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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: A REEVALUATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND “EGYPTIANIZATION” IN  
LOWER NUBIA DURING THE NEW KINGDOM

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## Abstract

Early in the 18th Dynasty, the Egyptian kings conquered their southern neighbors, the C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerman populations of Nubia. After the conquest, there were significant changes in the material culture of the region, as evidenced by new Egyptian-style mortuary practices and the presence of Egyptian pottery in burials. This “Egyptianization” of the local population has been discussed by many scholars; however, discussions are generally focused on the burials of the Nubian elites who were integrated into the Egyptian administrative structure and who built elaborate Egyptian-style tombs. While many non-elite cemeteries were excavated in Lower Nubia during the UNESCO salvage campaign in the 1960s, only one, Fadrus, received any robust analytical treatment. Other cemeteries, while published, are rarely discussed in the literature. However, given the cultural variation present in Lower Nubia prior to the conquest, it should be expected that other cemeteries might have acculturated to different extents, or even resisted adopting Egyptian culture entirely.

This dissertation makes use of recent methodological developments in the field of mortuary studies and new theoretical frameworks of cultural change to perform a quantitative and qualitative analysis of several cemeteries in the Principdom of Tekhet, a region excavated by the Sudanese Joint Expedition to Lower Nubia and the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition. In order to better describe the nature of the material, this analysis adopts a cultural entanglement framework, which aims to archaeologically identify and highlight the creative potential of liminal spaces. As a model, it considers objects not only by their culture of origin, but also how they are used and how visual motifs and manufacturing processes can be “entangled” in colonial situations. Ultimately, the application of this framework aims to present a more nuanced picture of the changes in Lower Nubia during the 18th Dynasty.

The first part of this study involves reevaluating the dates of the tombs within the two concessions through the creation of an updated ceramic typology. The application of this typology

demonstrates in many instances that the original dates assigned by the excavators were incorrect, and thus significantly alters our understanding of the socioeconomic changes brought about by the Egyptian occupation, particularly the time frame in which these took place. It seems evident that certain Nubian populations began burying their dead in Egyptianized fashion in the early 18th dynasty, not long after the conquest. The greatest number of Egyptianized burials date to the mid-18th dynasty, while evidence for late 18th dynasty burials are rare, suggesting that most of the Egyptianized cemeteries were no longer in use by that time. Changes to the economic and administrative system in the region were likely key players in these changes.

The second part of this study consists of a statistical analysis of the OINE and SJE tombs, following three main lines of investigation – changes in socioeconomic status over time, the effects of age and gender on burial treatment, and a search for evidence of cultural entanglement in the burial record. The analysis shows that there was significantly more variation, both intra- and inter-cemetery, than has previously been thought – different populations and individuals adopted aspects of Egyptian culture in varying ways. The continued existence of traditional Nubian-style burials alongside more Egyptianized cemeteries further emphasizes the fact that the Egyptianization of Lower Nubia involved a complex, culturally entangled web of individuals and groups, drawing on customs from different cultures as needed.

## Chapter 1 : Introduction

In 1907, George Reisner discovered a number of what appeared to be typical Egyptian cemeteries in Lower Nubia, dating to the period we now call the New Kingdom. In his review of the results of the 1907-1908 Archaeological Survey of Nubia, he states:

“The earliest New Empire graves are found in Cemeteries 58 and 64, of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties. In other words, in the Hyksos period, Nubia suddenly becomes Egyptianized. The graves are absolutely indistinguishable from the same period found in Egypt. The skeletons in these graves are, however, not the same as in Egypt. There are Negroes as well as Egyptians, some Negro-Egyptian mixtures and at Shellal some aliens (Asiatics?). It can hardly be doubted that the Egyptianization of Nubia in the New Empire was the result of the immigration of Egyptians under the pressure of Hyksos rule...Nubia could not well have supported any great additions to her population. Nor is it probable that the immigrants could have brought any great supplies with them. This forces us to question as to whether bands of Egyptian immigrants did not actually conquer the district by overpowering one by one the isolated Nubian communities, enslaving part of them, driving out the rest, and occupying the agricultural land. The process would not have been difficult in view of the nature of the country and the probable lack of any central authority.”<sup>1</sup>

Seeing no other obvious reason for Egyptian-style graves in Nubia, Reisner, influenced by the colonial views of his time, determined they must have been Egyptian immigrants, who drove out the natives as they fled Hyksos domination in the north.<sup>2</sup> He termed this change in the material culture of Lower Nubia “Egyptianization”. Ten years later, as evidence for Nubian members of the Egyptian administration of the region mounted, he revised his interpretation of the evidence and redefined the term Egyptianization to mean the adoption of Egyptian material culture by a Nubian elite population:

“The population [of Ethiopia] included a large ruling class of intelligent and energetic Egyptians to which the remnants of the native race were entirely subordinated. Individual natives, of course, rose to place and power, for the near Orient has always been democratic in its

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<sup>1</sup> George Andrew Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907-1908* (Cairo: National Print Dept., 1910), 340-42.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequent research has dated the Egyptianized graves in Lower Nubia he discusses date to the New Kingdom, rather than the end of the Second Intermediate Period. Cf. Torgny Säve-Söderbergh and Lana Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications Vol. 5:2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell Tryckeri, 1991), 8.

recognition of ability, but these men were in all essentials Egyptians, in speech, in training, and in thought.”<sup>3</sup>

With subsequent archaeological excavations, it became clear that with the exception of a few garrisoned sites, the majority of the population in Nubia was of Nubian descent, and the term Egyptianization was redefined as the change from a “traditional” Nubian way of life to an Egyptian one, where the Egyptian system of administration, material culture, religion, and customs were adopted by the entire population.<sup>4</sup>

This picture of the rapid adoption of Egyptian culture by the indigenous population was seemingly confirmed by the results of the UNESCO salvage excavations in advance of the construction of the Aswan High Dam, particularly the excavations of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (SJE) and the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (OINE). Both the SJE and the OINE found a large number of Egyptian-style cemeteries dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, but few cemeteries of the same period displaying traditional Nubian burial practices. In subsequent literature, the wholesale Egyptianization of the Lower Nubian population is taken as a given, with the majority of scholarly discussion devoted to the native elite co-opted by the Egyptian government and the mechanisms of their acculturation. However,

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<sup>3</sup> George Andrew Reisner, "Outline of the History of the Sudan Part III: The Egyptianization of Ethiopia," *Sudan Notes and Records* 1, no. 4 (1918): 237.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Hermann Junker, *Ermenne Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhofen von Ermenne (Nubia): im Winter 1911/12* (Wien: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1925), 43-44; Walter B. Emery, *Egypt in Nubia* (London: Hutchinson, 1965), 177-78; Bruce G. Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1976), 110, 31-35; Barry J. Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," in *Imperialism and the Ancient World*, ed. P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 34-35; David O'Connor, "Nubia before the New Kingdom," in *Africa in Antiquity*, ed. Sylvia Hochfield and Elizabeth Riefstahl (New York: Falcon Press, 1978), 56; Paul John Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, ed. Mogens Trolle Larsen (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 169-70; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1995), 91-94; Stuart Tyson Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, ed. J. Cusick (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1998), 260; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 192; Donald B. Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 44-45; Ellen Fowles Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 96-97.

recent research on cultural change in situations of colonial contact suggests that acculturation is a far more complex process than simply a transition from one material culture to another.<sup>5</sup> Individual and group decision-making in these colonial situations cannot be ignored, and adoption of the colonizing culture by some groups may have been met by resistance and emphasis on traditional identity amongst others. Some individuals may have even held multiple cultural affiliations, emphasizing one ethnic identity over the other depending on with whom they were interacting.<sup>6</sup> It is thus necessary to reconsider the Egyptianization of Lower Nubia within the context of these theoretical developments.

