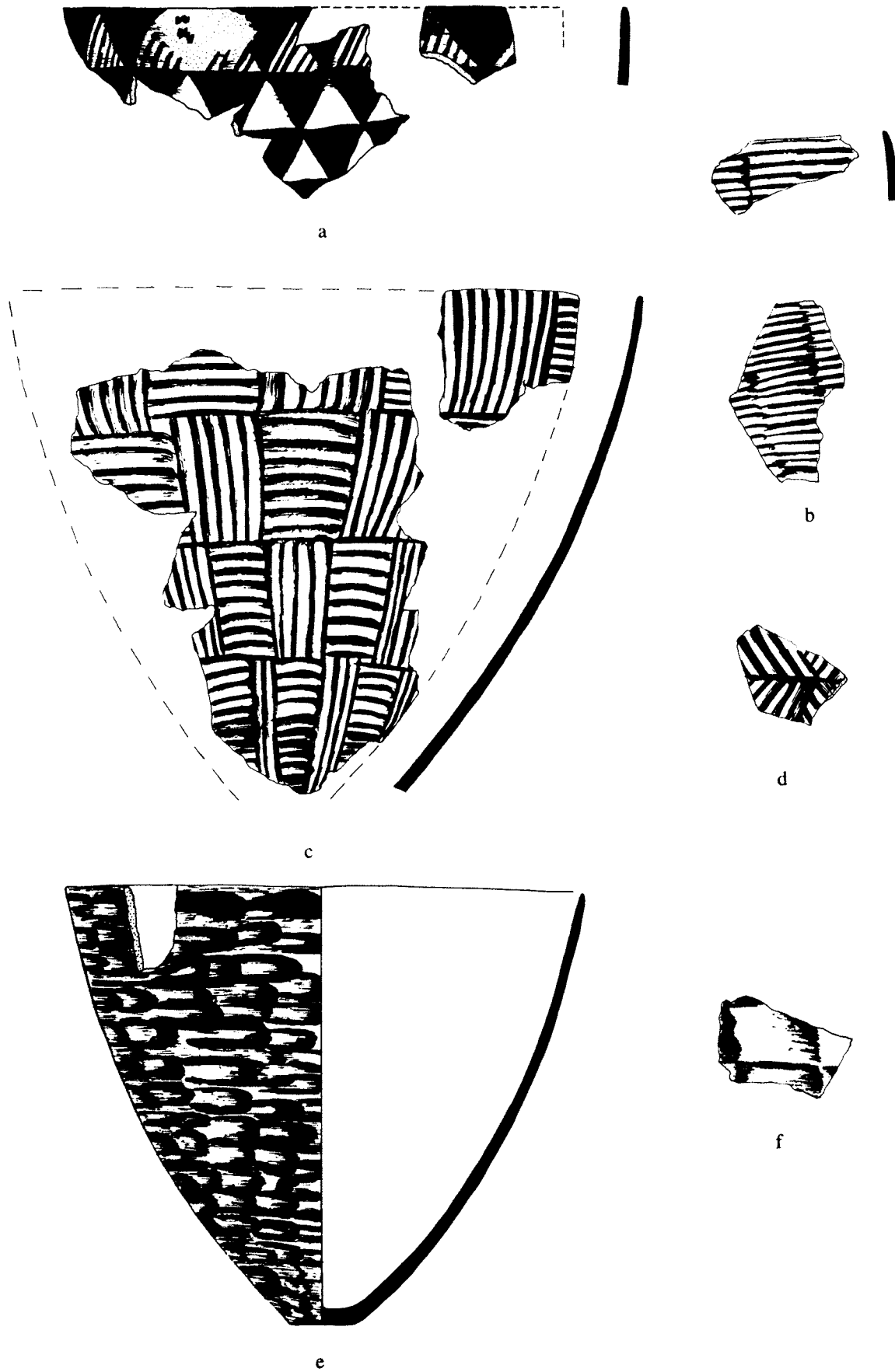


Figure 162. L 23: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) C; (d) E; (e) D; (f) F. Scale 2:5.

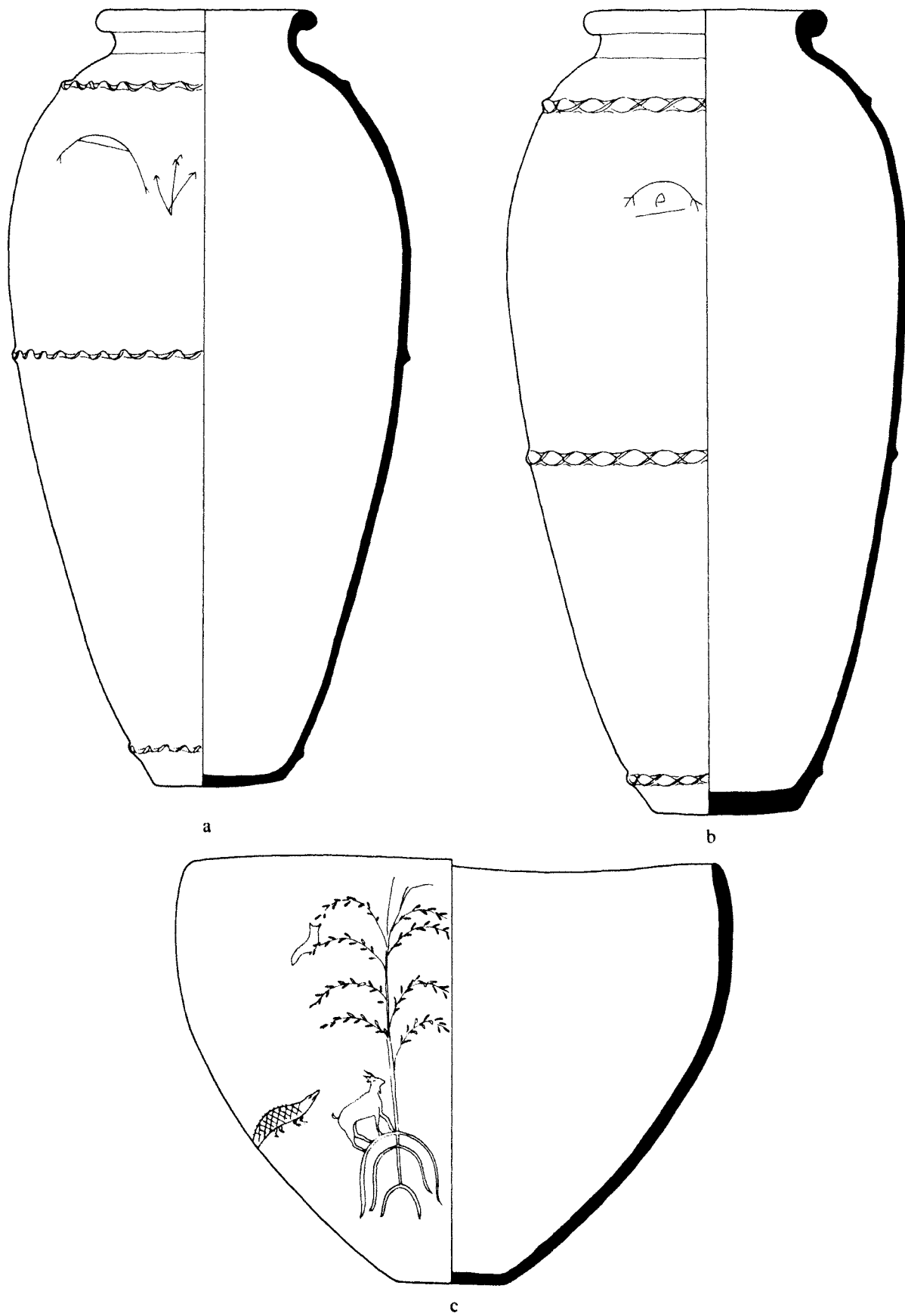


Figure 163. L 23: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) X. Scale 1:5.

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L 23			FIGURE	PLATE
32. Palette D?	fragt.	samp.	160a	
33. Potstand XI-B	(rect.)			
a. Large stand	fragt. (painted)	A 24248	161a	93-94
b. Fragment with Edjo incised		D	159b	96a, 97
34. Shell hook	fragt.	samp.		
35. Exterior painted bowl I-?/?	(prob. D sherds, nos. 38-39)			
36. Shell		samp.		
37. Stone cyl. jar O		A 23740		
38. Egyptian painted bowl X-G		X 24119	163c	84, 85
39. "Sherds of decorated deep bowl"		sherds		
40. Gaming board	(alabaster)	B 1158 (Cairo 90002)	161c	66b, 67a
41. Palette with four feet	(mal.)	23732	160g	44c
42. Palettes:		23733		
a. D1	(quartzite?)		160b	
b. D1			160f	
c. D1			160c	
d. D1			160d	
e. C1			160e	
43. Exterior painted bowl B or C?		sherds		
44. Stone jar Z2		D 23742		
45. Stone jar P		B 23741		
46. Stone jar Z2		C 23743		
47. Palette		23661		
48. Flint blade		samp.		62c
Stone Vessels:				
A. O jar	(no. 37)	23740	51c, 160j	73d
B. P jar	(no. 45)	23741	51e, 160i	73c
C. Z2 jar	(no. 46)	23743	53e, 160l	73a
D. Z2 jar	(no. 44)	23742	53f, 160k	73b
Pottery:				
I. Exterior Painted:				
A. A/28	2 sherds		9k, 162a	
B. A/32	2/3 extant		162b	
C. A/32	1/2 extant		162c	
D. A/47	pot		162e	
E. A-B/10	1 sherd		162d	
F. A-B/47	2 sherds		162f	
G. A-B/32	1 sherd			
H. A-B/32	1 sherd			
I. A-B/32	1 sherd			
VI beta. Miniature Cup:				
A.	(no. 30)			

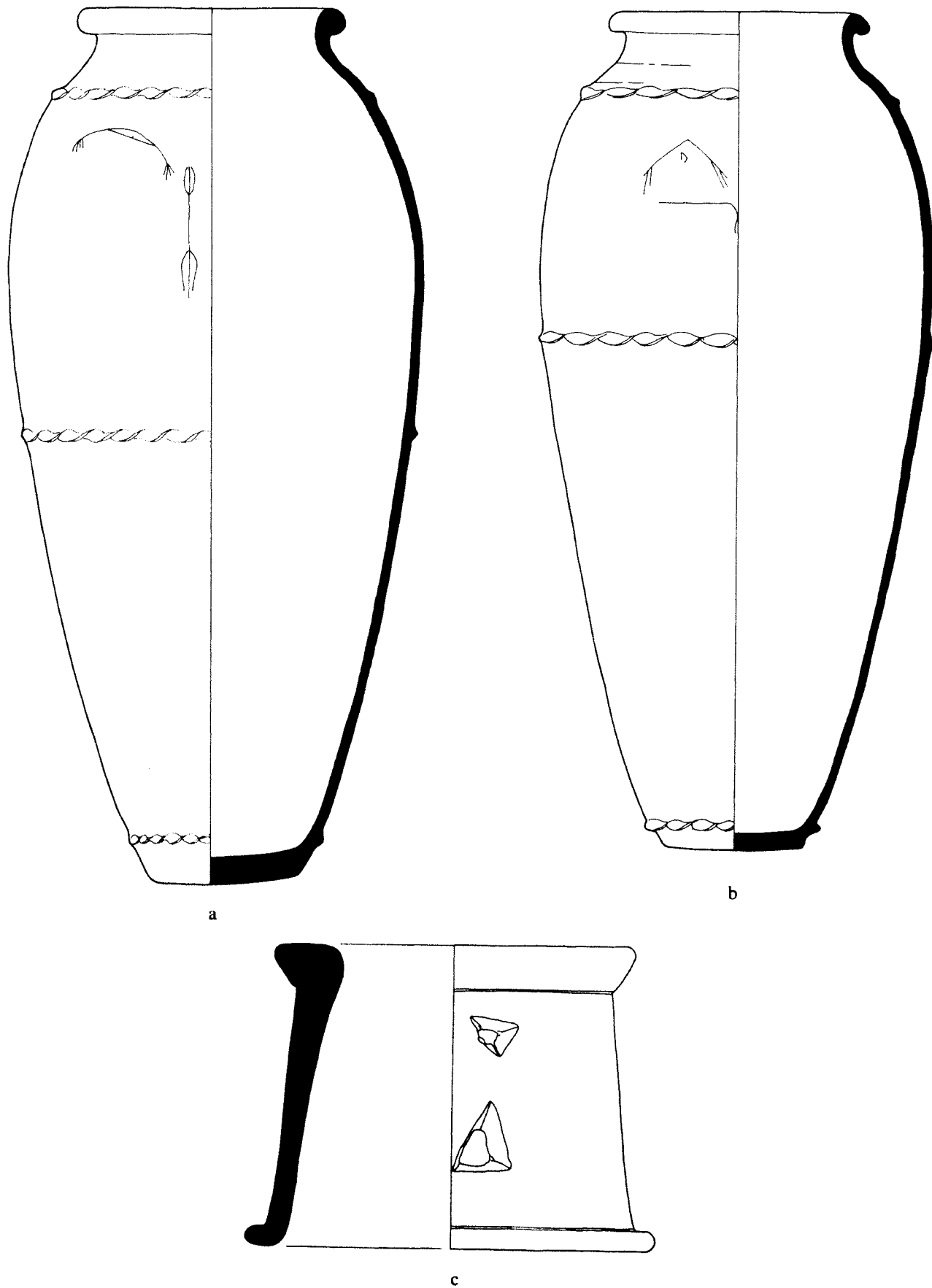


Figure 164. L 23, pottery: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(a) C; (b) D; (c) Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse, B. Scale 1:5.

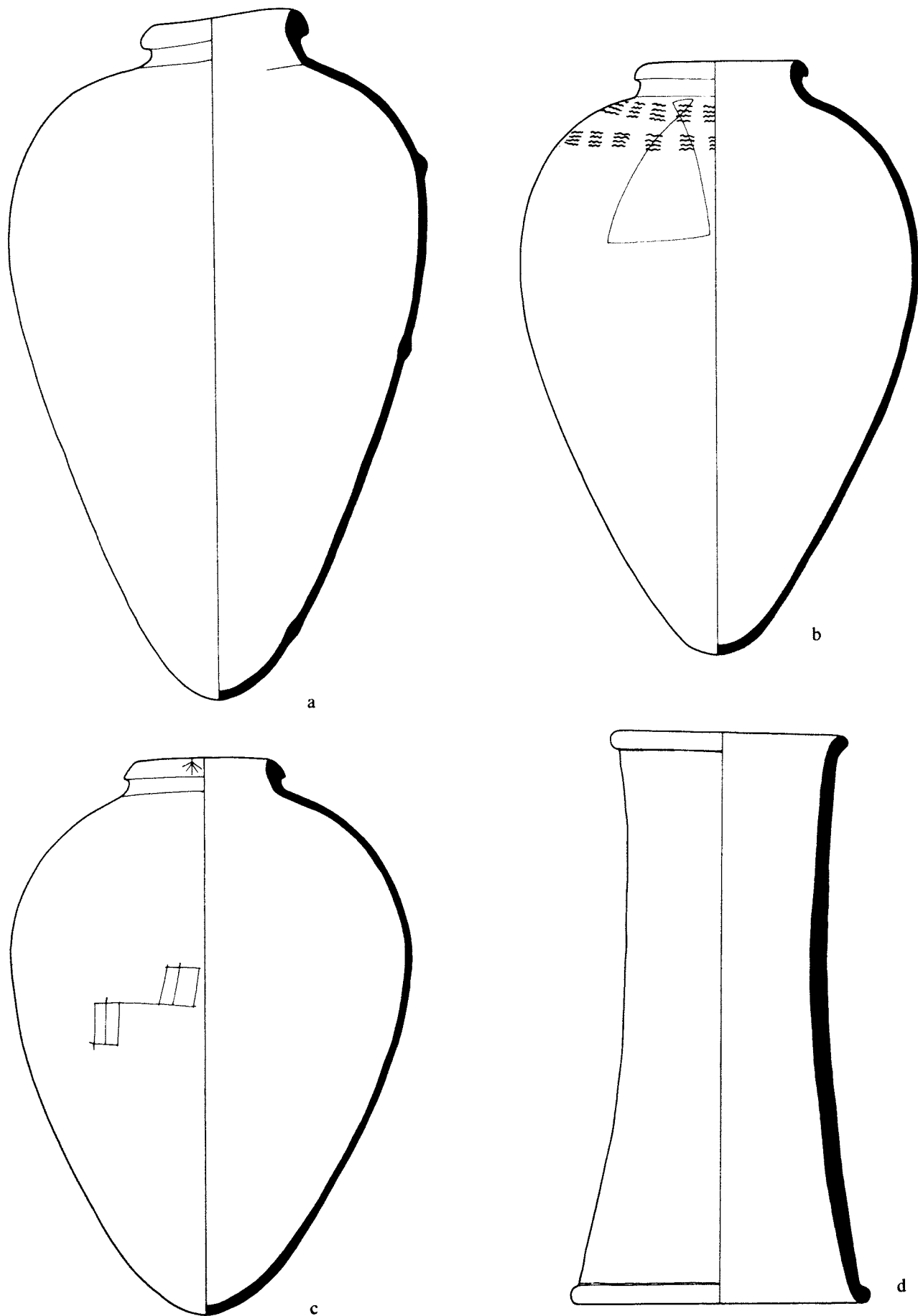


Figure 165. L 23, pottery: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink—(a) E; (b) G; (c) H; (d) Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse, C. Scale 1:5.

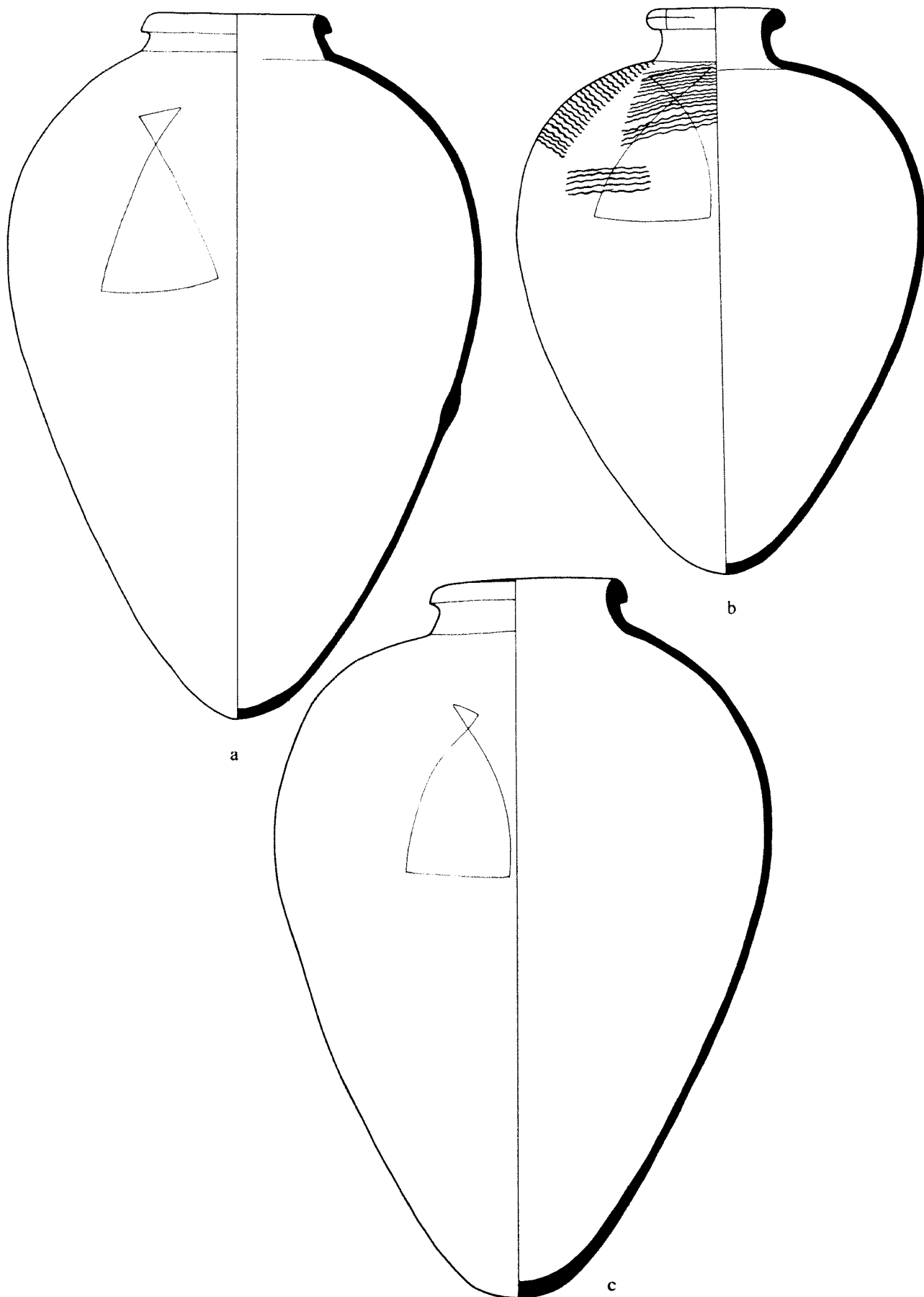


Figure 166. L 23: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) I; (b) K; (c) L. Scale 1:5.

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L 23

X. Egyptian Hard Pink:

			FIGURE	PLATE
A. Z	(no. 1)	24141	163a	21b, 80b (marks)
B. Z	(no. 2)	23641	40b, 163b	21d, 80c (marks)
C. Z	(no. 3)	24106	164a	21e, 80a (marks)
D. Z	(no. 4)	24128	164b	80d (marks)
E. X	(no. 5)	24167	165a	
F. ?	(no. 6)	sherds		
G. X	(no. 7)	24143	165b	82c, i (marks)
H. X	(no. 11)	24107	165c	81l-m (marks)
I. X	(no. 12)	24108	166a	82d (mark)
J. X?	(no. 13)	disc.		
K. X	(no. 14)	24124	166b	20c, 82e-g (marks)
L. X	(no. 15)	24166	166c	82a-b (marks)
M. X	(no. 16)	24129	167a	20d, 81h-k (marks)
N. X	(no. 17)	24142	167b	81e, 82j (marks)
O. X	(no. 18)	24125	167c	81n-r (marks)
P. X	(no. 19)	24112	168a	20e
Q. X	(no. 20)	24109	40c, 168b	20b, 81a-d (marks)
R. X	(no. 21)	24145	168c	82k (marks)
S. X	(no. 22)	24110	169a	20a, 81f-g (marks)
T. X	(no. 23)	23143	169b	
U. X	(no. 24)	24144	169c	82h (marks)
V. W	(no. 25)	24077	169d	
W. Unc. S	theriomorph (no. 10)	23748	159c	103c, 104b
X. G	painted bowl (nos. 38-39)	24119	163c	84-85

XI. Egyptian Coarse:

A. B	rect. stand (no. 33a)	24248	161a	93-94
B. B		24838	46a, 164c	24d
C. B		24837	47c, 165d	
D. B	Edjo fragt. (no. 33b)		159b	96a, 97

Supplementary Notes for L 23

The rows of pottery vessels and the bread or incense models, deposited in the long trenches of the great tombs, give the clearest indication of the original arrangement of objects as a magazine. Even this arrangement may not have been found intact, for a space near the north end of the west wall was unoccupied. Except for L 23, the only great tomb to contain intact storage jars was L 2, although they appeared in the bovine sacrifice L 6 and smaller tombs. The other shafts must have been emptied of their jars, although numerous fragments remained. The great tombs of the cemetery may have originally contained more than 400 storage jars.

Many objects in the chamber of L 23 were found in a heap against the north wall. Due to some confusion in recording, some objects cannot be assigned to a precise location in the pile or even attributed to it with certainty. The pile was irregular enough that it was probably made in the course of plundering and inadvertently left behind.

Sherds as recorded:

- a. Dark red on light red
- b. Large bowls, orange, burnishing
- c. Long pointed base of tall jar, brown

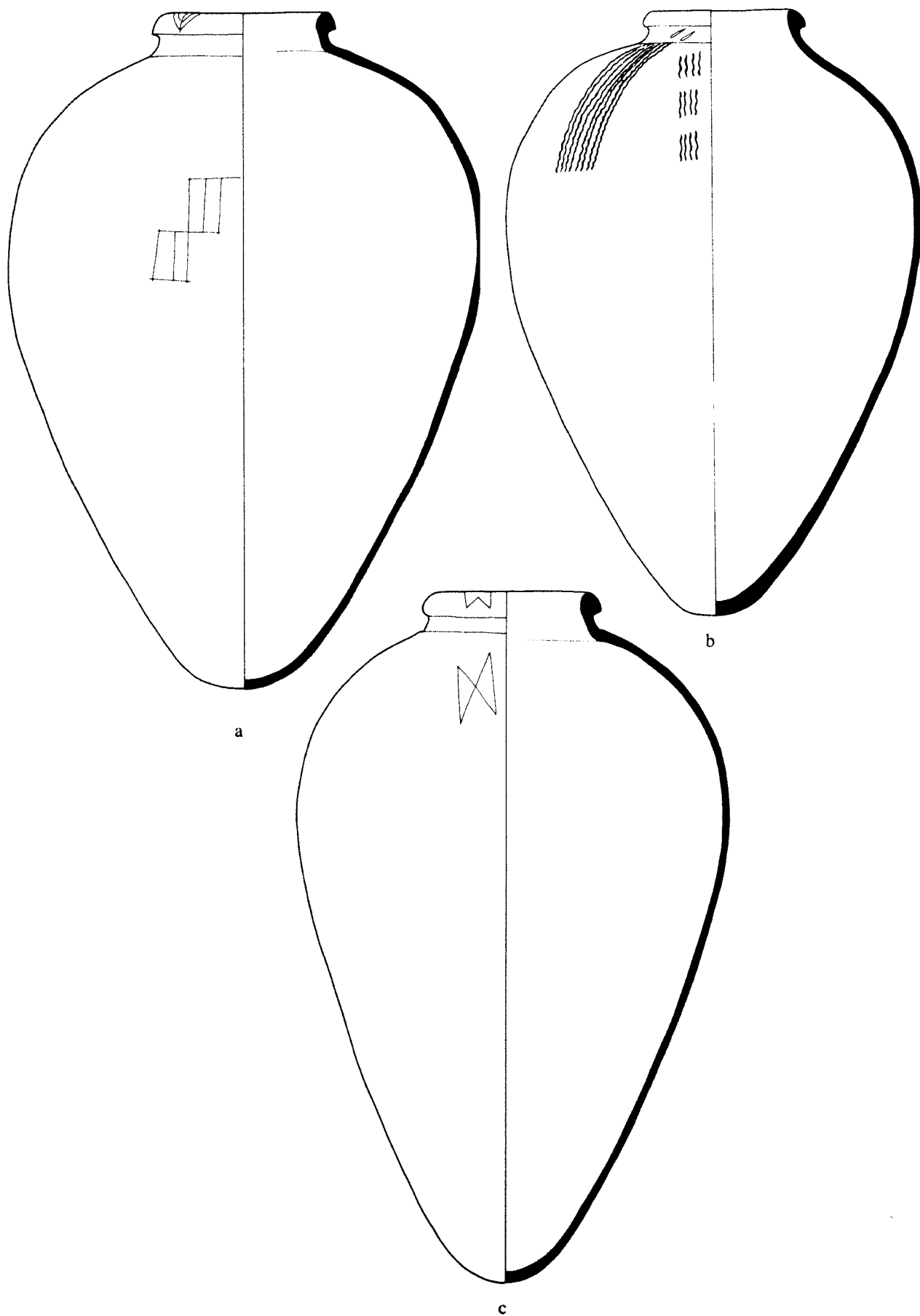


Figure 167. L 23: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) M; (b) N; (c) O. Scale 1:5.

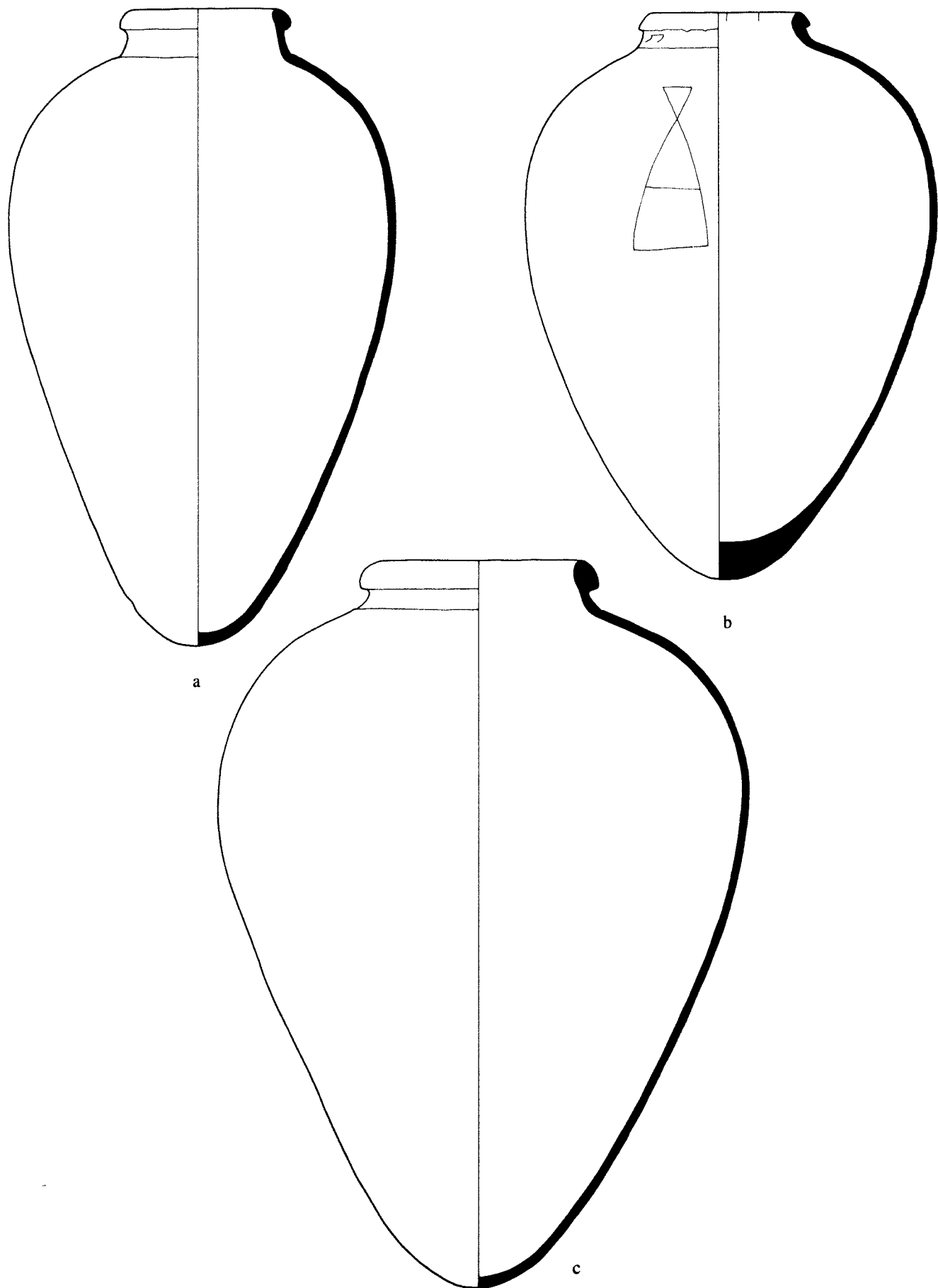


Figure 168. L 23: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) P; (b) Q; (c) R. Scale 1:5.

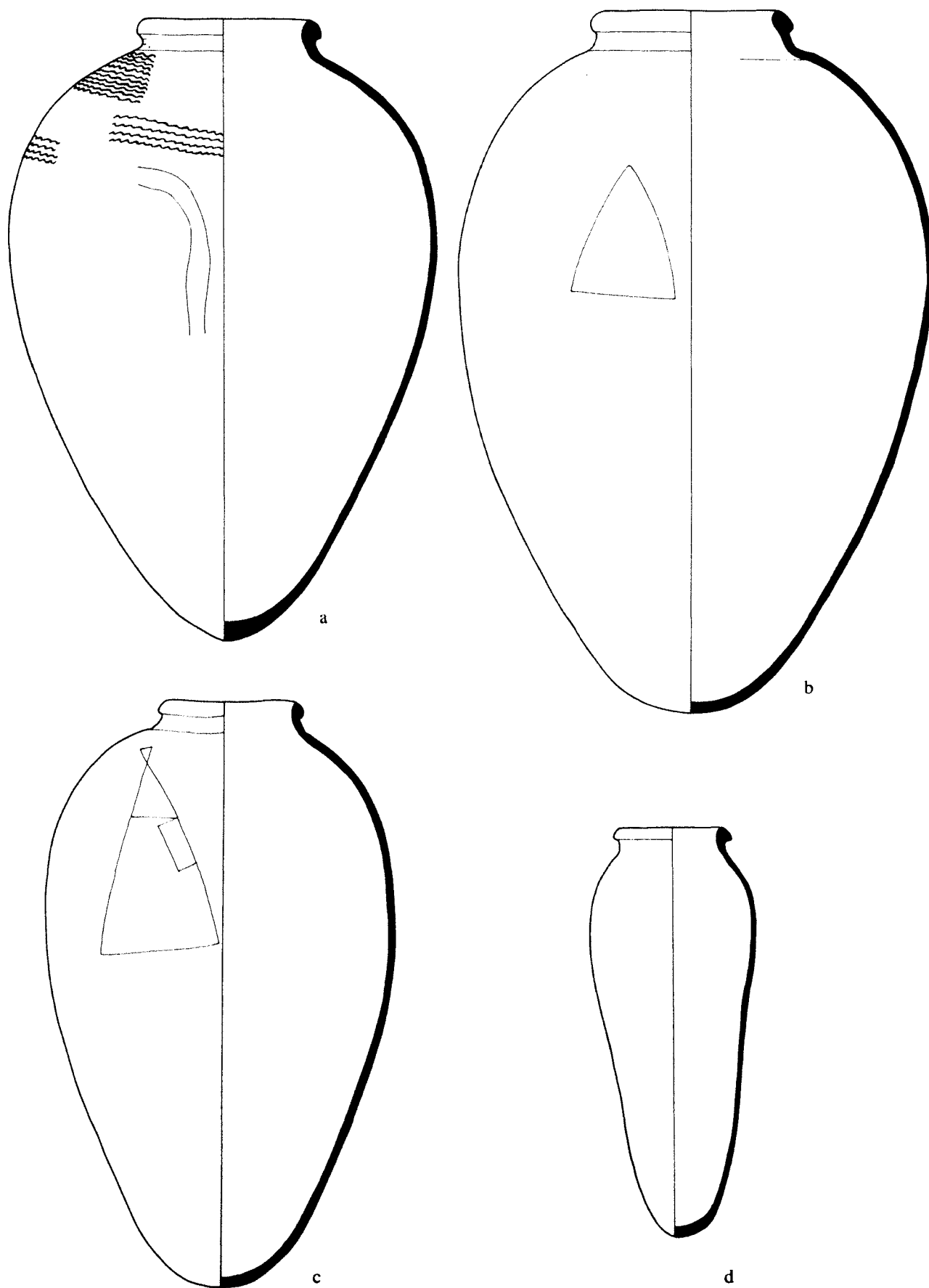


Figure 169. L 23: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) S; (b) T; (c) U; (d) V. Scale 1:5.

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L 23

- d. Crude buff bowl, flat base
- e. Thin, buff ware
- f. Dark red paint on buff, crosshatched
- g. Brown pot, ripples, orange
- h. Black burnished outside, buff inside
- i. Large orange bowls

Stone vessel fragments as recorded:

- a. Alabaster vessel
- b. Alabaster fragment

L 24 (figs. 170–182)

FIGURE

PLATE

Trench and chamber

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Trench: 10.80 × 1.50 × 0.35–0.70 m (denuded)

Chamber: 5.60 × 3.00 m (floor 2.70 m below surface)

Blocking: 2.00 × 1.00 m (floor of step 2.20 m below surface, filled with stones)

Burial: —

Body: —

Objects:

a. From trench:

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| 1. Qustul incense burner | 24069 | 54–56, 171b | 34, 38 |
| 2. Egyptian jar X–T | AB 24066 | | |
| 3. Shell hook | samp. | | |
| 4. Pebble (car.) | samp. | | |
| 5. "Stone vessel, unusual form" | samp. n/a | | |

b. Entrance to chamber:

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------|------|----------|
| 6. Mortar C | 23724 | 172a | 39c, 41a |
| 7. Pebbles | samp. | | |

c. Fill of chamber:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|---------|------------------------------------|
| 8. Beads, gaming balls, and inlay | 23730 | 171c, l | 56b, k, m–p, s–v, 57b–d, f, g, 58a |
| a. Garnet discs size 1 | 87 exx. | | |
| b. Crystal discs size 1 | 2 exx. | | |
| c. Dark fai. discs size 1 | 99 exx. | | |
| d. Tubular dark fai. | 20 exx. | | |
| e. Wh. fai. discs | 76 exx. | | |
| f. Wh. fai. tubular | 57 exx. | | |
| g. Glob.–piriform, wh. | 7 exx. | | |
| h. Carnelian discs size 1 | 297 exx. | | |
| i. Car. bicones and barrels | 9 exx. | | |
| j. Car. tubes | 1 ex. and fragt. | | |

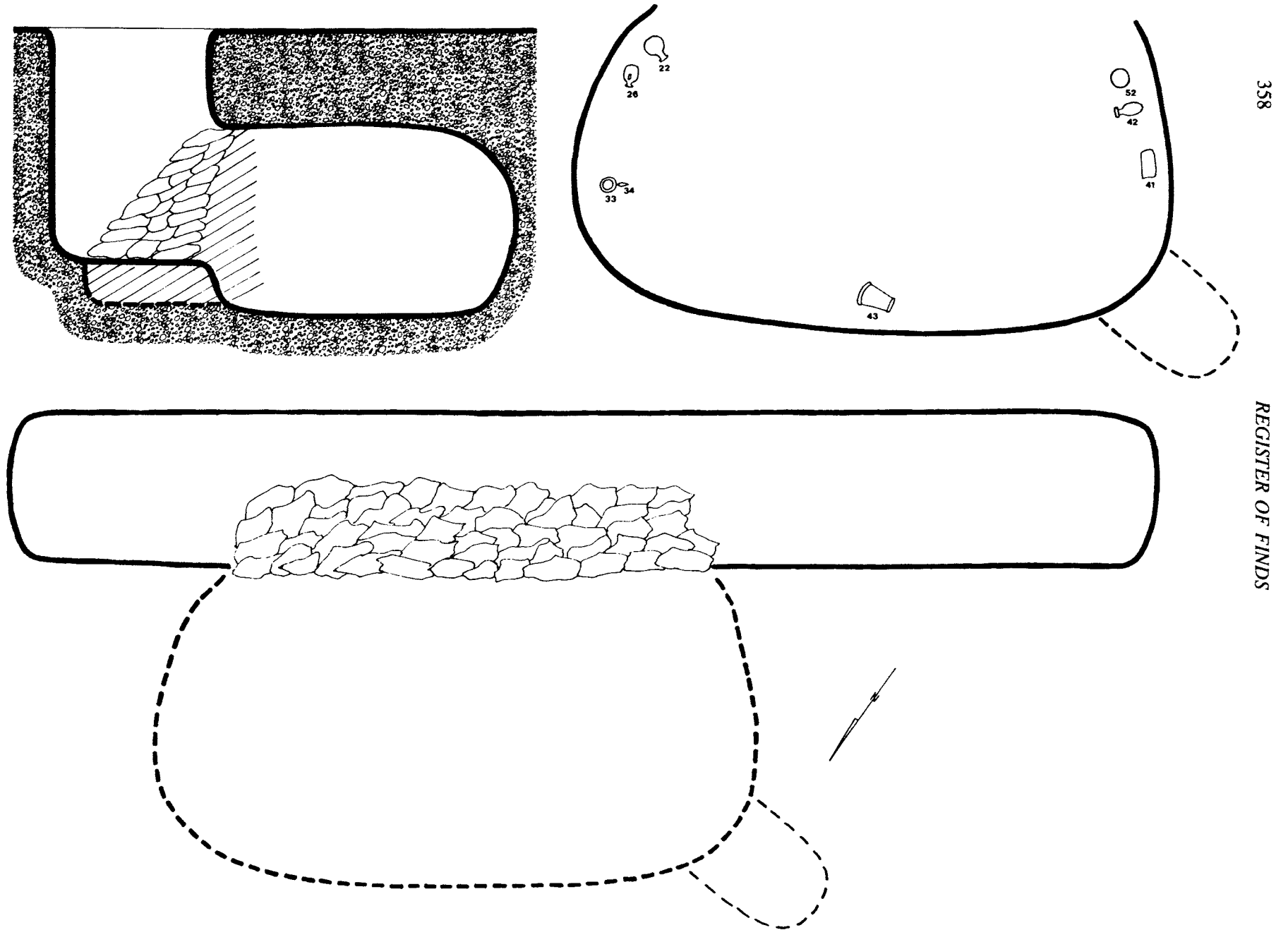


Figure 170. L 24: Plan, chamber, and section. Scale 1:50.

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L 24

			FIGURE	PLATE
k. Car. pendants	2 frags.			
l. Balls				
i. Fai.	8 exx.			
ii. Car.	3 exx.			
iii. Am.	1 ex.			
iv. Bl. and wh. st.	1 ex.			
v. Bl.	1 ex.			
m. Token or plug				
n. Shell or bone ring	fragt.			
o. Malachite	fragt.			
p. Black stone inlay	1 ex.			
9. Grooved limestone gam- ing board		samp.	171h	66a, 67b
10. Sandstone	fragt.	samp.		
11. Pestle		23739 A	172d	
12. Pestle		23739 B	172f	
13. Palette		samp.	171n	48d
14. Macehead		24159		64c, 65a
15. Stone jar Q	fragt.	A 23721		
16. Miniature hippopotamus	(ls.)	23698	171a	103b, 104a
17. Pestle		23739 C		
18. Quartz pebbles	2 exx.	23699		
19. Pebbles		samp.		
20. Beads	(no. 8 cont.)			
21. Incense burner		23892	171g	26b, 35d
22. Syro-Palestinian EB I jug XII		A 23758		
23. Palettes				
a. Rose quartz D1		23699 A	171o	48a
b. Milky quartz D1		23699 B	171p	44f, 48b
24. Pebbles		samp.		
25. Pestle		23739 D	172c	
26. Syro-Palestinian EB I jug XII		B 23923		
27. Exterior painted bowl I-A/4		24848		
28. Mortar A2	(quartz)	23711	172b	41b
29. Beads	(no. 8 cont.)			
30. Copper finial	(with wood)	23852	171j	64a, 65c
31. Egyptian bottle X-Q2		W 23794		
32. "Perforated object"		samp. n/a		
33. Incense burner E3		23728	171d	26e, 35h
34. Copper spearhead		23727	171e	64b, 65b
35. Palette of rose quartz D1		23726	171q	47d
36. Egyptian bowl X-M2		AI 24160		
37. "Sherds of cup"	(unc.)	sherds		

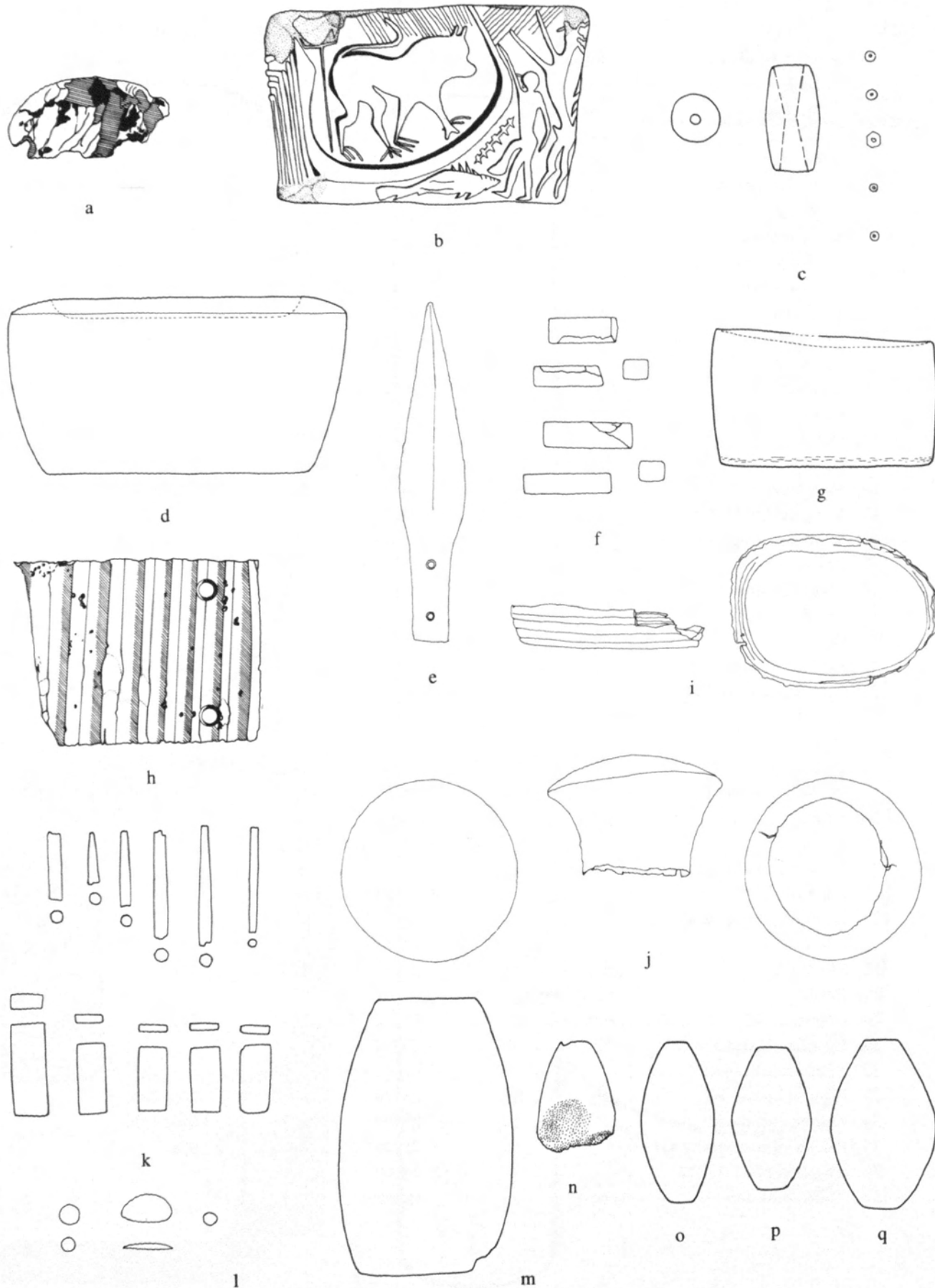


Figure 171. L 24: (a) Miniature hippopotamus, no. 16; (b) Qustul incense burner, no. 1; (c) Beads, no. 8; (d) Incense burner, no. 33; (e) Spearhead, no. 34; (f) Bars of ochreous clay, no. 51; (g) Incense burner, no. 21; (h) Gaming board, no. 9; (i) Cap for furniture leg, no. 46; (j) Copper finial, no. 30; (k) Ivory gaming rods and plaques, no. 38; (l) Gaming balls, no. 8l, black stone eye inlay, no. 8p; Palettes—(m) No. 47; (n) No. 13; (o) No. 23a; (p) No. 23b; (q) No. 35. Scale 2:5 except (a) 4.5 × 3 × 2.2 cm.