## Historical Background

### Lower Nubia before the New Kingdom

Because the cultures residing in ancient Nubia had no written language of their own, much of our modern knowledge comes from ancient Egyptian records. For them, modern Nubia consisted of two regions: Lower Nubia (*w3w3t*) and Upper Nubia (*k3s*). Lower Nubia is specifically the area between the First and Second Cataracts, where there were two distinct cultural groups residing prior to the New Kingdom: the C-Group and the Pan Grave peoples. The C-Group culture, first identified by Reisner, appeared in the region ca. 2400 BC, some 600 years after the last Nubian A-Group sites. The origins of the C-Group are disputed, but their material culture shares features with many early Egyptian and Sudanic African cultures, indicating a common cultural origin. Manfred Bietak has suggested that the C-Group originated outside of the Nile Valley, in the Western desert.<sup>7</sup> The C-Group culture is characterized

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<sup>5</sup> Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer, "Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology," in *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, ed. Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer, *Transcultural Research – Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context* (Berlin: Springer, 2012); Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer, "From Hybridity to Entanglement, From Essentialism to Practice," in *Archaeology and Cultural Mixture*, ed. W.P. Van Pelt (2013); W. Paul van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 23, no. 3 (2013).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 538.

<sup>7</sup> Manfred Bietak, "The C-Group and the Pan-Grave Culture in Nubia," in *Nubian Culture Past and Present: Main Papers Presented at the Sixth International Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986*, ed.

archaeologically by incised/blacktopped ceramic wares, distinctive jewelry, decorated animal skulls, and garments of beaded or perforated leather.<sup>8</sup> Their burials were marked by stone rings or elaborate stone constructions over the shaft, and in later phases stone slabs also covered the burial itself.<sup>9</sup> C-Group peoples were likely pastoral, as their settlement sites lack the specialized artifacts that are typically associated with the exploitation of plants.<sup>10</sup> Their ceramic repertoire also supports this, as small jars for the short-term storage of liquid seem to be most important, while large pots suitable for containing dry goods like grain are almost absent.<sup>11</sup> As a pastoral society, cattle were also of significance within both their economy and culture – besides the great number of cattle products found in settlement sites and graves, cattle are frequently depicted in their art, on pottery, funerary stelae, and rock outcroppings, and cattle figurines made in clay are found in burials.<sup>12</sup> Chronologically, the C-Group has been separated into early, middle, and late phases using ceramic forms as key indicators along with some burial features. The early phase (Phase I) corresponds roughly with the First Intermediate Period in Egypt,

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Tomas Hägg, *Konferenser (Kungl. Vitterhets, historie och antikvitets akademien)* (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1987), 115.

<sup>8</sup> Aaron de Souza, "The Egyptianisation of the Pan-Grave Culture: A New Look at an Old Idea," *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 24(2013): 109.

<sup>9</sup> Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, vol. 4:1, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications (Uddevalla: Paul Astrom Editions, 1989), 7.

<sup>10</sup> Henriette Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Between Kush and Egypt: The C-Group People of Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," in *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies. Warsaw University, 27 August - 2 September 2006. Part Two, Fascicule 2: Session Papers*, ed. Iwona Zych and Maria Szewczyk (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2010), 389; Henriette Hafsaas-Tsakos, *Cattle Pastoralists in a Multicultural Setting - the C-group People in Lower Nubia, 2500-1500 BCE*, The Lower Jordan River Basin Programme Publications (Bergen/Birzeit: University of Bergen/BIRC and Birzeit University, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Between Kush and Egypt: The C-Group People of Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 390; Henriette Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Pots and People in an Anthropological Perspective - The C-Group People of Lower Nubia as a Case Study," in *Mélanges offerts à Francis Geus : Egypte-Soudan*, ed. Brigitte Gratien, *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille (CRIPEL)* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille, 2007), 167-69.

<sup>12</sup> Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Pots and People in an Anthropological Perspective - The C-Group People of Lower Nubia as a Case Study," 164; Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Between Kush and Egypt: The C-Group People of Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 390; Hafsaas-Tsakos, *Cattle Pastoralists in a Multicultural Setting - the C-group People in Lower Nubia, 2500-1500 BCE*, 26.

Phase II with the Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period, and Phase III with the end of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>13</sup>

The Pan Grave culture existed contemporaneously with the C-Group peoples in the region. However, they were first identified archaeologically in Egypt, at the site of Hu in 1901.<sup>14</sup> They were named Pan Grave because the shape of the graves seemed to be shallow and circular like a frying pan, an effect now known to be due to the heavy erosion of the graves – a well-preserved grave would have actually been around one meter deep.<sup>15</sup> The burials are characterized by circular or oval burial shafts, with the body placed on mats or fur in a contracted position on the right side. The bodies were oriented either absolutely north-south with the head in the north facing west, or in an east-west orientation with the head in the west looking south.<sup>16</sup> The deceased often wore adornments like elaborate beadwork, Nerita snail shells, and rectangular shell strip bracelets (called spacers in archaeological literature).<sup>17</sup> Superstructures were usually a simple arrangement of large stones in a circle.<sup>18</sup> Offerings are frequently found in pits surrounding the superstructure, and amongst the most common offerings (aside from pottery) are animal bucrania.<sup>19</sup> Unlike for the C-Group, archaeologists have been unable to determine any internal chronological phasing of their material culture.<sup>20</sup> There is also incredible variation between

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<sup>13</sup> Manfred Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr*, vol. 5, Berichte des Österreichischen Nationalkomitees der UNESCO-Aktion für die Rettung der Nubischen Altertümer (Wien: Böhlau in Kommission, 1968); Bietak, "The C-Group and the Pan-Grave Culture in Nubia."

<sup>14</sup> Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Diospolis Parva, The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu 1898-9*, Excavation Memoirs (Egypt Exploration Society) (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1901), 45-49.

<sup>15</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 15.

<sup>16</sup> Bietak, "The C-Group and the Pan-Grave Culture in Nubia," 124.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Kate Liszka, "'We Have Come to Serve Pharaoh': A Study of the Medjay and Pangrave as an Ethnic Group and as Mercenaries from c. 2300 BCE until c. 1050 BCE" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2012), 392.

<sup>20</sup> Janine Bourriau, "Nubians in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period: An Interpretation Based on the Egyptian Ceramic Evidence," in *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik, Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1981).

individual cemeteries, such that often it is difficult to distinguish some Pan Grave from C-Group burials.<sup>21</sup> Quite early within Egyptology, the Pan Grave were identified with the Medjay of Egyptian records.<sup>22</sup> This conclusion was drawn because it was believed that both the Pan Grave and the Medjay came from the Eastern Desert, and both worked as specialized mercenary forces for the Egyptians.<sup>23</sup> Ultimately, Kate Liszka's research has shown that this connection is problematic, and that while some Medjay may have been Pan Grave, not all Pan Grave were Medjay (and vice versa).<sup>24</sup>

In Lower Nubia, these cultures first came into contact with Egypt when a series of fortresses and fortified towns were constructed during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>25</sup> These fortresses were designed to control trade and collect tribute from the region, but were manned and supplied from Egypt, rather than relying on the productive ability of the local population.<sup>26</sup> During this occupation, the C-Group and Pan Grave groups preserved their distinctly Nubian culture. Imports of both finished goods and raw materials from Egypt decreased during this time, pointing to a general lack of interaction despite the two communities often living side by side. This could indicate that the local populace was employing a

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid; Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 17; Liszka, "'We Have Come to Serve Pharaoh': A Study of the Medjay and Pangrave as an Ethnic Group and as Mercenaries from c. 2300 BCE until c. 1050 BCE," 391.