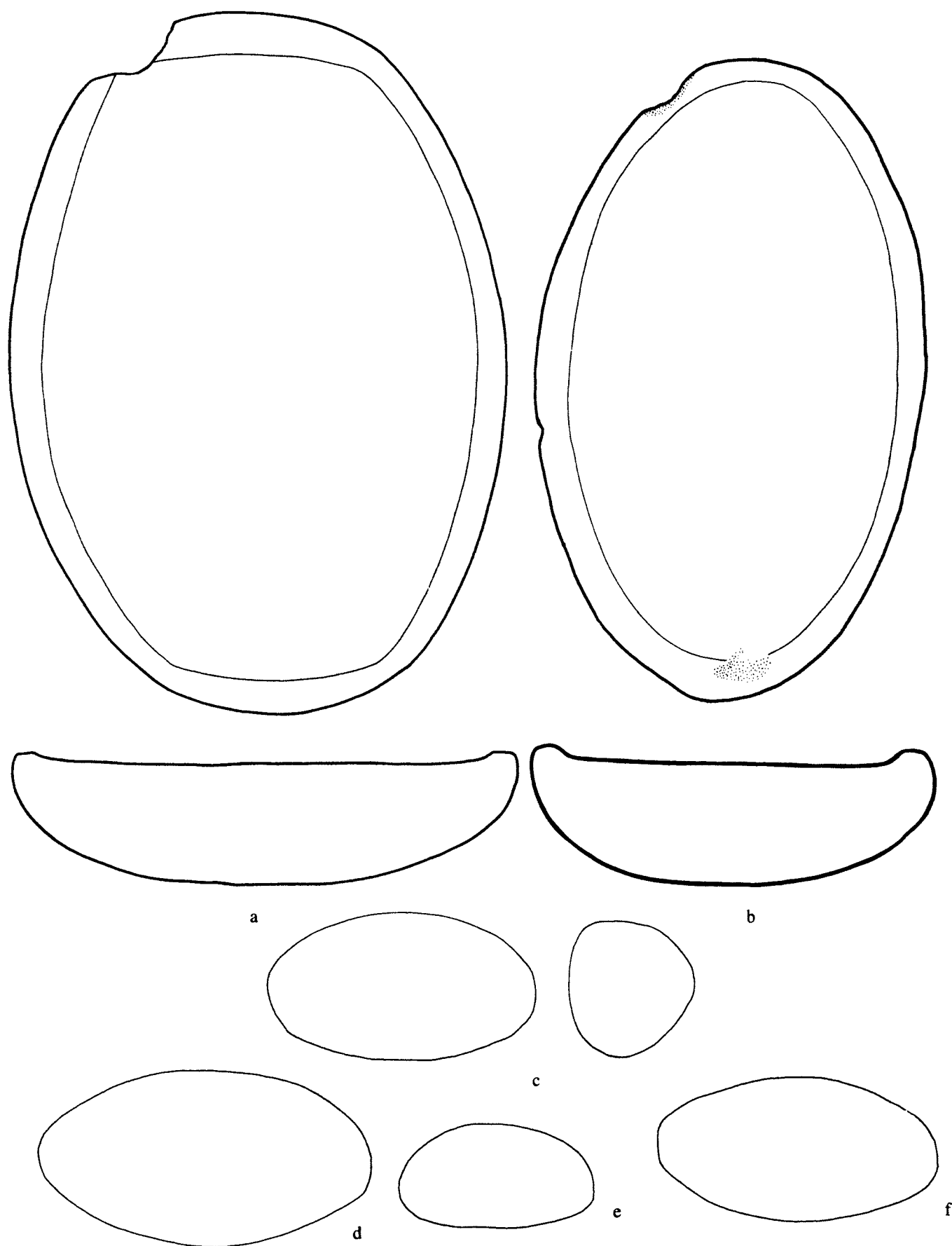


Figure 172. L 24: Mortars—(a) No. 6; (b) No. 28; Pestles—(c) No. 25; (d) No. 11; (e) No. 56; (f) No. 12.
Scale 2:5.

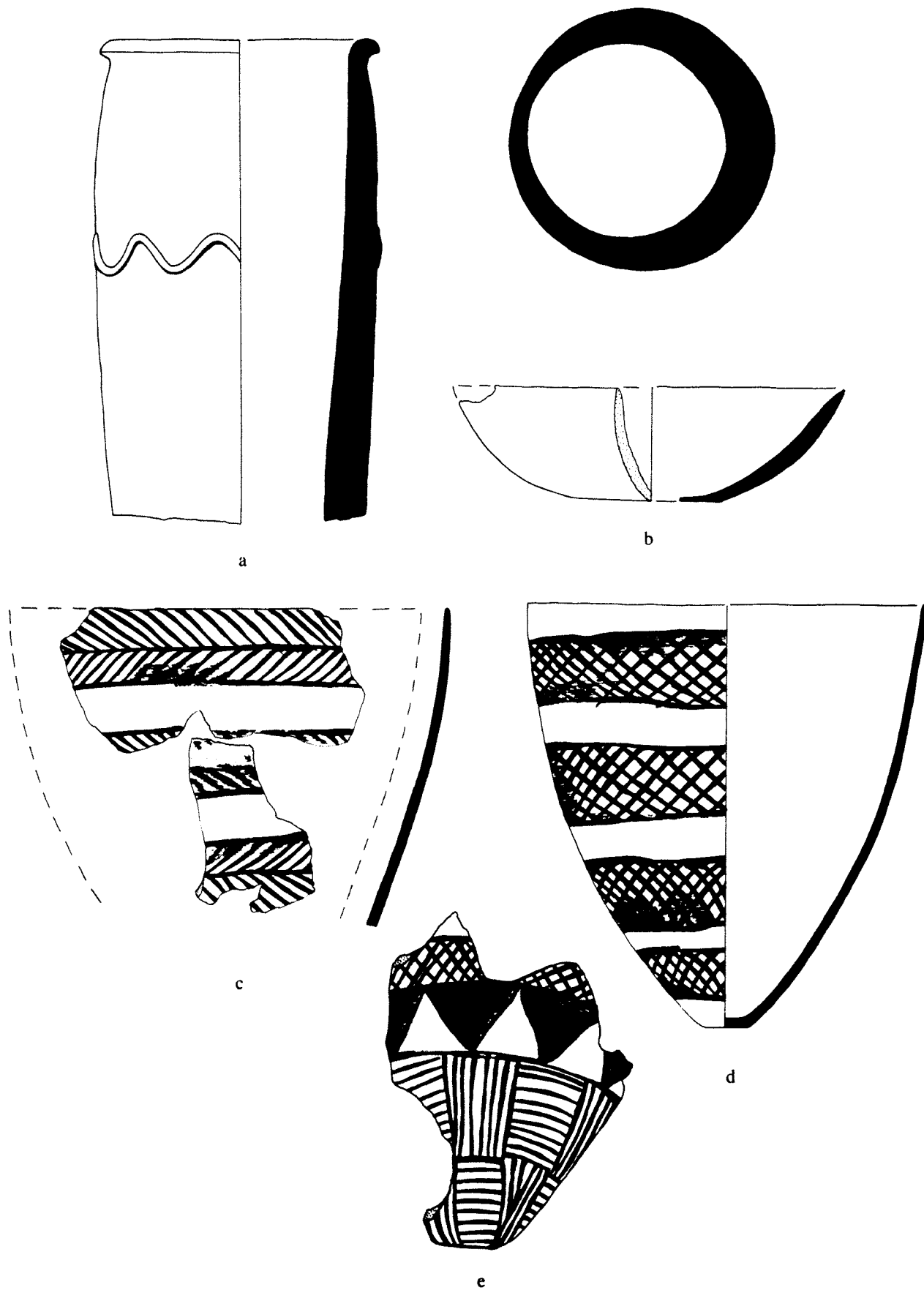


Figure 173. L 24: Stone vessels—(a) A; (b) C; Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(c) A; (d) B; (e) D. Scale 2:5.

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L 24

			FIGURE	PLATE
38. Ivory gaming pieces		samp.	171k	63c, d
a. Rods	(and frags.)			
b. Plaques	3 exx. and frags.			
39. Egyptian bowl X-M2		AG 24132		
40. Egyptian jar X-V		AN 24127		
41. Stand XI-B		A 23835		
42. Egyptian bottle X-Q1		V 23757		
43. Stand XI-B		C 24284		
44. Egyptian bowl X-C		AF 23836		
45. Miniature cup VI <i>beta</i>		D 23838		
46. Copper cap for furniture leg		samp.	171i	64d, 65d
47. Palette C2	(malachite)	23729	171m	44b
48. Egyptian bowl X-C		AH 23759		
49. Incense burner	fragt. (incised, fits L 9—12)	24074		27a, 35i
50. Gold bead		23731		58c
51. Bars of ochreous clay	(rect.)	samp.	171f	69b
52. Egyptian storage jar X-X		AL 23753		
53. Stand XI-B	(tall, dec.)	D 24165		
54. Stand XI-B	(plain)	E 24283		
55. Ear of clay hippopotamus XI-E		H samp.		
56. Pestle	(see L 30—1)		172c	
57. Incense burner	frags. (see L 24—1)	samp.		
Stone Vessels:				
A. Q jar	(no. 15)	23721	51d, 173a	72d
B. Unc.		samp.		
C. K2 bowl		samp.	173b	
Pottery:				
I. Exterior Painted:				
A. A/4	pot		173c	
B. A/5	pot		173d	
C. A/4	pot		174a	7b
D. A/138	1/4 extant		16d, 173e	
E. A/128	1/5 extant		174b	
F. A/27	6 sherds		174c	
G. A/27	1/4 extant		174d	
H. A/139	2/5 extant		16e, 174e	
I. A/40	1/3 extant		10k, 174f	
J. B/72	1 ex. (rest.)		12j, 175a	
K. A/5	5 sherds		175b	
L. A?/125	3 sherds		15h, 175c	
M. A-B/112	1 sherd		14o, 175d	
N. A/138	5 sherds		175e	
O. A/4	4 sherds			

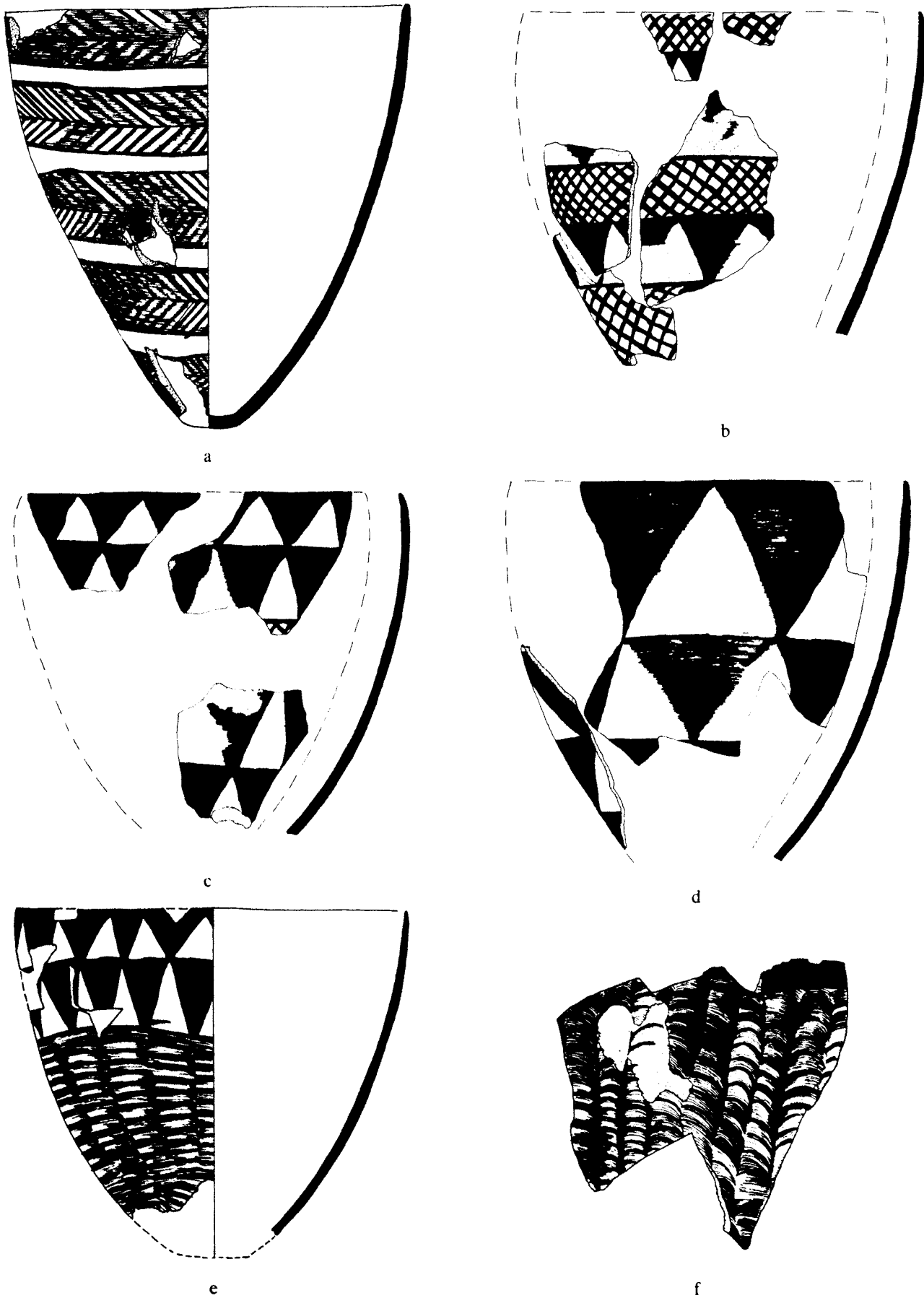


Figure 174. L 24: Form Group I, Exterior Painted pottery—(a) C; (b) E; (c) F; (d) G; (e) H; (f) I. Scale 2:5.

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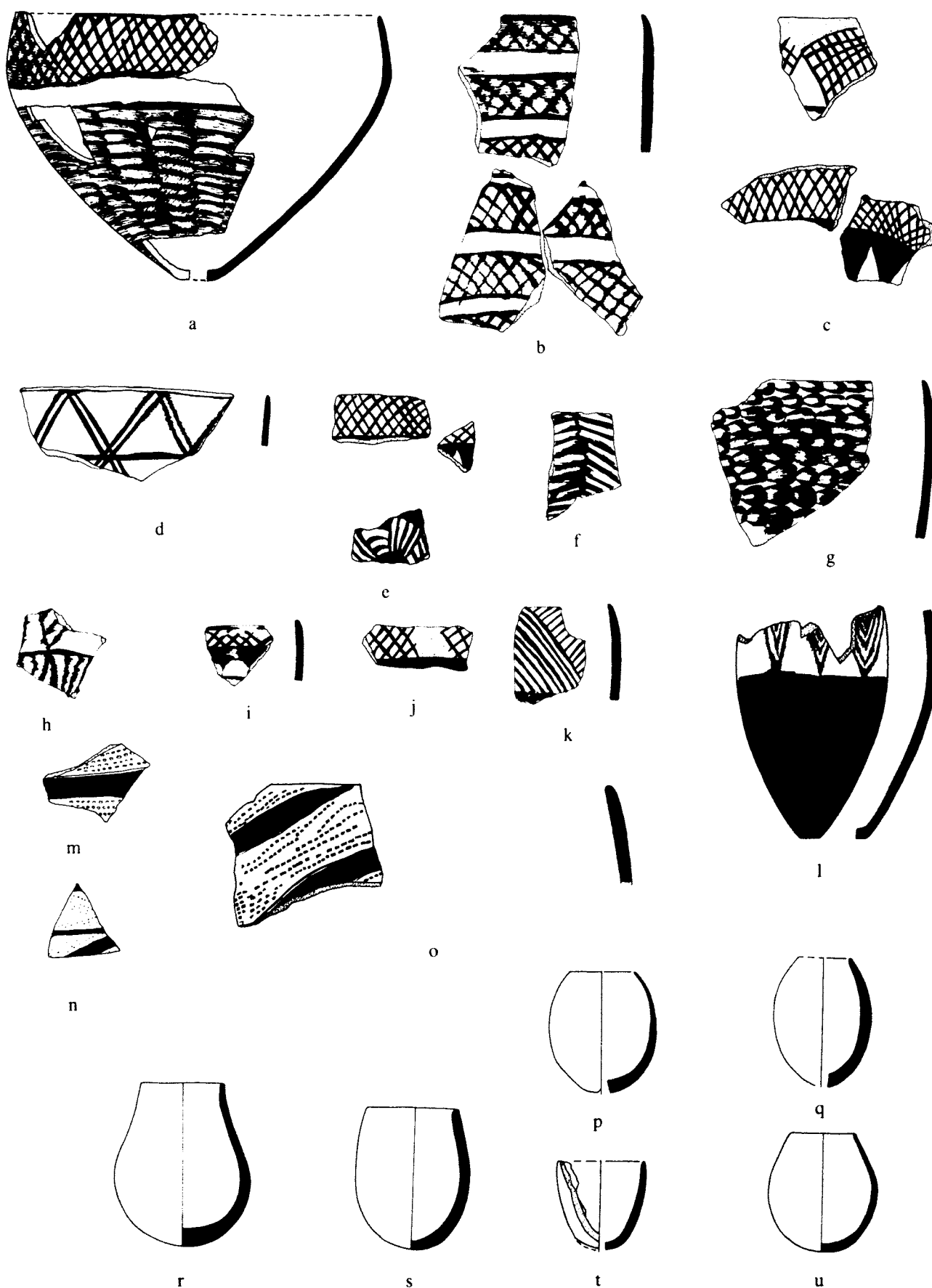


Figure 175. L 24, pottery: Form Group I, Exterior Painted—(a) J; (b) K; (c) L; (d) M; (e) N; (f) R; (g) P; (h) W; (i) X; (j) AD; (k) Y; (l) AA; Form Group IV, Painted and Incised—Impressed—(m) B; (n) C; (o) A; Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups—(p) A; (q) D; (r) C; (s) E; (t) F; (u) B. Scale 2:5.

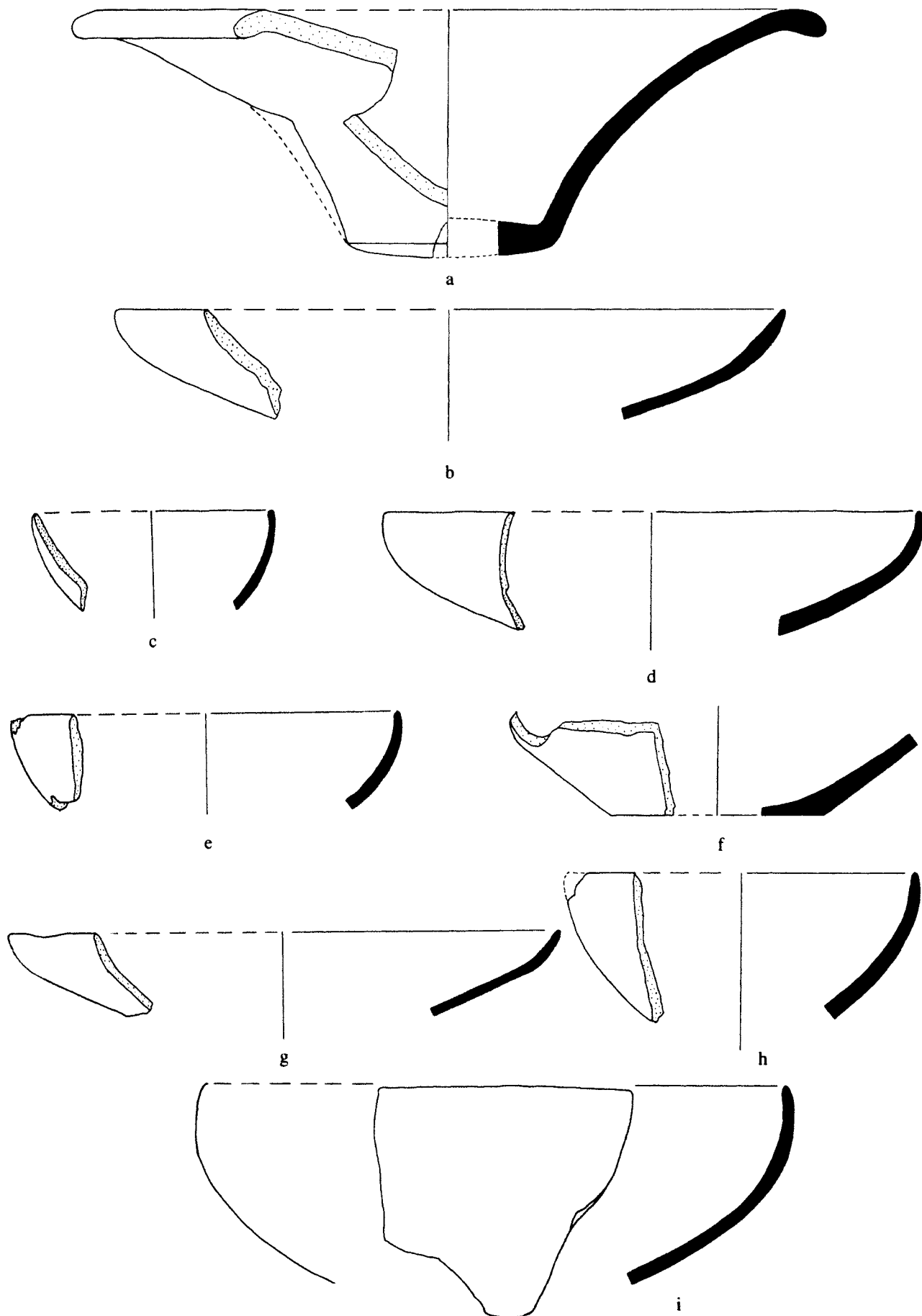


Figure 176. L 24: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) A; (b) D; (c) C; (d) E; (e) F; (f) G; (g) H; (h) J; (i) I. Scale 2:5.

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L 24			FIGURE	PLATE
P. A/48	1 sherd		175g	
Q. A-B/10	2 sherds			
R. C/38	1 sherd		175f	
S. A-B/32	3 sherds			
T. A-B/32	1 sherd			
U. A?/4	1 sherd			
V. A-B/128	1 sherd			
W. A-B/7	1 sherd		175h	
X. A/128	1 sherd		175i	
Y. A/10	1 sherd		175k	
Z. A-B/50	1 sherd			
AA. C/116	1/2 extant		14q, 175l	
AB. A/27	1 sherd			
AC. A/15	1 sherd			
AD. A-B/63	1 sherd		175j	
AE. A-B/unc.	1 sherd			
IV. Painted and Incised-Impressed:				
A. 2			175o	
B. 10			21i, 175m	
C. 3			21c, 175n	
VI <i>beta</i> . Miniature Cups:				
A.			175p	
B.			175u	
C.	(no. 37)		175r	
D.	(no. 45)	23838	175q	
E.			175s	
F.			175t	
X. Egyptian Hard Pink:				
A. J			37a, 176a	
B. I	(crude)			
C. B2			35b, 176c	
D. E			176b	
E. E			176d	
F. F			176e	
G. Unc. bowl			176f	
H. E	(almost carinated)		176g	
I. E	(large bulge)		176i	
J. F			176h	
K. G	(small bulge, poss. L 11)		177a	
L. G	(small bulge, poss. L 11)		177b	
M. C	(poss. from L 11)		177c	
N. Unc. bowl	(poss. from L 11)			
O. Unc. bowl	(poss. from L 11)			
P. G	(poss. L 11, row of painted scorpions)			95
Q. G	(poss. L 11, large bulge)			
R. E?	(poss. L 11, slight bulge)			

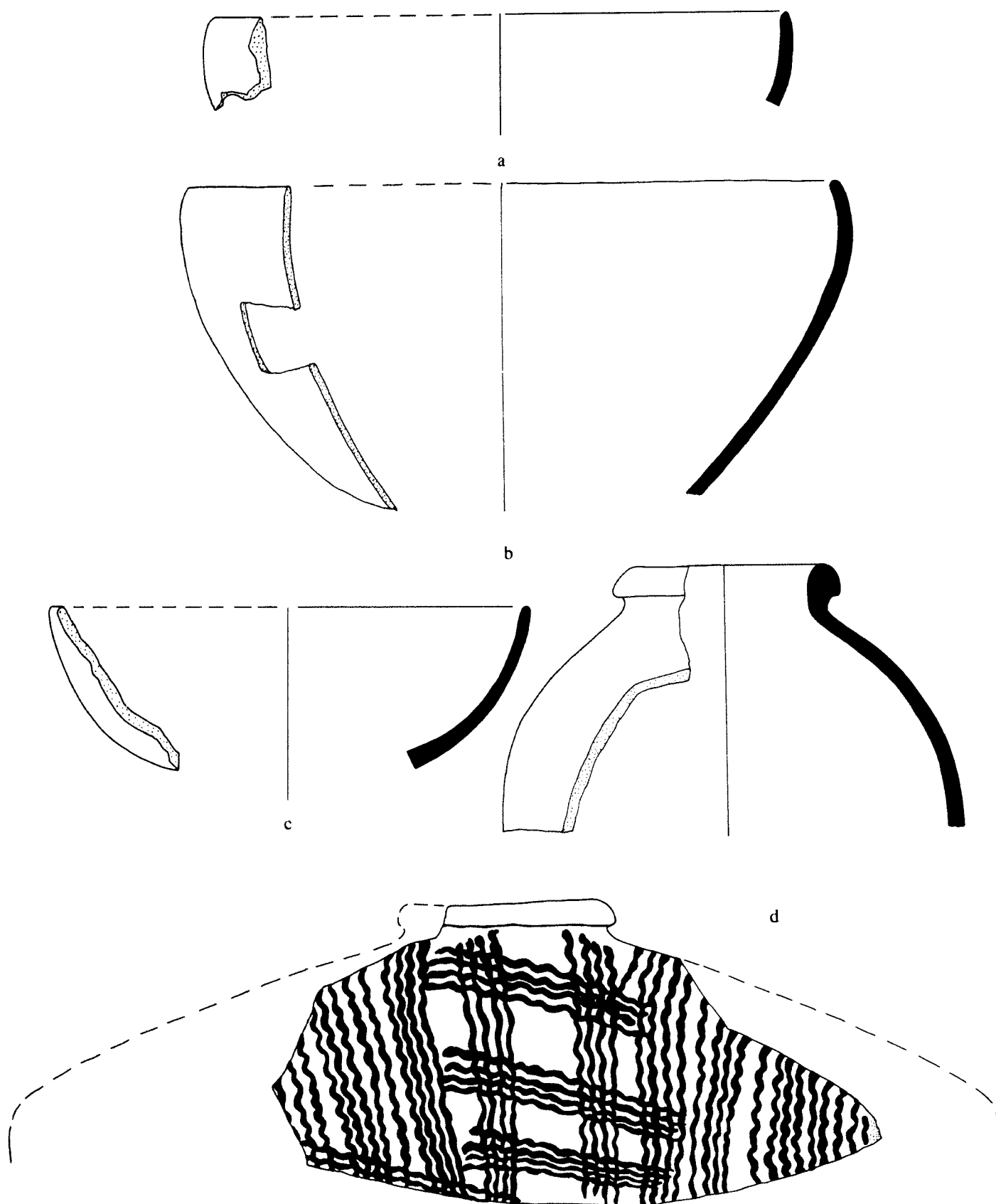


Figure 177. L 24: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) K; (b) L; (c) M; (d) U. Scale 2:5.

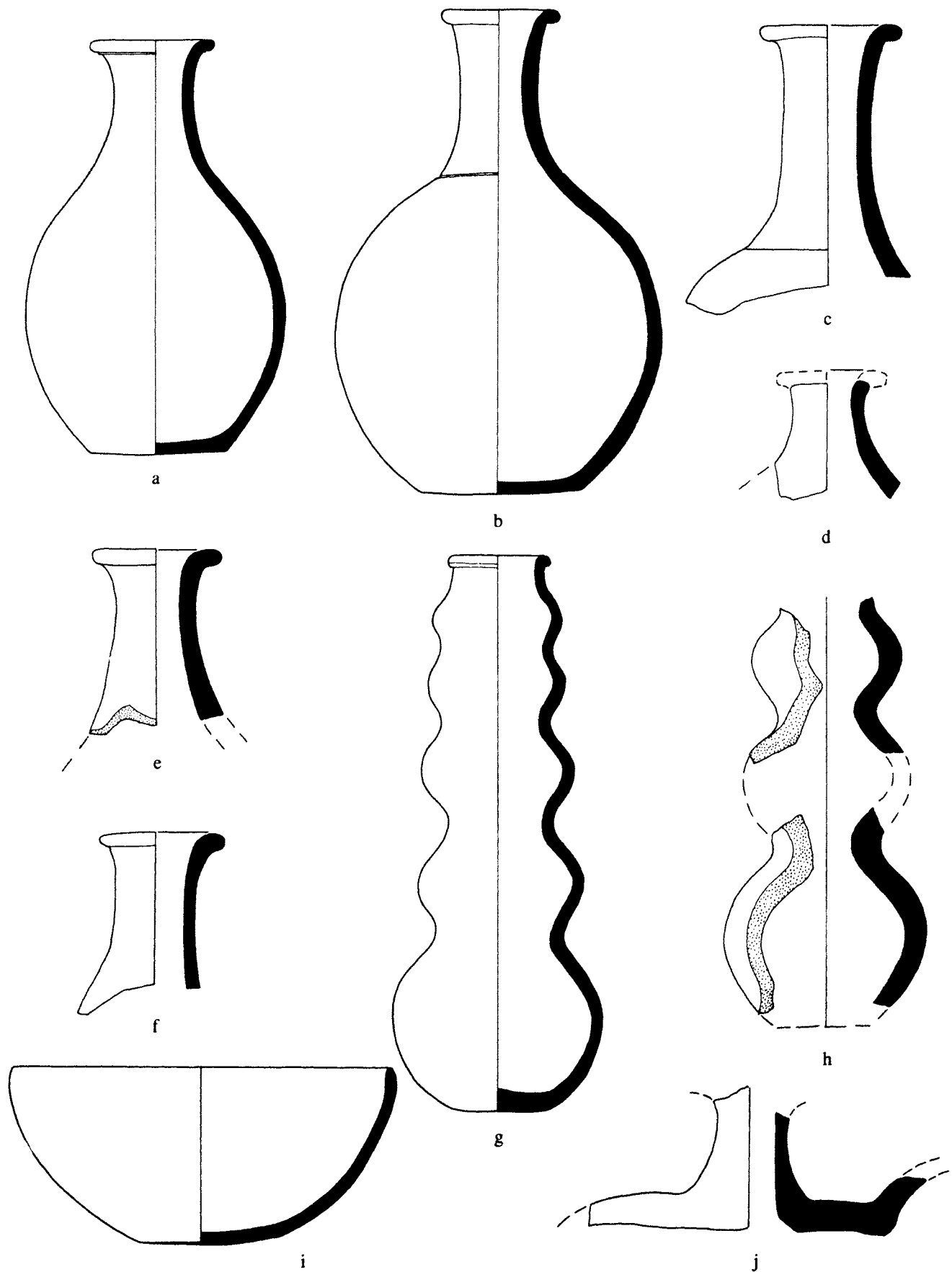


Figure 178. L 24: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) V; (b) W; (c) X; (d) AA; (e) Y; (f) Z; (g) AB; (h) AC; (i) AF; (j) AD. Scale 2:5.

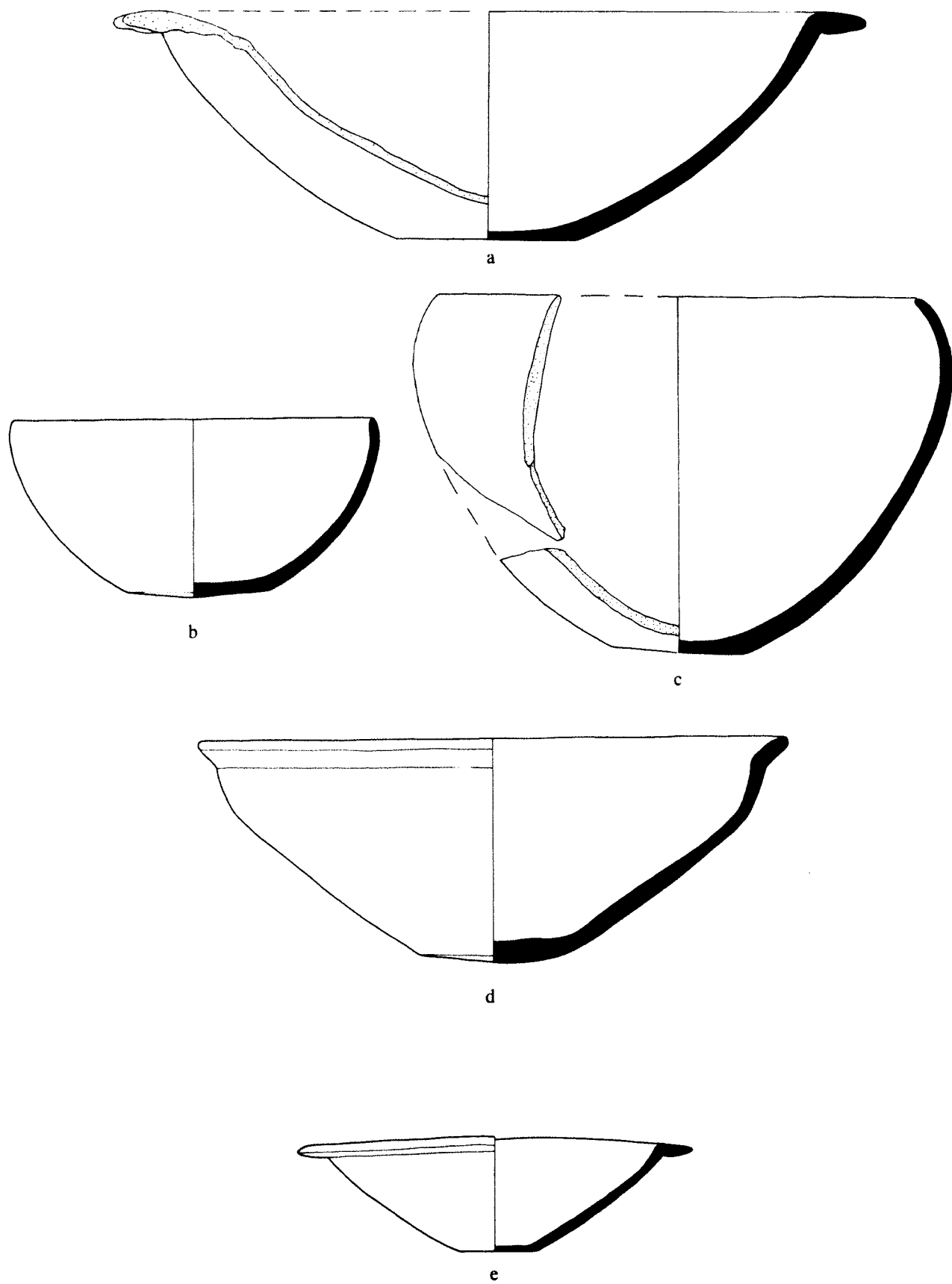


Figure 179. L 24: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) AG; (b) AH; (c) AK; (d) AI; (e) AM. Scale 2:5.

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L 24			FIGURE	PLATE
S. G	(poss. L 11, large bulge)			
T. Unc. bowl	10 body sherds (poss. L 11)			
U. AA	(painted, wavy lines)		41a, 177d	22a
V. Q1	(no. 42)	23757	38e, 178a	18d
W. Q2	(no. 31)	23794	38f, 178b	18g
X. Q2	neck-shoulder		178c	
Y. Q1			178e	
Z. Q1			178f	
AA. Q1			178d	
AB. T	(no. 2)	24066	38d, 178g	18h
AC. T			178h	
AD. S1			38g, 178j	18e
AE. Unc. jar (R2?)	(small)			
AF. C	(no. 44)	23836	35c, 178i	17c
AG. M2	(no. 39)	24132	179a	
AH. C	(no. 48)	23759	179b	
AI. M2	(no. 36)	24160	179d	
AJ. W			180a	
AK. D			35c, 179c	
AL. X	(no. 52)	23753	180b	83a-c (marks)
AM. K		24282	179e	
AN. V	(no. 40)	24127	39b, 180c	19b
XI. Egyptian Coarse:				
A. B	(plain, medium height)	23835	47a, 181a	
B. B	(pierced rect.)		181c	
C. B	(tall, pierced rect., tri.)	24284	181b	24e
D. B	(tall, incised herringbone, pierced rect.)	24165	46d, 181g	
E. B	(plain)	24283	181f	
F. B	(pierced tri.)		181e	
G. B	(pierced tri.)		181d	
H. E	ear of hippopotamus (no. 55)			100a, 101a
XII. Syro-Palestinian EB I:				
A.	(no. 22)	23758	48a, 182a	25a
B.	(no. 26)	23923	48b, 182b	25b
C. Large sherd	(brown slip, remains of handles)		48d, 182d	25c
D. Large base sherd	(brown slip)		48c, 182c	25d
E. Handle and base	(brown slip)		48e, 182e	25e
F. Body sherd	(shoulder, brown slip)			
G. Body sherd	(brown slip)			
H. Base sherd	(unslipped, poss. L 11)			
I. Shoulder fragt.	(unslipped)			

Supplementary Notes for L 24

This was the only tomb where the plunderer's tunnel is shown in the tomb sketch as actually penetrating the

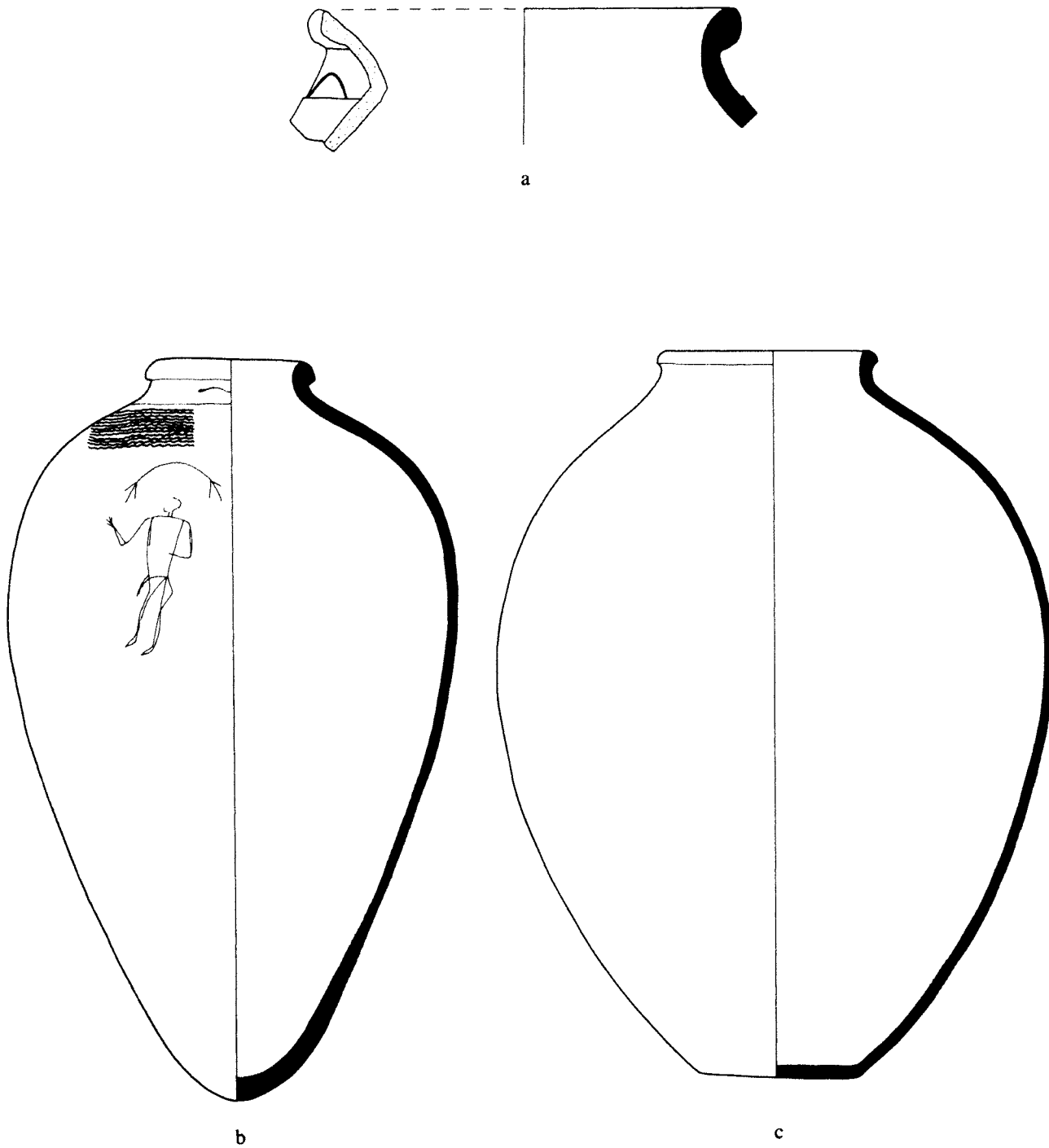


Figure 180. L 24: Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink pottery—(a) AJ; (b) AL; (c) AN. Scale 2:5 except (b) 1:5.

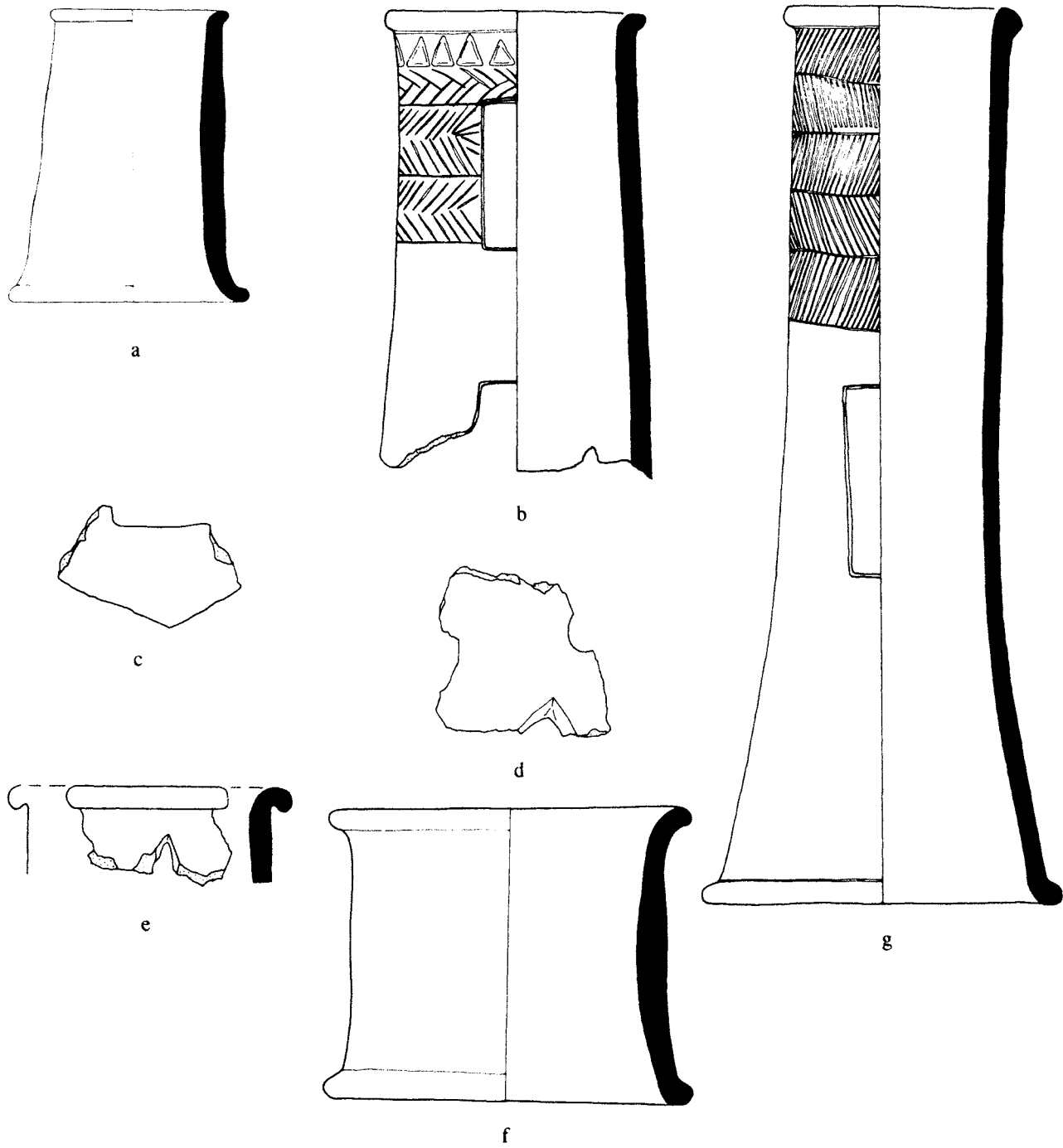


Figure 181. L 24: Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse pottery—(a) A; (b) C; (c) B; (d) G; (e) F; (f) E; (g) D. Scale 1:5 except (c), (d) 2:5.