<sup>22</sup> For a complete overview of the academic history of this association, see Liszka, "'We Have Come to Serve Pharaoh': A Study of the Medjay and Pangrave as an Ethnic Group and as Mercenaries from c. 2300 BCE until c. 1050 BCE," 395-417.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 418.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Though there was a long history of contact between Egyptians and the earlier Nubian cultures (called A-Group by George Reisner). See Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," 259.

<sup>26</sup> Barry J. Kemp, "Large Middle Kingdom Granary Buildings," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 113(1986): 134; Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 240-41; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London ;New York: Routledge, 2003), 76. Future work at Uronarti may alter our understanding of interactions with the local Nubian population. The Uronarti Regional Archaeological Project's preliminary survey found Middle Nubian ceramic material in the spoil heaps of earlier excavations (Areas A-D), which may indicate significant trade with the local population. However, a habitation area surveyed via surface collection (Site FC) completely lacked Nubian ceramic material, and the vast majority of ceramics collected across the site were of Egyptian make and in fabrics indicating an origin in Egypt. Further work should clarify the picture substantially. Christian Knoblauch, Laurel Bestock, and Alexander Makovics, "The Uronarti Regional Archaeological Project: Final Report of the 2012 Survey," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 69(2013): 128.

strategy of resistance.<sup>27</sup> At the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty, Egypt withdrew from Nubia as royal power slowly disintegrated. However, a large community of Egyptian expatriates, who had regarded Nubia as their home for several generations, remained at the fortresses and began to serve the Ruler of Kush (Kerma).<sup>28</sup> The site of Kerma was located on a vast productive plain south of the Third Cataract (Dongola Reach), and the Kerma culture is separated into three chronologically distinct phases.<sup>29</sup> During the final phase, Kerma Classique (contemporary with the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period), the Kermans expanded their territorial control into Lower Nubia. At this time, large tombs of the rulers were constructed and included so many Egyptian luxury goods that Reisner, who first excavated them, thought they belonged to Egyptians.<sup>30</sup> There was vivid trade with Egypt, in particular with the Hyksos rulers at Avaris, which is evidenced by the great many seals and seal impressions of Hyksos-style seals.<sup>31</sup> To facilitate this trade through Lower Nubia, the Kermans made use of the Egyptian ex-patriates in the old Middle Kingdom fortresses, something documented both textually and archaeologically.<sup>32</sup> However, though it is clear Lower Nubia was part of Kerma territory, outside of the fortresses there are only isolated Kerma finds in the form of single graves, and entire cemeteries are rare.<sup>33</sup> This indicates that Kerma control of Lower Nubia was fairly loose north of the Second Cataract prior to the Egyptian conquest at the beginning of the New Kingdom.

During the Kerman domination, the evidence for a stratified society in Lower Nubia is ambiguous. Generally, discussions of social stratification are restricted to the C-Group, as Pan Grave

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<sup>27</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 77.

<sup>28</sup> Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 80.

<sup>29</sup> Brigitte Gratien, *Les cultures Kerma: essai de classification* (Lille: Publications de l'Université de Lille III, 1978).

<sup>30</sup> George Andrew Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma: Parts 4-6*, Harvard African Studies 5 (Cambridge (MA): Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1923).

<sup>31</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 21.

<sup>32</sup> At Askut, Kerman pottery becomes a significant part of the overall ceramic assemblage, and a Kerman community was located nearby, Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 81, 106.. At Buhen, funerary stelae clearly indicate that the Egyptians there served the Kermans. *Ibid.*, 81, 110.

<sup>33</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 22.

cemeteries are more difficult to date. The fact that the excavated cemeteries of the C-Group show no signs of possible royal tombs, nor any dwelling that could have been a royal palace, generally leads to an interpretation of C-Group society as an “egalitarian, tribal society in which status differences were not expressed in terms of a distinct lifestyle.”<sup>34</sup> However, some signs of a growing class differentiation can be identified in the very late Second Intermediate Period. At Aniba, for instance, large tombs with vaulted burial chambers and offering chapels have been excavated.<sup>35</sup> At Areika, a group of Nubian-style round or irregular square houses with standing slabs protected by a rectangular stone wall, some 80 x 40 meters, dates to the C-Group Phase II/b (i.e. after the Middle Kingdom).<sup>36</sup> This is generally interpreted as the seat of a Nubian kinglet or chieftain.<sup>37</sup> Variation in style and complexity of Second Intermediate Period C-Group graves has also been interpreted as indicating some stratification. Some C-Group cemeteries included burials with stone circle superstructures in excess of 16 meters in diameter, while in others bodies were placed in chambers built of mudbrick or stone slabs.<sup>38</sup> However, it should be noted that some variation may correlate to cultural or kin differences, rather than simply socioeconomic variation. Generally, any stratification or increasing complexity is attributed to trade with Kerma and Egypt.<sup>39</sup>

## The Conquest

Following the reunification of Egypt by Ahmose, Egypt set about reconquering Lower Nubia for several reasons. Economically, control of Nubia would allow the Egyptians to access gold and mineral resources unavailable or rare in Egypt. Politically, the conquest served the political theology of the king as the ruler of the world, and further legitimated his right to rule. Lastly, there was a military need to

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<sup>34</sup> Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 79.

<sup>35</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 12.

<sup>36</sup> The so-called “Nubian castle.” Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 99.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 98-99.

secure Egypt's southern border, as the Kermans had colluded with the Hyksos against the Upper Egyptian rulers.<sup>40</sup> Much of what we know about the conquest itself comes from the autobiography of the soldier Ahmose, Son of Ibana, who recounts the expulsion of the Hyksos, the campaign in the Levant under Ahmose, and the subsequent Nubian campaigns of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose. Ahmose, son of Ibana's autobiography, along with archaeological finds, indicates that military control of Lower Nubia was established quickly. At Buhen, a door jamb was found with the representation of Ahmose and his mother Ahhotep offering to Horus of Buhen and Min.<sup>41</sup> A rock drawing in the form of the Son of Re name of Ahmose at Gebel Kajbar at the northern end of the Third Cataract may indicate the southern limit of the occupation by the end of Ahmose's reign.<sup>42</sup> Ahmose also founded the fortified town of Sai, where the earliest Egyptian archaeological phase included fragments of a sandstone statue of the king, temple relief fragments, and inscriptions of his wife, Ahmose-Nefertari.<sup>43</sup> Ahmose, Son of Ibana records a subsequent campaign under Amenhotep I and also a campaign under Thutmose I.<sup>44</sup> A rock inscription from Tombos from Year 3 of Thutmose I records the conquest of Nubia as far south as the Third Cataract.<sup>45</sup> The army of Thutmose I attacked the town of Kerma, where the Western Deffufa (the main temple) was burned and pillaged.<sup>46</sup> Thutmose I also left behind a boundary stela engraved in the rock of the Hagr el-Merwa at Kurgus.<sup>47</sup> The placement of a boundary stela suggests that this was a

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<sup>40</sup> László Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 158.

<sup>41</sup> Harry S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen II: the Inscriptions*, vol. 48, *Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976), 206.

<sup>42</sup> David N. Edwards, "Drawings on Rocks: The Most Enduring Monuments of Middle Nubia," *Sudan and Nubia: The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Bulletin* 10 (2006): 58-59.

<sup>43</sup> Anne Minault-Gout, "Les installations du debut du Nouvel Empire a Sai: un etat de la question," *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille: Société Urbaines en Égypte et au Soudan* 26 (2006-2007).

<sup>44</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 159.