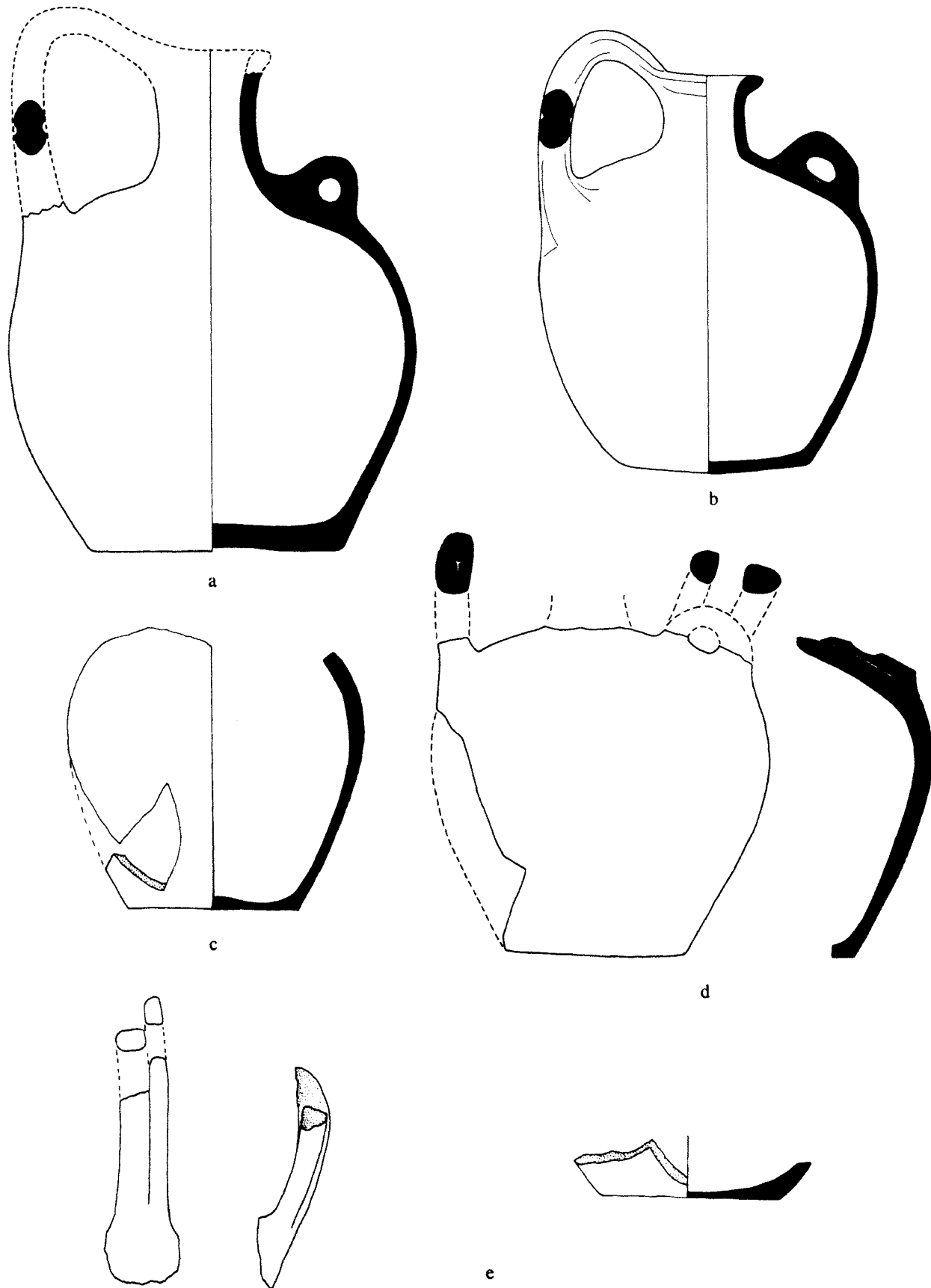


Figure 182. L 24: Form Group XII, Syro-Palestinian EB I pottery—(a) A; (b) B; (c) D; (d) C; (e) E. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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burial chamber. The trench was quite shallow, and, if it was intended to hold rows of jars like L 23, it must have been substantially denuded since ancient times. Although stones were indicated in one step ("shaft"), the condition of the blocking is uncertain. It was also difficult to determine the precise shape of the burial chamber from the sketches. One sketch shows it as a truncated oval; a second sketch, perhaps more accurately, shows it as a rectangle, like L 23. The cemetery plan shows it as an oblong, longest near the east side.

In addition to other objects in the chamber, a ringstand was found against the south wall, but its position was not precisely clear in the sketch.

The step made for the blocking is called the "shaft" in the record sheets, and this may have caused some confusion in the minds of those with whom Seele discussed the findspot of the major object, the Qustul incense burner. It is clearly assigned to the tomb in the records as well as the preliminary report, but the "shaft" given as the findspot is queried (entry: "Find #1 in shaft [?] of L 24"). Other queries indicate doubt about the location of the object (24087, L 19—10) in the context, but not its attribution to the context. Two alternate locations are possible for the Qustul incense burner, the denuded trench or the step that accommodated the blocking ("shaft").

The registration was not done currently with the progress of the excavation in all cases. As loci were cleared, the supervisor would bag each object with a slip from a perforated tape. This slip assigned the object a number within the tomb, gave a brief description with the date, and indicated the findspot, where that was clear. At the same time, much the same information was entered on the burial sheet. Intact objects were registered virtually immediately; each was given a field number and described with its findspot and date of discovery. Generally, this repeated or expanded on the information given by the slips. Broken objects and some pottery vessels were not registered, but given pot numbers or designated as samples. For L 24—1 (OIM 24069), the information is as complete as would be found on the field slip, and expanded somewhat; it includes the date of discovery ("II/17/64"). This date and the object's number within the tomb agree with the date on the corresponding tomb sheet; the handwriting for the object entries and the date as well as other aspects of the tomb noted on that day corresponds. The tomb was excavated between 17 Feb. and 19 Feb. 1964, and after the first entries, the handwriting is entirely different. L 24—1 was found broken and originally designated a sample, but as broken objects were reexamined and reconsidered, it was registered later, along with a large number of other A-Group objects, as a part of a final designation. A number of other tiny chips of incense burners were found in L 24, and these kept the designation as samples although Seele seems to have regarded them as possibly part of the Qustul incense burner.

The documentation of the Qustul incense burner's provenience is clear and contemporary with the date of discovery, and no indication of any other origin exists.

Unassigned sherds included four of Form Group X, two bowls, and one other.

Sherds as recorded:

- a. Three bottle necks
- b. Perforated ringstand
- c. Incised
- d. Plain ringstand
- e. Dark red
- f. Painted triangle
- g. Buff burnished
- h. Line painted
- i. Three globes
- j. Sherd with incised mark
- k. Red burnished sherd
- l. Dark red on light red
- m. Dark red slip with handle
- n. Sherds of shallow bowl (24272)

Stone vessels as recorded:

- a. Base sherd, alabaster

REGISTER OF FINDS

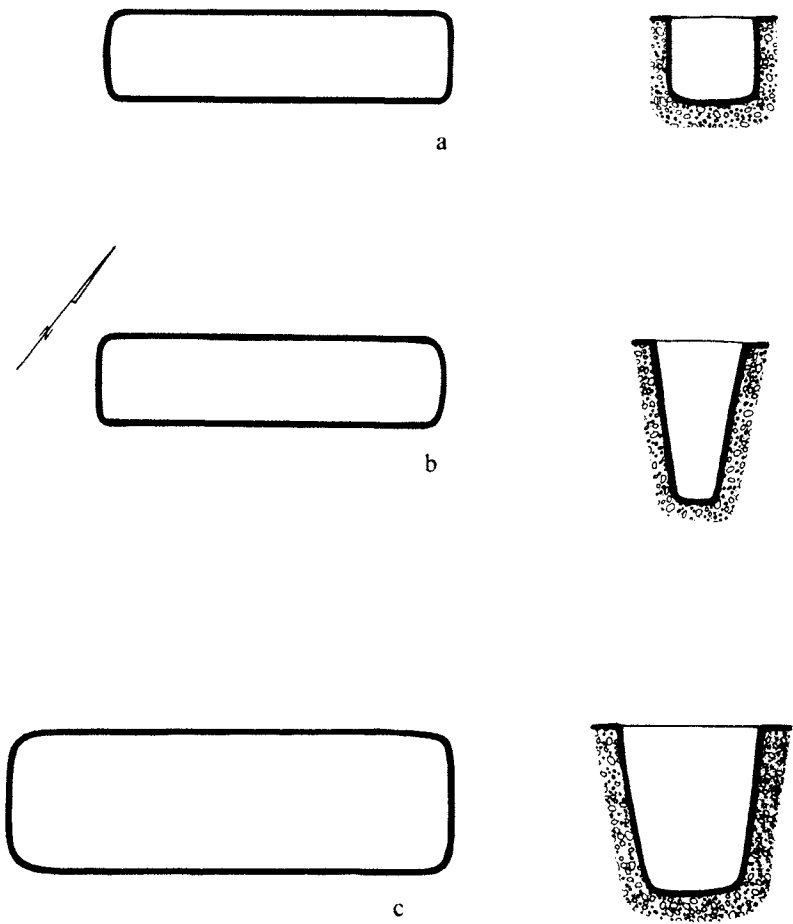


Figure 183. L 25–L 27, plans and sections: (a) L 25; (b) L 26; (c) L 27. Scale 1:50.

L 25 (fig. 183)	FIGURE	PLATE
Shaft: 2.50 × 0.60 × 0.55 m	183a	
Burial: Animal		
Body: Bovine, sample	24176	
Supplementary Note for L 25		
See also L 20 and L 26.		
L 26 (fig. 183)	FIGURE	PLATE
Shaft: 2.30 × 0.60 × 1.10 m (width tapers to 0.30 m at bottom)	183b	
Burial: Animal		
Body: Bovine, sample	24177	
Supplementary Note for L 26		
See also L 20 and L 25.		

REGISTER OF FINDS

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L 27 (fig. 183)	FIGURE	PLATE
Shaft: $3.00 \times 0.90\text{--}0.75$ (bottom) $\times 1.05$ m	183c	
Burial: Animal		
Body: Bovine, sample	24178	

Supplementary Notes for L 27

This bovine sacrifice burial was the only one of the cluster (see L 3 and L 7) to contain a coherent burial. The entire group was apparently associated with L 2 and L 5.

L 28 (fig. 184)	FIGURE	PLATE
Trench and chamber	184	
Trench: $6.45 \times 1.52 \times 0.95$ m		
Chamber: $3.80 \times 2.50 \times 1.85$ m (floor 2.30 m below surface)		
Blocking: Few stones preserved		
Burial: None A-Group, 27 intrusive		
Body: —		
Object:		
1. Polished pebble with malachite		

Supplementary Notes for L 28

Tomb L 28 was later reused for twenty-seven burials. Probably because of their extended position, they were attributed in the field to the New Kingdom. It appears more likely that they were Christian, for no objects of any kind were deposited. Multiple burials of this kind occur in the great Christian cemetery at Adindan.

L 29 (figs. 185–186)	FIGURE	PLATE
Trench and chamber	185	
Trench: $9.45 \times 1.00 \times 0.73$ m (uncertain and varies)		
Chamber: $4.55 \times 2.27 \times ?$ m		
Niche, inner chamber, or plunderer's passage: $2.45 \times 1.53 \times 0.88$ m (floor ca. 3.10 m below surface)		
Burial: —		
Body: —		
Objects		
1. Pebbles	samp.	
Stone Vessel:		
A. Unc.		
Pottery:		
I. Exterior Painted:		
A. D?/171	1 sherd	19e, 186a
B. A?/4	1 sherd	186b
C. A-B/10	1 sherd	
D. A-B/15		

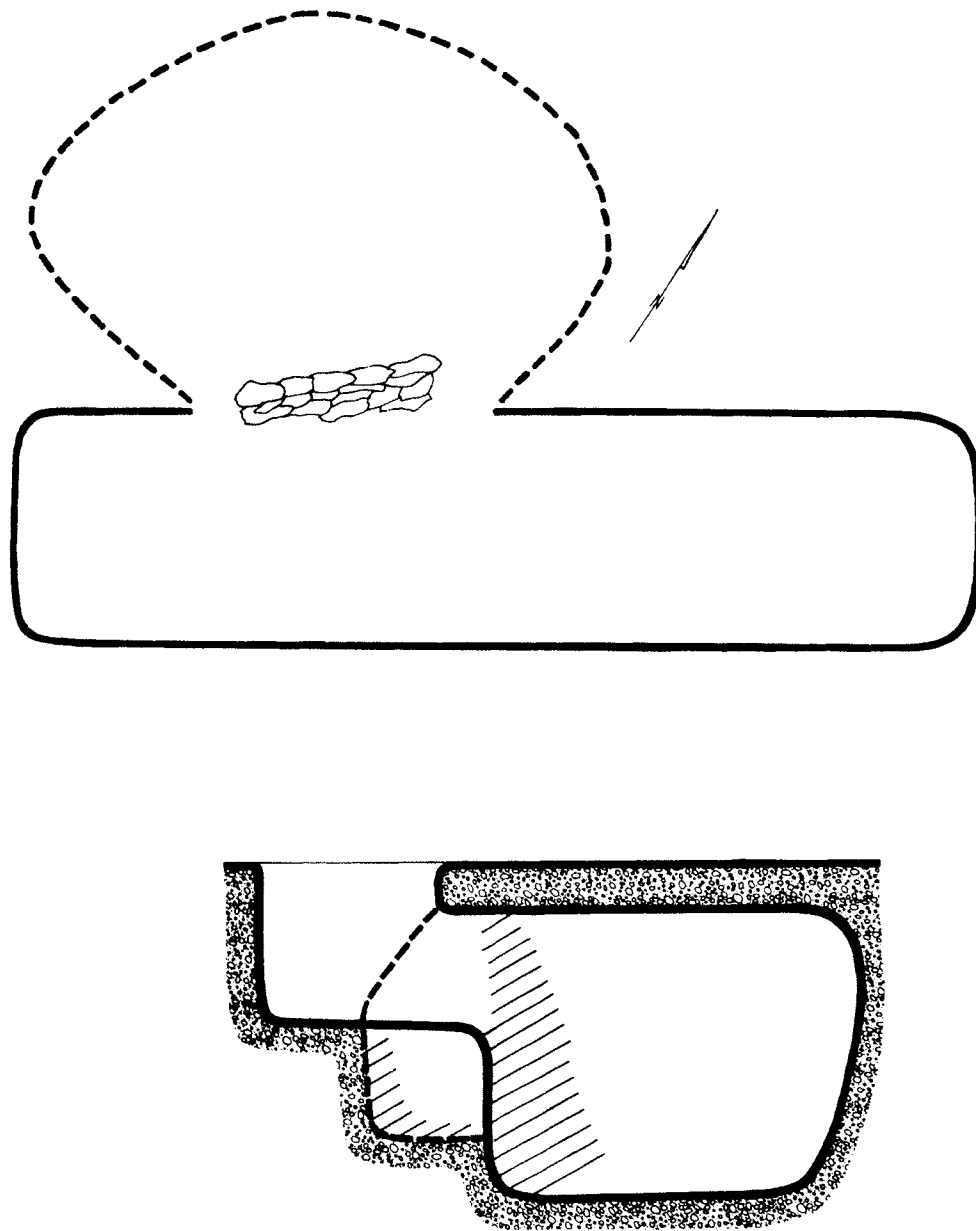


Figure 184. L 28: Plan and section. Scale 1:50.

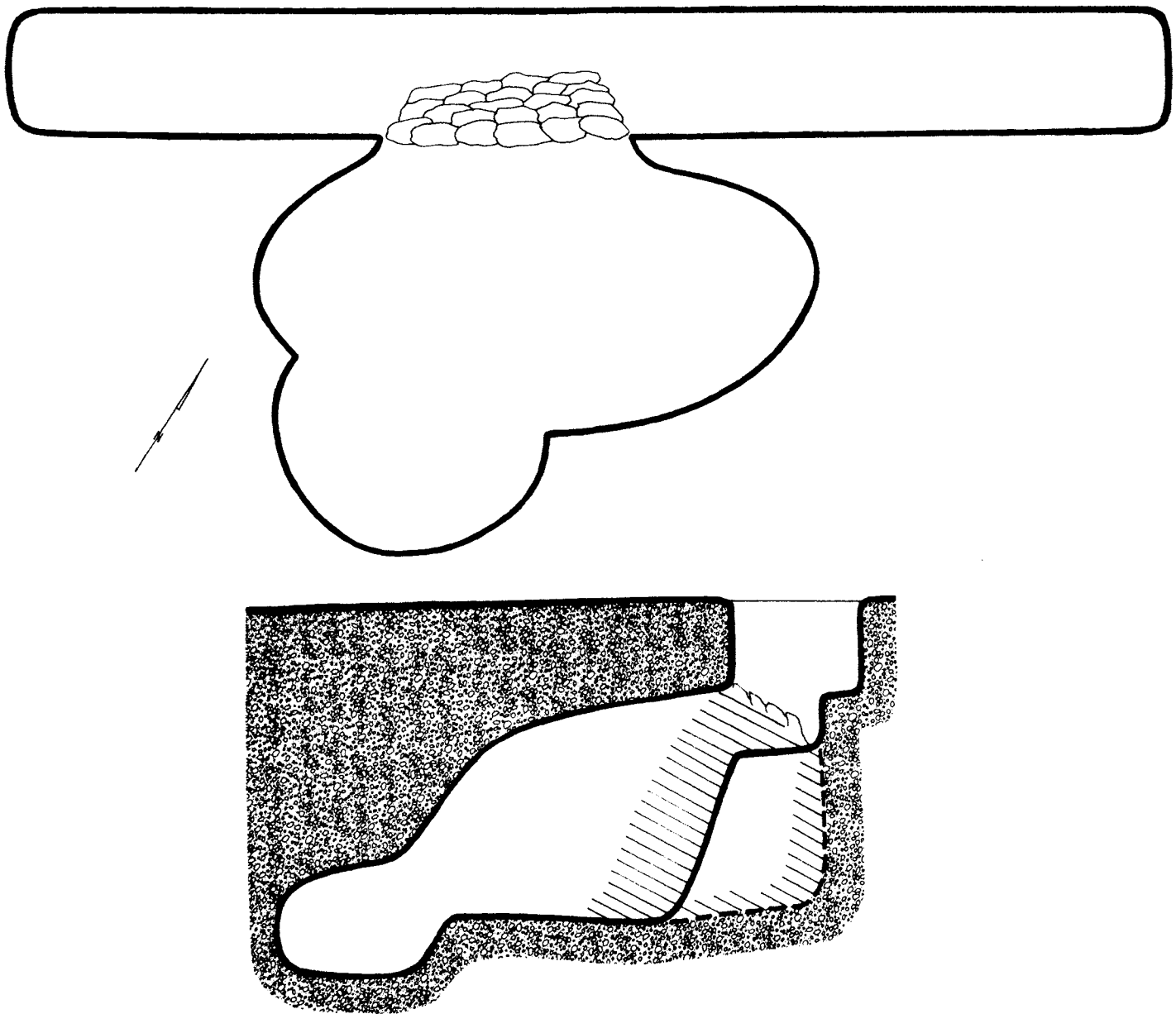


Figure 185. L. 29: Plan and section. Scale 1:50.

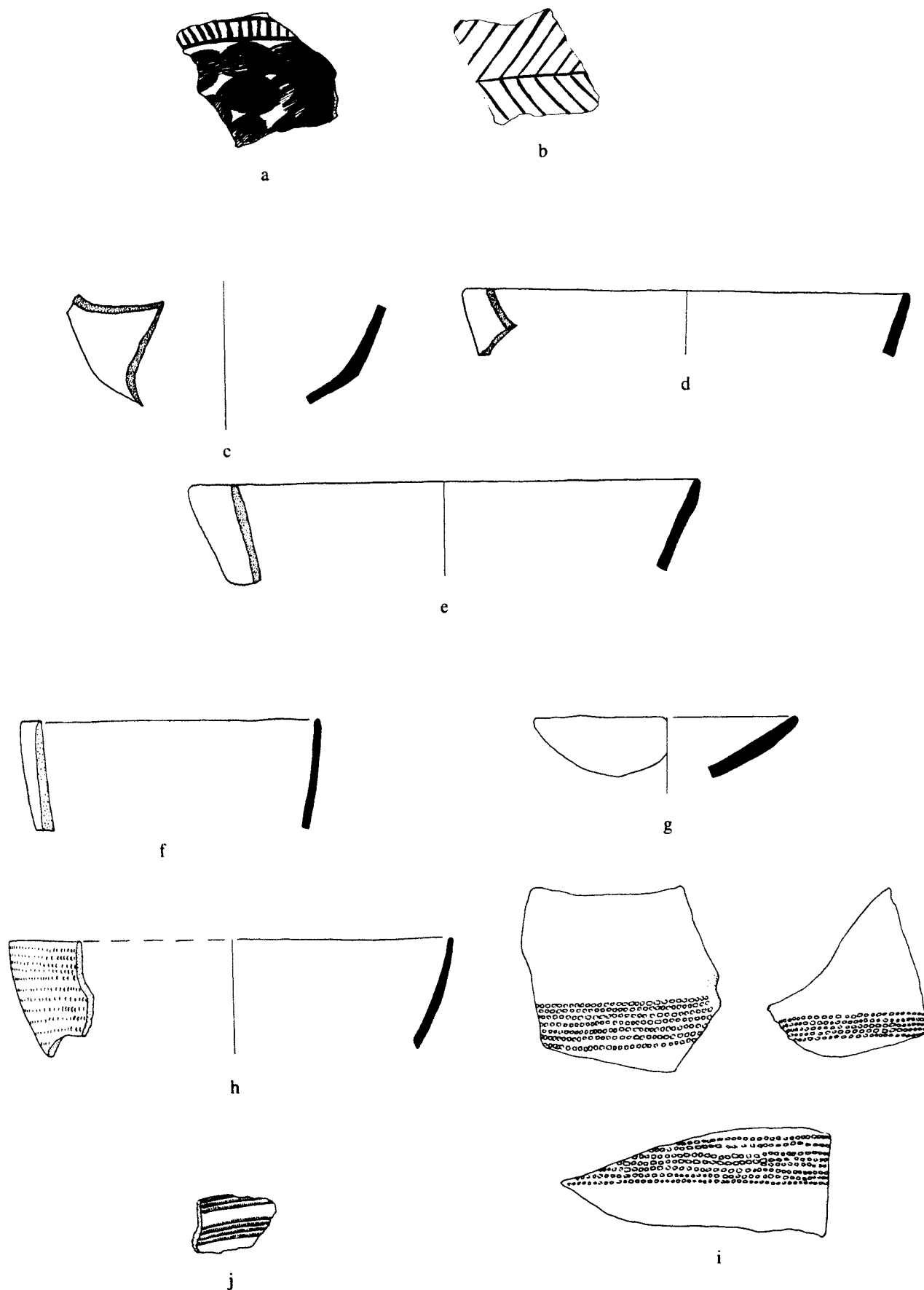


Figure 186. L 29, pottery: Form Group I, Exterior Painted—(a) A; (b) B; Form Group II, Rippled—(c) C; (d) E; (e) A; (f) Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine, A; (g) Form Group VI *gamma*, Simple Coarse, A; Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised—(h) A; (i) B; (j) C. Scale 2:5.

REGISTER OF FINDS

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L 29		FIGURE	PLATE
II. Rippled:			
A. Unc.	(shallow, conical, crude ripples, bl. int., narrow black top)	20c, 186e	10b
B. Unc.	(wide ripples, mottled)		10b
C. Unc.	flat-bottomed bowl (ochre)	20d, 186c	10b
D. Unc.	body sherds of biconical jar?		10b
E. Unc.	(red vert. stripes on grey)	20b, 186d	
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:			
A. Unc.		186f	
VI <i>gamma</i> . Simple Coarse:			
A. D		32g, 186g	
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised:			
A. 13		33j, 186h	
B. 8		33f, 186i	
C. 8	(horizontal zones of hatching)	186j	
VIII. Heavy Incised:			
A. 1			

Supplementary Notes for L 29

The special feature of L 29 was the second chamber excavated from the southeast corner of the main burial chamber. No identification of its purpose could be discerned. The trench was not completely excavated in the area of the blocking.

Sherds ("Some discarded, best, kept") as recorded:

- a. Part of brasier (i.e. potstand)
- b. Sherd with hole
- c. Rough incised red ware (potstand)
- d. Piece of brasier (potstand) with triangular designs, some pierced
- e. Red incised sherds
- f. Black incised sherds
- g. Red ware with red painting, different designs
- h. Buff ware with red paint
- i. Rippled red sherds
- j. Red rim, yellow strip
- k. Red and yellow incised sherds
- l. Buff ware with red designs
- m. Reddish ware with incised lines
- n. Pieces of rims and bases

Stone vessel fragments:

- a. Quartzite (mortar)
- b. Shaped granite
- c. Limestone fragment

Later pottery:

- a. Red on cream, rim of jar

L 30 (figs. 187–188)		FIGURE	PLATE
Stepped trench and chamber		187a	
Trench: 3.00 × 0.90 × 1.35 m			
Chamber: 3.60 × 2.40 m (remains of blocking inside)			
Burial: —			
Body: —			
Objects:			
1. Pestle	(quartzite)	23853 B	187d
2. Incense burner E3		23709	187b
3. Stone jar	(unc. cyl.)	24095	26d, 35g
Stone Vessels:			
A. S jar			187c
B. Unc. bowl	(black stone)		
C. Unc. cyl. jar	(no. 3)		
D. Unc. cyl. jar			
E. Unc. vessel			
F. Unc. base			
Pottery:			
II. Rippled:			
A. Rim sherd	(bulged bowl or pot)	20a, 187e	10a
B. Unc.			10a
C. Unc.			10a
D. Unc.			10a
V. Interior Painted:			
A. 6		24c, 187f	
B. Unc.			
C. Unc.			
D. Unc.			
E. Unc.			
F. 13			
G. 13			
VI <i>alpha</i> . Simple Fine:			
A. E2	(black bottom)	29a, 187g	10d
B. A1			
VII. Sudanese Overall Zone–Incised:			
A. 10	(triangles and hatches)	33h, 188b	
B. 3	(dots)	33c, 188a	14c
C. Unc.		188c	
VIII. Heavy Incised:			
A. 1		188e	
B. 1		188f	
C. 3		188g	
D. 1		188d	
E. 4		188h	15b
F. 4		188i	15a

Supplementary Note for L 30

The series of steps in the trench of L 30 resembles L 1.

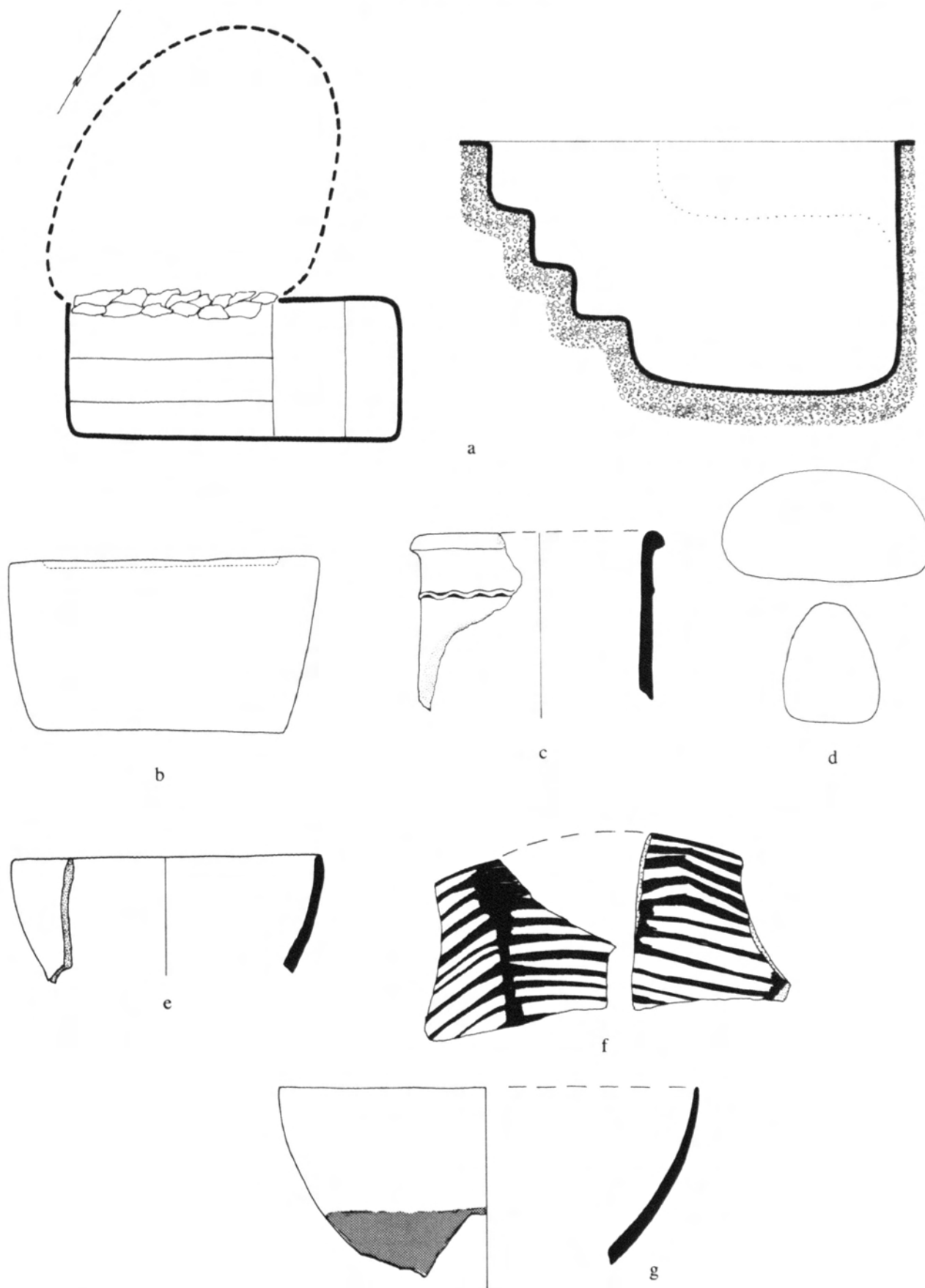


Figure 187. L 30: (a) Plan and section; (b) Incense burner, no. 2; (c) Stone vessel, A; (d) Pestle, no. 1; (e) Form Group II, Rippled pottery, A; (f) Form Group V, Interior Painted pottery, A; (g) Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine pottery, A. Scale 2:5 except (a) 1:50.

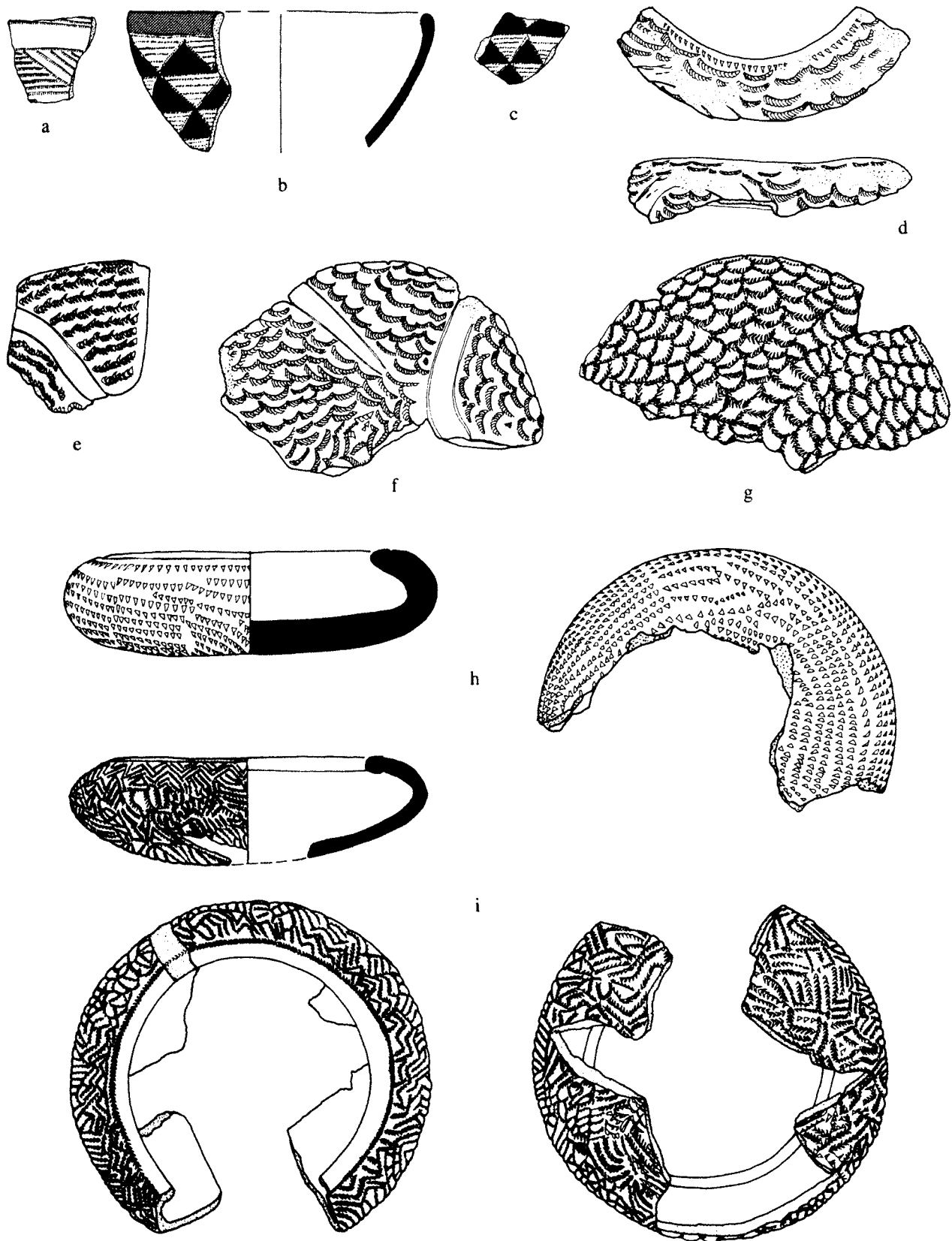


Figure 188. L 30, pottery: Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised—(a) B; (b) A; (c) C; Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised—(d) D; (e) A; (f) B; (g) C; (h) E; (i) F. Scale 2:5.

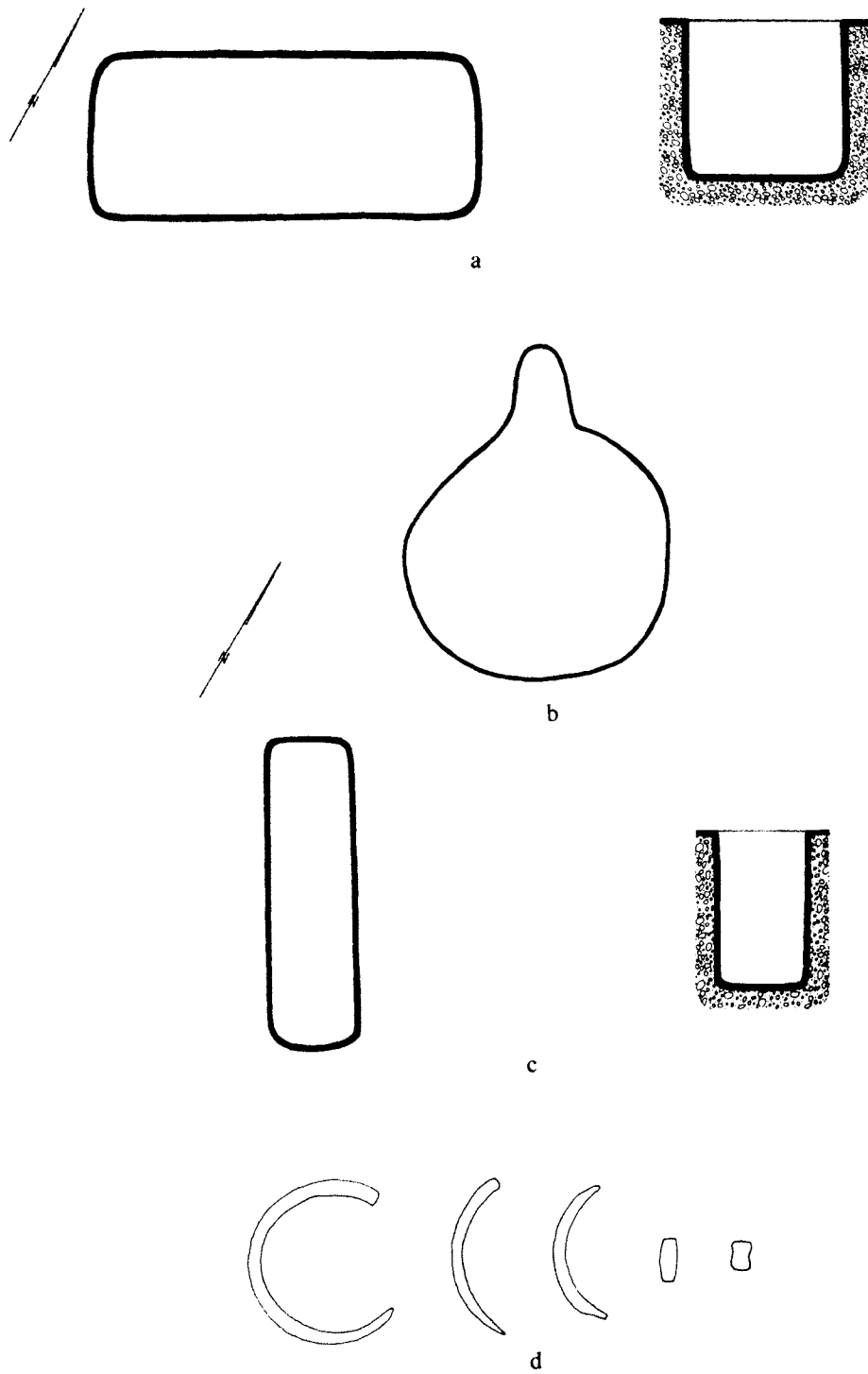


Figure 189. L 31–L 33: (a) L 31, plan and section; (b) L 32, plan; (c) L 33, plan and section; (d) Shell hooks, plug, and carnelian bead, L 33—2, 3, 4. Scale 1:50 except (d) 2:5.

L 31 (fig. 189)

Shaft: 2.80 × 1.15 × 1.10 m

Burial: —

Bodies: A. Adult female

B. Child, 10–14 years

C. Scattered animal bones
in shaft

Objects: —

Stone Vessel:

A. A bowl?

Pottery:

II. Rippled:

A. Unc. low bowl (black top, brown)

B. Unc. jar (bulged, light brown,
broad band)

C. Unc. (vert. red stripes)

Supplementary Note for L 31

Sherds as recorded (some discarded).

FIGURE

PLATE

189a

L 32 (figs. 189–190)

Cache pit

Shaft: 1.85 (dia.) × 0.52 m (extension to 2.45 m)

Objects:

1. Bone awls 6 exx.

2. Rib bone awls 2 exx.

3. Pottery ladle V1 *gamma*-F

23702 190d

23703 190d

23752 190c

Pottery:

Reported, only ladle present

Supplementary Note for L 32

This tomb was not located on the plan.

FIGURE

PLATE

189b

L 33 (fig. 189)

Shaft: 2.20 × 0.60 × 1.10 m

Burial: Animal

Body: Bovine

Objects:

1. Undrilled white bead

2. Shell hooks

3. Plugs

4. Car. bead

samp.

samp.

samp.

samp.

FIGURE

PLATE

189c

189d

189d

189d

Supplementary Notes for L 33

This bovine burial was not located near enough to any major tomb to be assigned to any particular phase of the cemetery. The east–west orientation is unusual.

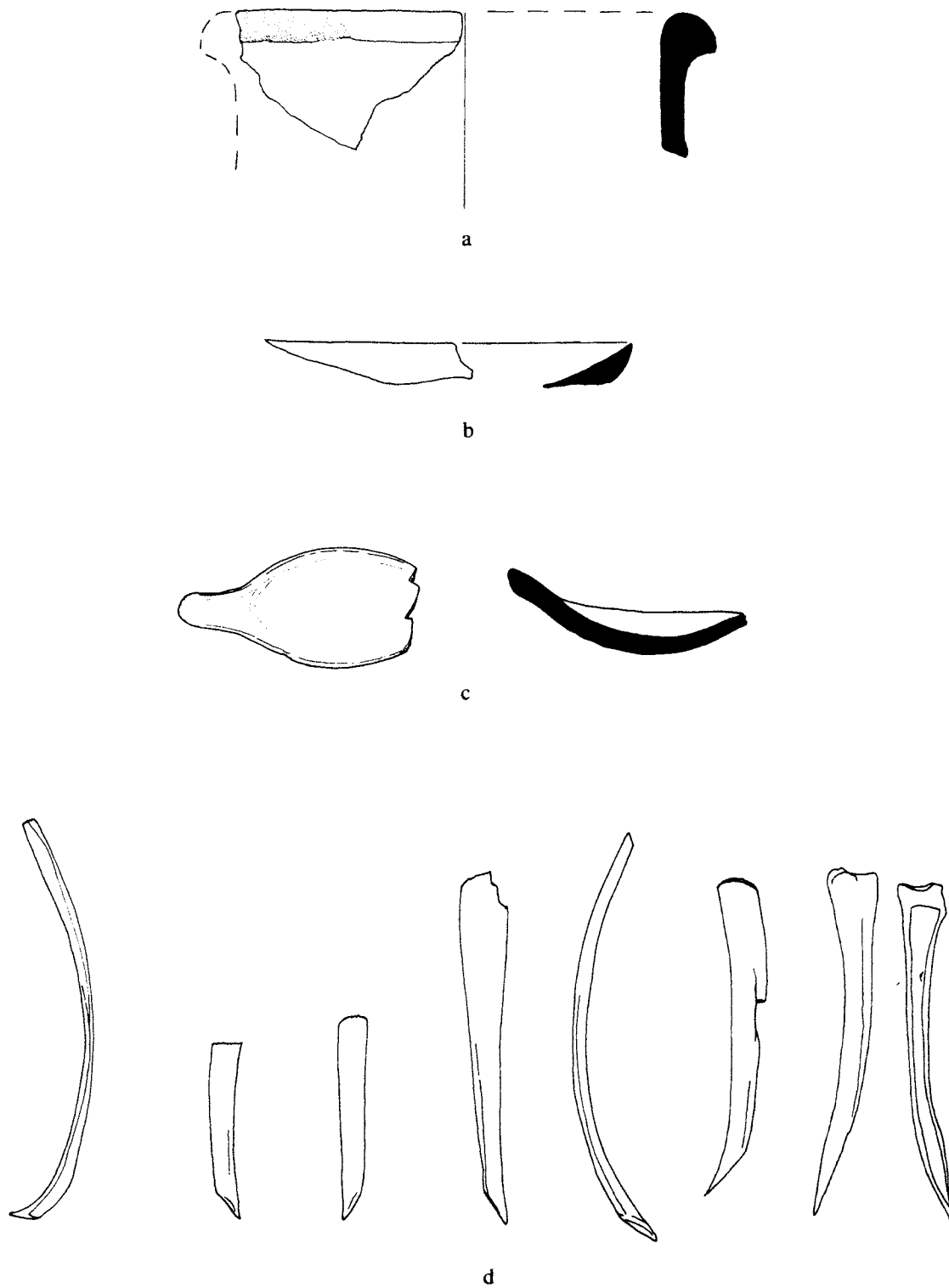


Figure 190. Objects from tomb shafts W. of L 31 and from L 32: Stone vessels—(a) A, W. of L 31 (possibly L 31); (b) B, W. of L 31 (possibly L 31); (c) Pottery ladle, L 32—3; (d) Bone tools, L 32—1, 2. Scale 2:5.

Two Unnumbered and Unlocated Tomb Shafts W. of L 31 (fig. 190)

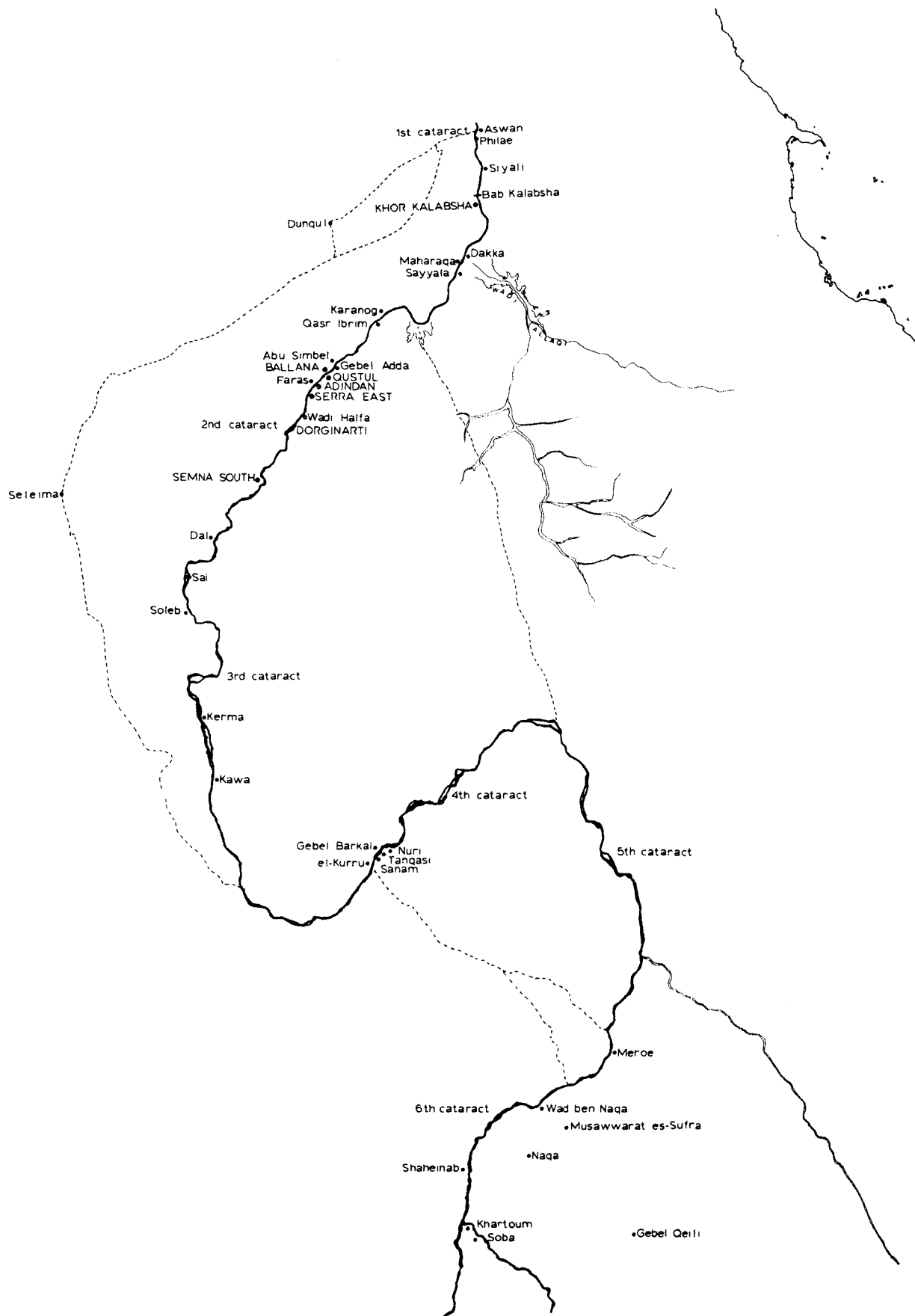
FIGURE

PLATE

Objects: —

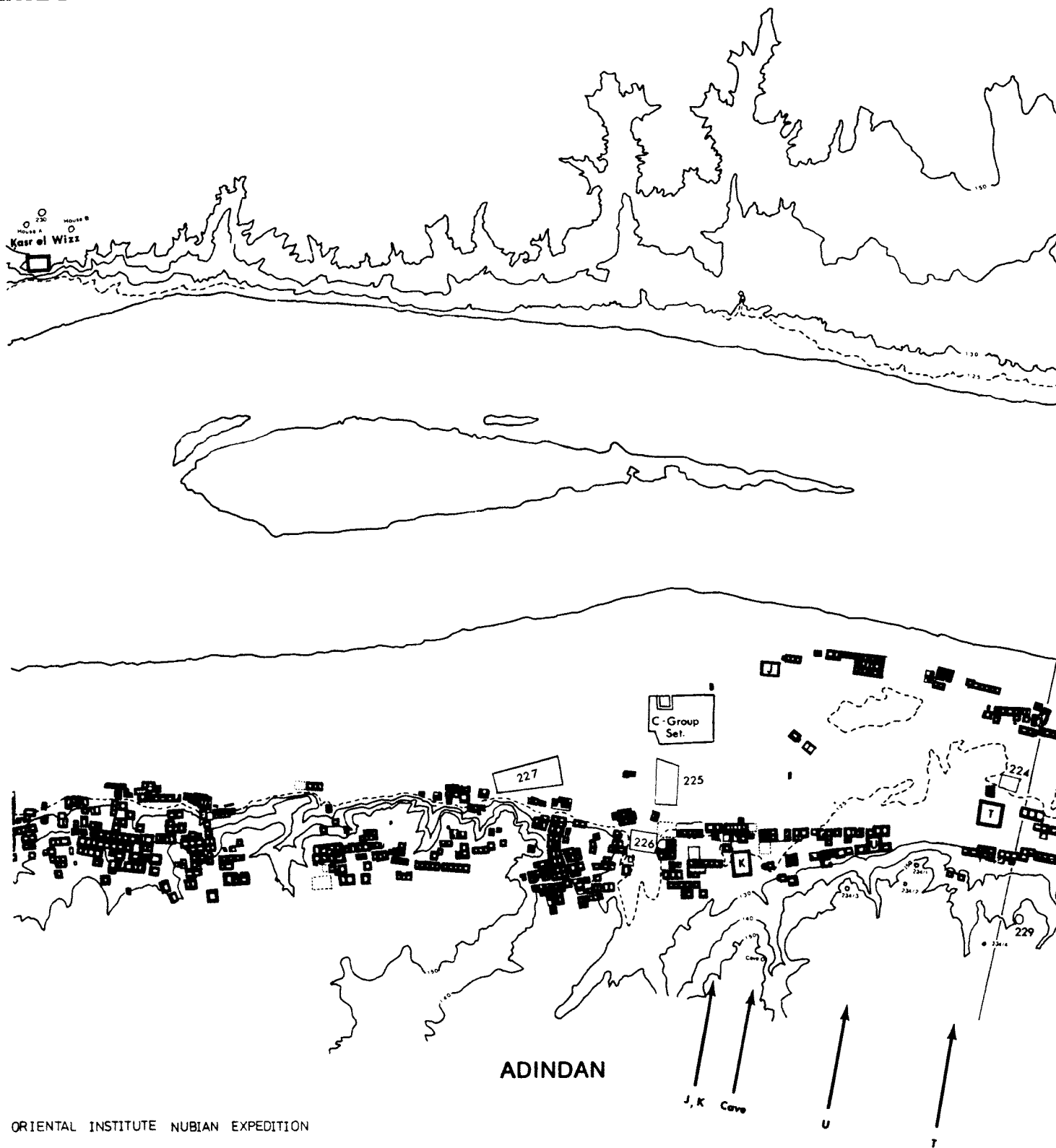
Stone Vessels:

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|------|
| A. U2 jar | (poss. L 31) | 190a |
| B. A bowl | (slate, poss. L 31) | 190b |
| C. C bowl | | |
| D. A bowl | | |
| E. Unc. bowl | | |
| F. Unc. bowl | | |
| G. Unc. bowl | | |



The Nile Valley to Khartoum. Scale 1:5,000,000.