<sup>45</sup> Urk. IV 82,3-86. *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>46</sup> Charles Bonnet, *Le temple principal de la ville de Kerma et son quartier religieux* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2004), 82.

<sup>47</sup> Andrea Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*, *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 8 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 79.

permanent conquest as far as the Fifth Cataract, however, it appears that the Kerma basin remained under native control for a while longer – the Western Deffufa was restored after its destruction by the Egyptian army.<sup>48</sup> Upon the death of Thutmose I, there was an attack directed at the Egyptian forces stationed in Lower Nubia, according to a rock inscription of Thutmose II on the road from Aswan to Philae:

One came to report to His Majesty that wretched Kush was rising in rebellion, those who were the servants of the Lord of the Two Lands planning a plot and the rebels going to plunder the subjects of Egypt and to steal the cattle from behind the fortresses built by your father with his strength, he the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare [Thutmose I], living forever, to ward off the rebellious foreign countries of Nubia...There was a prince (*wr*) in the north of vile Kush who is starting enmity together with Two Nubian *iwnty* among the children of the Prince of vile Kush...This army of His Majesty overthrew these foreigners without letting anyone among their men live, just as His Majesty had ordered, except one of these children of the Prince (*wr*) of vile Kush, brought alive as prisoner together with their people to the place of His Majesty and placed under the feet of the Good God.<sup>49</sup>

According to this inscription, the revolt was led by a Nubian prince (*wr*), either the ruler of Kerma, or less probably, a Lower Nubian chief.<sup>50</sup> This text is also the first mention of the practice of bringing back the children of Nubian chiefs to Egypt for (re)education in the Pharaoh's court (discussed below).<sup>51</sup>

During the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, Hatshepsut sent at least four expeditions to Nubia. The first was early in her reign, and is documented by a rock inscription on the island of Sehel.<sup>52</sup> The second was an expedition in Year 12, recorded on a rock inscription at Tangur West, while the third, recorded on a stela at Tombos, was in Year 20.<sup>53</sup> The final one was the expedition to Nubia in which Thutmose III killed a rhinoceros as a demonstration of his prowess as a hunter.<sup>54</sup> With Thutmose

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<sup>48</sup> Bonnet, *Le temple principal de la ville de Kerma et son quartier religieux*, 82-84.

<sup>49</sup> Urk. IV 138-141. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 209-10.

<sup>50</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 162.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, "The Egyptian Conquest and Administration of Nubia During the New Kingdom: The Testimony of the Sehel Rock-Inscriptions," *Sudan and Nubia: The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Bulletin* 7(2003): 41.

<sup>53</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 163.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

III's sole rule, Egyptian domination was established as far south as the Fourth Cataract, as the last royal burial and the town of Kerma were destroyed.<sup>55</sup> One kilometer north of the abandoned town the Egyptian conquerors began to build a fortified settlement (Dokki Gel).<sup>56</sup> Tribute from Kush also arrived in Egypt from Year 31 of Thutmose III onwards.<sup>57</sup> After Thutmose III, military actions in Nubia were directed only at local rebellions, which usually followed the death of an Egyptian king.<sup>58</sup> From this point onwards, Nubia was firmly within Egyptian control, and integrated into the Egyptian empire.

### Integration of Lower Nubia into the Egyptian Administrative and Economic System

While the royal texts give the impression of an aggressive stance towards the Nubians,<sup>59</sup> their relationship was quite different in practice – Lower Nubia was basically governed in a manner similar to nomes within Egypt proper. Much as in Egypt, the Pharaoh delegated his administrative authority to a member of his administration, in this instance the viceroy of Kush.<sup>60</sup> The viceroy was responsible for securing control of Nubia, collecting and delivering tribute and taxes, and supervising the gold-mining areas.<sup>61</sup> That in the reign of Thutmose III the viceroy Nehy controlled the first and second nomes of

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<sup>55</sup> Charles Bonnet, *Edifices et rites funéraires a Kerma* (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2000), 147, 60 n.280.

<sup>56</sup> The existence of blocks with the names of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Hatshepsut could indicate the town was founded earlier; however, Bonnet and Valbelle believe there are many reasons for the names of previous kings to appear in temple reliefs that do not require an earlier foundation of the town. Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, "The Classic Kerma Period and the Beginning of the New Kingdom," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, ed. Marcel Marée, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 361.

<sup>57</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 166. citing the Annals of Thutmose III recorded at Karnak.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>59</sup> For example, a letter from Amenhotep II to his viceroy Usersatet states: "You have taken up residence [in Nubia], a brave who made captures in all foreign countries and a chariot warrior who fought on behalf of His Majesty, Amenhotep [II]. O you possessor of a woman from Babylon, a maidservant from Byblos, a young maiden from Alalakh, and an old woman from Araphka, the people of Takshy [in Syria] are all of no account. Of what use are they anyway? Don't be at all lenient with Nubians!... Beware their people and their sorcerers!" BMFA Stele 25.632, Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, *Writings from the Ancient World 1* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 27-28.

<sup>60</sup> The title commonly translated as "Viceroy of Kush" is actually *s3-niswt* (King's son), which from the reign of Thutmose IV became *s3-nsw(t) n Kš*, (King's son of Kush). Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 177.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

Upper Egypt as well indicates that Nubia was administratively treated as part of Egypt.<sup>62</sup> From the reign of Thutmose III or possibly even earlier, Nubia was divided into two territorial administrative units – Wawat (Lower Nubia between the First Cataract and Semna) and Kush (Upper Nubia between Semna and the Fourth Cataract).<sup>63</sup> In the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty and after, each region was administered by a deputy appointed by the viceroy, who seems to have frequently been recruited from families living in Nubia (and thus they were presumably often of Nubian extraction).<sup>64</sup> They resided at Aniba and Soleb, where burials of deputies have been found.<sup>65</sup>

As the Egyptians began to integrate Nubia into their administrative system, rather than install their own administrators, they instead incorporated the native polities into the Egyptian administration as the involvement of the native elite in the governance of the conquered regions would have decreased the costs of domination. Participation was also in the interests of the native rulers – if they wanted to preserve their social and economic status, the elites needed to exploit the system implemented by Egypt and assimilate into the Egyptian elite.<sup>66</sup> These chiefs or princes were designated *wꜣw* by the Egyptians, which essentially identifies them as a native ruler who was in a contractually defined political relationship with the Egyptian king.<sup>67</sup> The children of these rulers were taken to Egypt and educated for their futures as ruling princes in their homeland, effectively acculturating them from an early age.<sup>68</sup> These children simultaneously served as hostages to ensure the allegiance of the families back home.<sup>69</sup> In Lower Nubia, there were three chiefdoms recognized by the Egyptians, centered around the more

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<sup>62</sup> Török argues that the combination of authority in Nubia and Upper Egypt served to better manage the gold mining areas of the Upper Egyptian and Lower Nubian eastern desert regions. *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>64</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 7.

<sup>65</sup> However, the only burial of a deputy of Wawat, Pennut, dates to the reign of Rameses IV. Georg Steindorff, *Aniba II: Text* (Gluckstadt: Druck Von J.J. Augustin, 1937), 242.

<sup>66</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 274.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

<sup>68</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, 198-99; William L. Moran, *The Amarna letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 23-29; Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, 97.