PLATE 2



ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NUBIAN EXPEDITION

Cemeteries

Sites



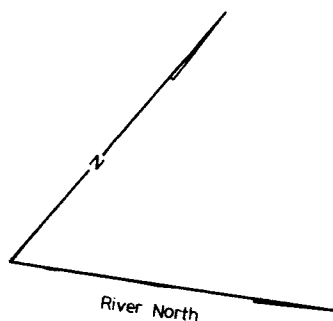
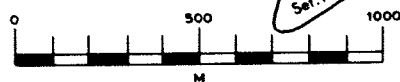
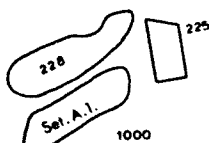
Kasr el Wizz

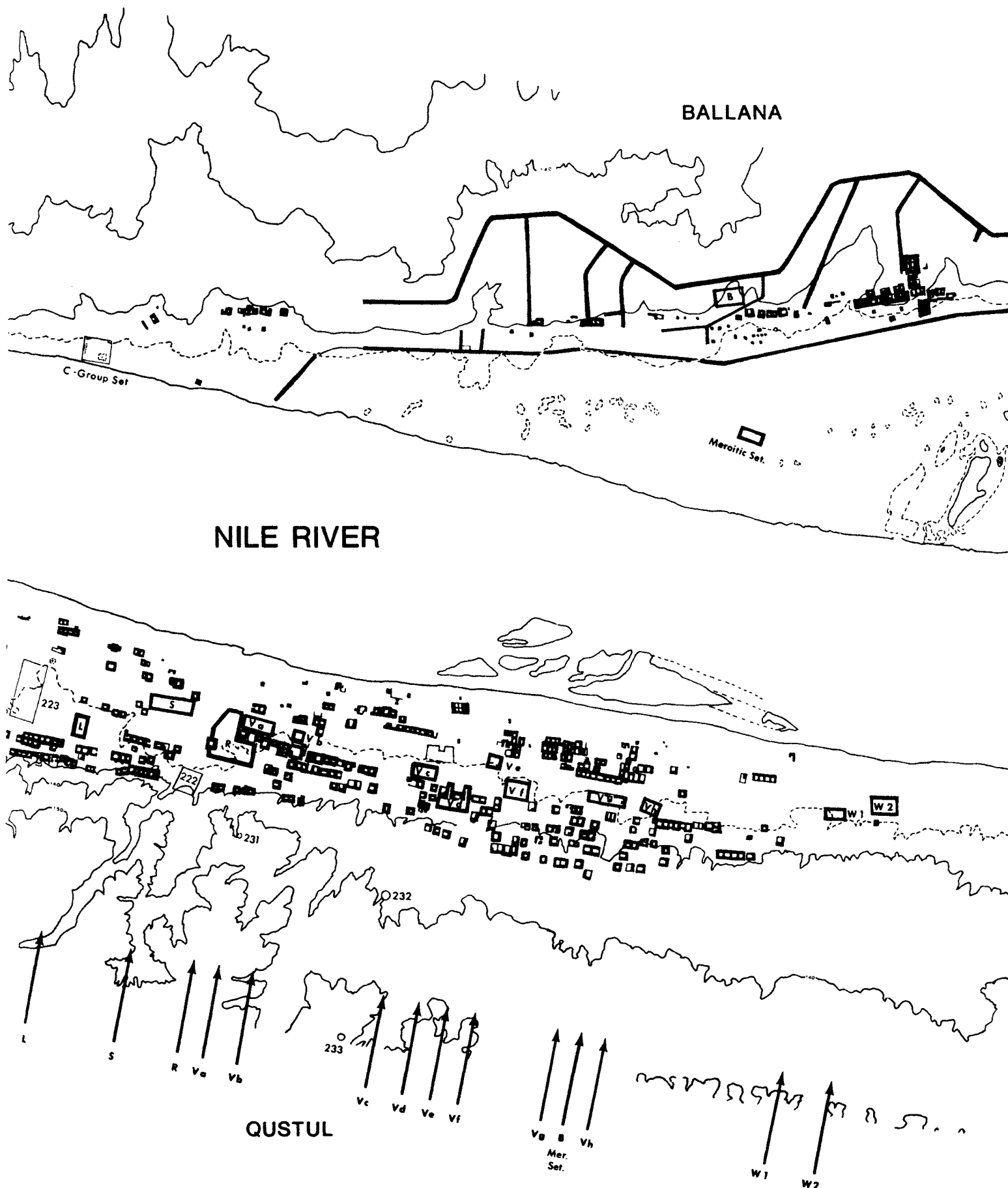


OTHER EXCAVATIONS OR SURVEYS

Cemeteries

Sites

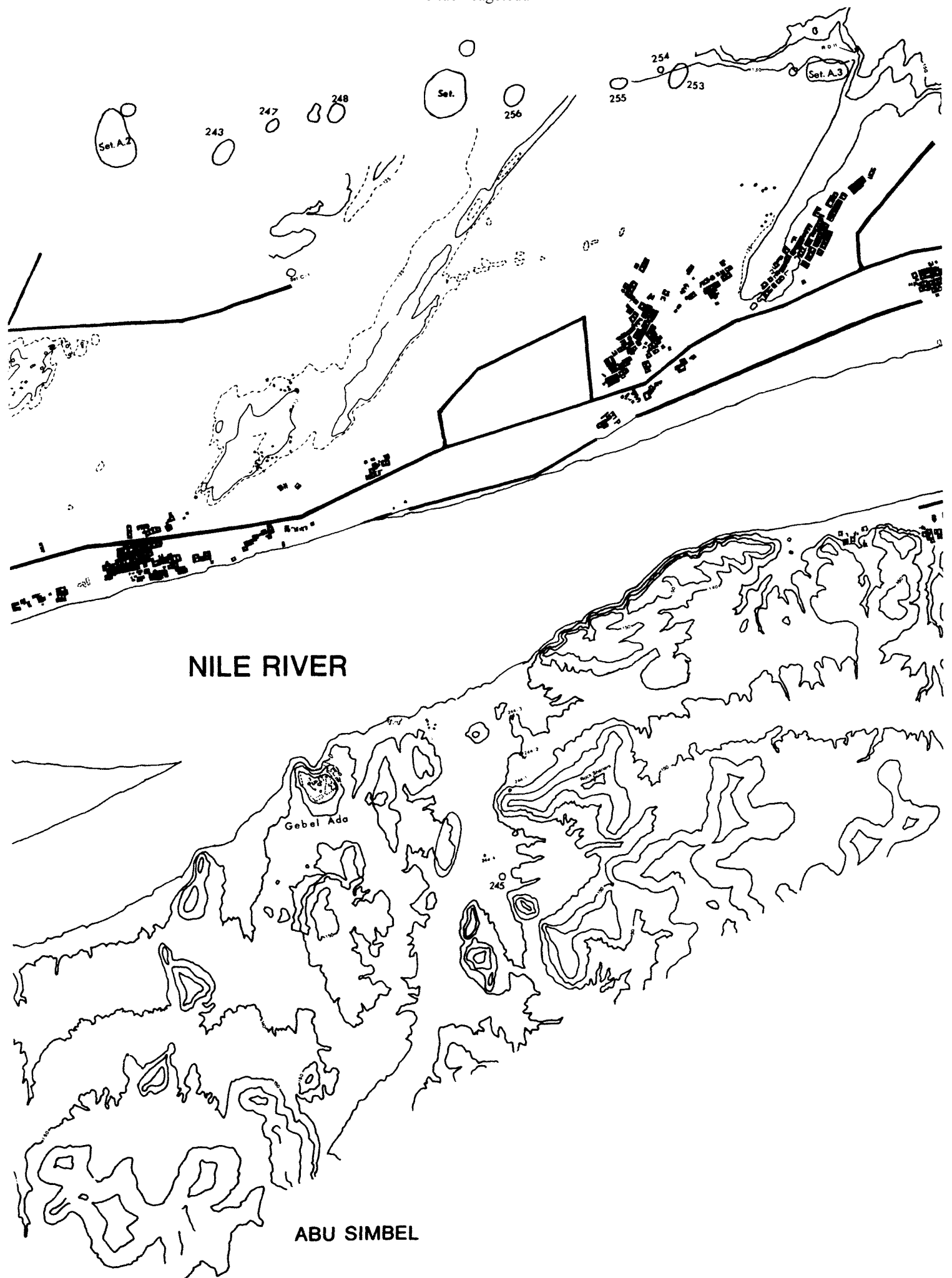




Operations of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition between Abu Simbel and the Sudan frontier, southern part.

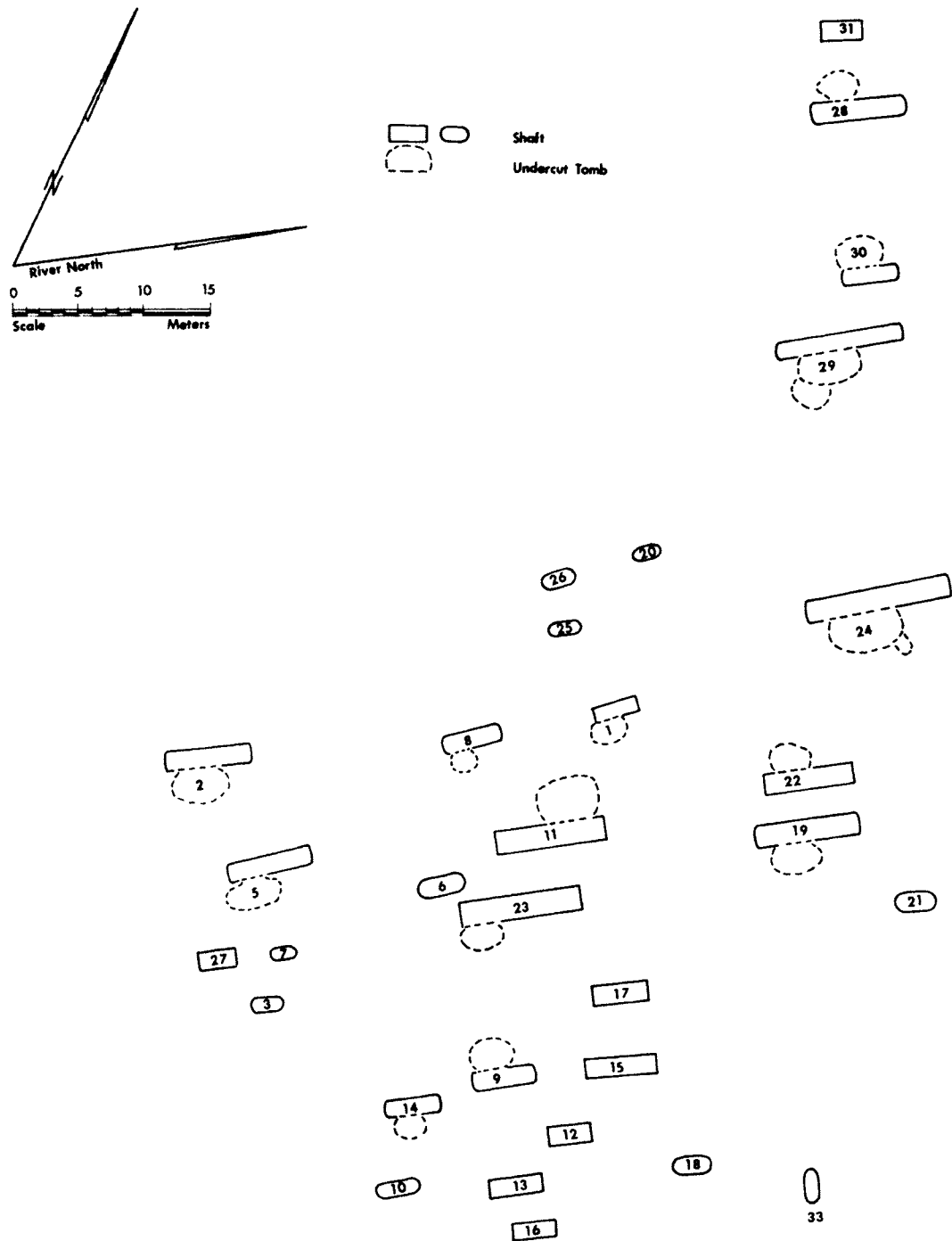
PLATE 3





Operations of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition between Abu Simbel and the Sudan frontier, northern part.

PLATE 4



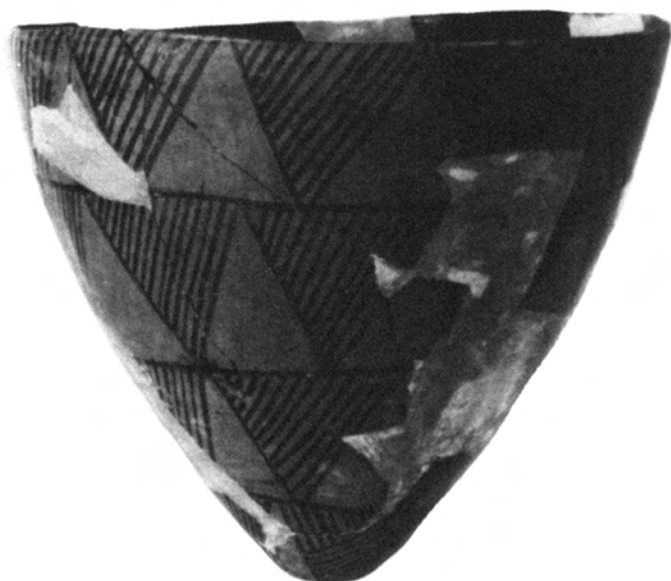
Plan of Cemetery L at Qustul.



a



b



c



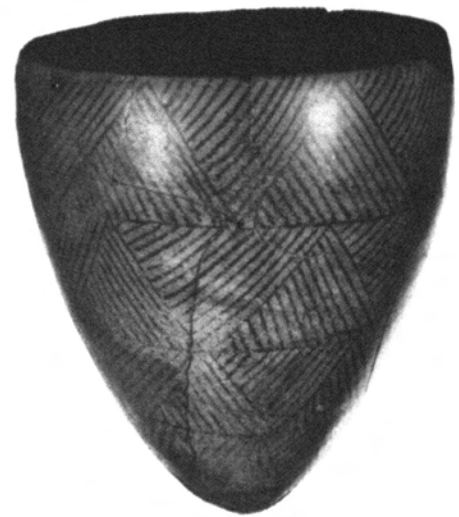
d

Pottery of Form Group I, Exterior Painted: (a) L 11, FK; (b) L 9, EF; (c) L 19, C; (d) L 19, T. Scale ca. 2:5.

PLATE 6



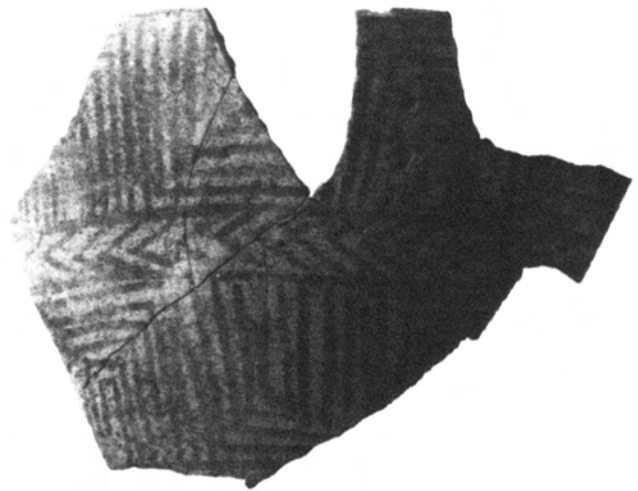
a



b



c



d

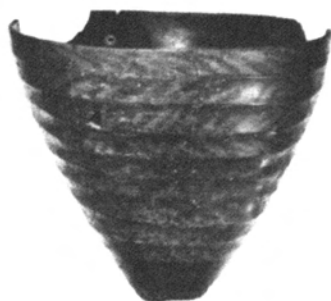
Pottery of Form Group I, Exterior Painted: (a) L 19, CK; (b) L 19, CM; (c) L 9, CU; (d) L 11, DI. Scale ca. 2:5.



a



b



c



d



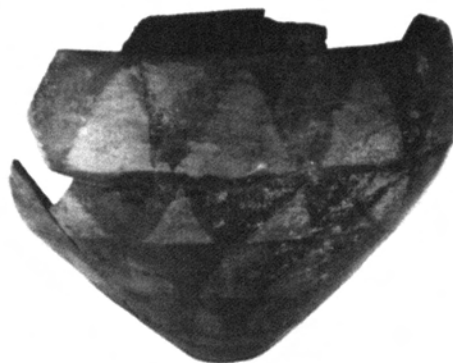
e

Pottery of Form Group I, Exterior Painted: (a) L 2, G; (b) L 24, C; (c) L 17—23, F; (d) L 17—7, A; (e) L 17—32, H. Scale ca. 2:5.

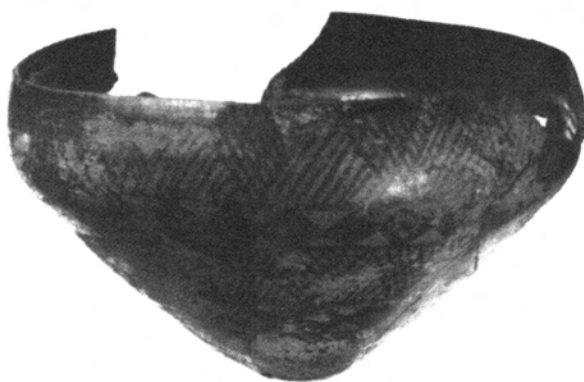
PLATE 8



a



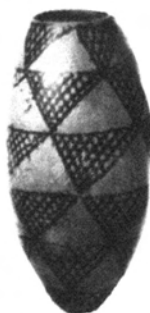
b



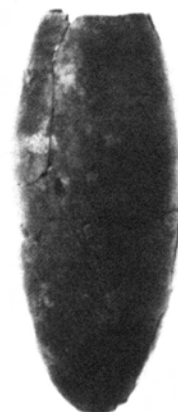
c



d

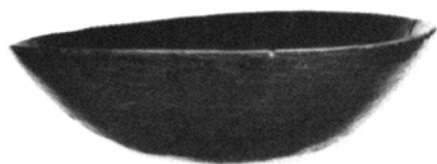


e



f

Pottery of Form Group I, Exterior Painted: (a) L 13, Z; (b) L 13, Y; (c) L 13, X; (d) L 17—15, B; (e) L 9, EN; (f) L 17—22, E. Scale ca. 2:5.



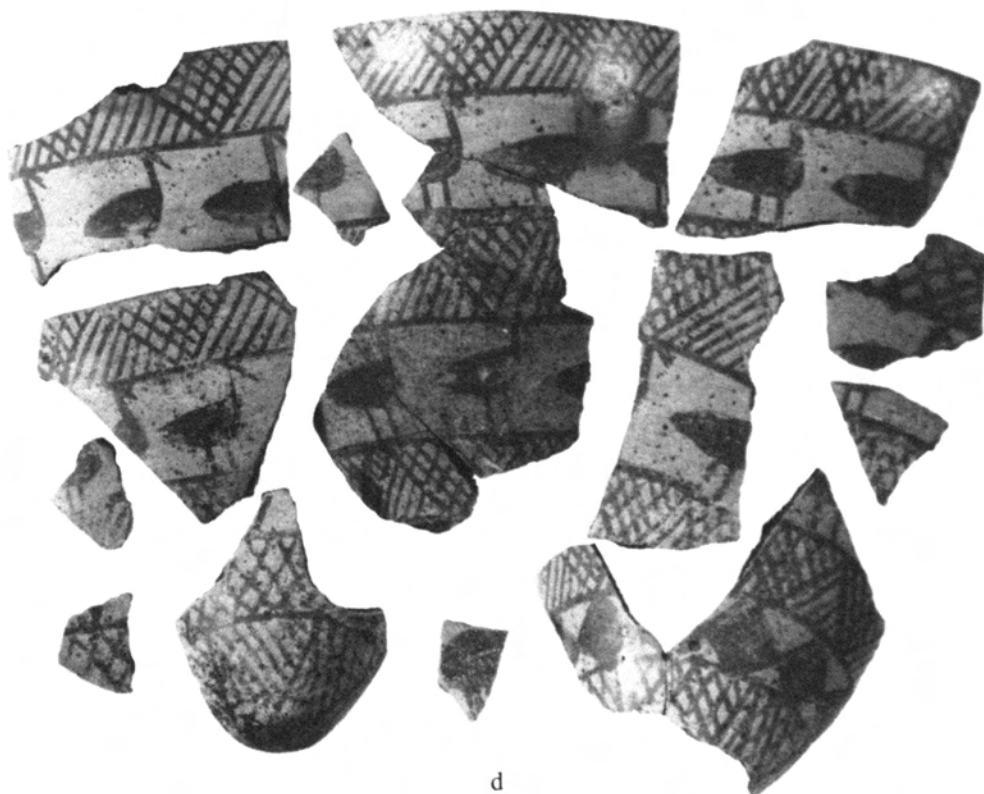
a



b



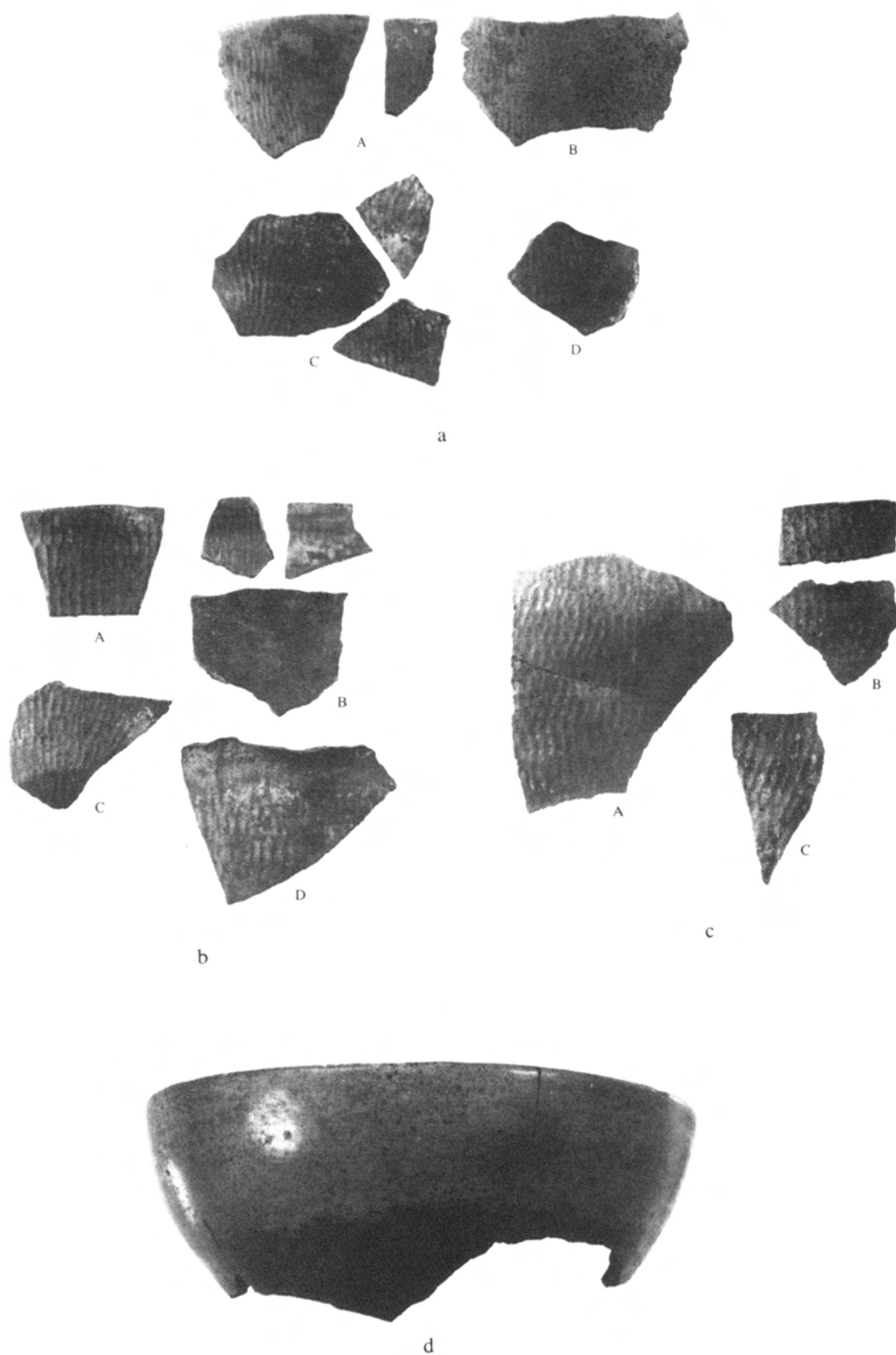
c



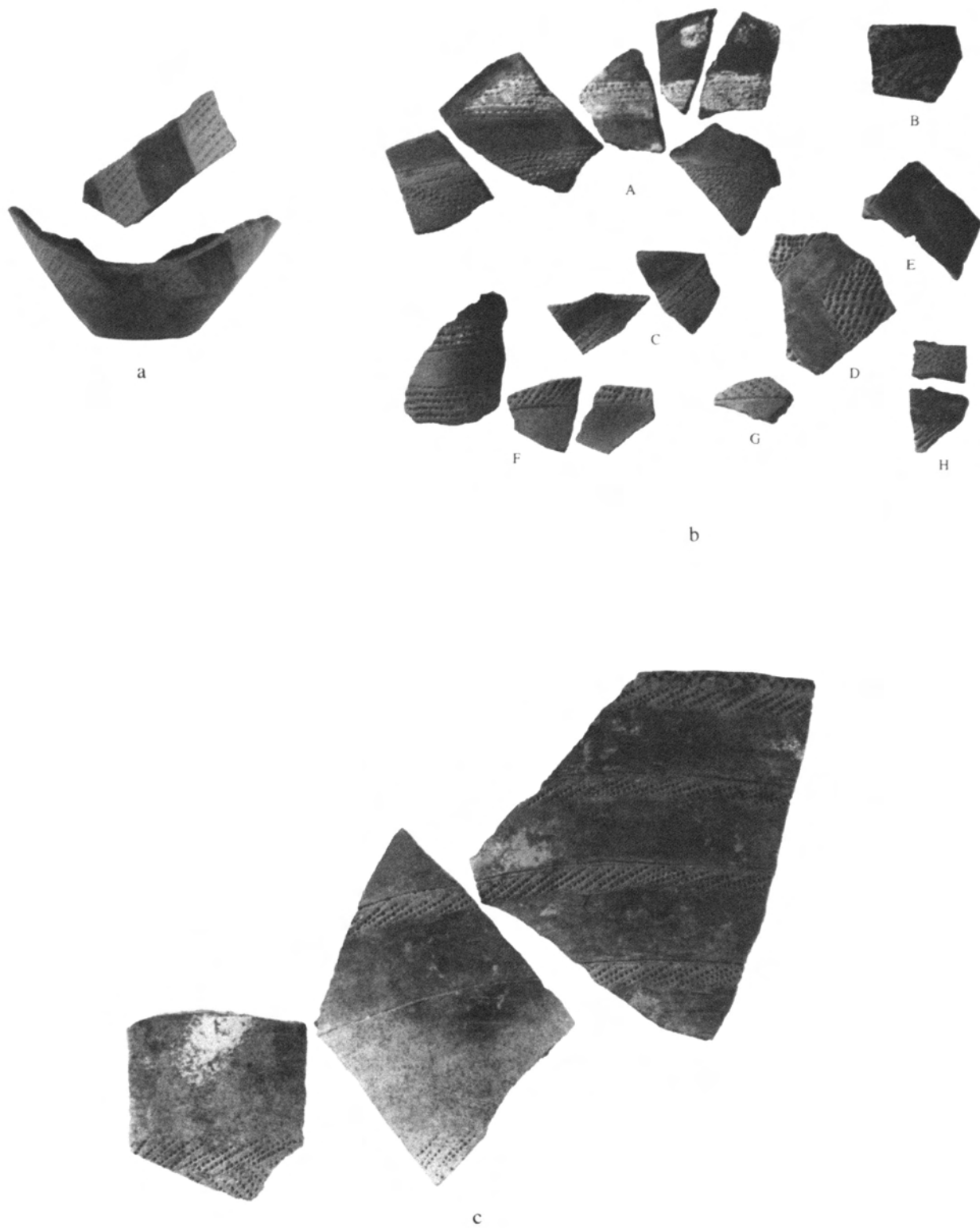
d

Pottery of Form Group I, Exterior Painted: (a) L 17—21, D; (b) L 17—16, G; (c) L 17—20, C; (d) L 8, AS. Scale ca. 2:5.

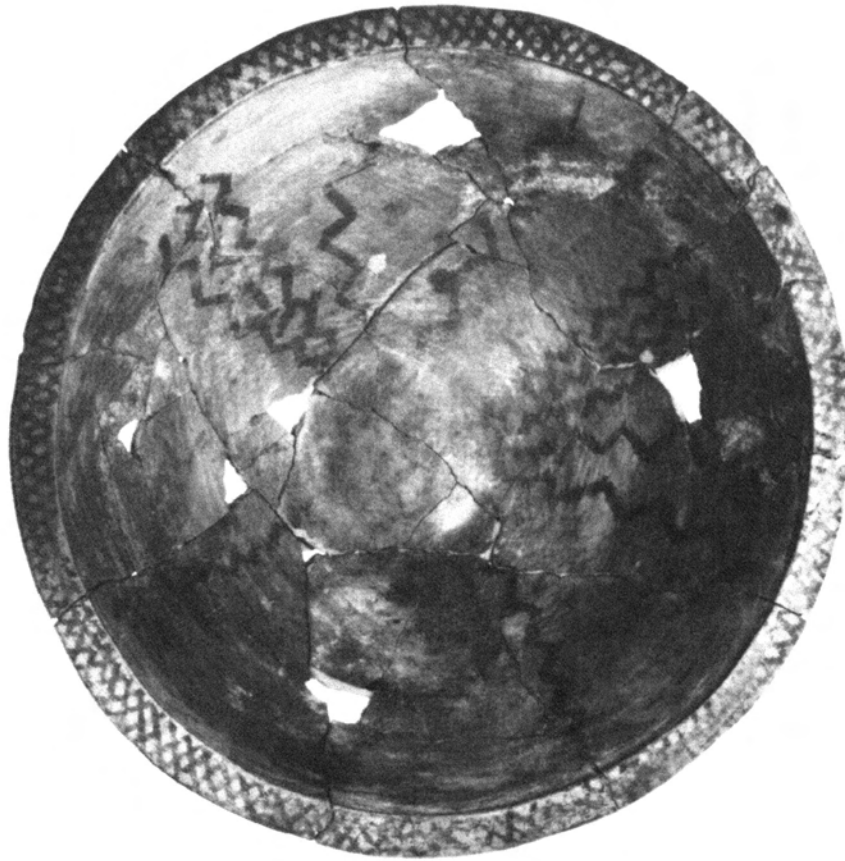
PLATE 10



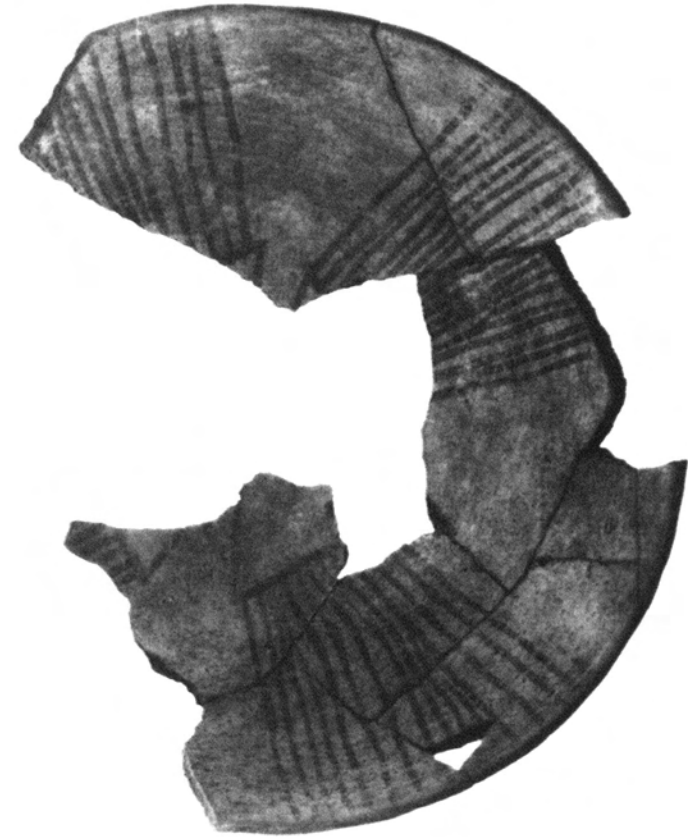
Pottery of Form Group II, Rippled: (a) L 30, A-D; (b) L 29, A-D; (c) L 13, A-C; and Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine: (d) L 30, A. Scale ca. 2:5.



Pottery of Form Group IV, Painted and Incised-Impressed: (a) L 13, A; (b) L 19, A-H; (c) L 22, A. Scale ca. 2:5.



a



b

Pottery of Form Group V, Interior Painted: (a) L 17—30, A; (b) L 9, N. Scales (a) ca. 1:2, (b) ca. 2:5.



a



b



c



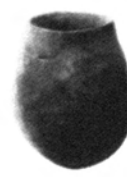
d



e



f



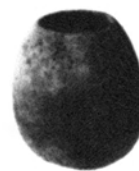
g



h



i



j

Pottery of Form Group VI *alpha*, Simple Fine: (a) L 10, A; (b) L 22, A; (c) L 9, H; and Form Group VI *beta*, Miniature Cups: (d) L 19, D; (e) L 19, A; (f) L 19, C; (g) L 19, B; (h) L 11, G; (i) L 11, F; (j) L 11, E. Scale ca. 2:5.

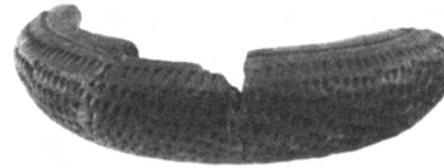
PLATE 14



Pottery of Form Group VII, Sudanese Overall Zone-Incised: (a) L 10, C; (b) L 15, A; (c) L 30, B; (d) L 11, F, D, B. Scale ca. 2:5 except (c), (d) not to scale.



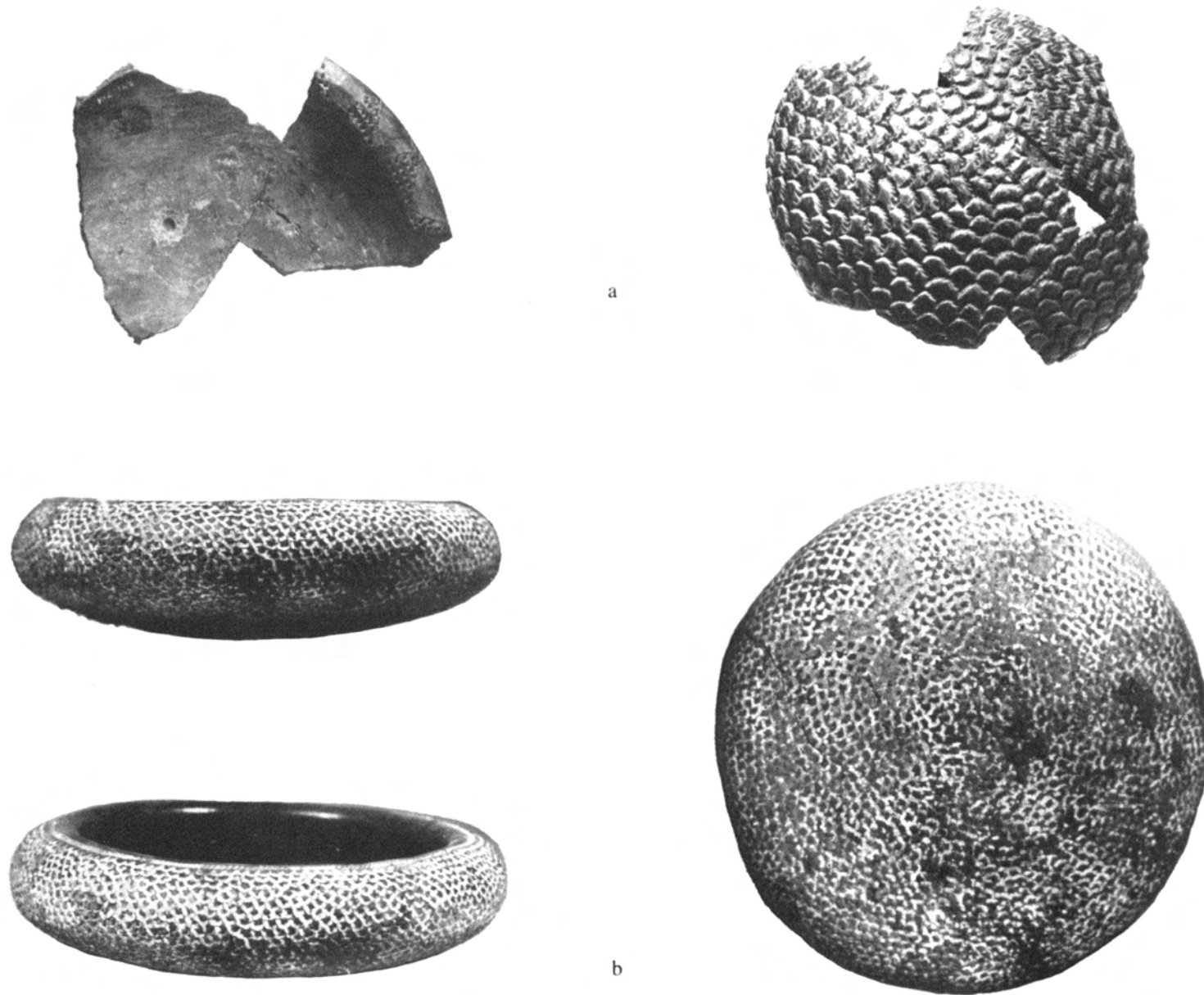
a



b



Pottery of Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised: (a) L 30, F; (b) L 30, E. Scale ca. 2:5.



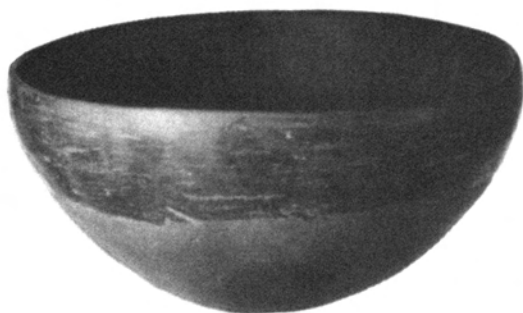
Pottery of Form Group VIII, Heavy Incised: (a) L 5, E; (b) L 9, A. Scale ca. 2:5.



a



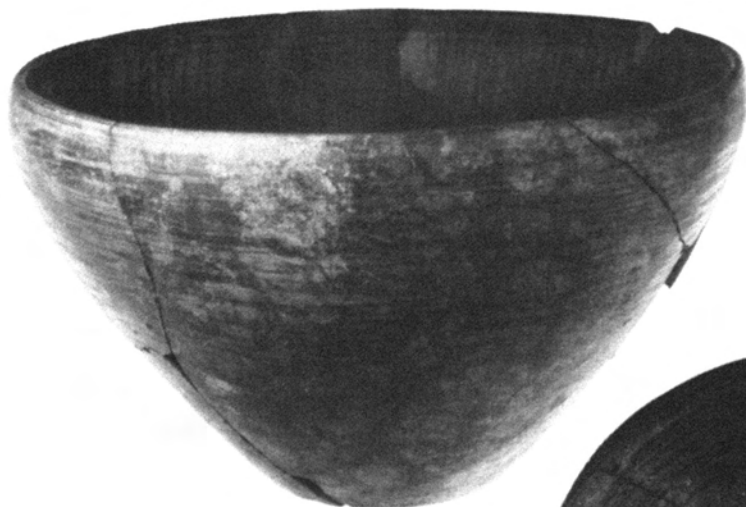
b



c



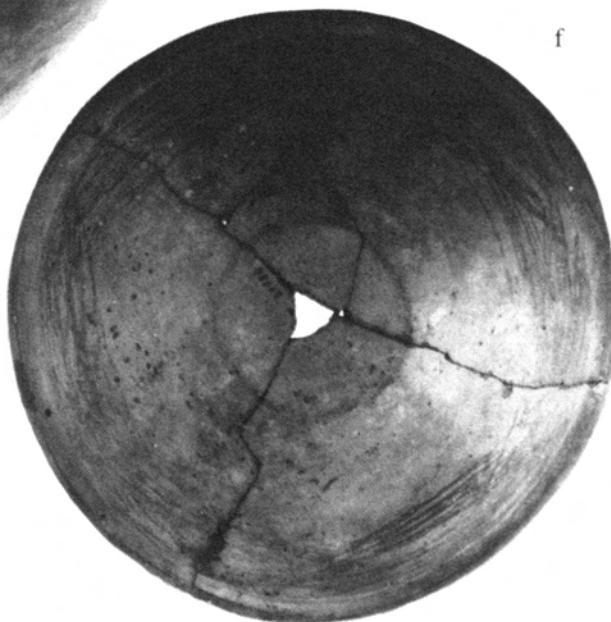
d



e



f



Pottery of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink: (a) L 19, U; (b) L 17—33, E; (c) L 24, AF; (d) L 17—29, D; (e) L 10, A; (f) L 9, AU. Scale ca. 2:5.

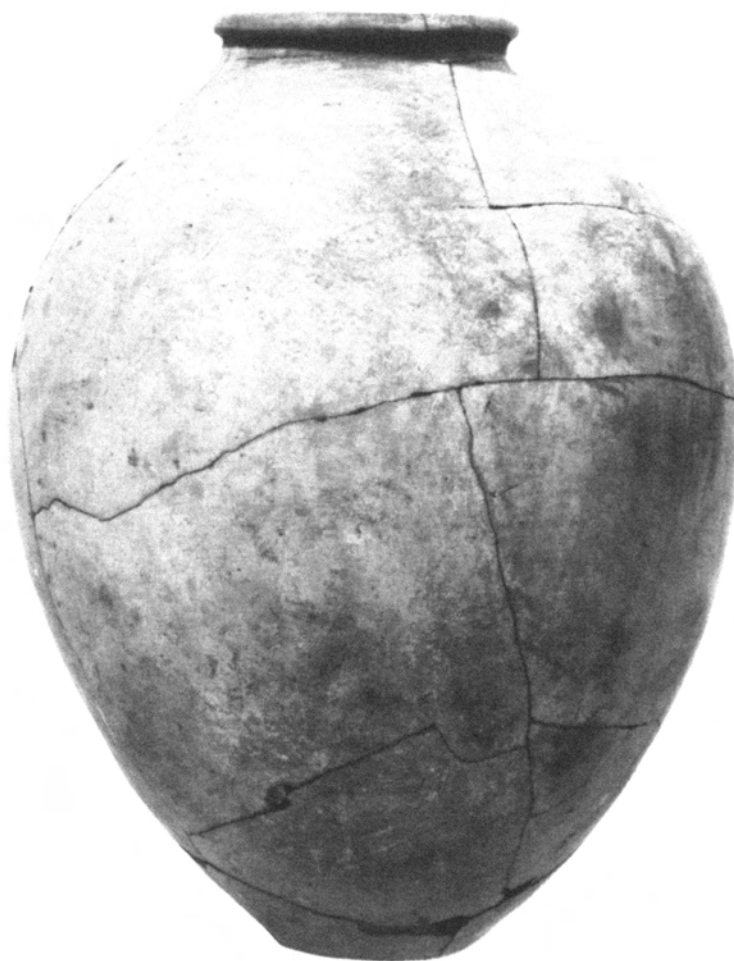
PLATE 18



Pottery of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink: (a) L 19, Q; (b) L 19, R; (c) L 11, P; (d) L 24, V; (e) L 24, AD; (f) L 2, G; (g) L 24, W; (h) L 24, AB. Scale ca. 2:5.

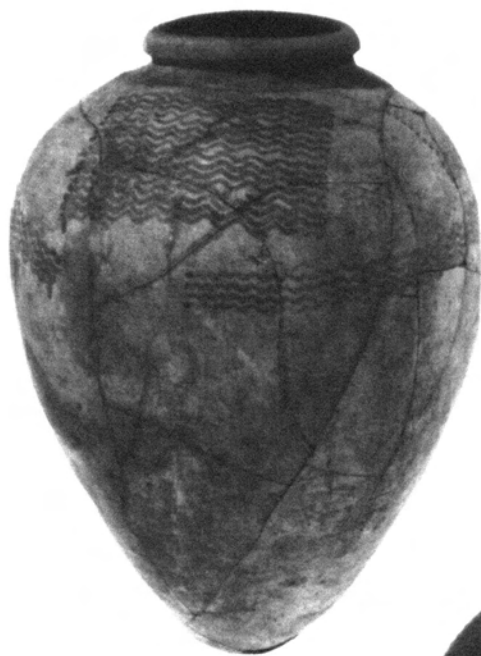


a

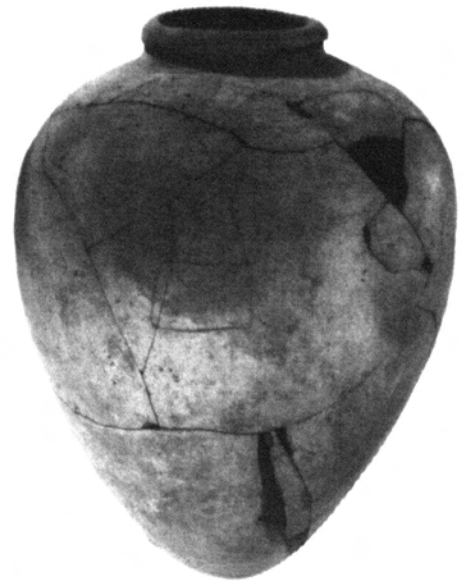


b

Pottery of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink: (a) L 10, E; (b) L 24, AN. Scale ca. 2:5.



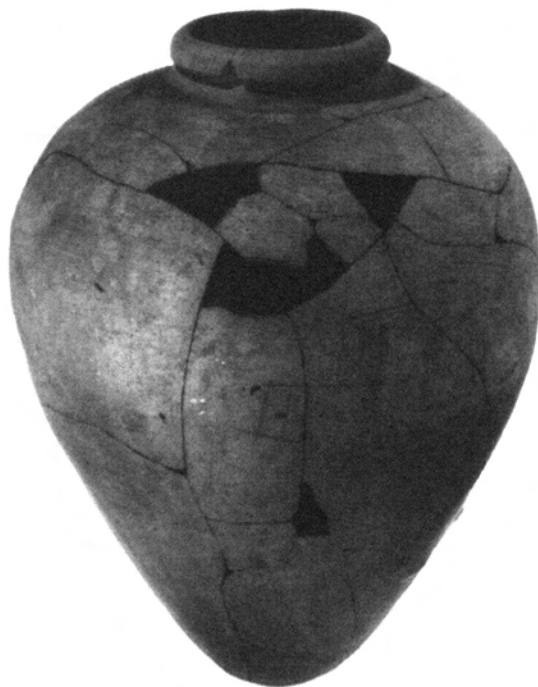
a



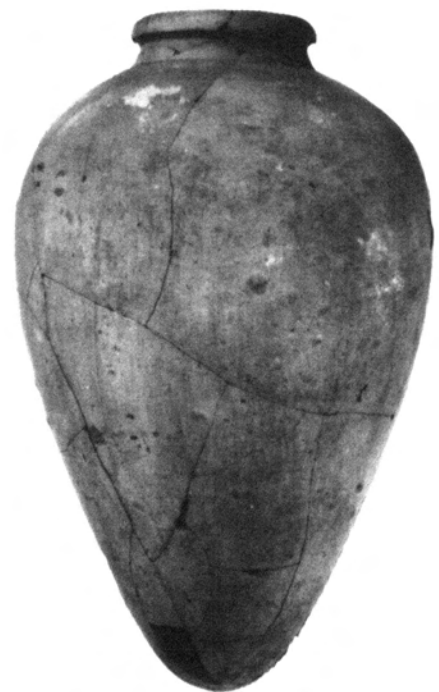
b



c



d



e

Pottery of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink: (a) L 23, S; (b) L 23, Q; (c) L 23, K; (d) L 23, M; (e) L 23, P. Scale ca. 1:5.



a



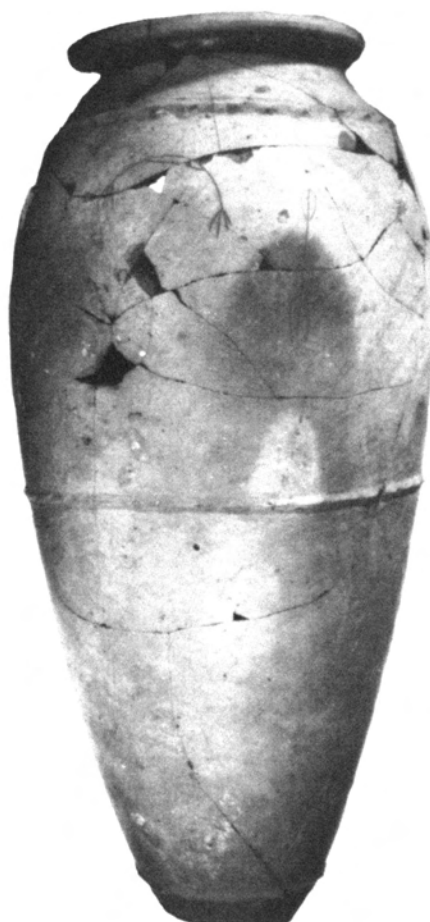
b



c



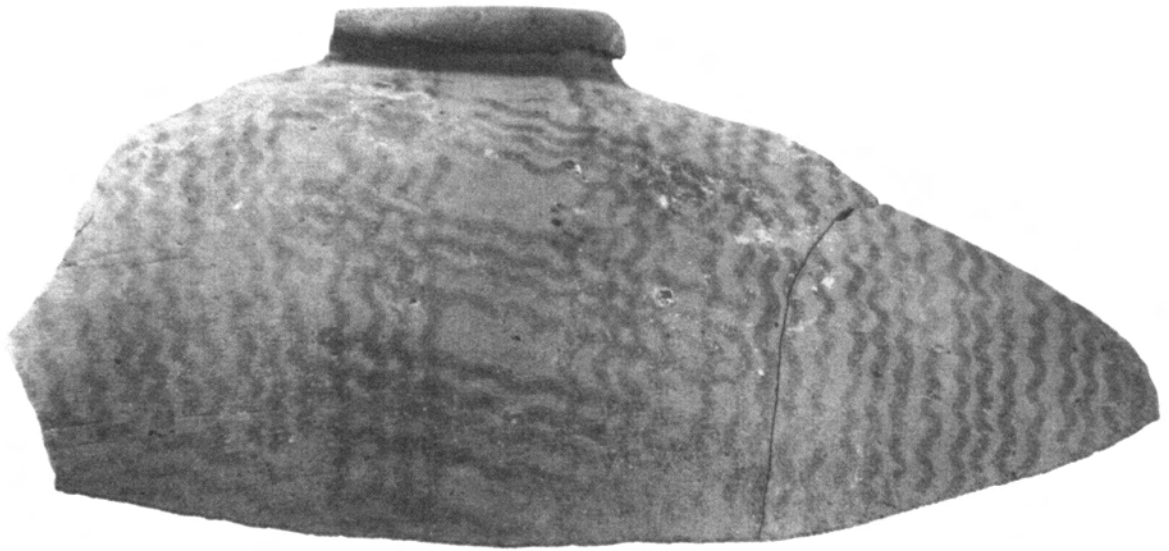
d



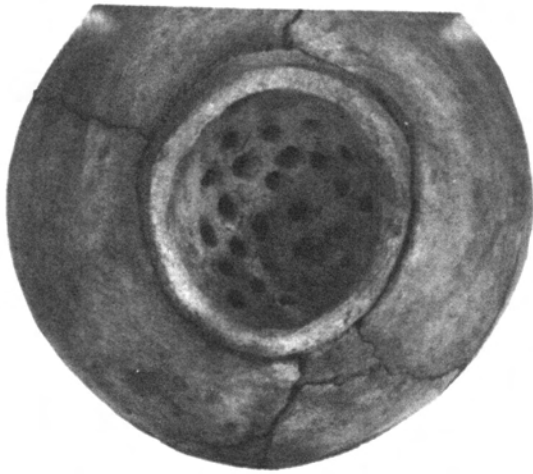
e

Pottery of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink: (a) L 9, AV (ht. 43.5 cm); (b) L 23, A (ht. 68 cm); (c) L 15, F (ht. 43.5 cm); (d) L 23, B (ht. 72 cm); (e) L 23, C (ht. 80 cm).

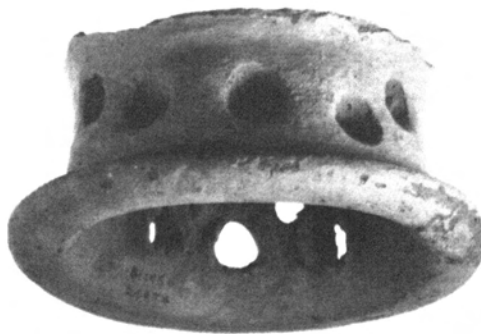
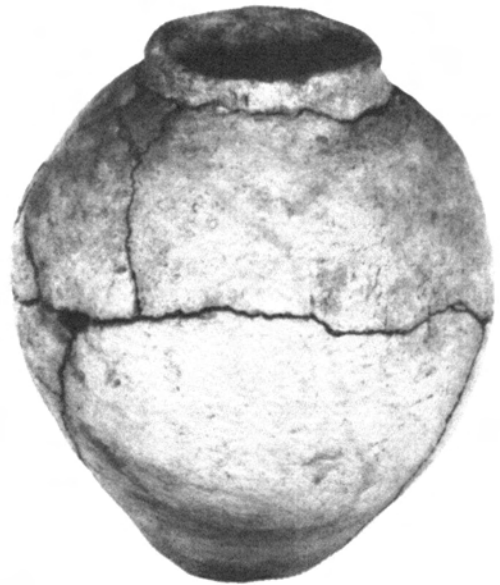
PLATE 22



a



b



c

Pottery of Form Group X, Egyptian Hard Pink: (a) L 24, U; and Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse: (b) L 17—6, A; (c) L 2, C. Scale ca. 2:5 except (b) not to scale.



Pottery of Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse: Serpent stand, L 5, A. Scale ca. 2:5.

PLATE 24



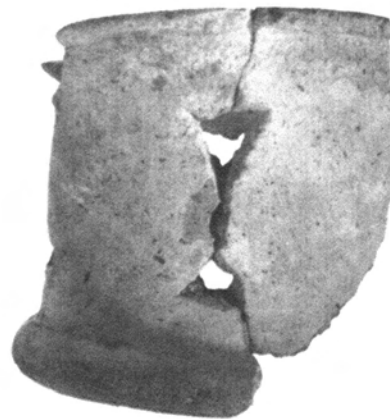
a



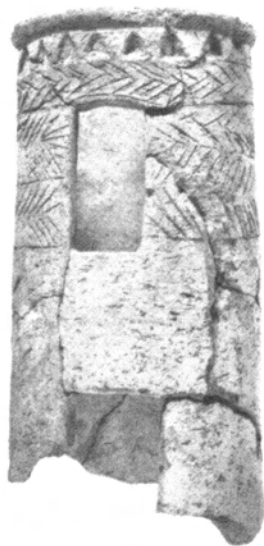
b



c



d

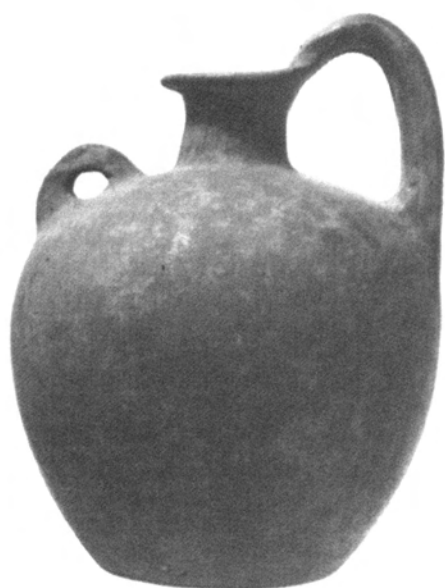


e

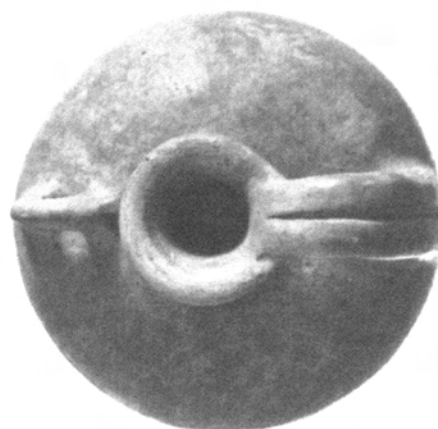


f

Pottery of Form Group XI, Egyptian Coarse: (a) L 2, F; (b) L 2, E; (c) L 19, B; (d) L 23, B; (e) L 24, C; (f) L 19, C. Scale ca. 1:5.



a



b



c



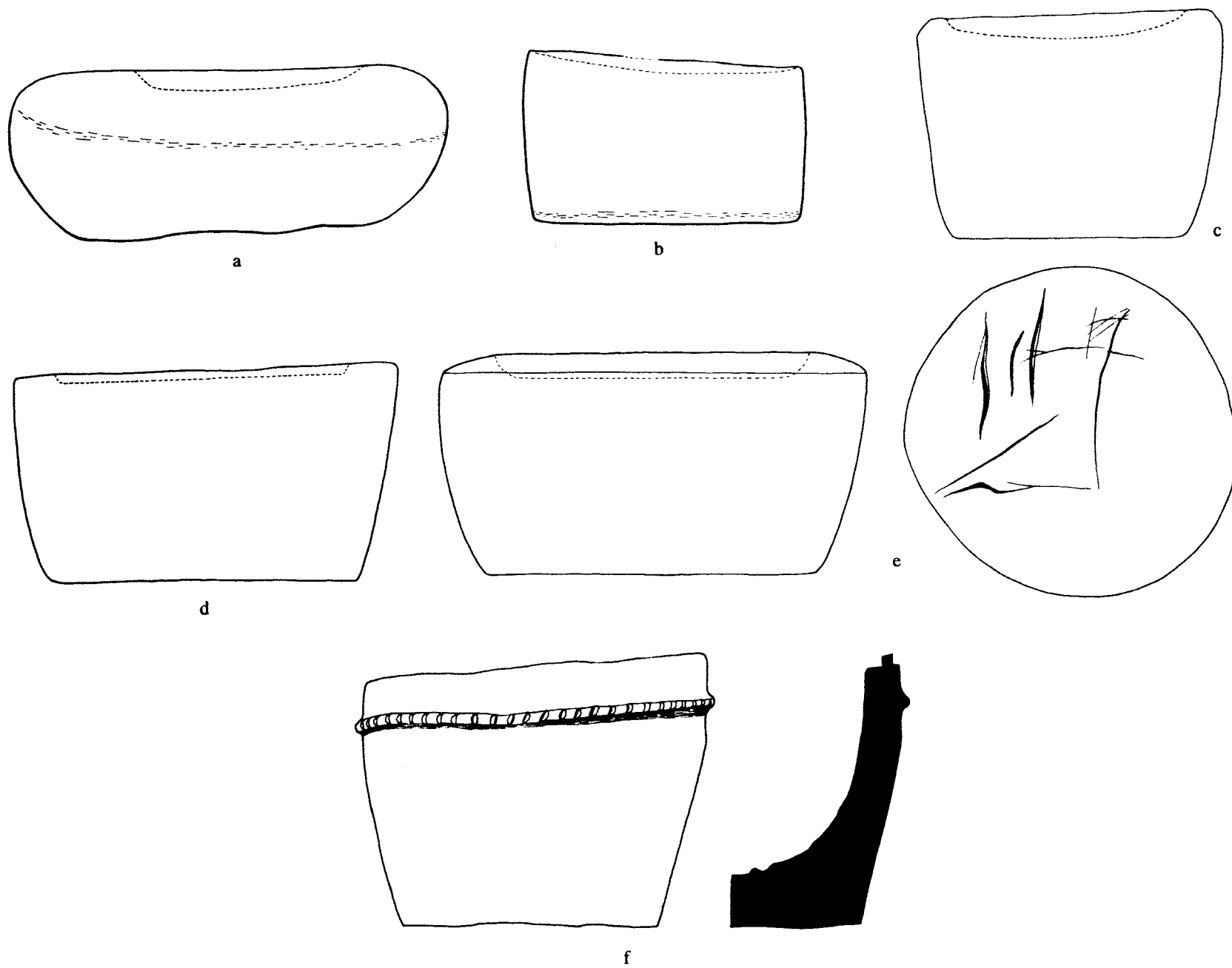
d



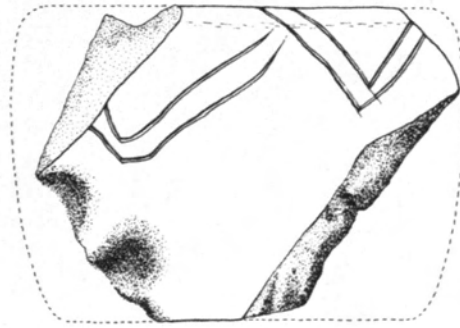
e



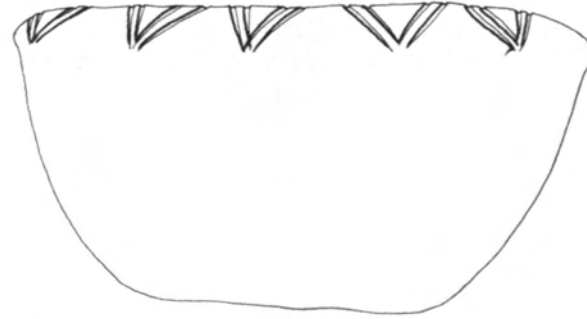
Pottery of Form Group XII, Syro-Palestinian EB I: (a) L 24, A; (b) L 24, B; (c) L 24, C; (d) L 24, D; (e) L 24, E. Scale ca. 2:5.



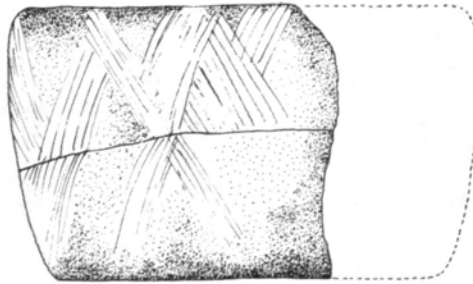
Incense burners: (a) L 14—5; (b) L 24—21; (c) L 22—19; (d) L 30—2; (e) L 24—33; (f) L 16—7. Scale 1:2.



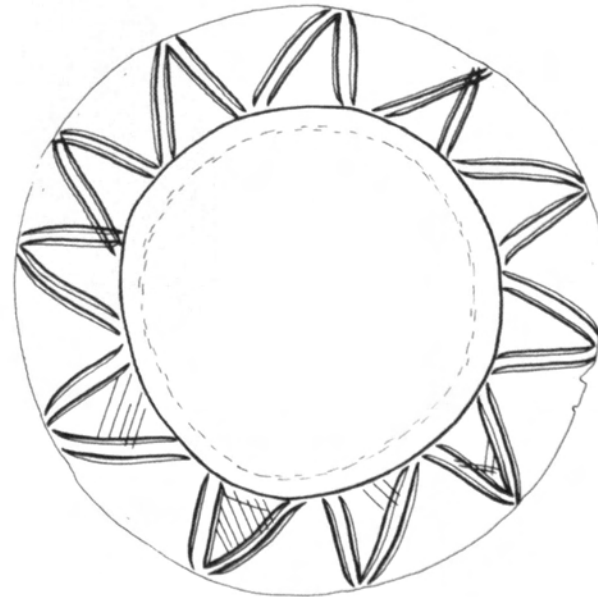
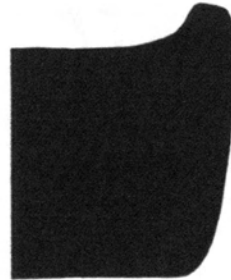
a



b



c

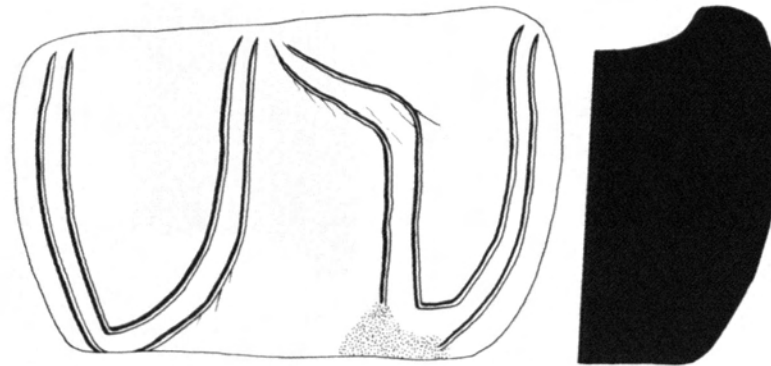
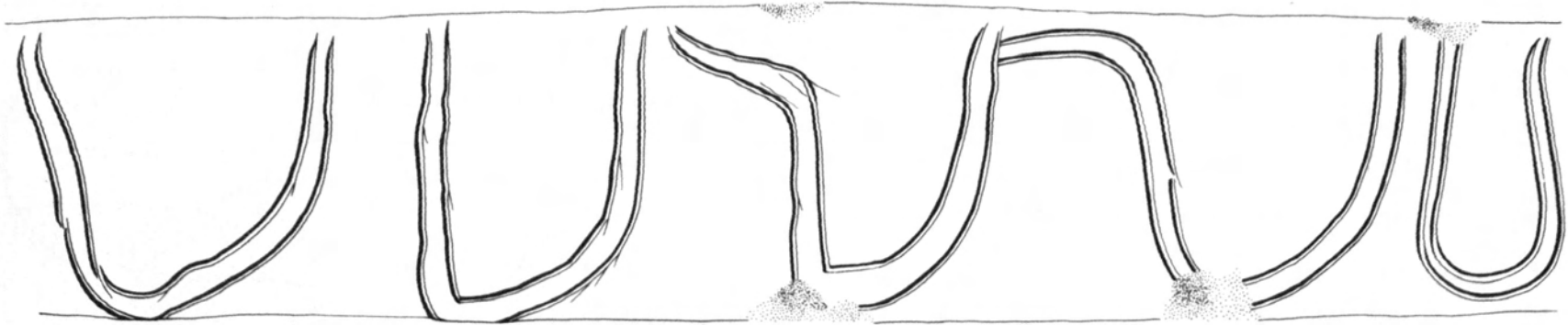


d

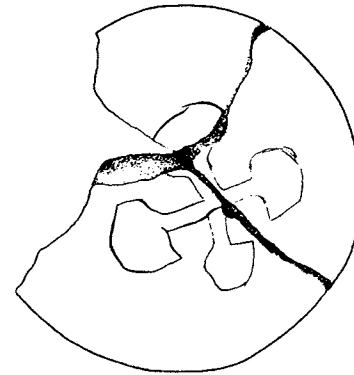
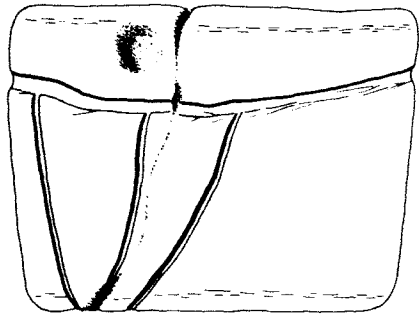
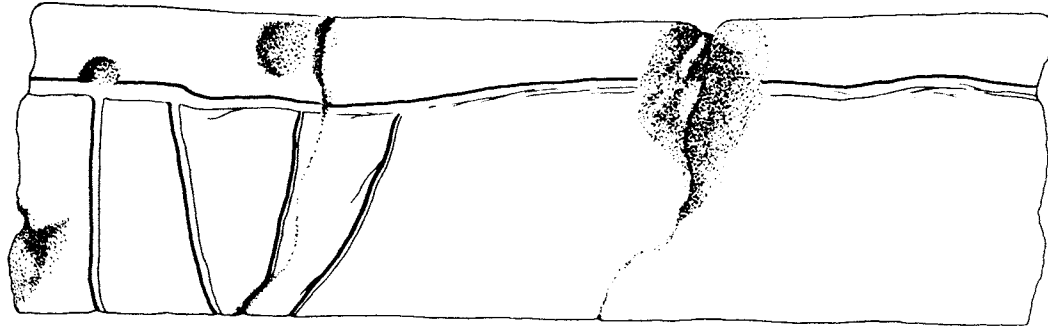


e

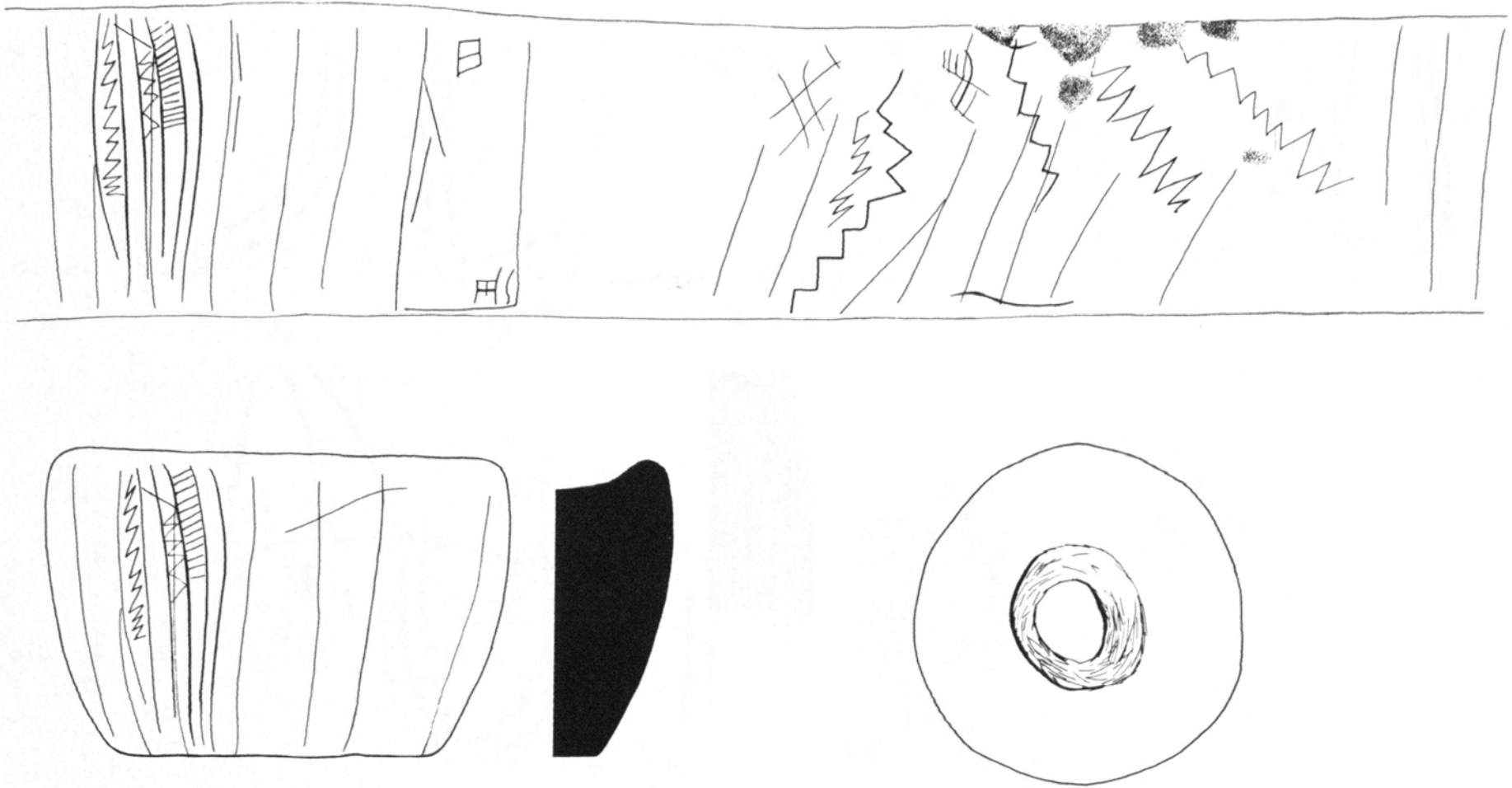
Incense burners: (a) L 24—49; (b) L 2—34; (c) L 19—30; (d-e) Uncertain provenience. Scale 1:2.



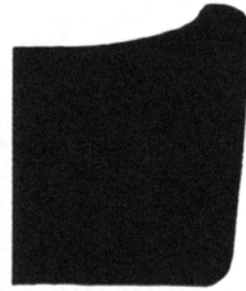
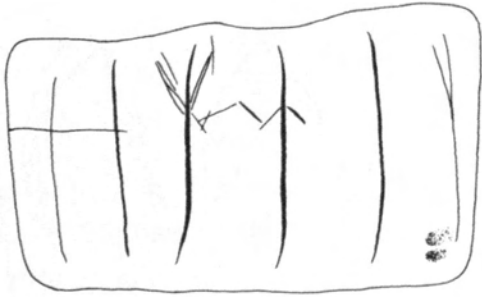
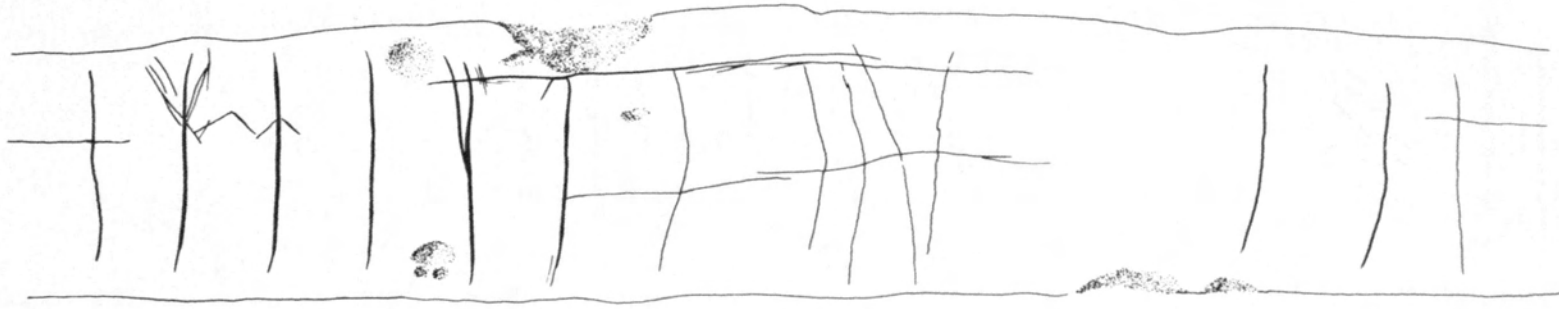
Incense burner, L 22—11. Scale 1:2.



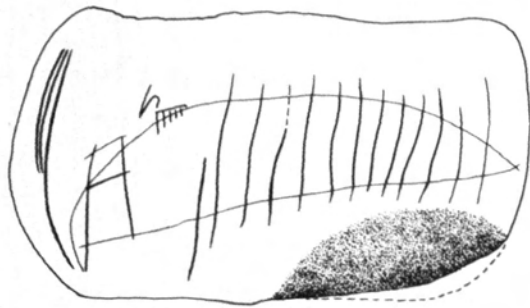
Incense burner, L 2—33. Scale 1:2.



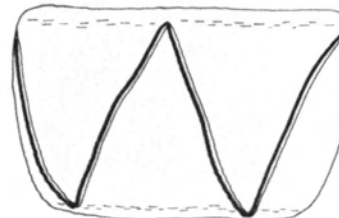
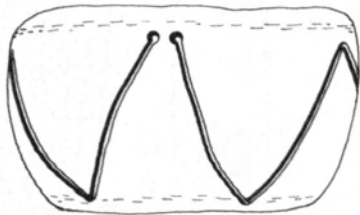
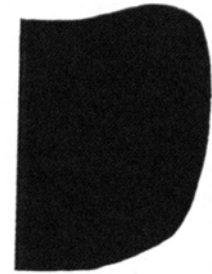
Incense burner, L 11—23. Scale 1:2.



Incense burner, L 1—1. Scale 1:2.



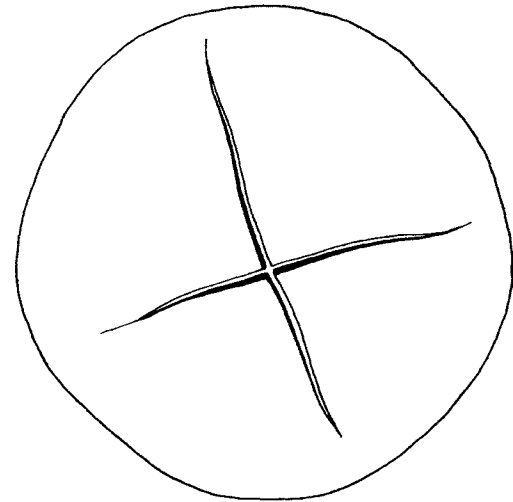
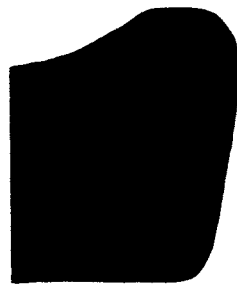
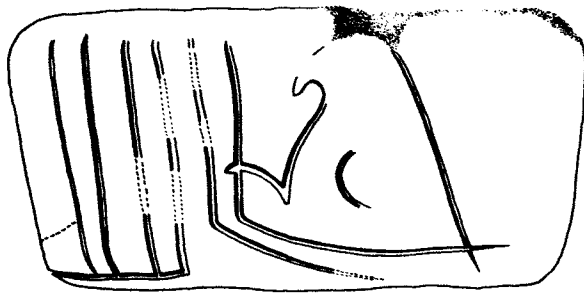
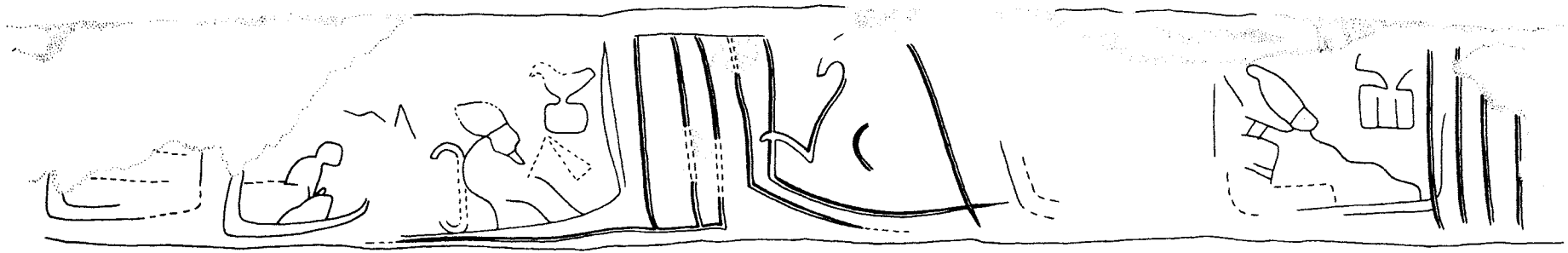
a



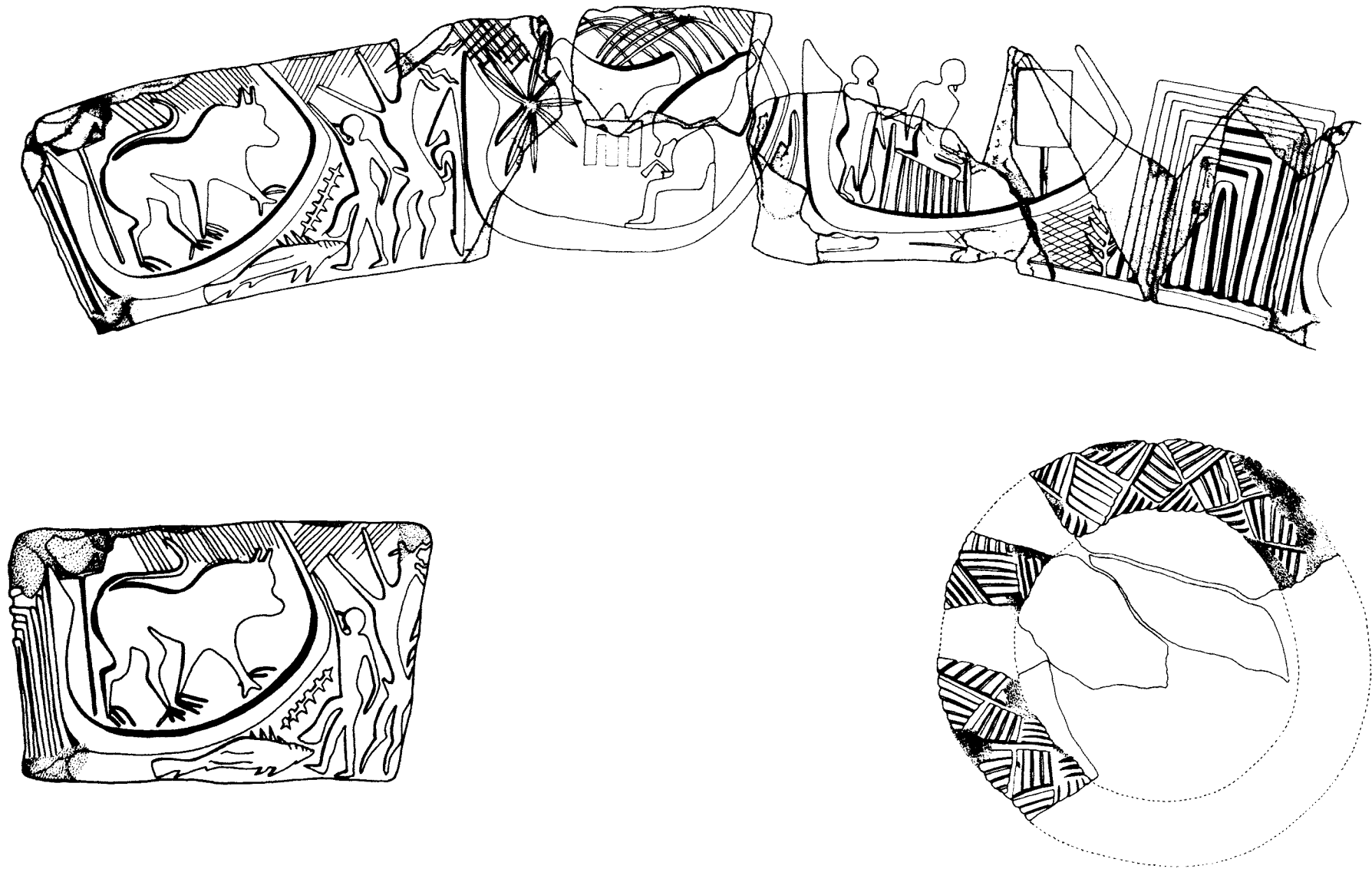
b



Incense burners: (a) L 10—2; (b) L 11—18. Scale 1:2.



Archaic Horus incense burner, L 11—25. Scale 1:2.



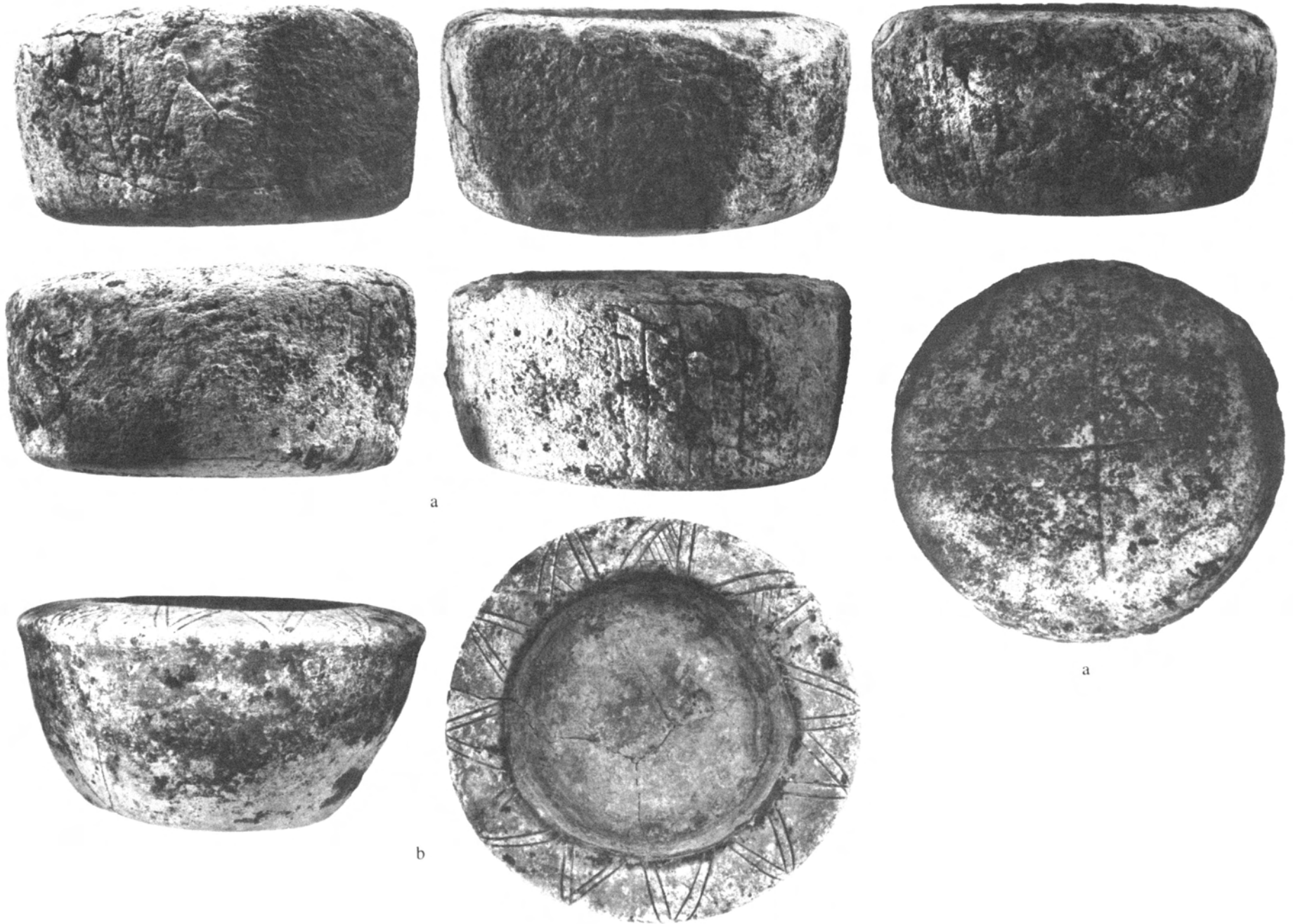
Qustul incense burner, L 24—1. Scale 1:2.



Incense burners: (a) L 10—2; (b) L 14—5; (c) L 16—7; (d) L 24—21; (e) L 22—19; (f) L 2—34; (g) L 30—2; (h) L 24—33; (i) L 24—49. Scale ca. 1:2 except (a) ca. 1:4.



Incense burners: (a) L 11—18; (b) L 11—23; (c) L 2—33; (d) L 22—11; (e) L 1—1. Scale ca. 1:2 except (a), (c) ca. 1:4.



Incense burners: (a) Archaic Horus incense burner, L 11—25; (b) L 19—30. Scale ca. 1:2.

PLATE 38



Qustul incense burner, L 24—1. Scale ca. 1:2.

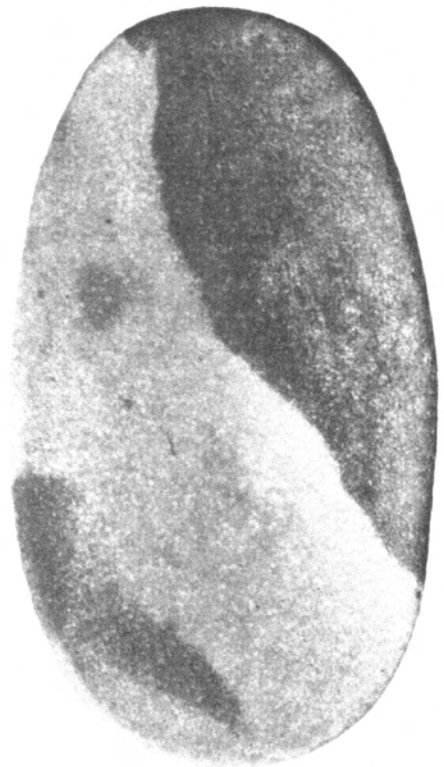


Mortars: (a) L 3—1; (b) L 3—2; (c) L 2—16; (d) L 3—3; (e) L 24—6; (f) L 2—25. Scale 1:5.

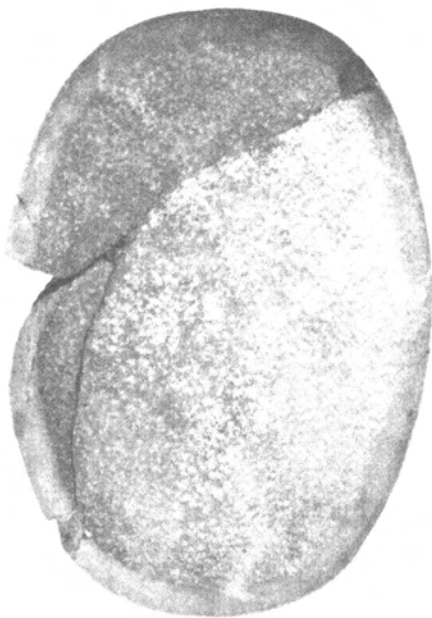
PLATE 40



a



b



c

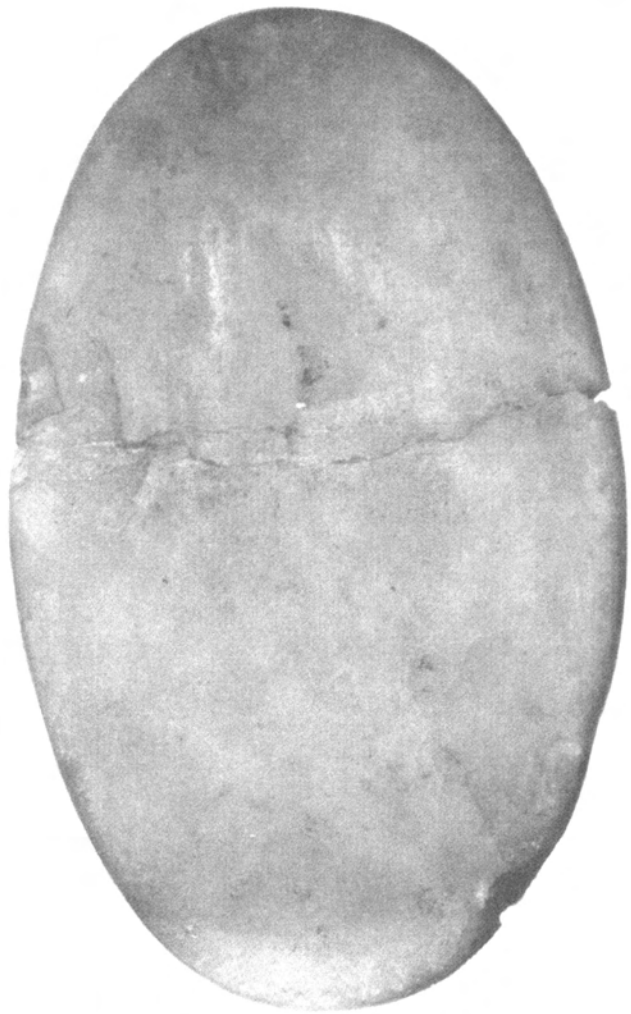


d

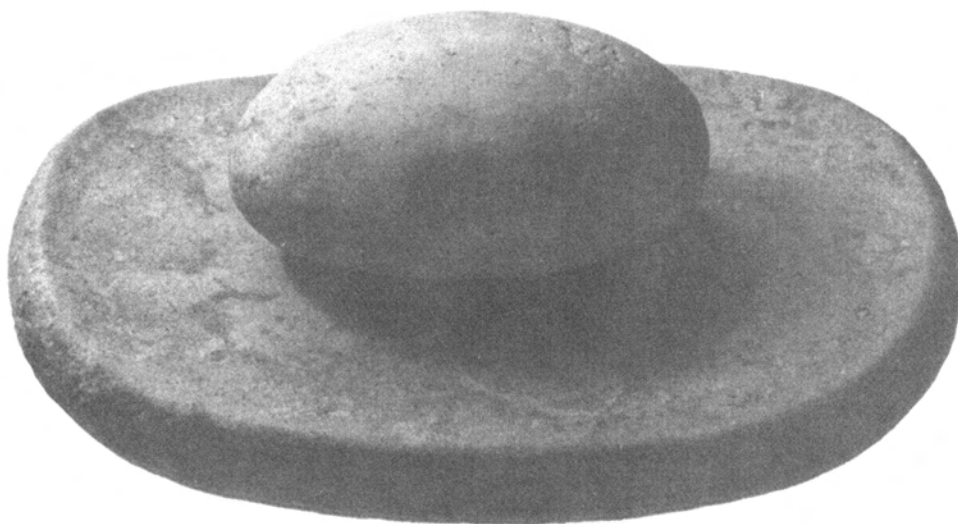
Mortars: (a) L 2—16; (b) L 3—1; (c) L 2—25; (d) L 10—3. Scale ca. 2:5.



a



b



c

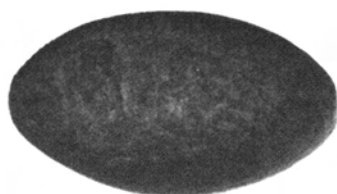
Mortars: (a) L 24—6; (b) L 24—28; (c) L 17—18. Scale ca. 2:5.