<sup>69</sup> Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 115.

densely populated fertile zones at Kuban, Aniba, and Faras.<sup>70</sup> Very little is known about the chiefdom of Kuban, while the chiefdom of *Mi'm* (Aniba) is better documented. A Prince of Aniba, Hekanefer, is depicted in the Theban tomb of the Viceroy Amenhotep (known as Huy), where he is shown presenting tribute to Tutankhamun. In the scene, he is shown wearing an Egyptian-style linen robe but with additions reflective of Nubian ethnicity in the world-view of the Egyptians, such as an ostrich feather in his hair, a panther skin on his back, and large gold earrings.<sup>71</sup> However, in his own tomb at Aniba, modeled on the tomb of the Viceroy Huy at Thebes, he is depicted as a fully Egyptian official according to Egyptian artistic conventions.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, little else is known about Hekanefer. The chiefdom of Tekhet (*th-ht*) in the Faras-Debeira region is by far the most documented, as the ruling family is known from multiple tombs and references in Egyptian and Nubian monuments, and much of the region was extensively surveyed and excavated during the UNESCO salvage excavations in the 1960s.

Tekhet extended from the northern end of the Second Cataract region to as far north as Faras or Abu Simbel.<sup>73</sup> Three princes of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty and their families are known from descriptions, and two of their tombs were discovered.<sup>74</sup> A number of inscriptions from Elephantine, Buhen, Serra, Debeira East, and Debeira West mention the family, which allows a reconstruction of part of their family tree (Figure 1.1).<sup>75</sup> The earliest known (male) member of the family was Teti, who had two stelae erected in his memory at Elephantine, which also mention his son *Rwīw*. Teti's only title is *s3b*, "dignitary."<sup>76</sup> *Rwīw* and his brother Senmose are documented in Senmose's tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa.<sup>77</sup> Senmose does not

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<sup>70</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 265.

<sup>71</sup> Nina M Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut'ankhamun (No. 40)* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1926), Pl XXVIII.

<sup>72</sup> Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 36.

<sup>73</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 265.

<sup>74</sup> A fourth prince of unknown relation to the others dates to the reign of Rameses II. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 204.

<sup>75</sup> For a complete overview of the textual evidence, see *ibid.*, 190-205.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>77</sup> The location of the tomb has caused some to question whether the family originated in Nubia or in the Aswan region. Due to their Nubian names and their familial devotion to Horus of Buhen, they are generally understood to

have a title, but *Rwīw* is the first to use the title Prince of Tekhet (*wr n tḥ-ḥt*).<sup>78</sup> *Rwīw*, and his sons Djhuty-hotep and Amenemhat, have the title “Scribe,” so it can be assumed they were educated in Egypt.<sup>79</sup> However, they do not bear the title “Children of the Nursery” (*ḥrdw n k3p*), and so do not seem to have been educated at the royal court.<sup>80</sup> *Rwīw*’s other titles include “excellent noble” (*sḥ ikr*) and “valiant prince of Tekhet.”<sup>81</sup> The titles of his sons become even more complex, and are interpreted as indicating the more advanced stages of the family’s integration into the hierarchy of Egyptian officialdom.<sup>82</sup> Djhuty-hotep’s titles, documented on various monuments, include “Royal Scribe” (*sḥ nswt*), “Able leader for the Lady of the Two Lands” (*ḥrp ḳn n nbt t3wy*), “True Servant (?) of the Lord of the Two Lands” (*<b3k?><sup>83</sup> m3ḥ n nb t3wy*), and “Prince, Son of a Prince, Excellent Heir” (*wr s3 wr iwḥ mnḥ*), along with the title of “Prince of Tekhet.”<sup>84</sup> Amenemhat’s titles included “Scribe”, “Vigilant leader for the Lady of the Two lands” (*ḥrp rs-tp n nbt tw3y*), “Vigilant Leader for the King’s Wife” (*ḥrp rs-tp n ḥmt-nwst*), “Vigilant Leader for the King’s Daughter” (*ḥrp rs-tp n s3t nwst*), “King’s Valiant Leader” (*ḥrp ḳn n nwst*), “Valiant Leader in Wawat” (*ḥrp ḳn m W3w3t*), and “True Royal Acquaintance of His Lord” (*rḥ-nwst m3ḥ*), along with “Prince of Tekhet” like his brother and father.<sup>85</sup> The titles, as well as the texts which mention Djhuty-hotep and Amenemhat, suggest that they lived during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.<sup>86</sup>

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be Nubian. Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 266.

<sup>78</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 191.

<sup>79</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 266.

<sup>80</sup> Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," 169.

<sup>81</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 196.

<sup>82</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 266.

<sup>83</sup> Text broken. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 207.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 207-08.

<sup>86</sup> Texts of the two brothers mention “the God’s Wife” or “the Lady of the Two Lands” as well as “the Lord of the Two Lands” or Menkheperre (Thutmose III). Säve-Söderbergh argues that Amenemhat must have been buried before the Year 22 of Thutmose III, as the name of Amenemhat’s wife Hatshepsut is clearly written and not tampered with in the stela in his tomb. Ibid., 204. However, it should be noted that it is now understood that the erasure of Hatshepsut’s name took place very late in Thutmose III’s reign. Thus, it can only really be said that Amenemhat died sometime in during or after the regency of Hatshepsut, prior to the death of Thutmose III. Peter

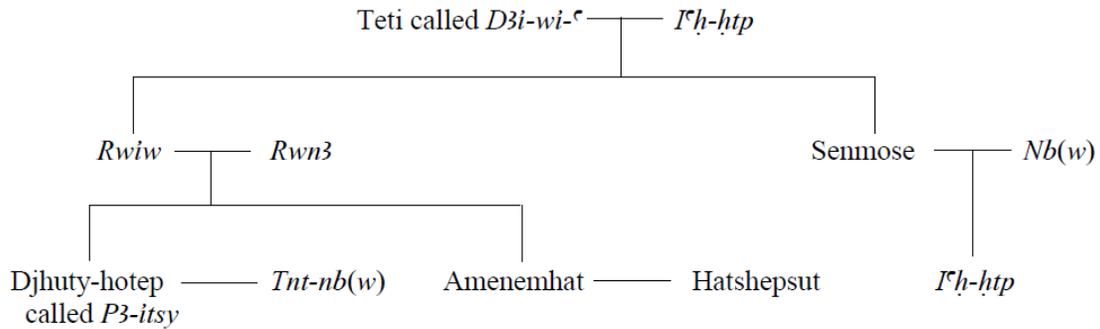


Figure 1.1: Reconstruction of the Thutmoside Tekhet principedom family tree. After László Török, *Between Two Worlds*, 265.

Along with their Egyptian titles, the brothers were both buried in Egyptian-style tombs at Debeira. Djhuty-hotep was buried in a tomb cut in the rock of a hill on the east bank, overlooking the Debeira plain about 5 km south of Serra fortress and 10 km south of Faras (Site 36 in the SJE survey). The tomb consisted of a chamber, statue chapel, and burial chamber, and was decorated with paintings executed by Egyptian artists, though of average quality according to Säve-Söderbergh.<sup>87</sup> The Prince is represented with the traditional reddish skin color of Egyptian men, and performs activities traditional of the Egyptian elite in tomb representations, such as hunting with a chariot in the desert, presiding over a banquet, and being entertained by dancers.<sup>88</sup> Other male figures in the paintings were painted in brown and black, as Nubians are traditionally represented within Egyptian artistic cannon. The tomb of his brother, Amenemhat (Site Q), is even more complex. Constructed on the west bank and oriented towards Djhuty-hotep's tomb, it consists of a lower courtyard with a rock-cut statue chapel, which led up a ramp to an upper courtyard surrounded by a mudbrick outer wall, in which stood a mudbrick pyramid (Figure 1.2).<sup>89</sup> The pyramid encased a room above a 12-meter-deep shaft, from which opened a corridor leading to the sarcophagus chamber. As the statues of the statue chapel were left unfinished, along with a lack of evidence of eventual descendants, it would seem that Amenemhat died without

Dorman, "The Proscriptions of Hatshepsut," in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catherine Roehrig, Renee Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005).

<sup>87</sup> Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "The Paintings in the Tomb of Djehuty-hetep at Debeira," *Kush* 8(1960).

<sup>88</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 267.

<sup>89</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 187.

heirs.<sup>90</sup> The only other attested Prince of Tekhet, Ipi, is known from a fragment of a stela found at Serra that dates to the reign of Rameses II, and who does not seem to be related to Djhuty-hotep or Amenemhat.<sup>91</sup>

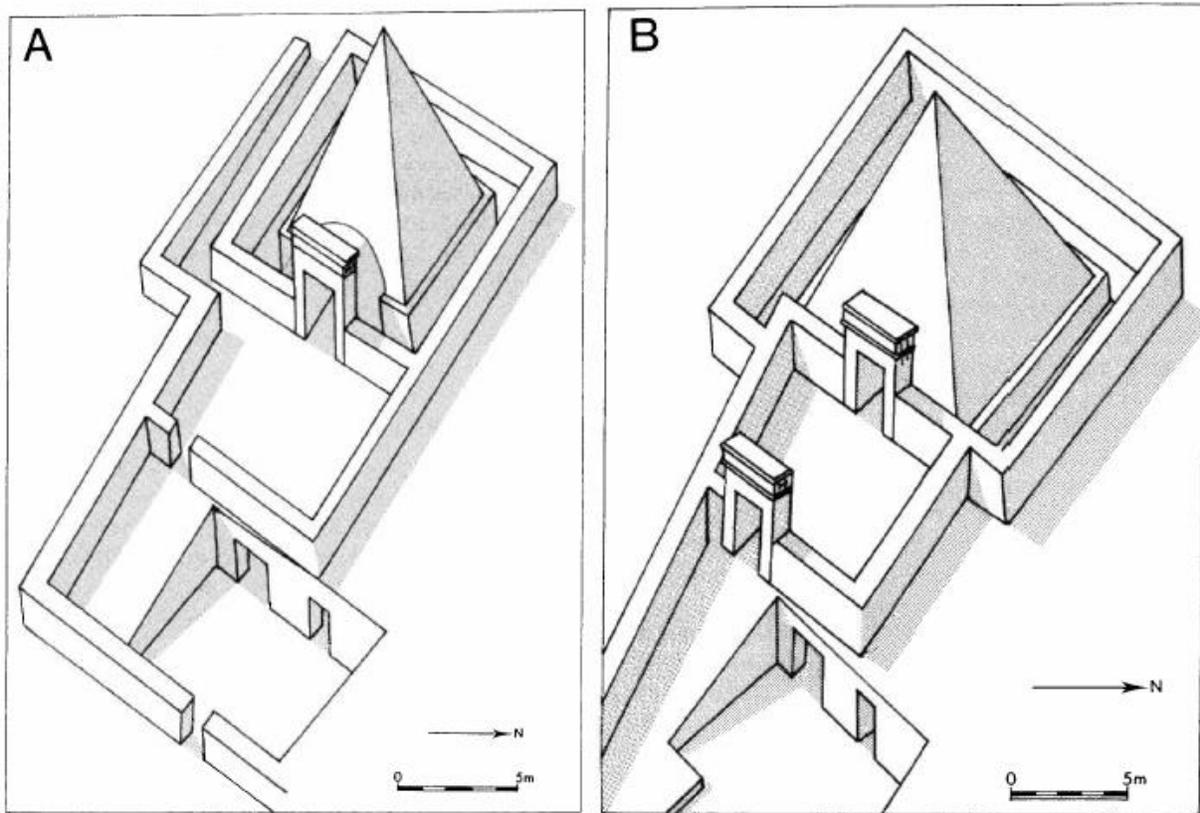


Figure 1.2: Possible reconstructions of the Tomb of Amenemhat (Site Q). SOURCE: Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, Vol. 5:2, 187 (Fig 45b).

As the elites of Lower Nubia integrated into the Egyptian administrative system, there were significant changes to the settlement structure of the region. Prior to Thutmose III, settlements were organized much as they had been prior to the conquest, with a number of large settlements in and around the Middle Kingdom fortresses, which had continued to function as administrative centers.<sup>92</sup> Due to the nature of the archaeological landscape (discussed in Chapter 4), very few settlement sites

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>91</sup> The stela is badly broken, but seems to attest that the prince received a field from the Viceroy Heqanakht, which the prince in turn gave it to someone else, who then gave it to a third person who wrote the stela. Ibid., 204.

<sup>92</sup> For a case study on the Second Cataract fortress of Askut, see Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*

were discovered outside of the fortresses, but given the geospatial patterning of the cemeteries a fairly diffuse settlement structure can be assumed.<sup>93</sup> After the conquest of Upper Nubia in the reign of Thutmose III, a complex program of organization was implemented, including the development of the vice-regal bureaucracy and the building of cult temples which would eventually become local centers of economic administration.<sup>94</sup> As these temples became more prominent, the Second Cataract fortresses lost their functions as centers and were soon abandoned or converted into more traditional Egyptian settlements.<sup>95</sup> First Cataract forts like Buhen and Aniba were converted into walled towns, though they eventually grew beyond the walls.<sup>96</sup> By the reign of Amenhotep III, the structure of land-holding is thought to have changed from community/kinship ownership to government/temple ownership.<sup>97</sup> The walled urban settlements associated with religious institutions (temple towns) began to function as local centers of specialized production, administration, and redistribution, eventually becoming the dominant settlement pattern.<sup>98</sup> As very little cemetery material dates to the later New Kingdom, Barry Kemp argues that the rural populations began to move from their small settlements to the towns.<sup>99</sup> It has been suggested that Egyptian emphasis on Upper Nubia after the conquest, evidenced by the large temple towns of Soleb and Sesebi, led to a general economic decline and eventual depopulation in Lower Nubia by the Ramesside Period.<sup>100</sup> The town of Amara West in Upper Nubia, founded by Seti I, might also support this. There, the later phases of housing within the walled settlement become smaller and more

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<sup>93</sup> See for example the GIS reconstruction of the sites excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia. Carolin Johansson, "Digital Reconstruction of the Archaeological Landscape in the Concession Area of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (1961–1964)" (Masters, Uppsala University, 2014), 64.

<sup>94</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 185.

<sup>95</sup> However, Semna remained an important garrisoned fortress. *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology 69 (New Haven: Yale University Department of Anthropology, 1965), 109.

<sup>97</sup> Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 129; Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 188-89.

<sup>98</sup> Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 23-25; Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," 170; Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 189.

<sup>99</sup> Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 39-43.

<sup>100</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 13.

densely packed, while additional housing was built outside the town walls, indicating an increasing population density.<sup>101</sup>

### The Question of the “Egyptianization” of Lower Nubia

With the Egyptian conquest of Lower Nubia, we see not only the implementation of an Egyptian administrative system, but also significant changes in the material culture of the region. As evidenced by the Nubian princes buried in Lower Nubia, the Nubian elite were actively encouraged to acculturate to Egyptian norms. This was not only due to the Egyptian policy of educating the children of conquered rulers in Egypt, but because it was the only way they could maintain their wealth and status after the conquest. Elites like the Prince of Tekhet appear as traditional Egyptians within their own tombs, and Hekanefter of *Miꜥm* (Aniba) even modeled the construction of his tomb on that of the Viceroy of Kush that he served. However, there are indications that acculturation was not necessarily wholesale even amongst these rulers. Djhuty-hotep and Amenemhat retained second, Nubian names, and paid special homage to Nubian deities in their homeland.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, the Nubian princes would have held a mediatory position between the Egyptian government and their local communities, a position which would have required a balancing act between the interests of the Egyptian government and the expectations of a local population.<sup>103</sup> Donald Redford has pointed out that the co-opted elite rulers of Canaan, themselves in a similar position, could not have completely assimilated to Egyptian culture for fear of appearing too submissive to Egyptian interests.<sup>104</sup> A similar social situation may have occurred in

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<sup>101</sup> Neal Spencer, "Creating a Neighborhood within a Changing Town: Household and other Agencies at Amara West in Nubia," in *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (Micro) Archaeological and Textual Approaches: Papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar, Household Studies in Complex Societies, held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 15-16 March 2013*, ed. Miriam Müller, *Oriental Institute Seminars 10* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2015), 193.