Mortars: (a) L 3—2; (b) L 3—3. Scale ca. 2:5.



a



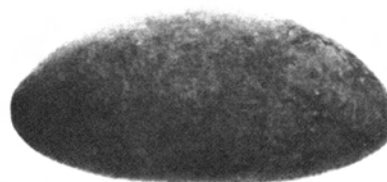
b



c



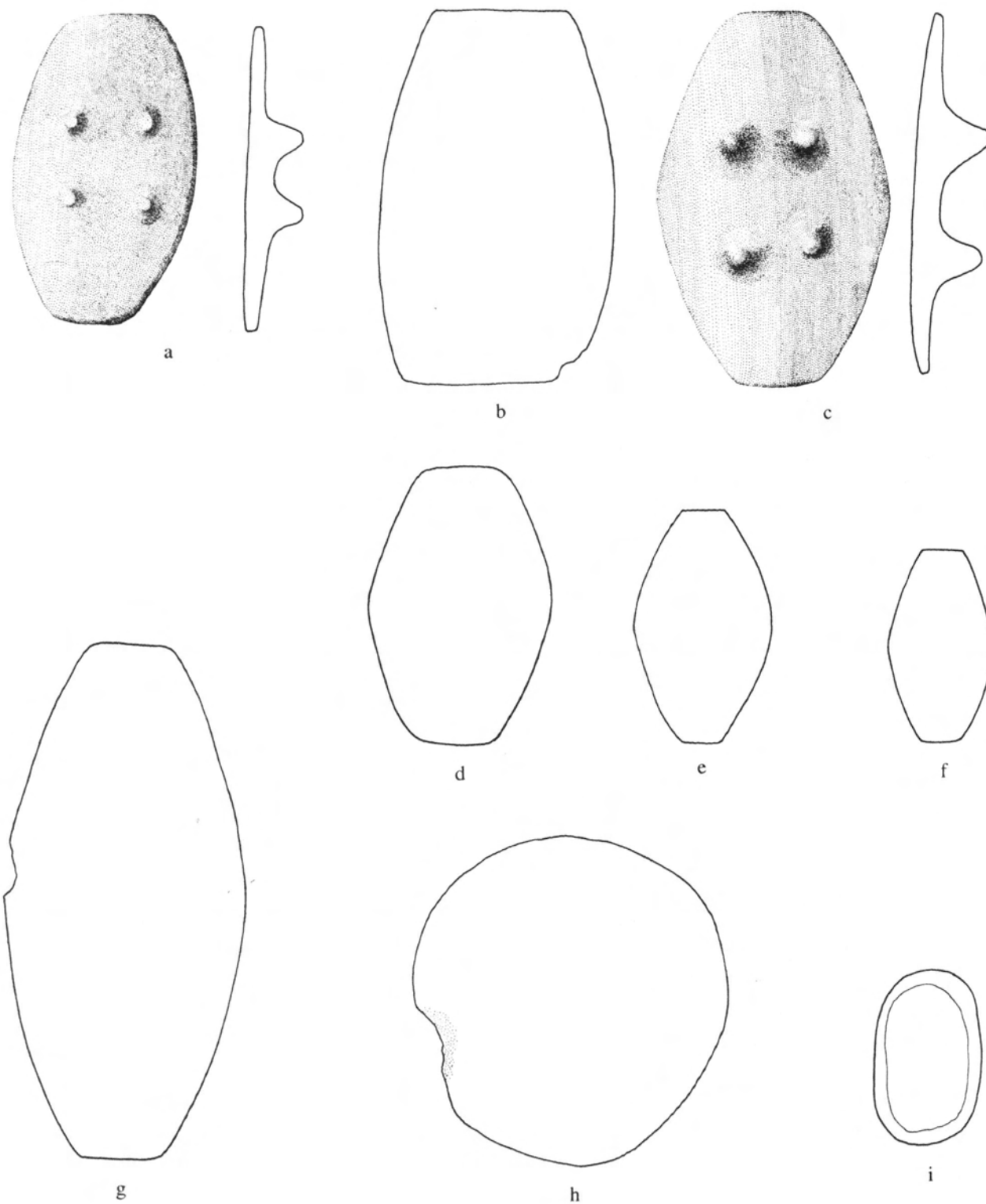
d



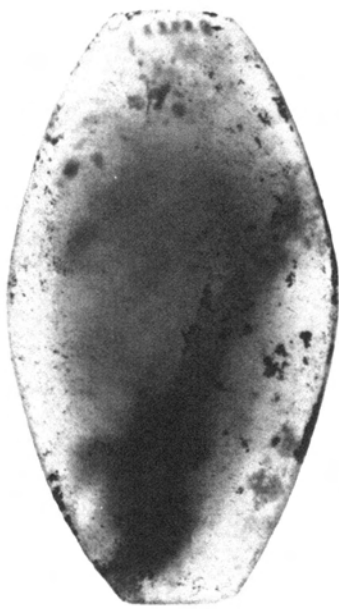
e

Pestles: (a) L 3—5; (b) L 3—6; (c) L 3—7; (d) L 11—12, C; (e) L 11—12, D. Scale ca. 2:5.

PLATE 44



Palettes: (a) L 17—27; (b) L 24—47; (c) L 23—41; (d) L 22—15; (e) L 2—24; (f) L 24—23b; (g) L 17—1, B; (h) L 2—21; (i) L 9—5. Scale 1:2.



a



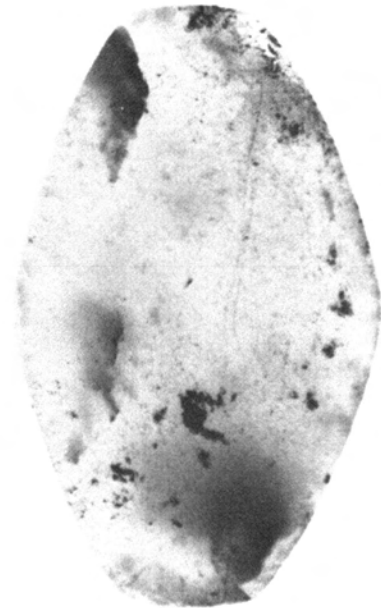
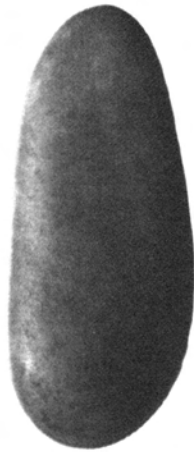
b



c



d



e

Palettes: (a) L 14—2; (b) L 15—26; (c) L 2—24; (d) L 17—25 and grinding pebble; (e) L 17—1, A. Scale ca. 1:1.



a

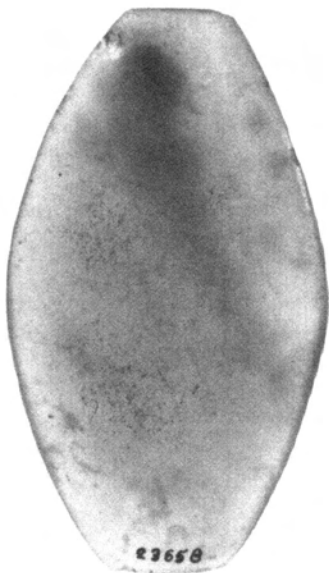


b



c

Palettes: (a) L 17—1, B; (b-c) L 17—27. Scale ca. 1:1.



a



b



c



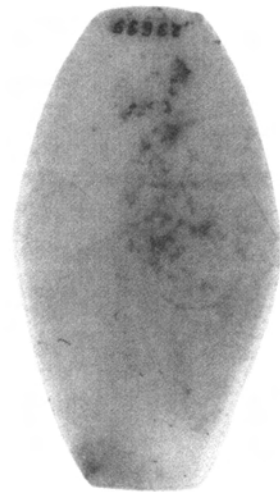
d

Palettes: (a) L 14—2; (b) L 2—24; (c) L 17—25; (d) L 24—35. Scale ca. 1:1.

PLATE 48



a



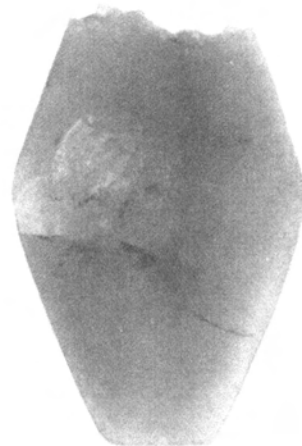
b



c

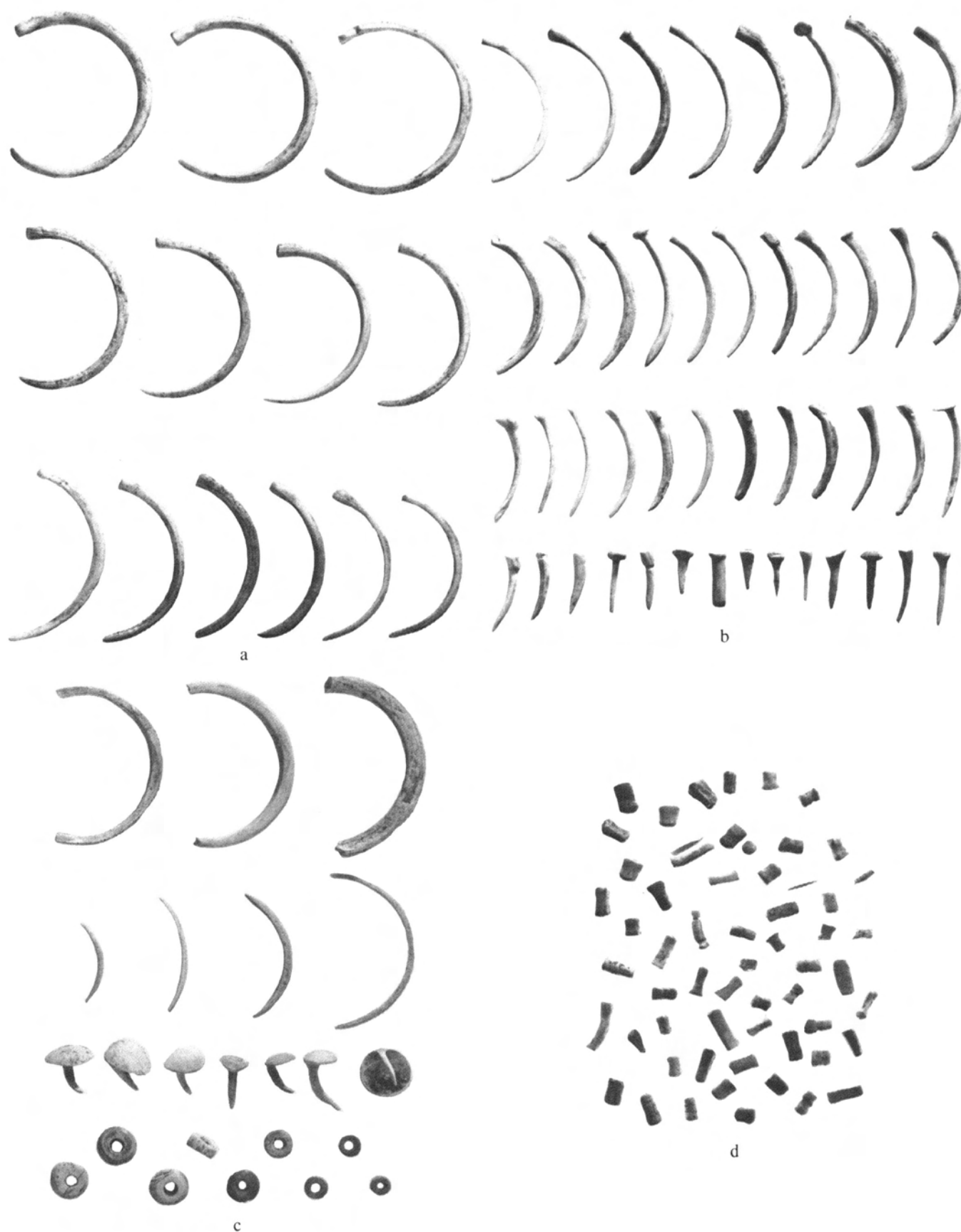


d

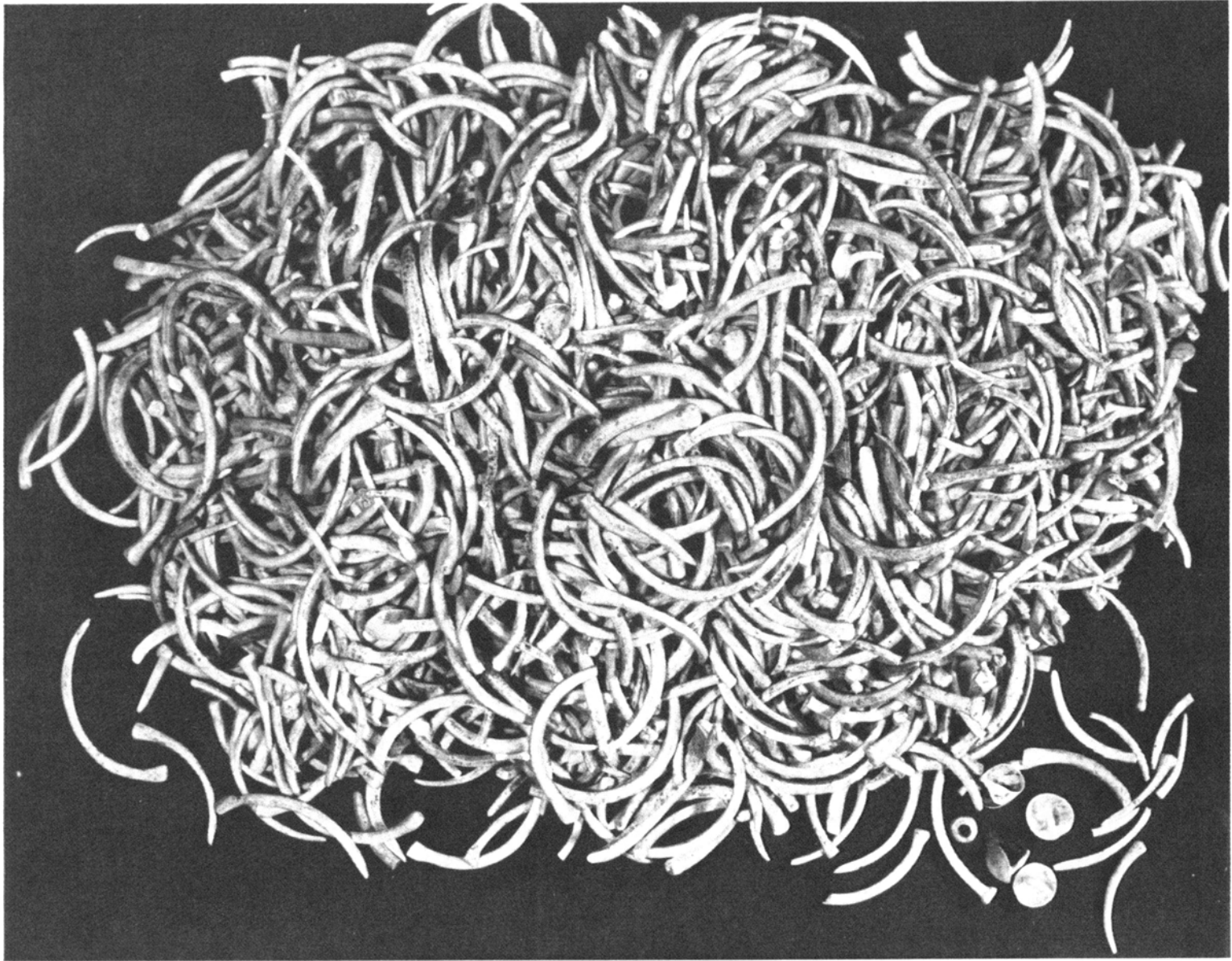


e

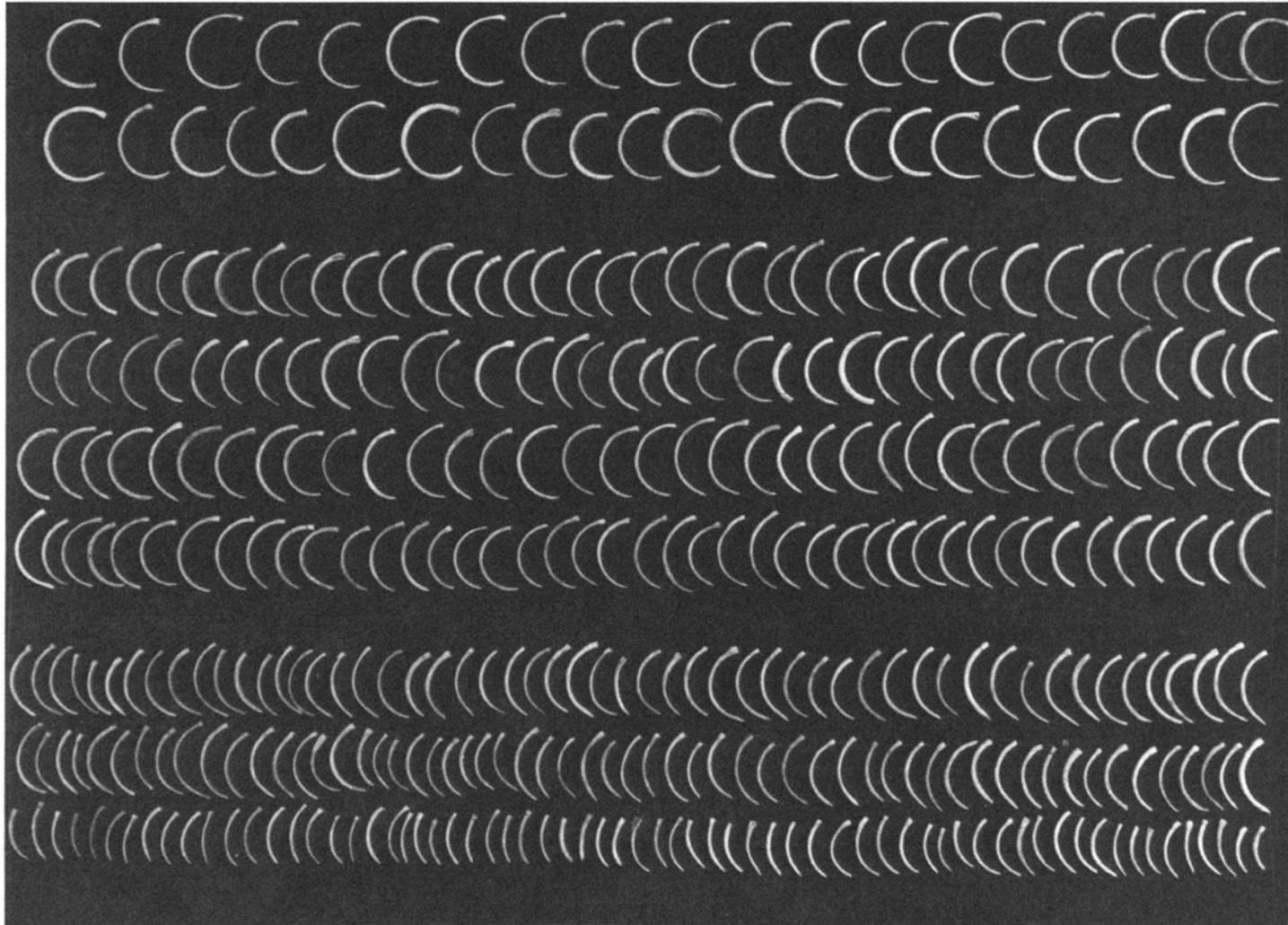
Palettes: (a) L 24—23a; (b) L 24—23b; (c) L 2—19; (d) L 24—13; (e) L 2—18. Scale ca. 1:1.



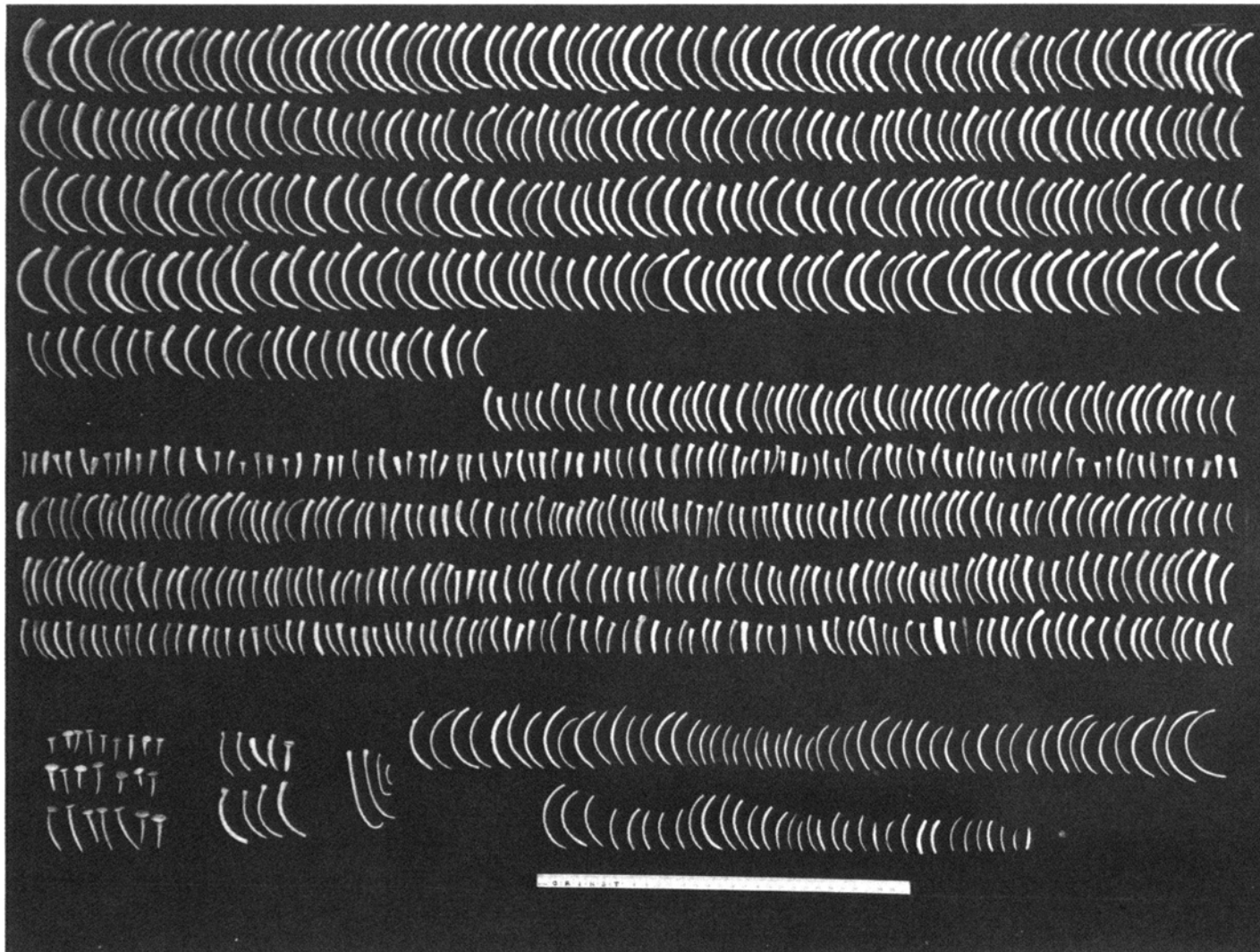
Shell objects, L 17—14: (a-b) Hooks; (c) Bracelet fragments, pins or double-ended hooks, studs, beads; (d) Tokens. Scale ca. 1:2.



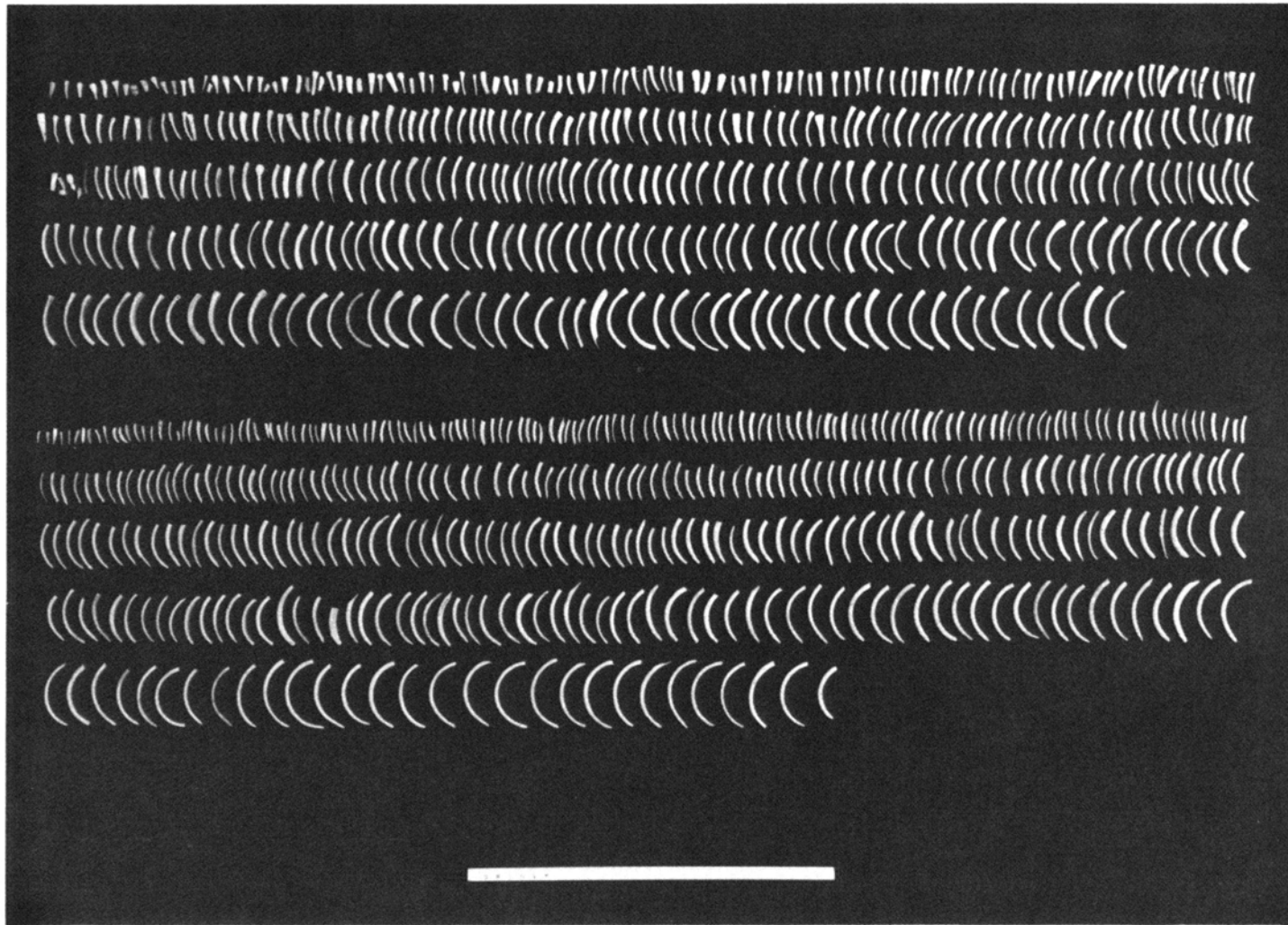
Shell objects, L 17—14. For size range see pl. 49.



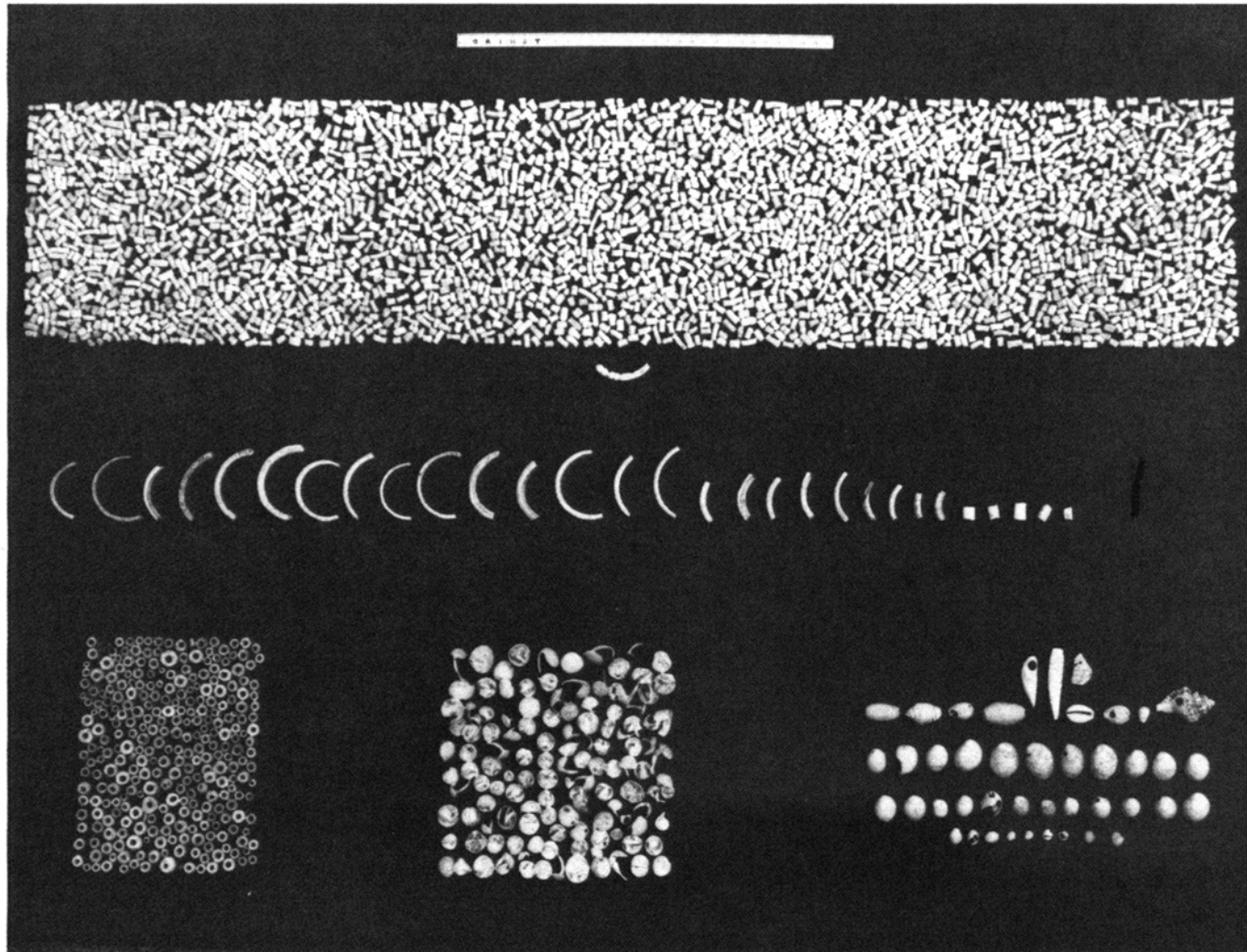
Shell objects, L 17—14, pile I: Hooks—overhemispherical to open. For size range see pl. 49.



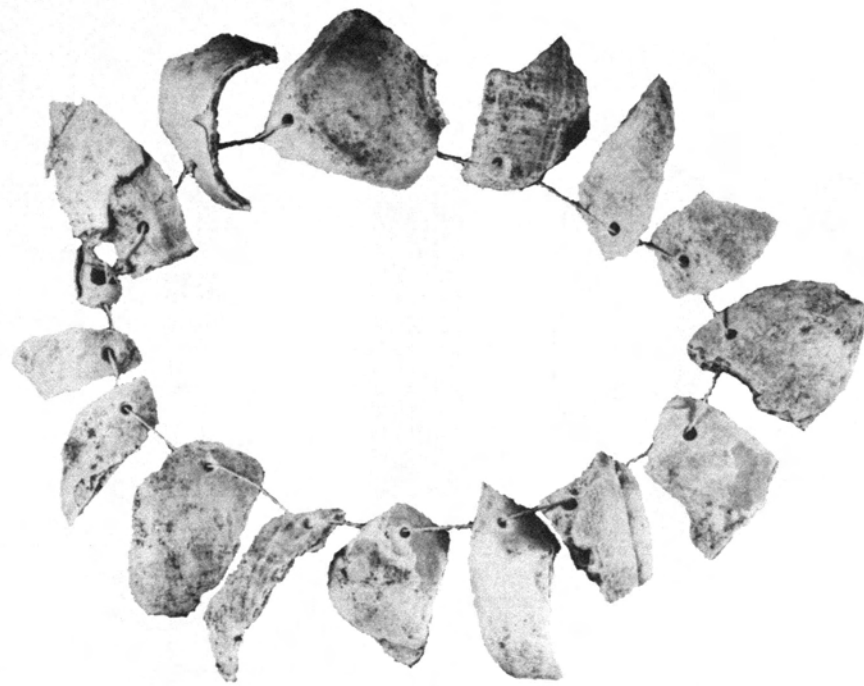
Shell objects, L 17—14, pile II: Hooks—open, spike, headed, “fishhook,” double-ended. For size range see pl. 49.



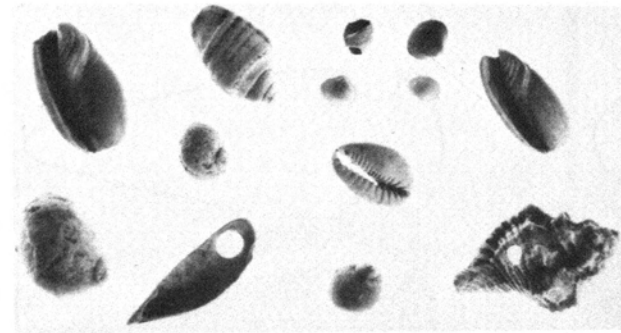
Shell objects, L 17—14, pile III: Hooks—broken heads and tails. For size range see pl. 49.



Shell objects, L 17—14, pile IV: Tokens, bracelet fragments, beads, studs, shells. For size range see pl. 49.



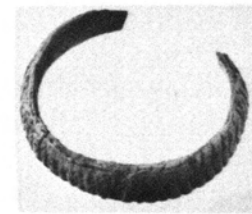
a



b



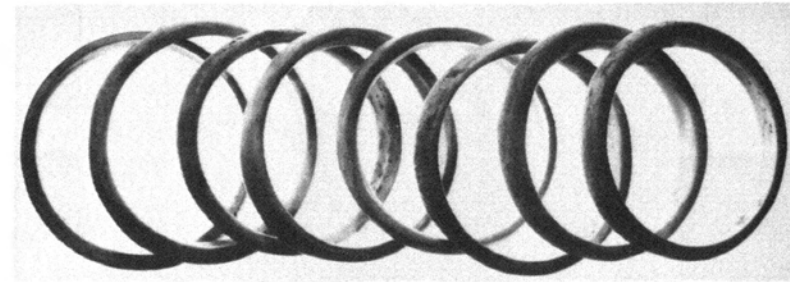
c



d



e

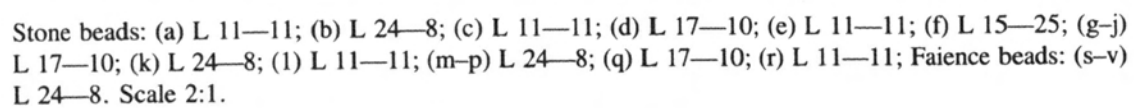


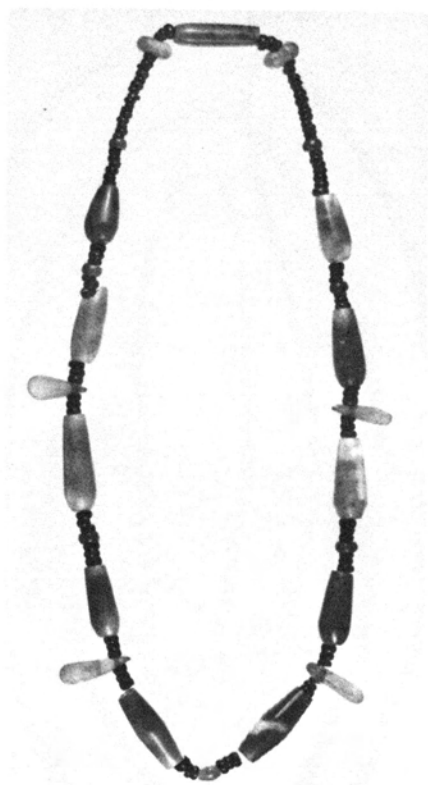
f



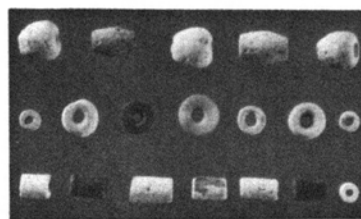
g

Shell objects: (a) Strung shells, L 17—14; (b—c) Shells, L 17—14; (d) Decorated bracelet, L 1—2; (e) *Nerita* shell beads, L 17—2; (f) Bracelets, L 15—16—23; (g) Bracelets, L 16—8. Scale ca. 1:2 except (e) ca. 1:4.

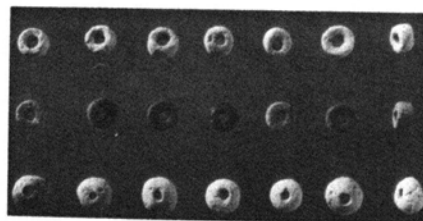




a



b



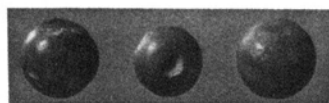
c



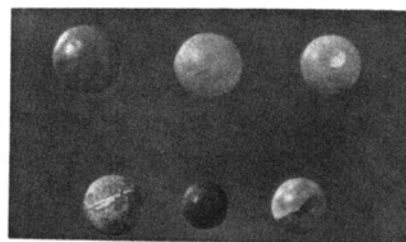
d



e

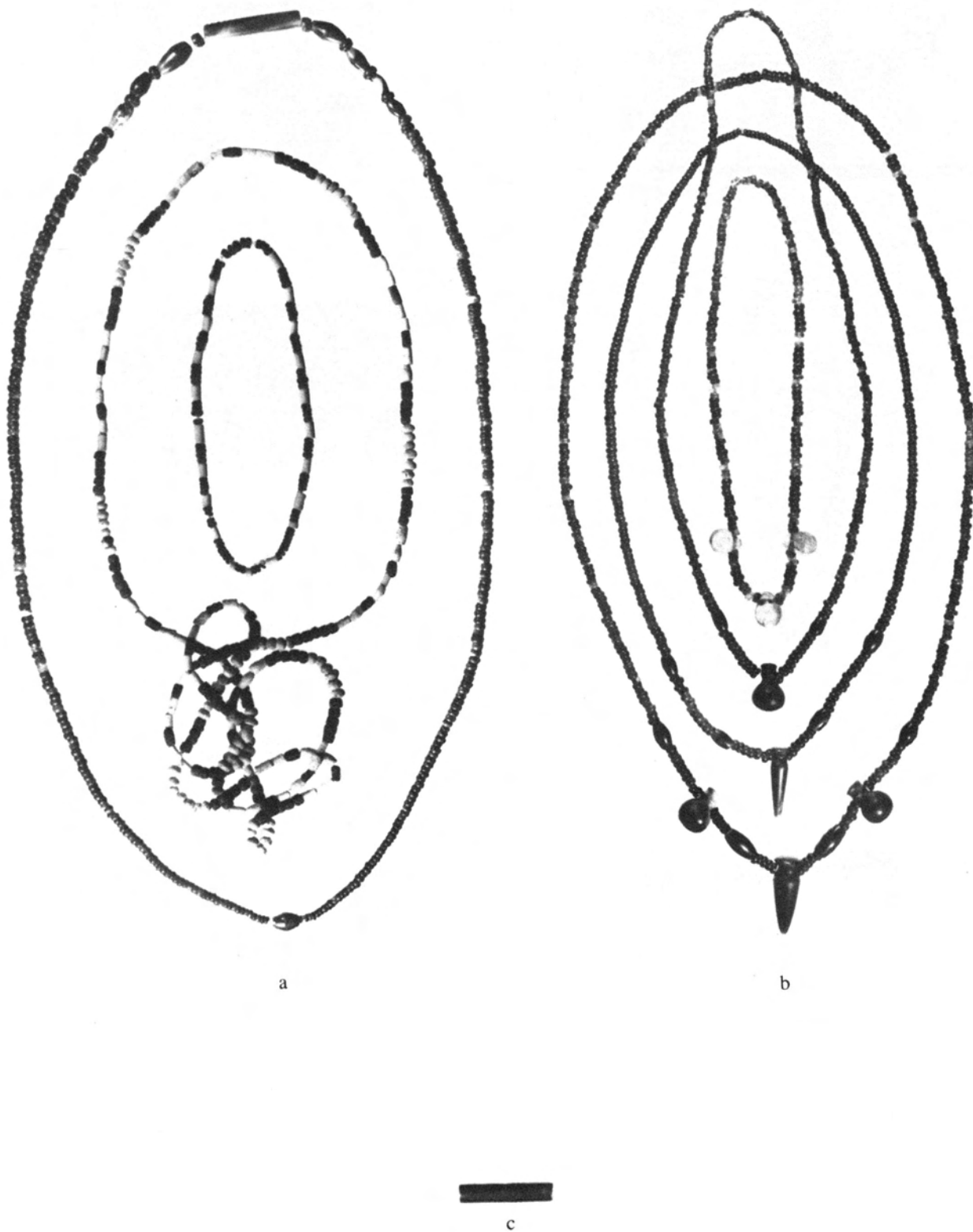


f

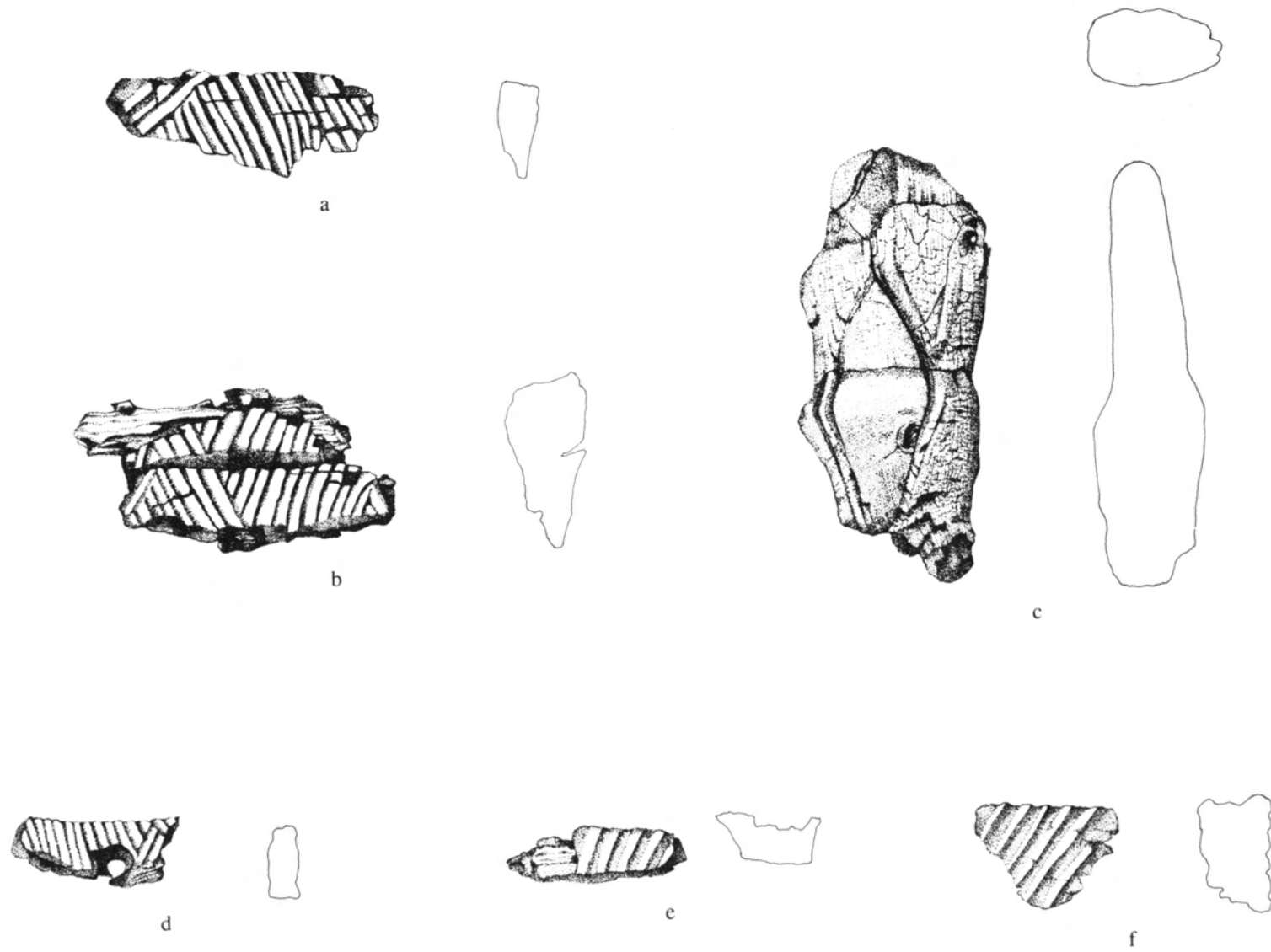


g

Stone beads: (a) L 17—10—11a; (b-c) L 24—8; (d) L 24—8 (with plug, ring fragment, and uncertain fragment); (e) L 17—10—11a; Gaming balls: (f-g) L 24—8. Scale ca. 1:2.