<sup>102</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 206; Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 270.

<sup>103</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 537.

<sup>104</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, 199.

Lower Nubia. In this context, it is reasonable to suggest that Nubian elites depicted themselves as Egyptians in their funerary monuments in order to impart to their tombs (and themselves) a cosmopolitan aspect and grandeur that was commensurate with their status as rulers of their people.<sup>105</sup> In other words, such monuments can be seen as part of a local legitimation strategy using their connection with the colonial power. Such a strategy need not, however, be reflective of the everyday reality of their lives, or the lives of their subjects.

Generally, discussions of Egyptianization of Lower Nubia focus on the elite examples discussed above, and assume the total adoption of the Egyptian way of life by the population.<sup>106</sup> With very little settlement data<sup>107</sup> available for Lower Nubia, mortuary practices are the only avenue available for studying the Egyptianization of the region. Looking at the non-elite cemeteries of the time, we do see a significant shift in burial practices and material culture in the Lower Nubian region. By the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty the indigenous pottery traditions of Lower Nubia, both C-Group and Pan Grave, were almost entirely replaced by Egyptian wares. Egyptian-style shaft tombs were also introduced and spread into areas where few had been found before, while the practice of tumuli or stone circle superstructures was abandoned. Body position within graves also changed, from contracted on the side to extended on the back, and burials begin to be oriented with the head in the west. There is, however, significant inter- and intra-cemetery variation in burial practices in the region. Within the Egyptianized cemeteries, while the majority of burials are oriented west with the body placed on the back, there are a surprising

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<sup>105</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 537.

<sup>106</sup> An exception to this is Säve-Söderbergh and Troy's argument for the superficiality of Egyptianization at the site of Fadrus, and S.T. Smith's response arguing for the adoption of Egyptian religious beliefs at the site. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 248; Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 159.

<sup>107</sup> The majority of settlement sites were likely located beneath modern habitation, and thus not able to be excavated during the UNESCO campaign. Pontus Hellström, *The Rock Drawings*, vol. 1:1, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications (Copenhagen: Scandanavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, 1970), 17.

number of burials that are contracted or oriented in directions other than west or northwest.<sup>108</sup> Also, objects generally considered necessary for the afterlife in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty – inscriptions, shabti, canopic equipment, and the Book of the Dead – are for the most part lacking in the cemeteries. Generally, this variation in the non-elite mortuary evidence is interpreted as either supporting the adoption of Egyptian religious beliefs, and thus by extension complete acculturation, or it is interpreted as supporting the superficial (or perhaps selective) Egyptianization of the local populace.<sup>109</sup> It must be noted, however, that nearly all the discussions of the Egyptianization of the non-elite population are based on one site alone, the remarkably well-preserved – and unusually large – cemetery at Fadrus (discussed extensively in Chapters 4 and 5).<sup>110</sup> This is understandable, as Fadrus, excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, is the only 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty site in the region that has been published and robustly analyzed.<sup>111</sup> However, many other cemeteries were excavated in the region during the same campaign and by the Oriental Institute's Nubian Expedition, but did not receive the same analytical treatment as the site of Fadrus and are thus rarely cited in the subsequent literature.<sup>112</sup> Given the cultural variation present in Lower Nubia prior to the conquest, these cemeteries may not always reflect the same level of Egyptianization in burial practices as Fadrus, and thus may provide

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<sup>108</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 213. See Chapter 5 for an in-depth discussion.

<sup>109</sup> For the former view, see Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 159. For the latter, see Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 248; Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 274-79.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 251; Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 148-54; Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 156-62; Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 276-80.

<sup>111</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 212-93.

<sup>112</sup> For example, the OINE publication of Qustul and Adindan is generally only cited for its comparative examples to other archaeological material (usually pottery), e.g. David A. Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," in *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC*, ed. Manfred Bietak (2003), 145; Mario A. S. Martin, "Egyptian and Egyptianized Pottery in Late Bronze Age Canaan: Typology, Chronology, Ware fabrics, and Manufacture techniques. Pots and People?," *Ägypten und Levante* 14(2004): 270; Mario A. S. Martin, "Egyptian-Type Eighteenth Dynasty Pots at Megiddo," *Ägypten und Levante* 19(2009): 212.

support for a more complex picture of Egyptianization in Lower Nubia. In fact, alongside the Egyptianized cemeteries in Lower Nubia existed several cemeteries that clearly date to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, but belonged to individuals who did not appear to adopt Egyptian burial customs.<sup>113</sup> Despite the detailed publication of these sites, they are rarely discussed in the literature and generally mentioned only in passing.<sup>114</sup>

Given this variation in burial practices and the largely unanalyzed material, there is a need to reconsider Egyptianization as it is evidenced in the burial practices of the Lower Nubian population. To do this, the material must be approached within a new framework that does not assume acculturation to be an all-or-nothing state of being. Recently, within his critique of the theoretical and ideological foundations of Egyptianization as a process, W. Paul van Pelt put forth the concept of cultural entanglement as applicable to Lower Nubia.<sup>115</sup> Cultural entanglement is a framework that aims to archaeologically identify and highlight the creative potential of liminal spaces, which are conceptualized as situations and spaces of intercultural encounter.<sup>116</sup> As a model, it considers cultural assimilation as a complex process steered not only by individual agency, but by social rules and customs in a society. It also considers objects not only by their culture of origin, but also how they are used and how visual motifs and manufacturing processes can be “entangled” in colonial situations. Thus, this dissertation looks for evidence of cultural entanglement – rather than “Egyptianization” – in Lower Nubia. The advantage to this approach is that it allows for more complexity in the presentation of identity, as well as more agency on the part of the individuals under study.

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<sup>113</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 23.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 275.

<sup>115</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement."

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 533.

A cultural entanglement approach to mortuary material has two main requirements. First, to identify objects used in novel ways in situations of colonial contact, excavations must have accurate recordings of objects and their positions. While there are many cemeteries known in Lower Nubia, the majority were excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when methodological practices were not as standardized and little attention was paid to object placement or to recording objects deemed to be of little value. Second, groups and even individuals can be entangled with a colonial culture to different extents and in diverse ways. Thus, a large sample size of multiple sites and individuals is required. To meet these requirements, this dissertation investigates cemeteries in the region of Tekhet. This area, located in the border region between modern Egypt and Sudan, was completely surveyed by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia and the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition during the UNESCO salvage campaign before the Aswan High Dam flooded the region in 1965. This region had many cemeteries which date to the Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, all of which were excavated using modern excavation techniques, and most critically, graves were recorded with extensive detail not usually seen in earlier publications of Nubian material. This allows for more complex forms of analysis, including evaluating socioeconomic status indicators and the placement of objects. Though published, the majority of these cemeteries were never subsequently analyzed beyond assigning date ranges for individual tombs.<sup>117</sup> Since the publication of these cemeteries, new developments in the field of mortuary studies, as well as advances in computer technology, also offer novel strategies and methodologies for assessing status and social groups in cemetery data. With these new techniques and the cultural entanglement framework, the nature of Egyptianization in Lower Nubia can be reconsidered, along with more general questions relating to changes in the economy and social structures during the Egyptian occupation of Lower Nubia.