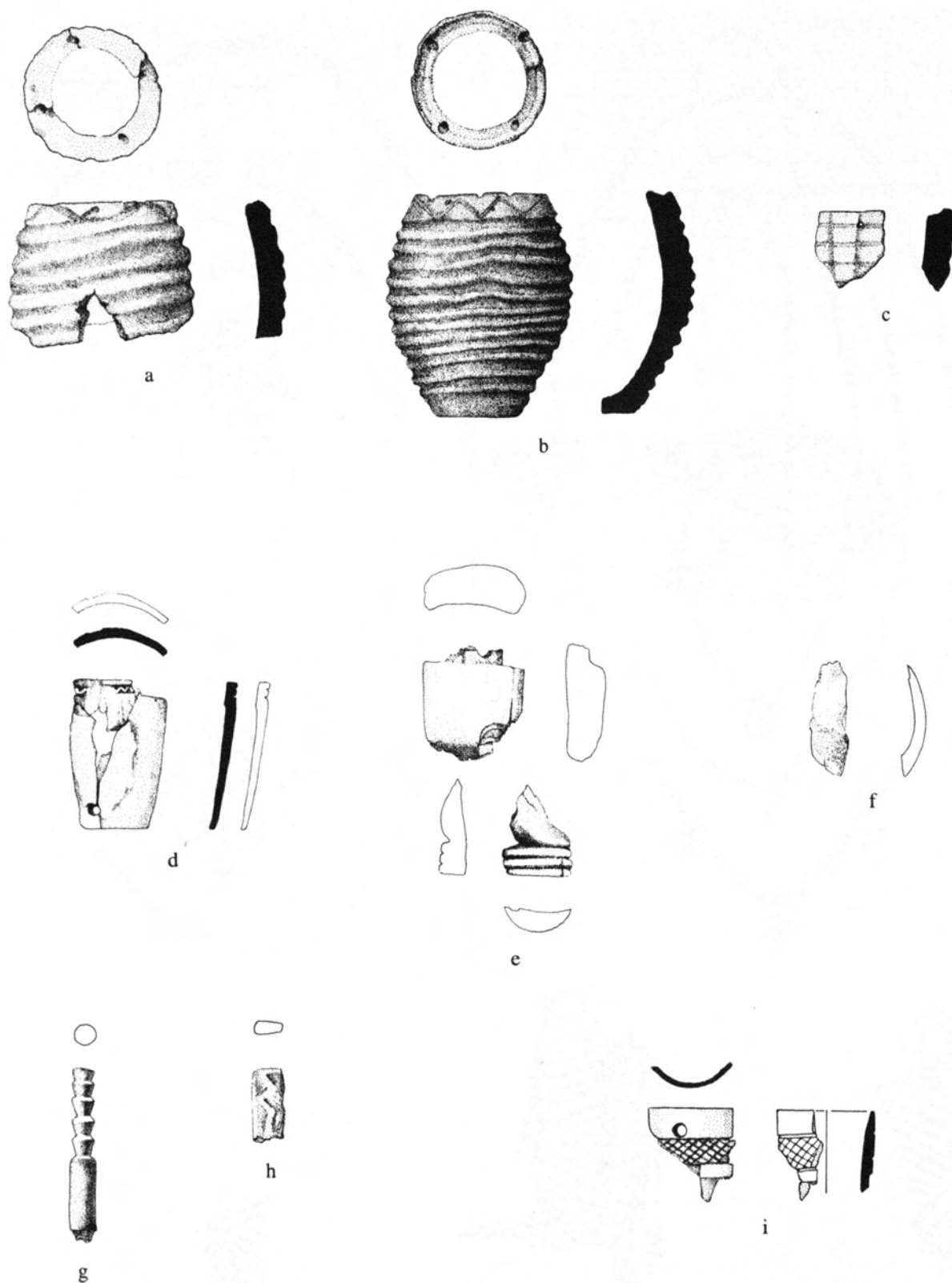


Stone beads: (a) L 24—8; (b) L 17—10—11a; Gold bead: (c) L 24—50. Scale ca. 1:2.



Wood fragments: (a-b) L 5—8; (c) L 10—8; (d-e) L 5—8; (f) L 10—8. Scale 1:2.

PLATE 60



Faience vessels: (a) L 5—4; (b) L 2—28; (c) Fragment, L 22—7; Ivory fragments: (d) Cylinder jar, L 19—40; (e) Casket leg, L 19—38; (f) Jar, L 19—42; (g) Pin, L 19—39; (h) Inlay, L 19—43; (i) Vessel, L 8—5. Scale 1:2.



a



b



c



d



e

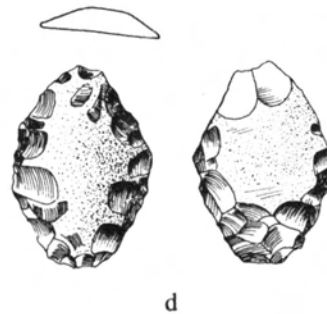
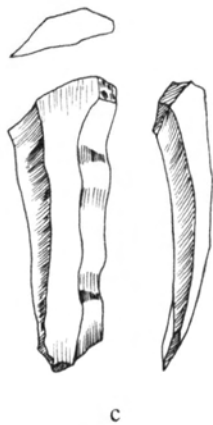
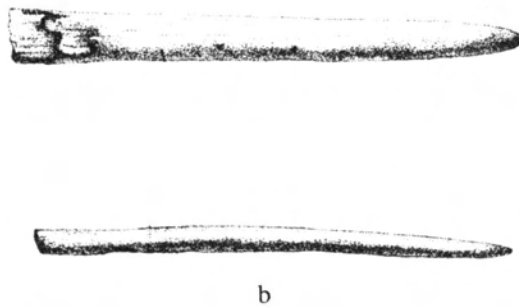
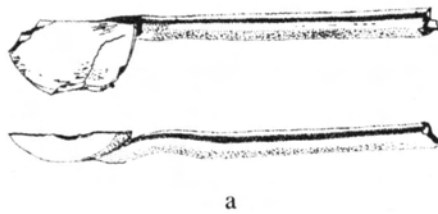


f

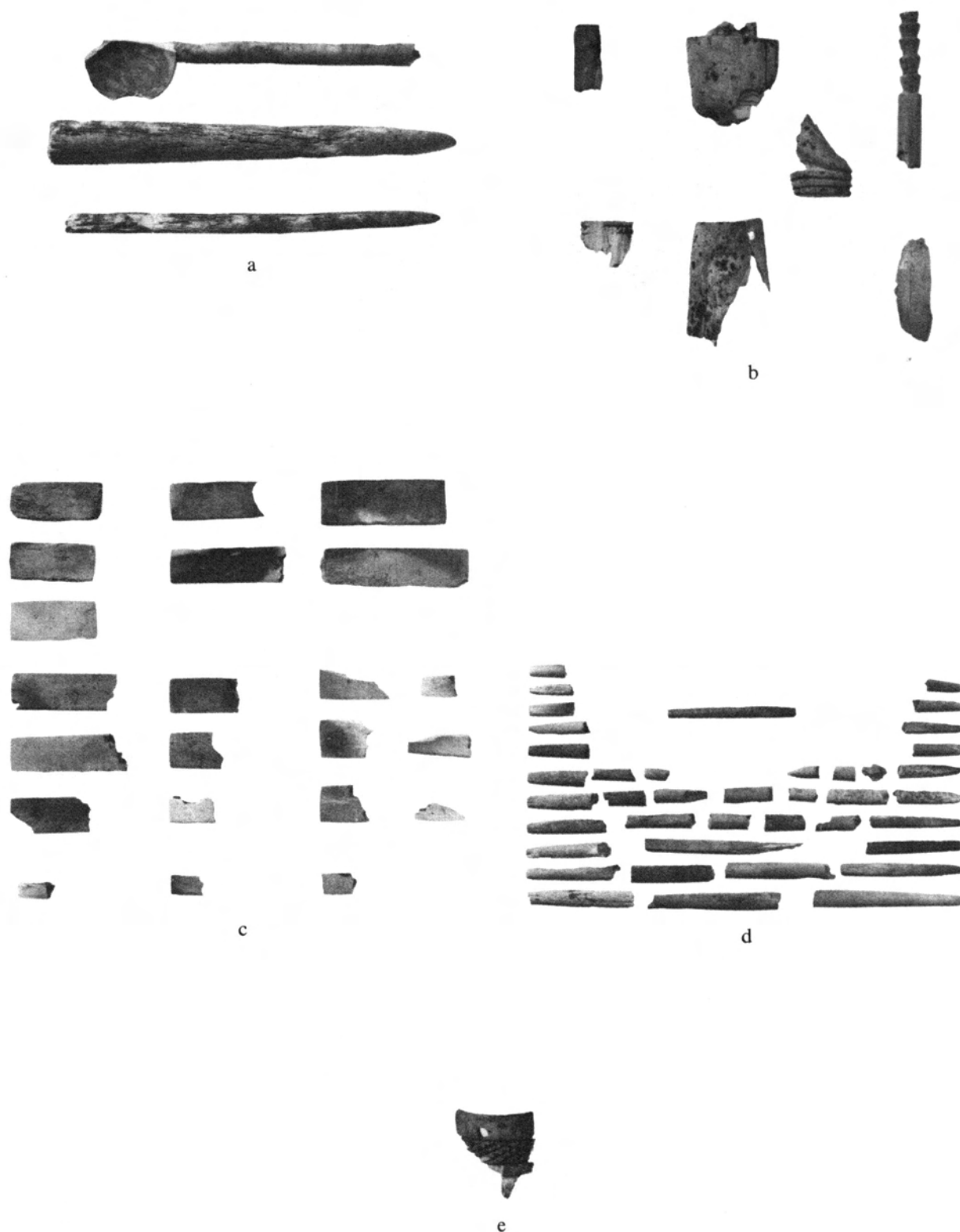


Faience vessels: (a) L 2—28; (b) L 5—4; (c-d) Wood fragments, L 10—8; (e) Faience vessel fragment, L 22—7; (f) Eye inlay, L 11—33. Scale ca. 1:1 except (c), (d) ca. 1:2.

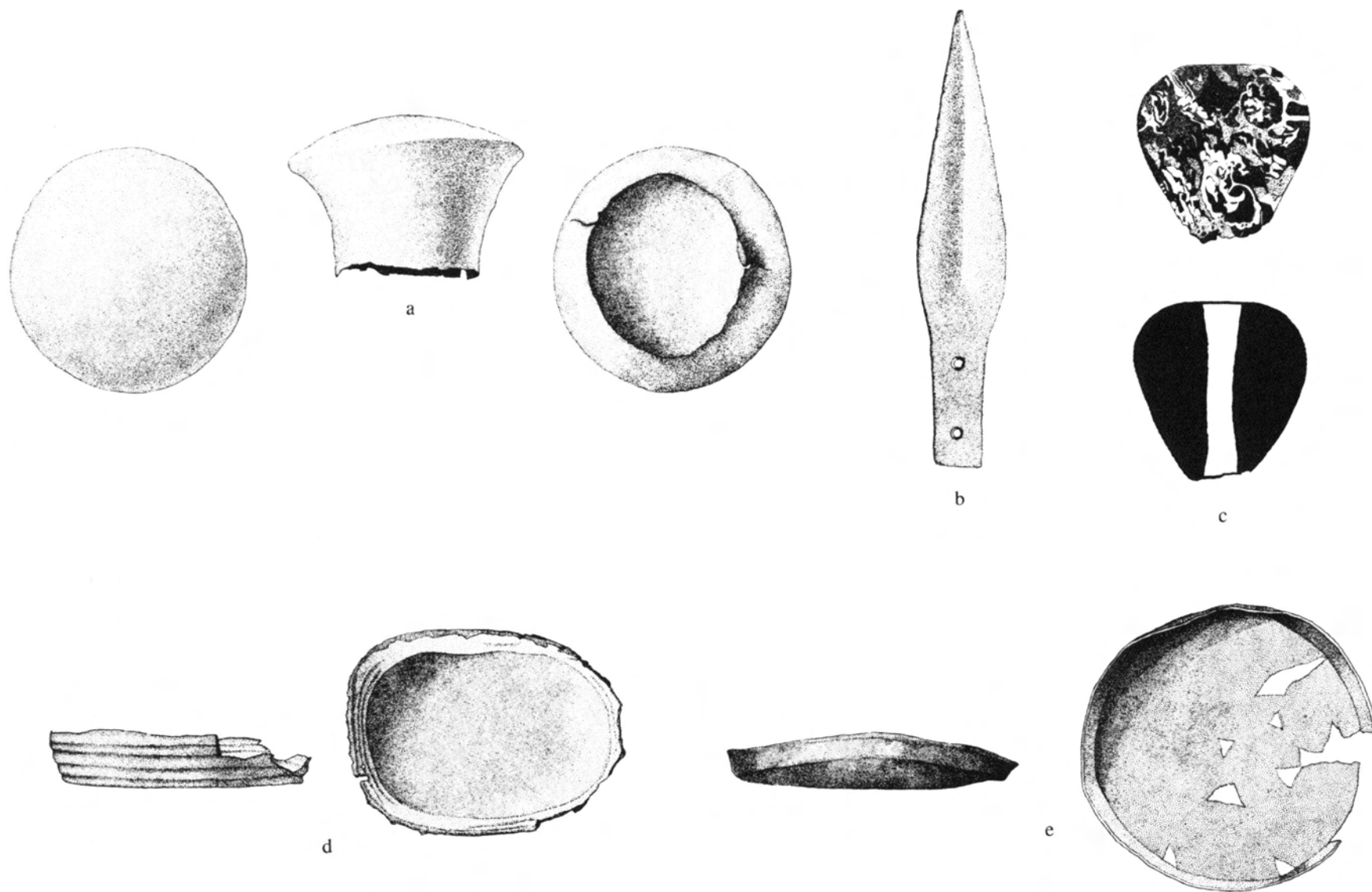
PLATE 62



(a) Ivory spoon, L 17—17; (b) Ivory points, L 17—17; (c) Flint blade, L 23—48; (d) Palette reshaped as scraper, L 19—14. Scale 1:2 except (c) 1:1.



Ivories: (a) Spoon and points, L 17—17; (b) Fragments, L 19—38—44; (c) Gaming plaques, L 24—38; (d) Gaming rods, L 24—38; (e) Jar, L 8—5. Scale ca. 1:2.

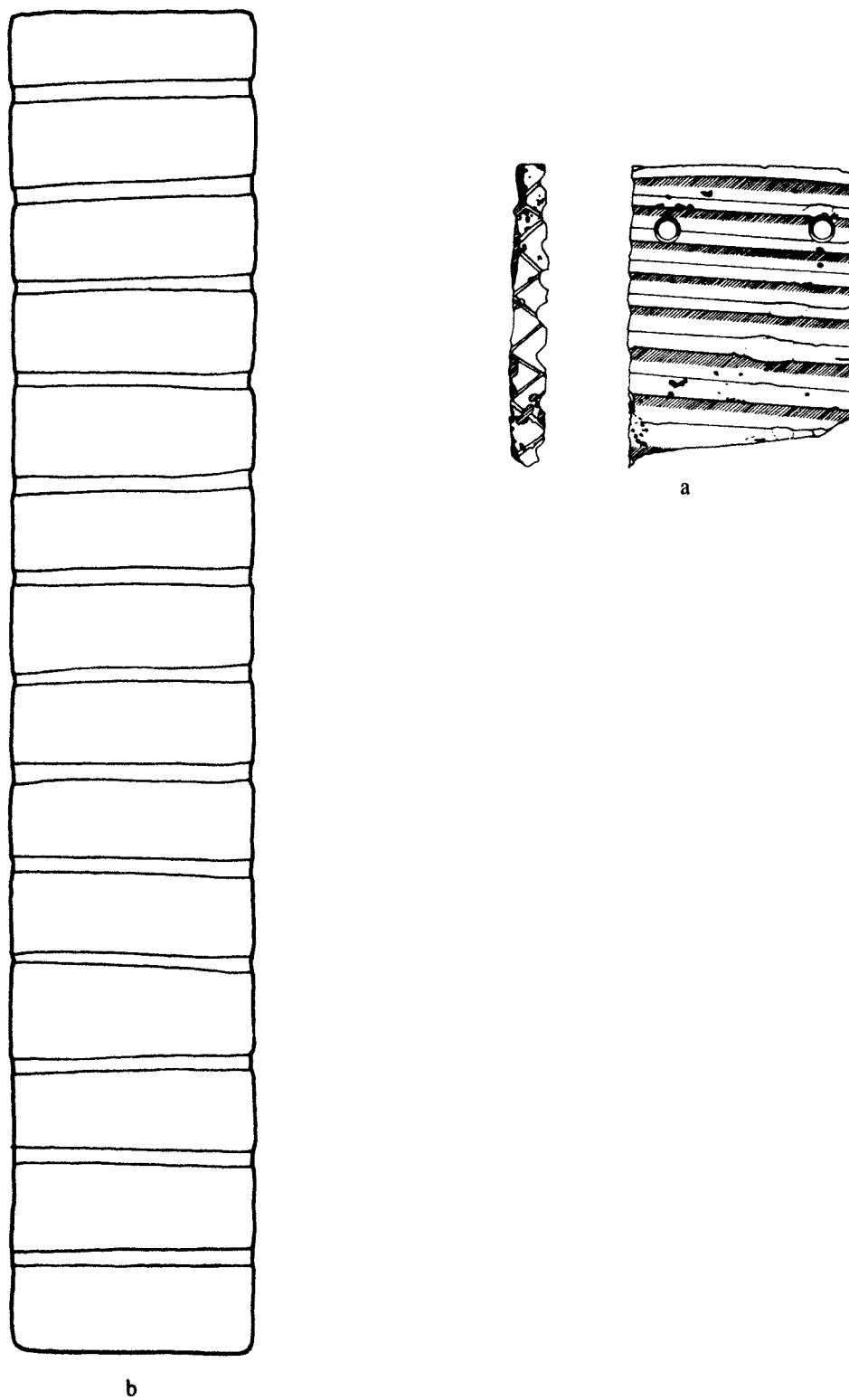


(a) Copper finial, L 24—30; (b) Copper spearhead, L 24—34; (c) Macehead, L 24—14; (d) Copper cap for furniture leg, L 24—46; (e) Copper tray, L 15—11. Scale 1:2.

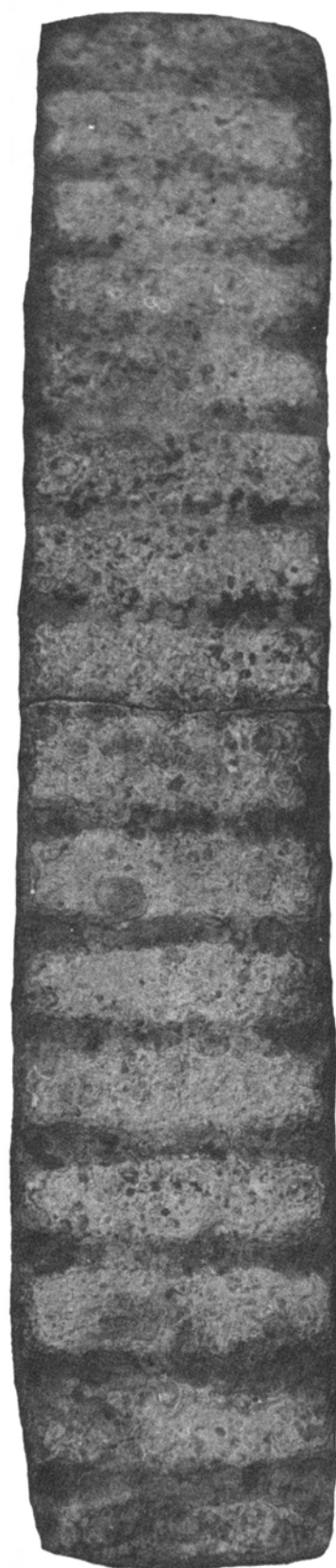


(a) Macehead, L 24—14; (b) Copper spearhead, L 24—34; (c) Copper finial, L 24—30; (d) Copper cap for furniture leg, L 24—46; (e) Copper tray, L 15—11; (f) Copper rings, L 17—24; (g) Palette reshaped as scraper, L 19—14; Copper awls: (h) L 17—12; (i) L 19—34; (j) Gold bracelet, L 17—13. Scale ca. 1:2 except (a) ca. 1:4.

PLATE 66



Gaming boards: (a) L 24—9; (b) L 23—40. Scale 2:5.



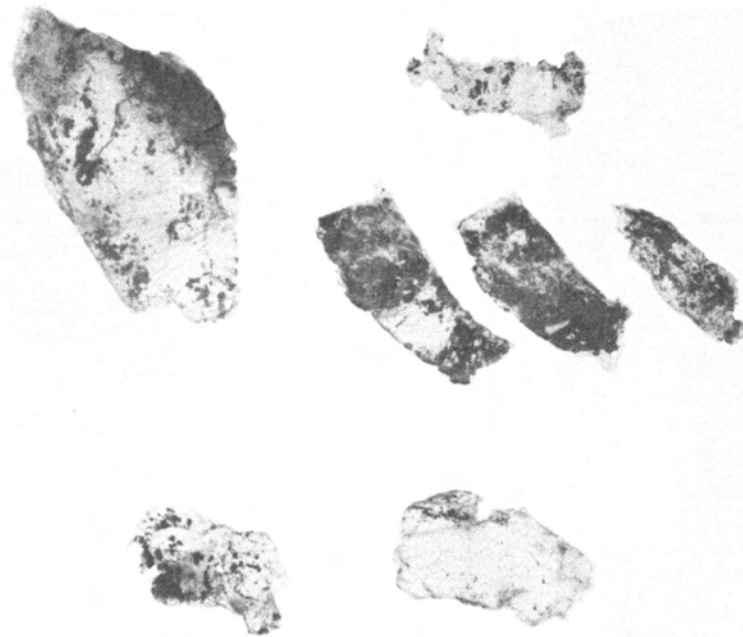
a



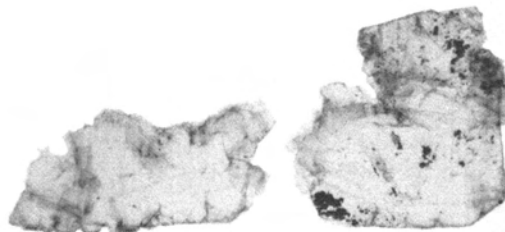
b

Gaming boards: (a) L 23—40; (b) L 24—9. Scale ca. 2:5.

PLATE 68

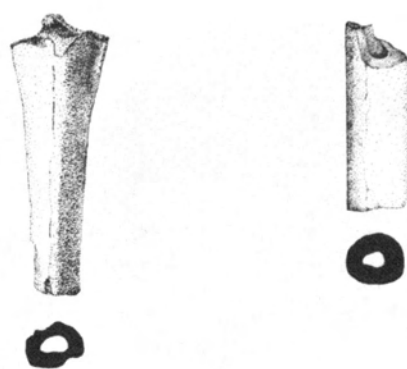


a



b

Mica fragments: (a) L 19—50; (b) L 11—20. Scale ca. 1:2.



a



b



c

(a) Bone tool handles, L 11—29—30; (b) Rectangular bars of ochreous clay, L 24—51; (c) Baked clay oval objects, L 23—8—9. Scale 2:5.

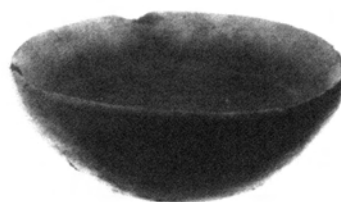
PLATE 70



Stone vessels: (a) L 11, B; (b) L 19, D; (c) L 15, C; (d) L 15, B; (e) L 1, C. Scale ca. 2:5.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g

Stone vessels: (a) L 11, H; (b) L 15, D; (c) L 1, A; (d) L 15, E; (e) L 15, A; (f) L 17, G; (g) Uncertain.
Scale ca. 2:5.



a



b



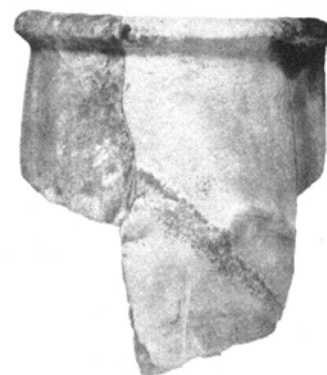
c



d



e



f

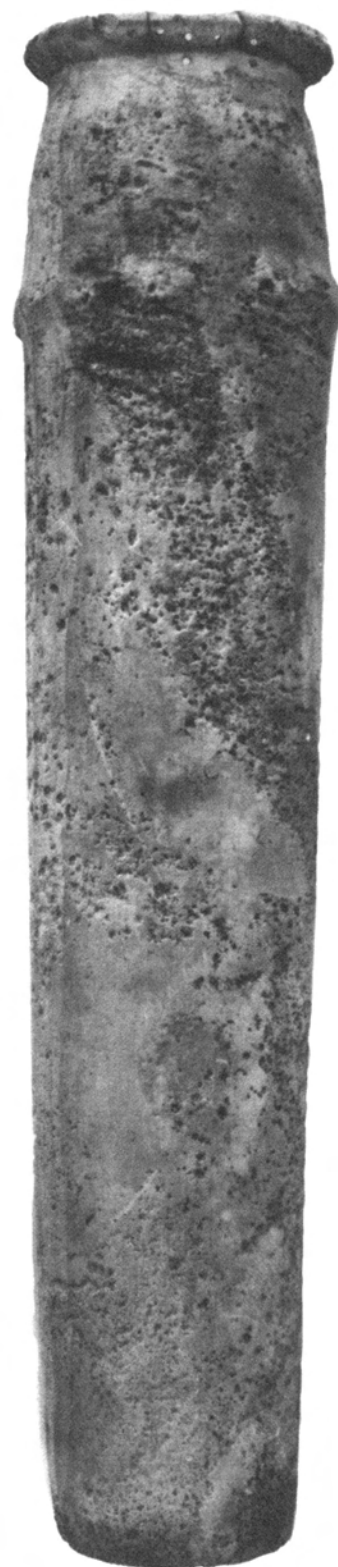
Stone vessels: (a) L 11, D; (b) L 13, A; (c) L 1, B; (d) L 24, A; (e) L 22, A; (f) L 5, B. Scale ca. 2:5.



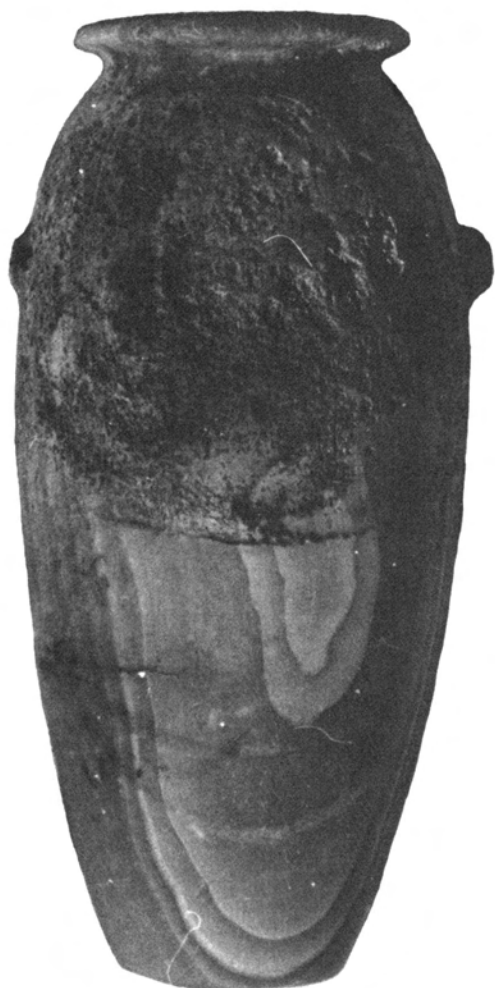
a



c



d

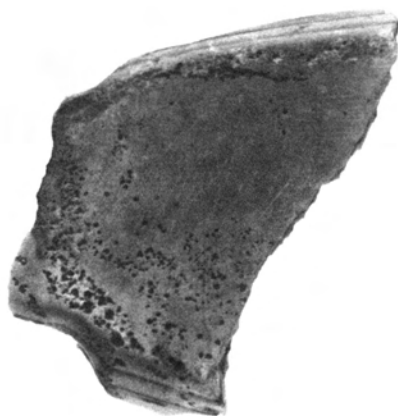


b

Stone vessels: (a) L 23, C; (b) L 23, D; (c) L 23, B; (d) L 23, A. Scale ca. 2:5.

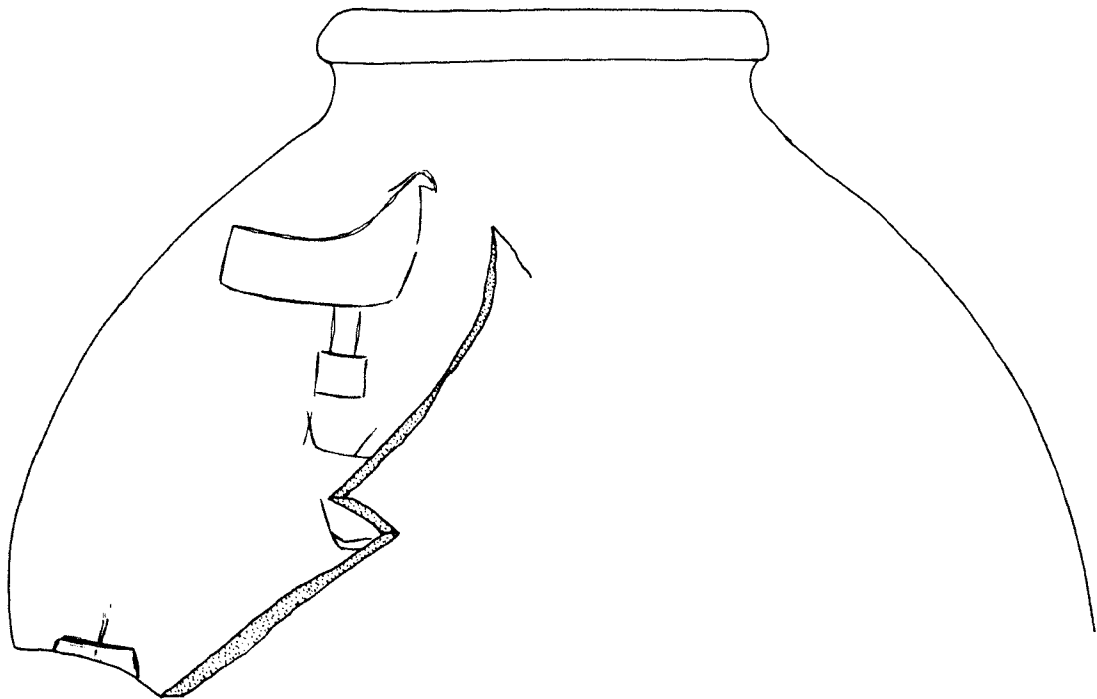
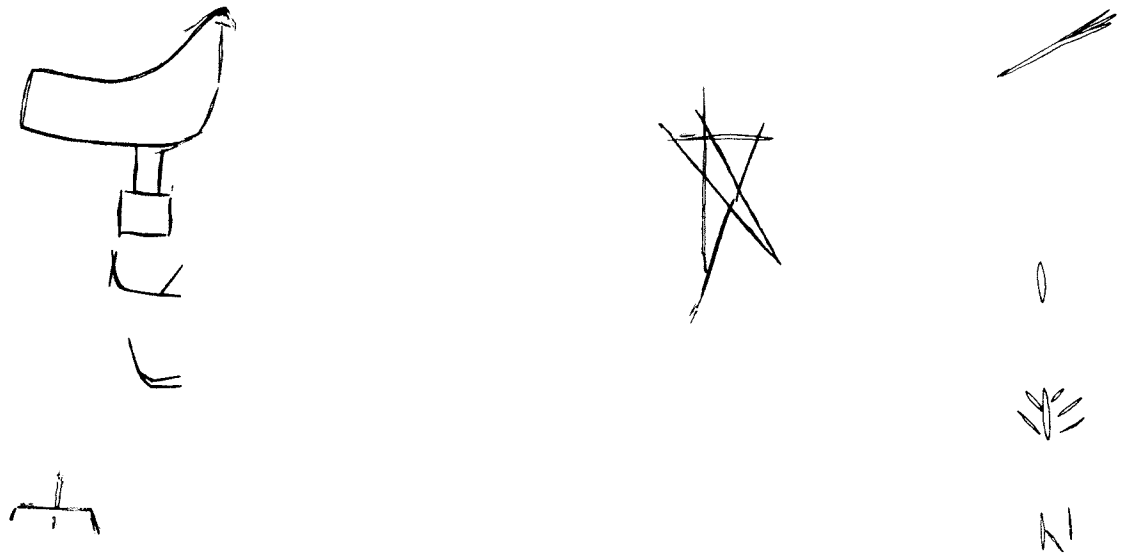


Stone vessels: (a) Clockwise from left—L 2, Q, U, Y, J; (b) L 11, F; (c) L 2, AJ; (d) L 2, A; (e) L 19, A; (f) L 2, V; (g) L 11, I. Scale ca. 2:5.



Theriomorphic stone vessel, L 2, E. Scale ca. 1:2.

PLATE 76

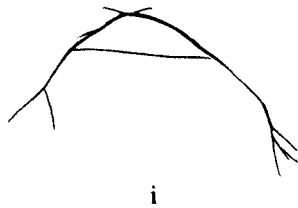
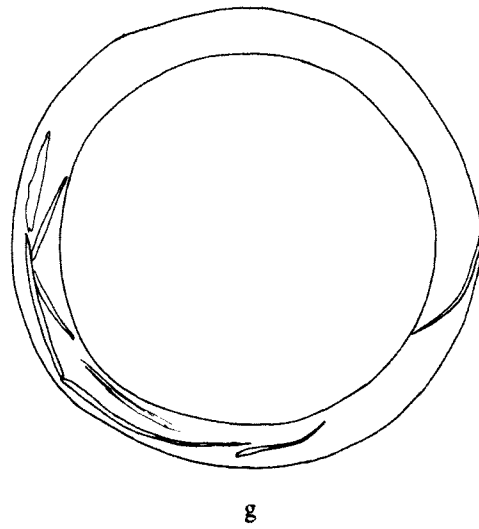
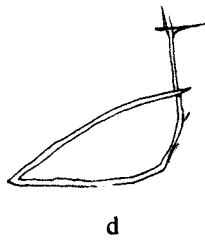
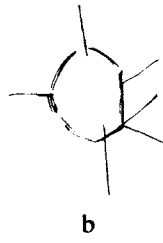
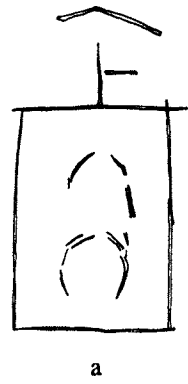


Pe-Hor, incised mark on L 2, Form Group X, J. Scale 2:5.

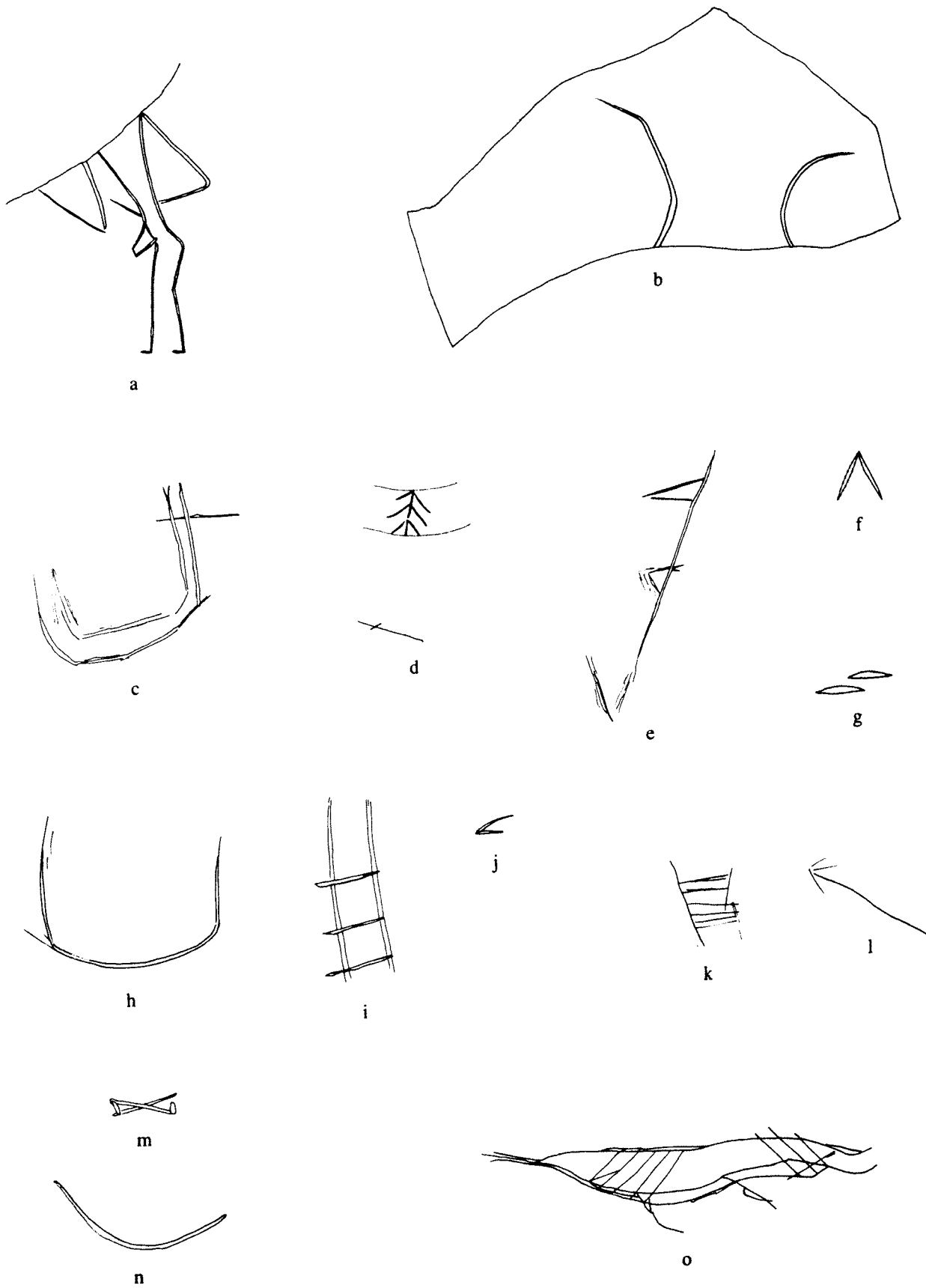


Pe-Hor, incised mark on L 2, Form Group X, J. For scale compare with pl. 76.

PLATE 78



Potmarks on Form Group X: (a-b) L 2, I; (c) L 2, H; (d-g) L 6, B; (h) L 6, A; (i-k) L 9, AW. Scale 2:5.

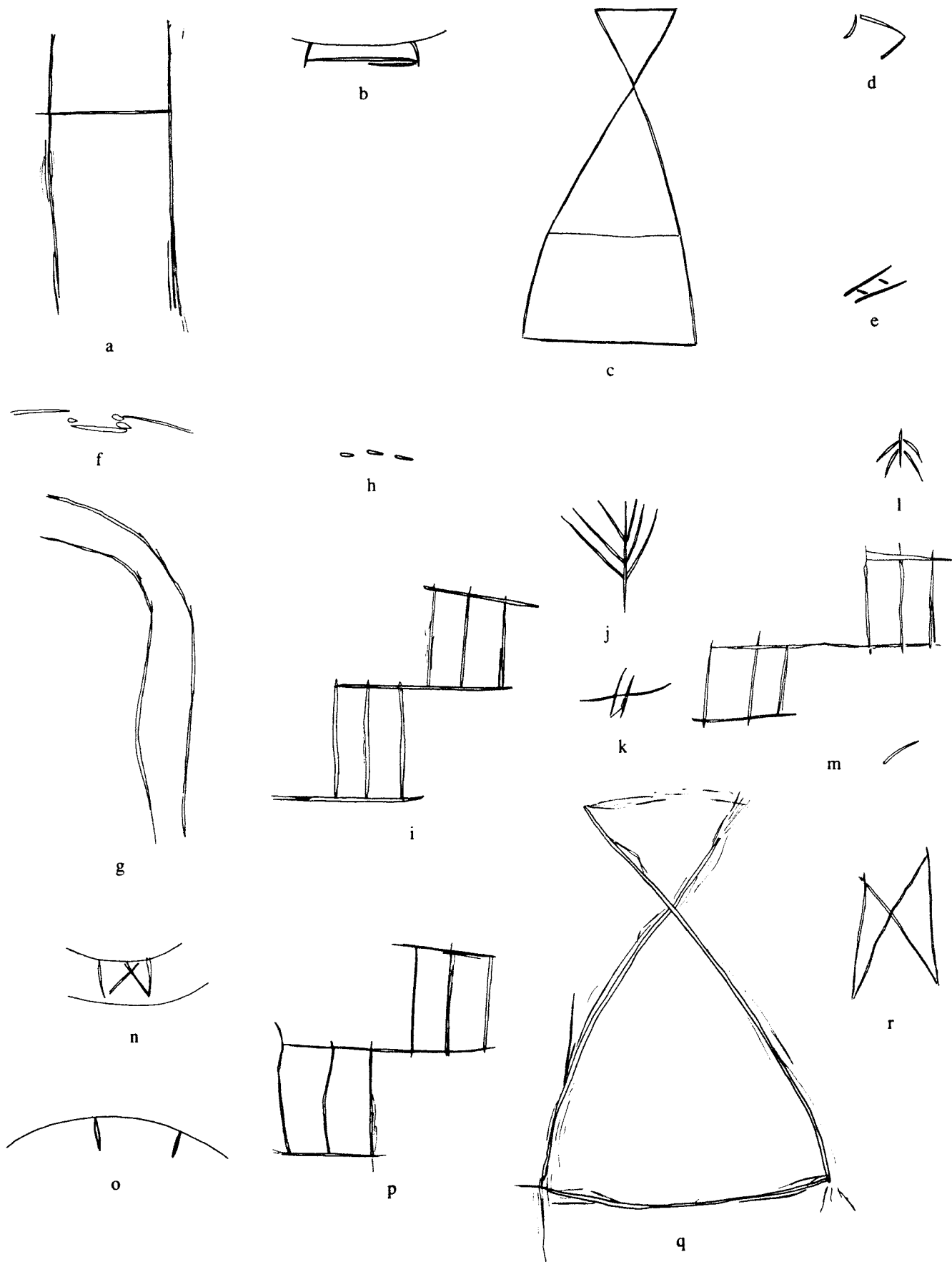


Potmarks on Form Group X: (a) L 13, P; (b) L 13, C; (c-d) L 15, E; (e-g) L 15, D; (h-j) L 15, C; (k-l) L 17—4, B; (m-o) L 17—5, C. Scale 2:5.

PLATE 80

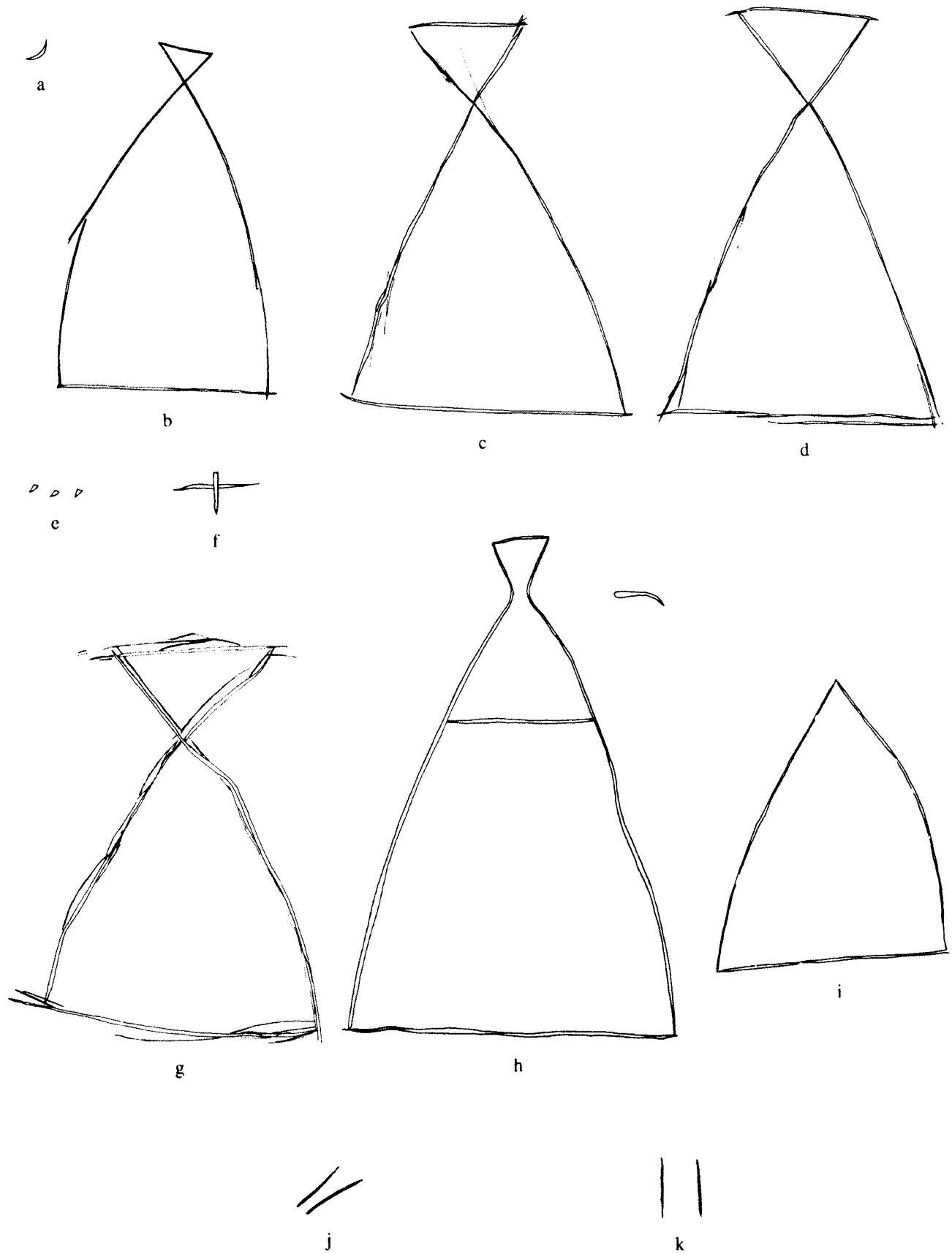


Potmarks on Form Group X, writing: (a) L 23, C; (b) L 23, A; (c) L 23, B; (d) L 23, D; (e) Uncertain.
Scale 2:5.

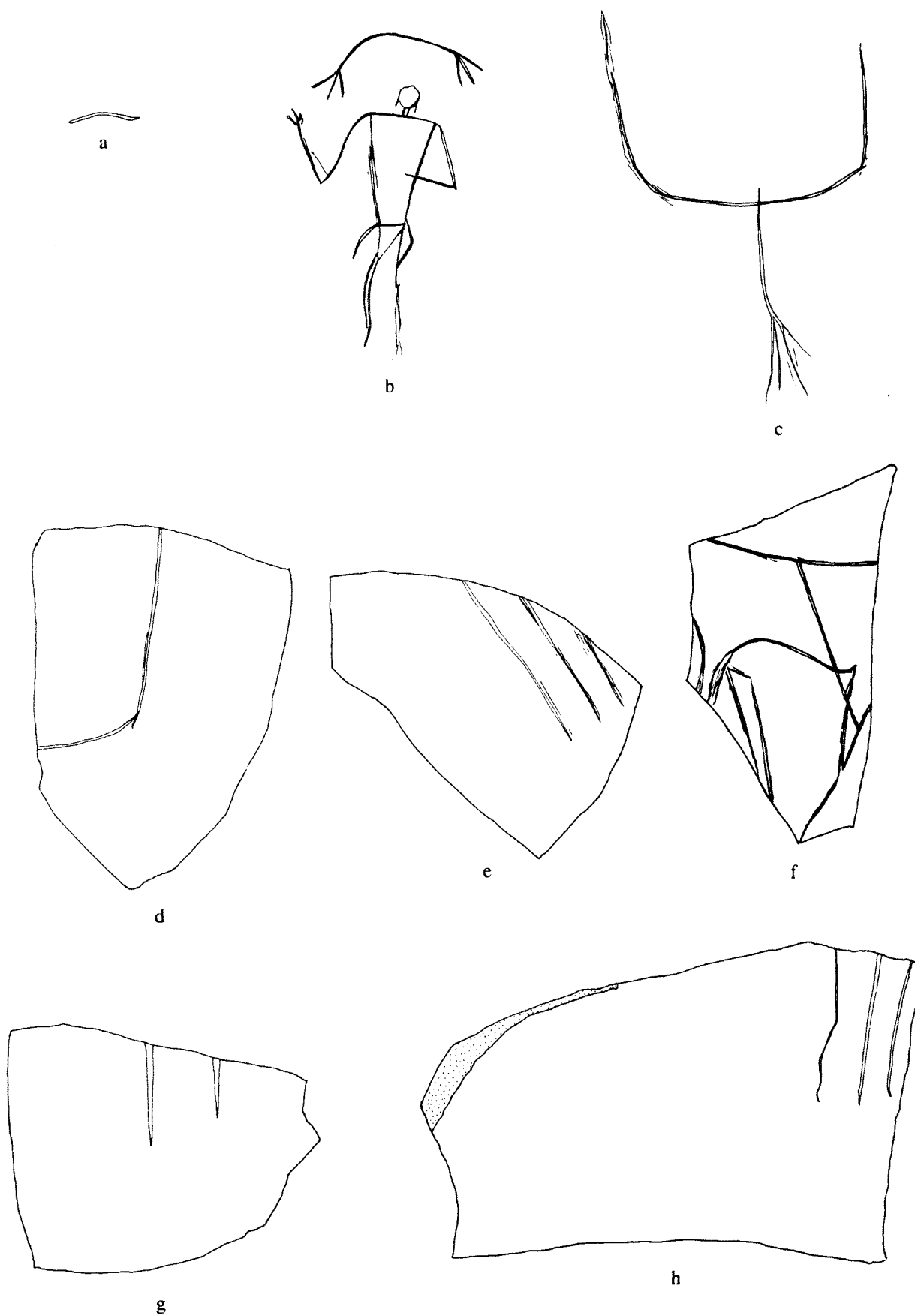


Potmarks on Form Group X, L 23: (a-d) Q; (e) N; (f-g) S; (h-k) M; (l-m) H; (n-r) O. Scale 2:5.

PLATE 82



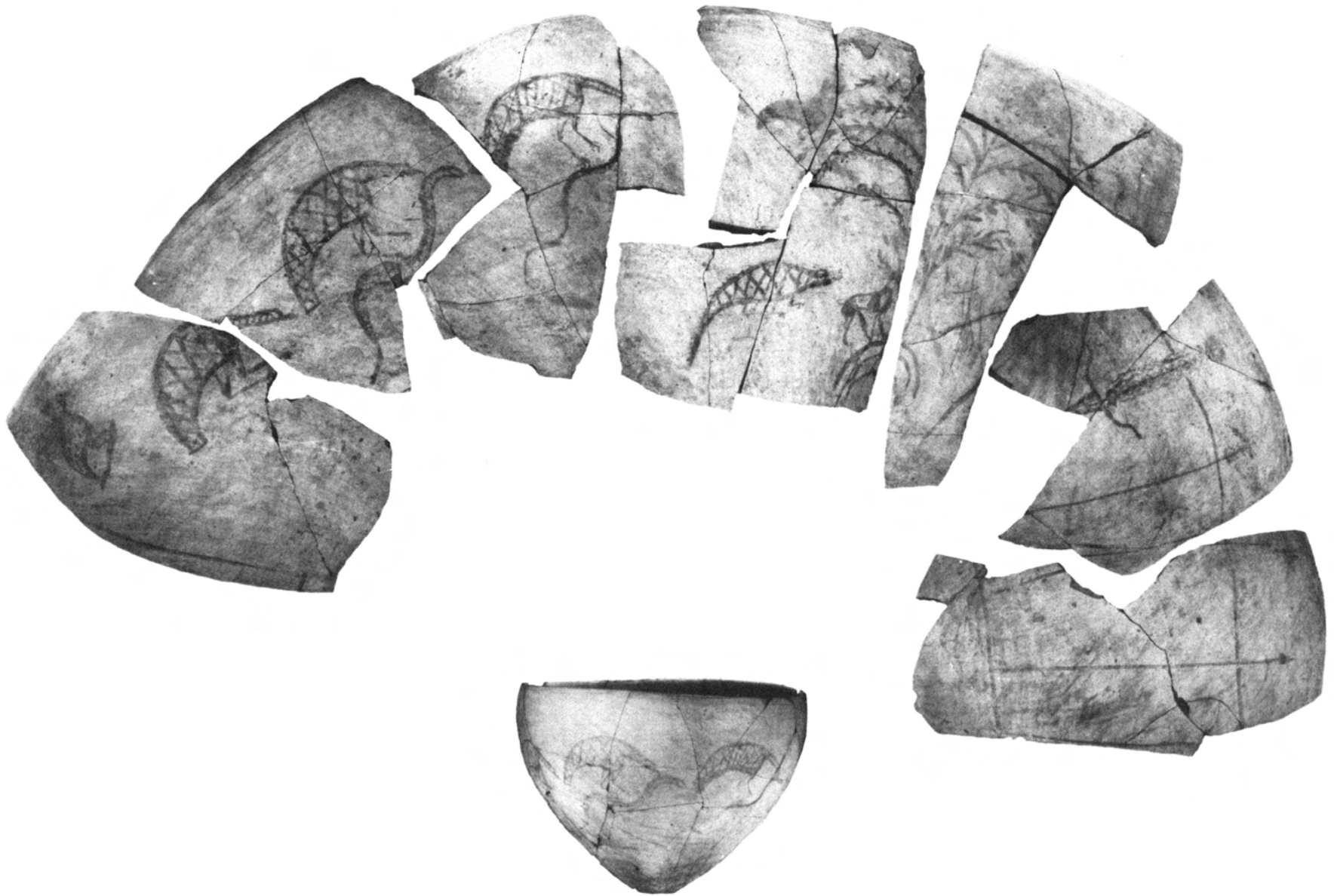
Potmarks on Form Group X, L 23: (a-b) L; (c) G; (d) I; (e-g) K; (h) U; (i) G; (j) N; (k) R. Scale 2:5.



Potmarks on Form Group X: (a-c) L 24, AL; (d-h) Uncertain. Scale 2:5.

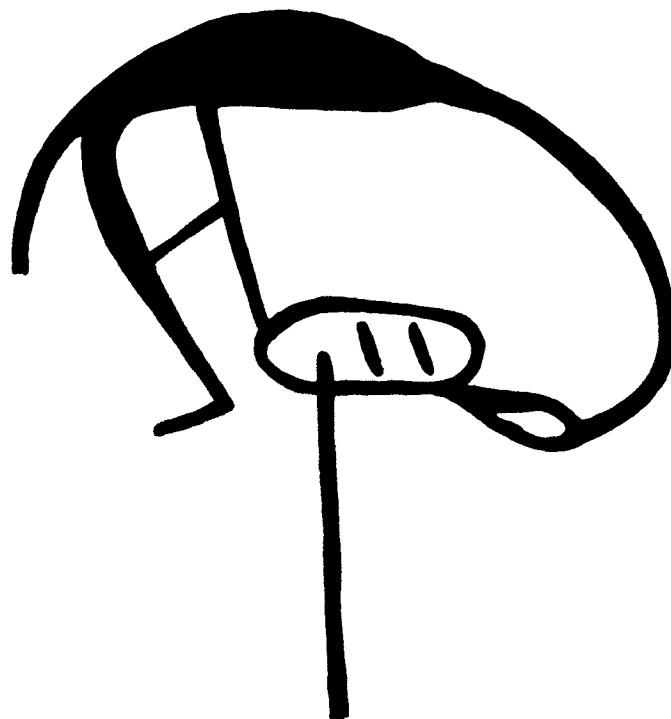


Painted bowl, L 23, Form Group X, X. Scale .16:1.



Painted bowl, L 23, Form Group X, X. For scale compare with pl. 84 and fig. 163c.

PLATE 86



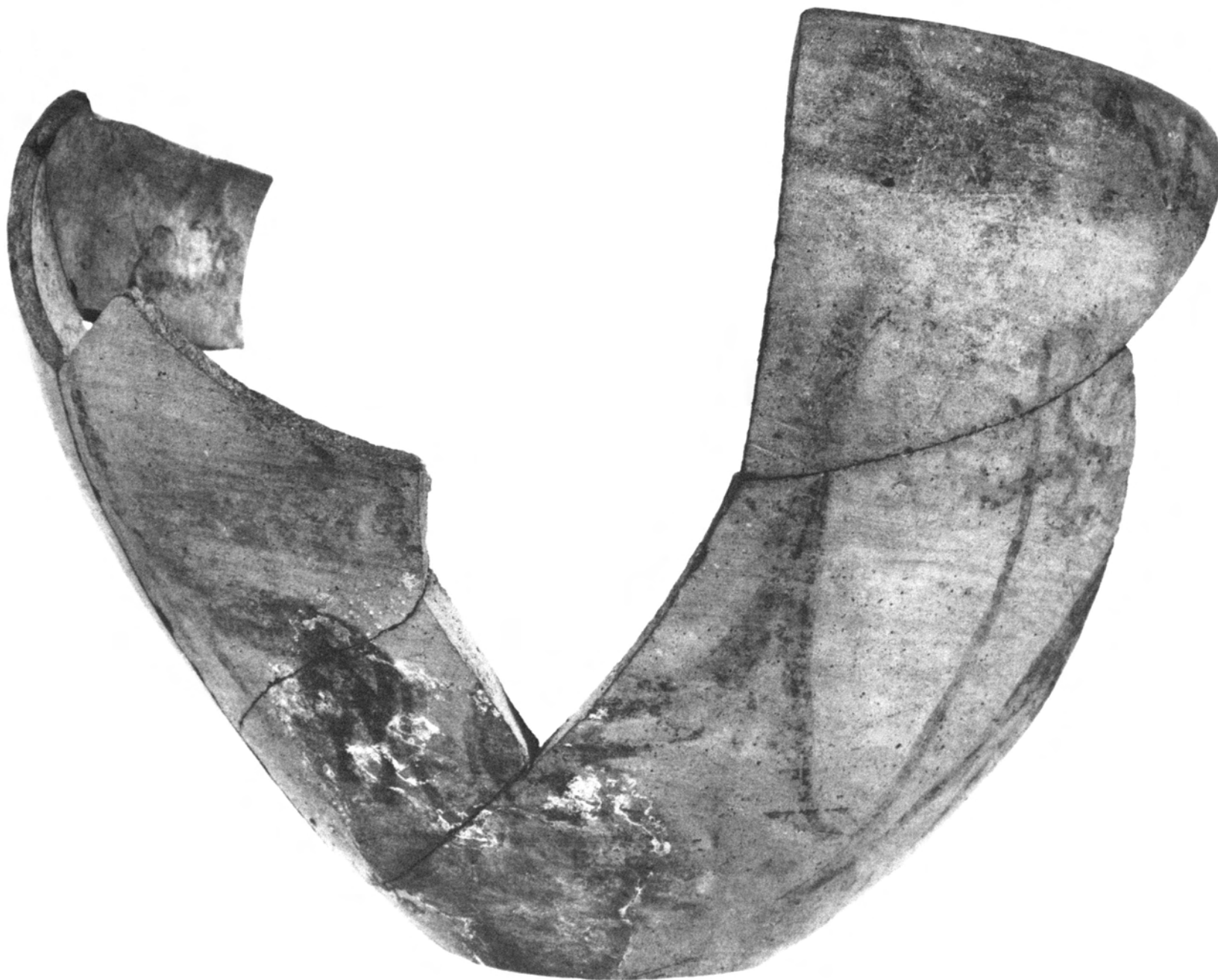
“Devouring Hierakonpolis,” painted mark on L 6, Form Group X, B. Scale 1:1.



“Devouring Hierakonpolis,” painted mark on L 6, Form Group X, B. For scale compare with pl. 86.



Painted bowl, L 19, Form Group X, E. Scale 1:3.



Painted bowl, L 19, form Group X, E—right side. For scale compare with pl. 88 and fig. 152e.



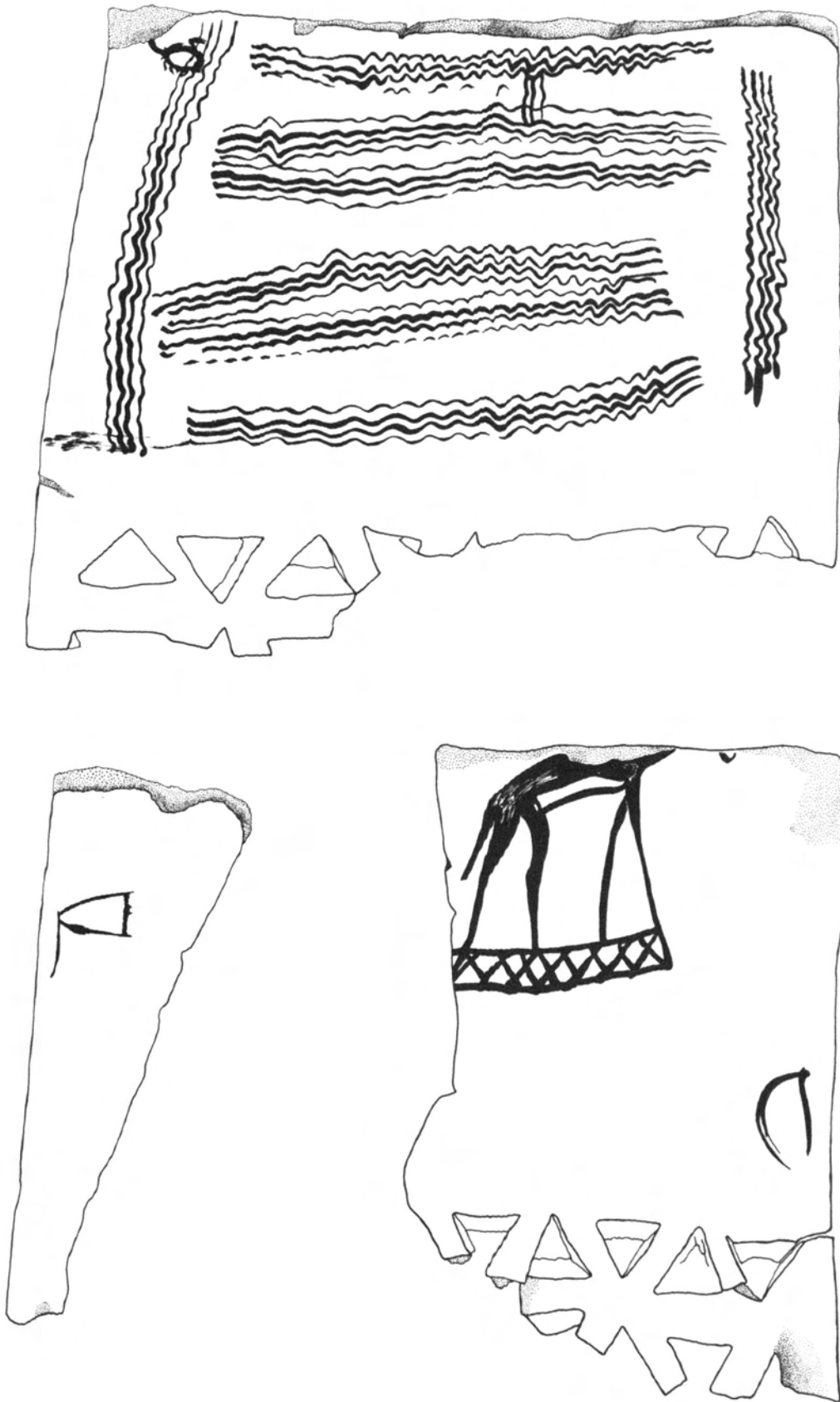
Painted bowl, L 19, Form Group X, E—right side, detail. For scale compare with pl. 88 and fig. 152e.



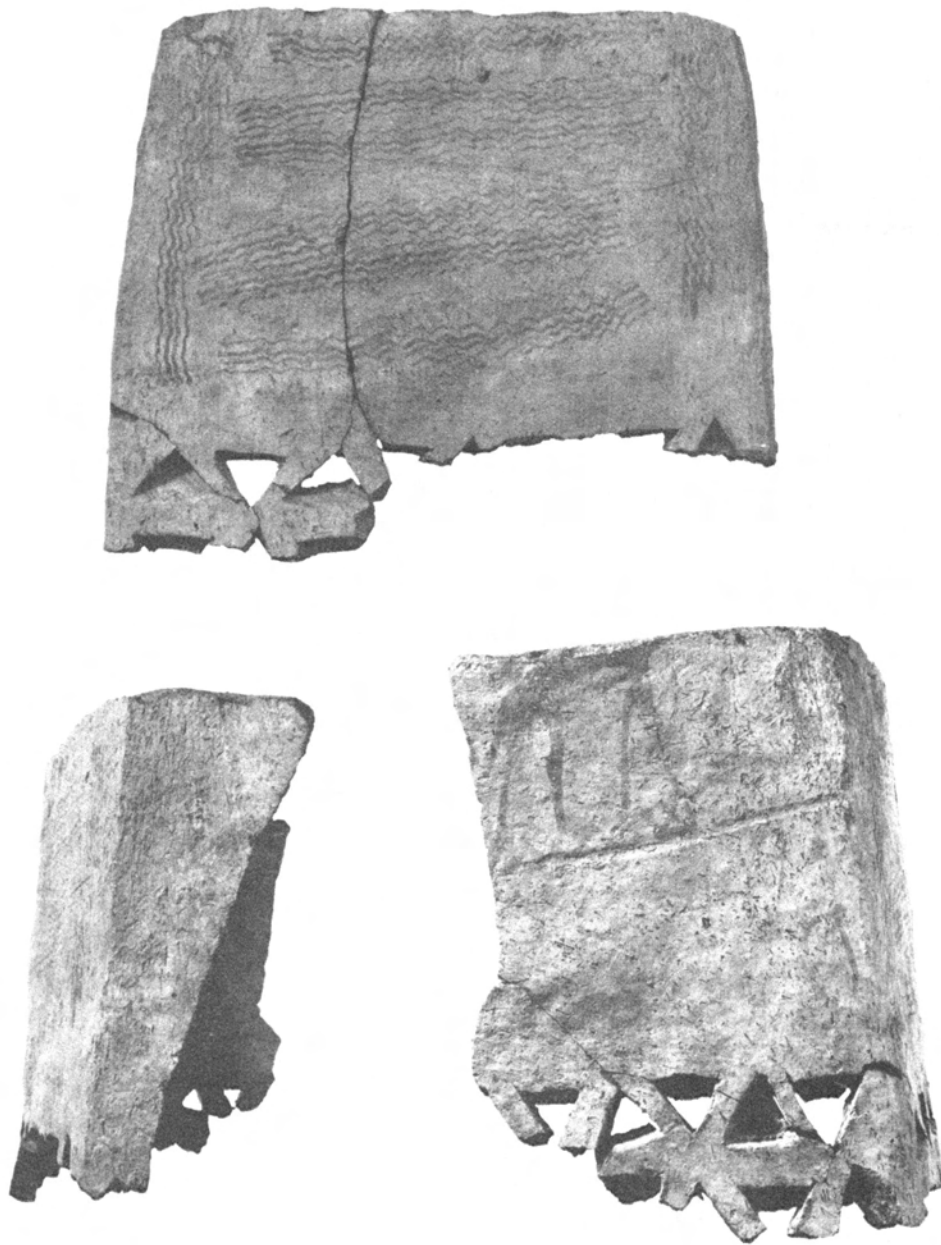
Painted bowl, L 19, Form Group X, E—left side. For scale compare with pl. 88 and fig. 152e.



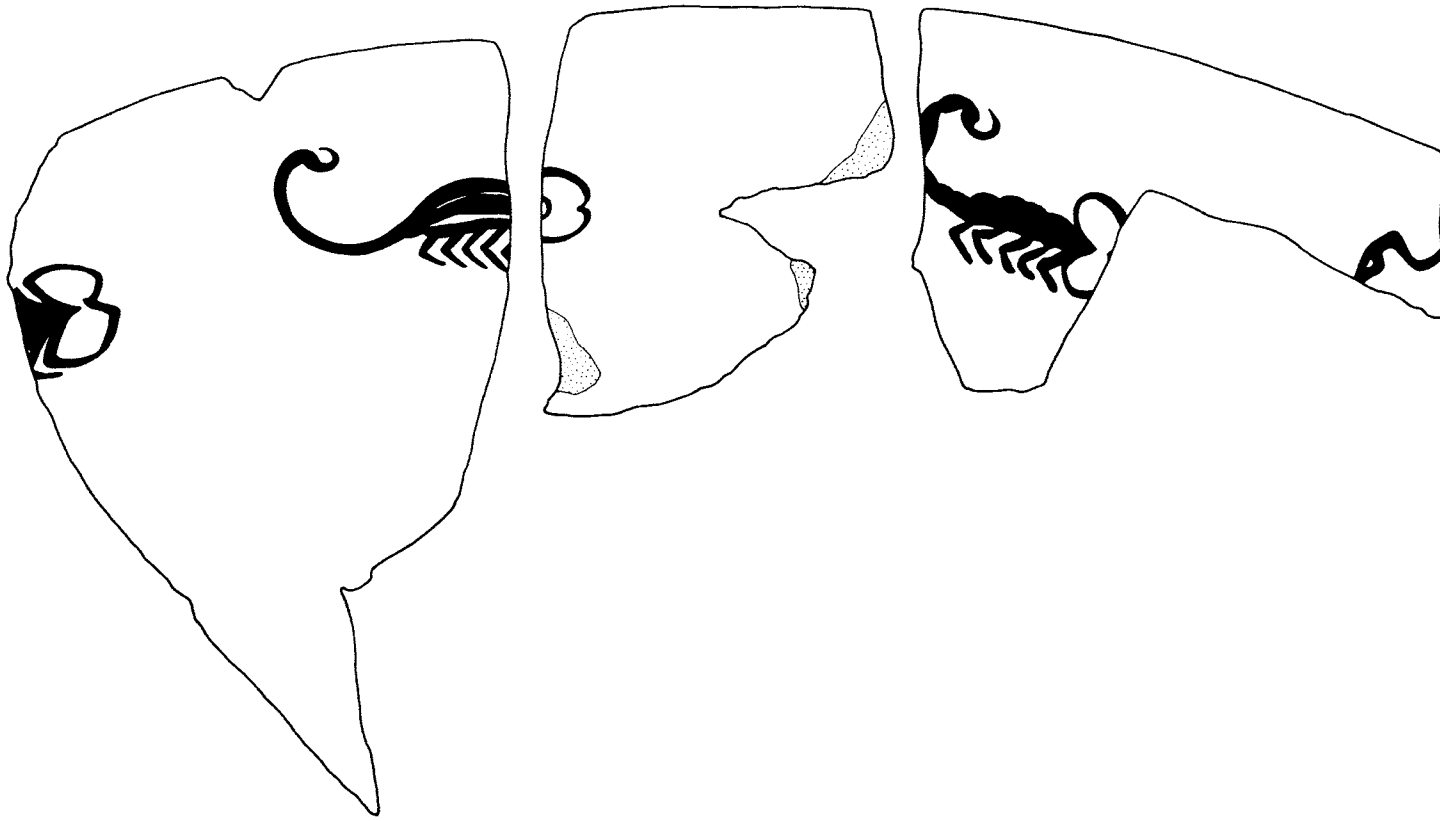
Painted bowl, L 19, Form Group X, E—left side, detail. For scale compare with pl. 88 and fig. 152e.



Painted stand, L 23, Form Group XI, A. Scale 1:3.

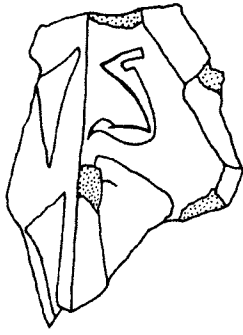


Painted stand, L 23, Form Group XI, A. Scale ca. 1:5.

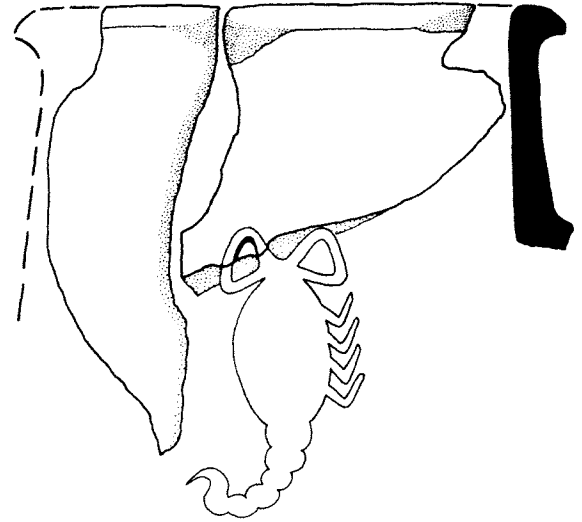


Bowl with a band of painted scorpions. L 24, Form Group X, P. Scale 1:2.

PLATE 96

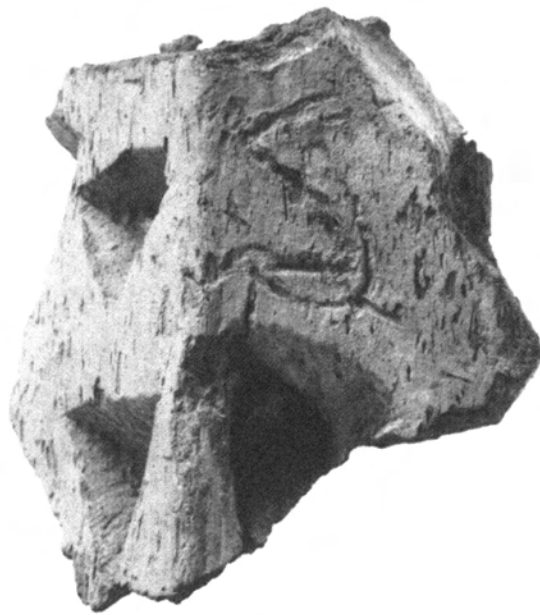


a

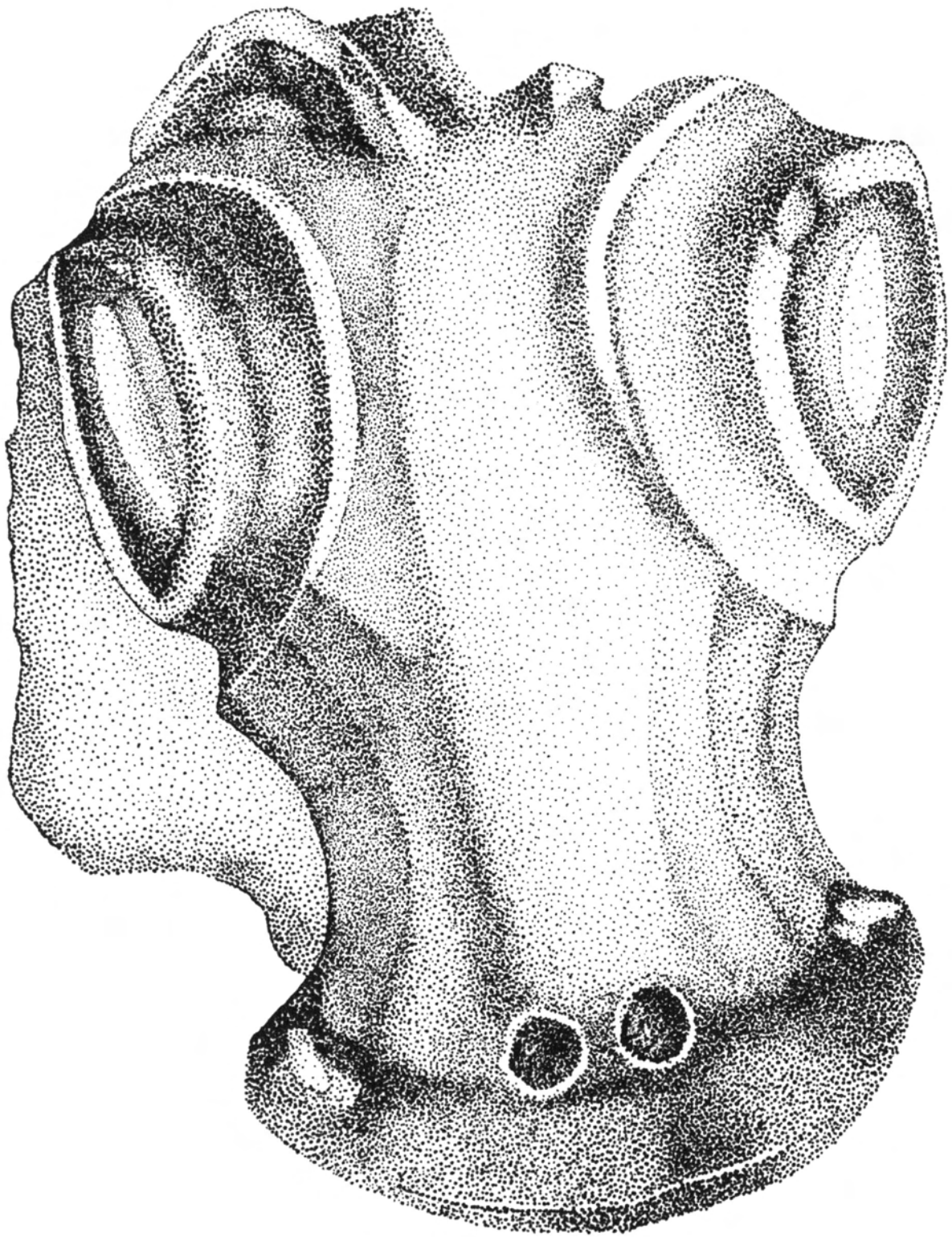


b

(a) Sherd of a polygonal stand with Edjo incised on it, L 23, Form Group XI, D; (b) Stone vessel (with raised relief of scorpion?), L 2, AK. Scale 1:2.



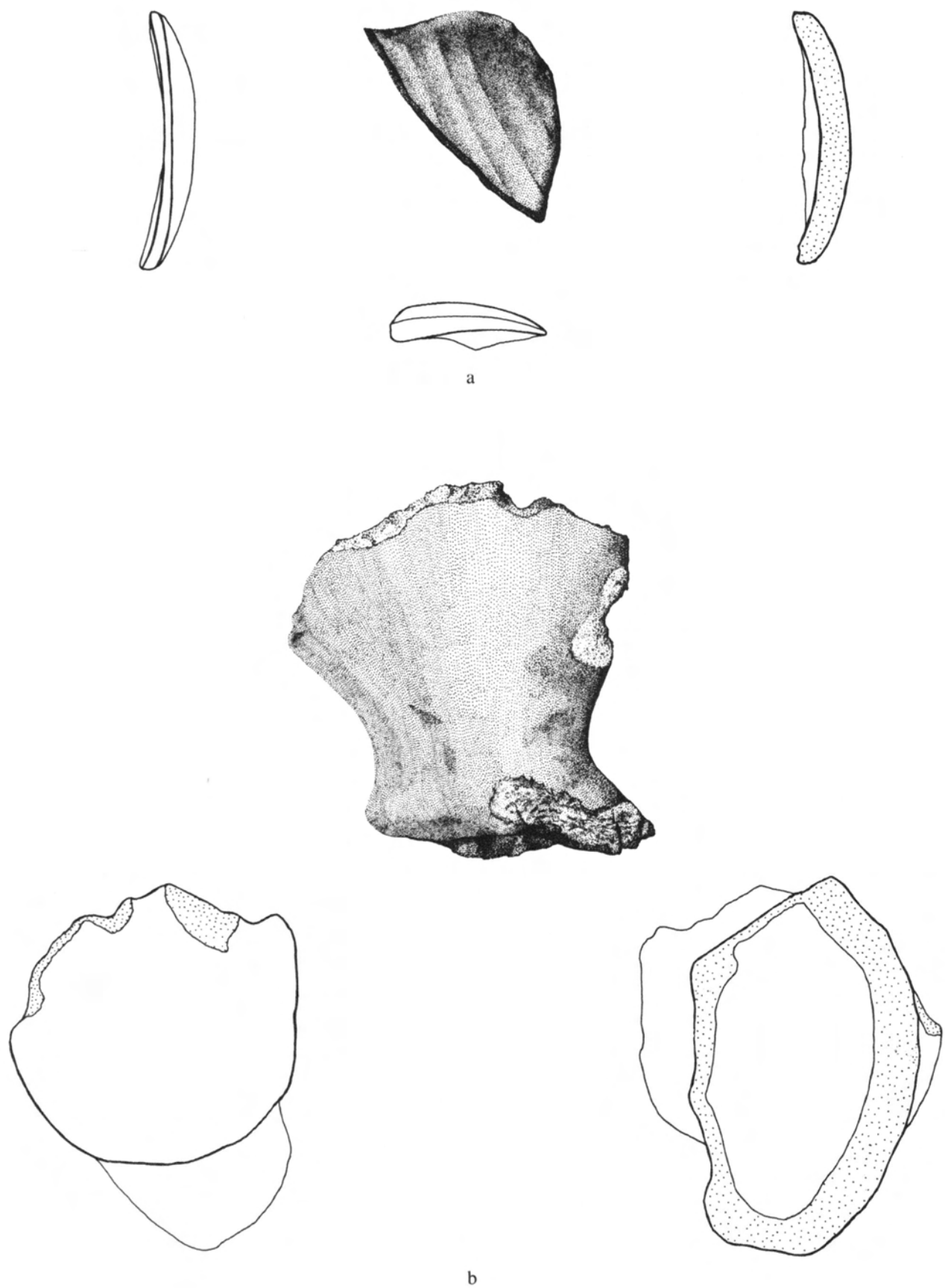
Sherd of a polygonal stand with Edjo incised on it, L 23, Form Group XI, D. Scale ca. 1:1.



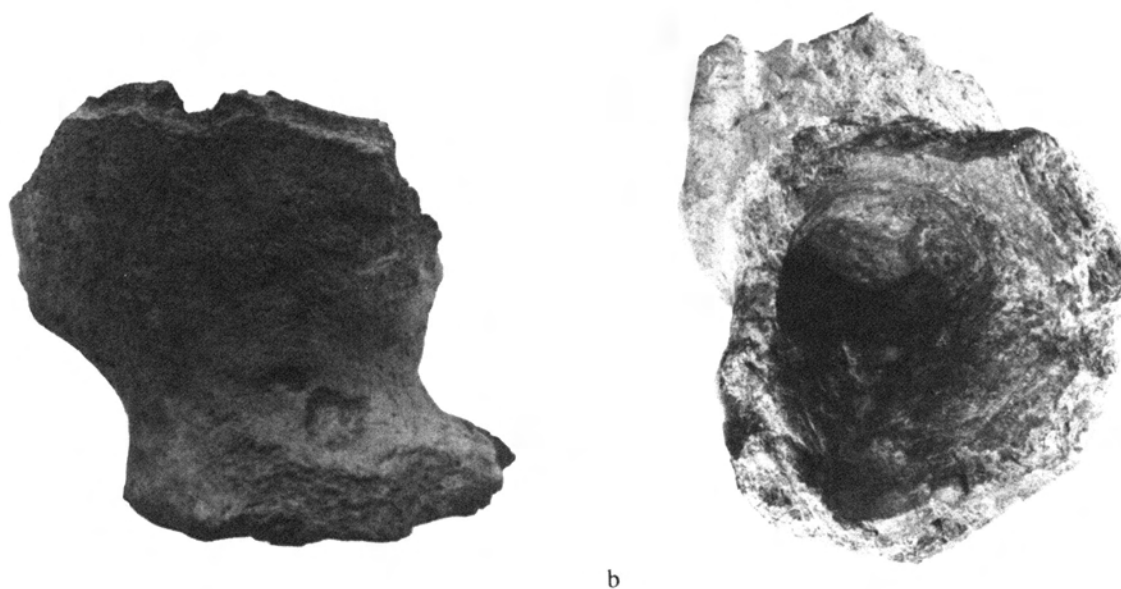
Terra-cotta head of a hippopotamus, L 19, Form Group XI, D. Scale 1:1.



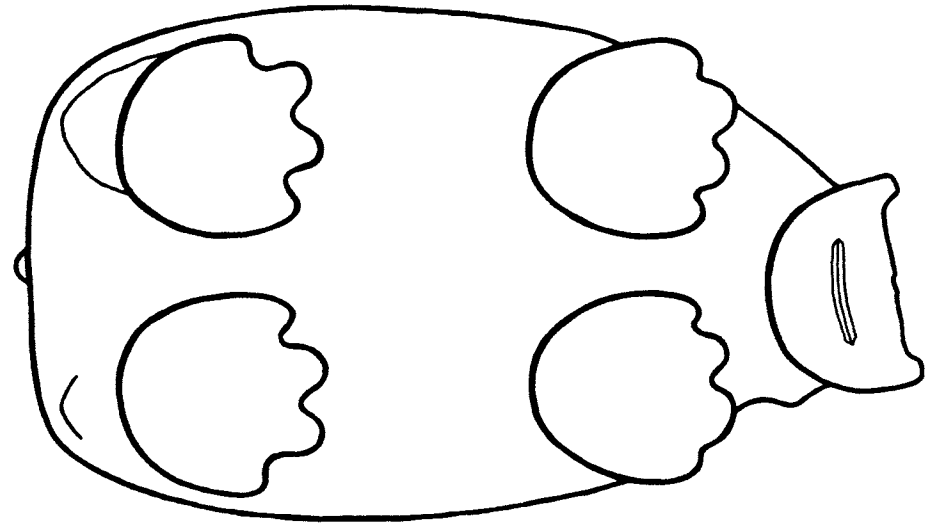
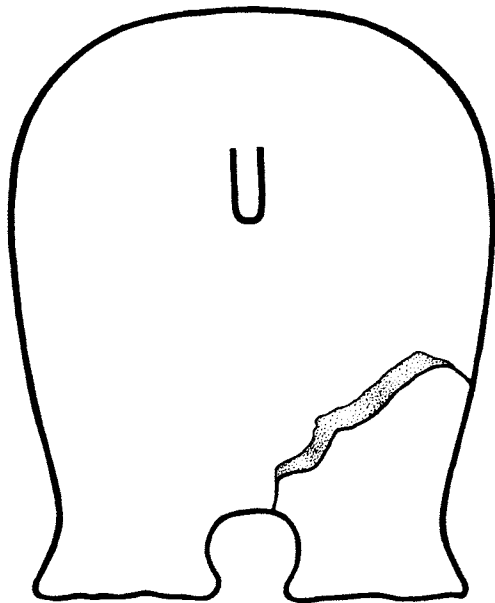
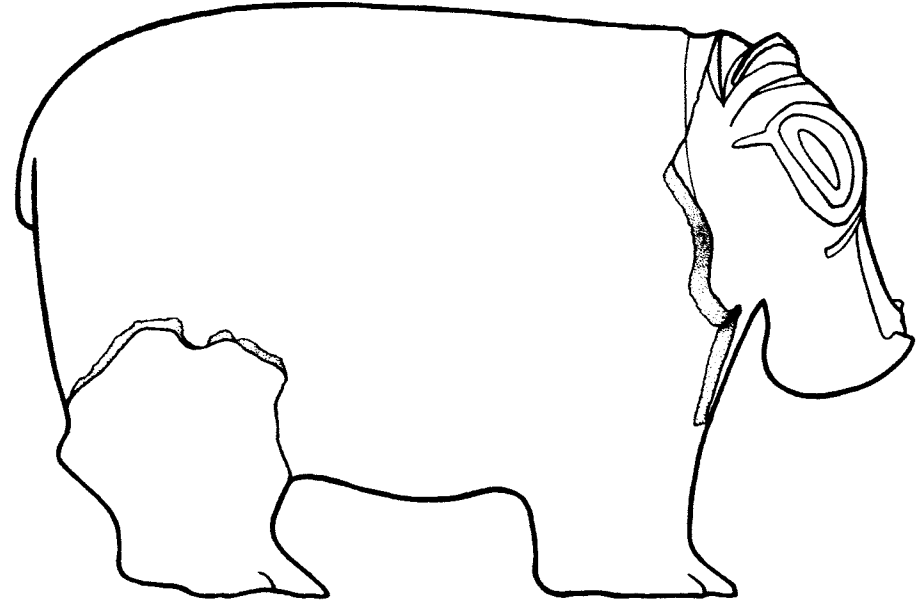
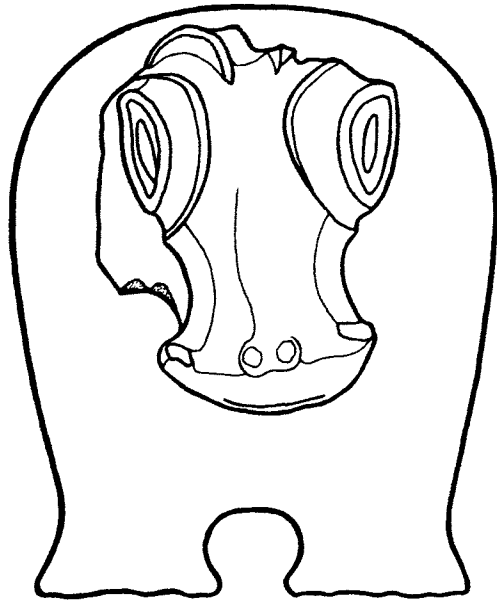
Terra-cotta head of a hippopotamus, L 19, Form Group XI, D. Scale ca. 1:1.



Fragments of terra-cotta hippopotamus figures: (a) Ear, L 24, Form Group XI, H; (b) Hind foot, L 11, Form Group XI, J. Scale 1:2.



Fragments of terra-cotta hippopotamus figures: (a) Ear, L 24, Form Group XI, H; (b) Hind foot, L 11, Form Group XI, J. Scale ca. 1:2.



Restoration of complete hippopotamus from L 19, Form Group XI, D and L 11, Form Group XI, J. Scale 1:4.



a



b



c

Fragments of sculpture: (a) Eye of clay minerals, L 11—33; (b) Miniature limestone hippopotamus, L 24—16; (c) Spout of Form Group X vessel in the shape of a hippopotamus, L 23—10. Scales (a) 1:1, (b) 4.5 × 3 × 2.2 cm, (c) 1:2.



a



b

Fragments of sculpture: (a) Miniature limestone hippopotamus, L 24—16; (b) Spout of Form Group X vessel in the shape of a hippopotamus, L 23—10. Scales (a) $4.5 \times 3 \times 2.2$ cm, (b) ca. 1:1.



a



b

(a) L 2; (b) L 3 (For directions see register; arrow points magnetic north).



a

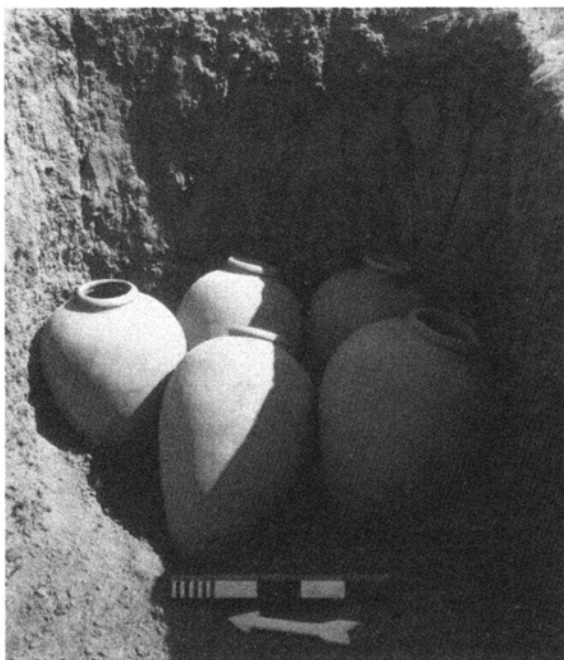


b

(a) L 6; (b) L 10 (For directions see register; arrows point magnetic north).



a



b



c

(a) L 11; (b) L 15; (c) L 15 (For directions see register; arrows point magnetic north).



a

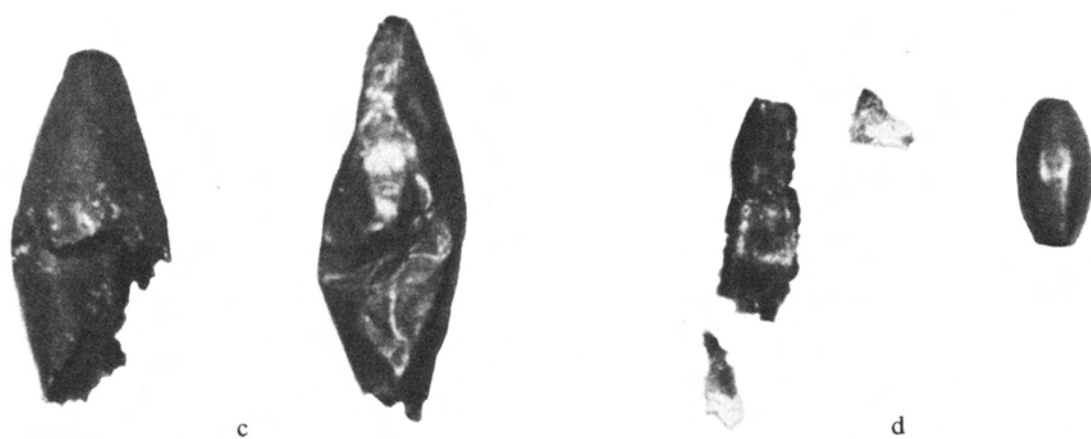


b

(a) L 20; (b) L 23 (For directions see register; arrows point magnetic north).



L 23 (For direction see register; arrow points magnetic north).



(a) Golden fly and sheet-barrel beads, L 17—11b (fly is 4.0×6.0 mm, beads are 1.5×3.5 mm);
 (b) Golden fly (back view); Gold sheet beads: (c) L 11—8b (approximately 1.0×2.5 cm); (d) L 23—31c
 (approximately 5.0×9.0 mm).