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<sup>117</sup> The exception being the cemetery of Fadrus (SJE Site 185). See above and Chapter 4.

## Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 discusses how people, cultures, and ethnic identity have been conceptualized by archaeologists and historians, documenting the transition from the cultural historical approach to the modern understanding that identities are actively created, negotiated, and subscribed to through social practices that take many forms. Similarly, issues in the study of gender in the archaeological record are considered. Within this wider academic debate, the process of Egyptianization as understood by scholars will be contextualized, and ultimately the model of cultural entanglement proposed as a viable method of describing the burial record in Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom.

Chapter 3 reviews recent developments in anthropological and archaeological theory in mortuary studies, particularly the study of inequality in the burial record. The theoretical justifications for mortuary analysis are explored and responses to critiques are discussed. Methodological criticisms are also debated, as well as some possible ways for overcoming them. Lastly, previous mortuary studies for Egypt and Nubia are reviewed, noting the differences between the plethora of Predynastic Egyptian studies and the far fewer studies of Dynastic Egyptian cemeteries or Nubian cemeteries. In particular, the work of Janet Richards is extensively discussed and several of her techniques are subsequently used in the analysis described in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 discusses the history of excavations in Lower Nubia and how this impacts the consideration of the archaeological material, particularly the UNESCO salvage campaign. The SJE and OINE concessions, excavations, and publications are extensively discussed and critiqued. As the two excavations used different categorization methods and ceramic typologies, a new system is developed to catalog finds. The chronological phasing of the cemeteries by their excavators is discussed, and adaptations are proposed based on new information about ceramic trends in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty published since the original excavation publications. An argument is made for re-dating the tombs, and the implications of reevaluating the dates of the tombs of Fadrus (Site 185) is discussed. This chapter also

discusses the importance of studying not only Egyptianized cemeteries, but also cemeteries dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty which do not show signs of acculturation. Termed “Transitional Cemeteries” by their excavators, it is proposed these should be renamed as simple “New Kingdom Nubian Cemeteries,” and are indicators that acculturation to Egyptian norms was just one possible path Nubian groups could take in response to the Egyptian occupation.

Chapter 5 is the results of a statistical analysis of the cemeteries, which follows three main lines of investigation – changes in socioeconomic status over time, the effects of age and gender on burials, and evidence of cultural entanglement in the burial record. Analysis indicates that socioeconomic status appears relatively stable over time in Pharaonic (Egyptianized) cemeteries, with few burials that can be confirmed as certainly belonging to the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. A study of socioeconomic status finds that age has an effect on burials in the Pharaonic cemeteries, with child burials demonstrating notably poorer wealth, while older adults are less likely to be buried without grave goods. Amongst the New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries, child burials follow a similar pattern, but with few older adults preserved no conclusions can be made regarding changes in status amongst adults of different ages. In both populations, there appears to be no difference in treatment between male and female adults, suggesting that socioeconomic status played more of a role in burial treatment than biological sex. Lastly, evidence of cultural entanglement is sought by looking for “Nubian” and “Egyptian” burial traits in the data set, as well as evidence of entangled objects. While there was clear evidence of significant adoption of Egyptian burial practices in the Pharaonic cemeteries, it appears that Egyptianization was fairly superficial as a significant amount of burials were abnormal in some key way, such as body position or the orientation of the head. A possible correlation between socioeconomic status and Nubian burial traits is suggested as well. Within the Nubian sites, trends were found in the use of Egyptian objects versus traditionally Nubian ones, suggesting possible economic reasons for the replacement of Nubian ceramics with Egyptian pottery.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a discussion of the processes of Egyptianization in light of the analysis of Chapter 5. It argues for some populations in the region of Tekhet to have adopted Egyptian customs during the Second Intermediate Period as means of facilitating control of trade passing through their region. The reasons for the abandonment of the region at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty are also evaluated. Changes to the economic system, in particular the increasing numbers of specialized craftsmen at the larger Egyptian settlements, are suggested to have been the primary reason for the depopulation of the region. Lastly, avenues for further research are proposed.

## Chapter 2 : Understanding Identity, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Context of Egyptian and Nubian Cultural Entanglement

Studies of “identity” have become common in archaeological research over the last two decades, though identity is not a term easily, or unanimously, defined. It is frequently used to refer to different social constructs like individual self-identity or group identity. While such uses in anthropology can be ambiguous, this chapter is concerned with group identity, that is, an individuals’ identification with a broader group on the basis of differences that are socially sanctioned as significant.<sup>1</sup> Identity in this instance is inextricably linked to a sense of belonging to and active engagement in a particular group.<sup>2</sup> Identities are constructed through interaction, and thus require choice and agency by the individual and the individuals with whom they interact.<sup>3</sup> The active role played by the individual also means that identities can be fluid as well as hybrid. An individual may have multiple identities based on their age, gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status, as well as other social constructs. This chapter explores how identities have been conceptualized in Egyptological literature as well as in related fields and the impact of those concepts on the study of Lower Nubian material culture.

### Peoples, Cultures, and Ethnic Identity

From its very beginnings, archaeology has been concerned with the identification of “peoples” in the past, primarily through the distribution of material culture. Archaeologists looked for bounded,

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<sup>1</sup> Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Sam Lucy, "Introduction," in *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. group identities can be defined by the individual themselves in their interactions with others, or they can sometimes be assigned by non-group members based on some criteria, such as individual appearance. Identity does not exist in a vacuum – even in the case of identities based on non-negotiable criteria (such as skin color or biological sex), they are only communicated in interaction. Fredrik Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Boston: Brown, 1969), 10; Geoff Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5, no. 4 (1997): 300; Lynn Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," in *The Archaeology of Identities : A Reader*, ed. Timothy Insoll (New York: Routledge, 2007), 24.

uniform cultural entities that they could correlate with particular peoples, ethnic groups, tribes, and/or races.<sup>4</sup> This 'culture history' approach to archaeology is generally credited to V. Gordon Childe<sup>5</sup>, though many of its core assumptions were commonplace in archaeological literature in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> Childe's version of culture history assumes that within a given group, cultural practices and beliefs tend to conform to ideational norms or rules of behavior.<sup>7</sup> These norms would be maintained by regular interaction within the group, and would be transmitted to subsequent generations through the process of socialization, resulting in a continuous cultural tradition. A high degree of homogeneity in material culture is thus regarded as the product of regular contact and interaction between individuals and/or groups, whereas discontinuities in distribution of material culture are assumed to be the result of social and/or physical distance.<sup>8</sup> "Peoples", which did not necessarily equate with race in Childe's view, could then be mapped geographically and historically based on a limited number of diagnostic "types" of material culture.<sup>9</sup> Gradual change in material culture is attributed to internal drift, while rapid change is

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<sup>4</sup> Siân Jones, "Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past," in *The Archaeology of Identities : A Reader*, ed. Timothy Insoll (New York: Routledge, 2007), 45.

<sup>5</sup> V. Gordon Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1929); V. Gordon Childe, *Piecing Together the Past: the Interpretation of Archeological Data* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956). Childe's work was heavily influenced by Gustaf Kossinna, who developed an ethnic paradigm which he called 'settlement archaeology'. *Ibid.*, 28. Gustaf Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen* (Leipzig: Kabitzsch, 1911). The basic premise was the same as Childe's, in that artifact types could be used to identify cultures and that clearly distinguishable culture provinces reflect the settlement areas of past tribes or ethnic groups. The crucial aspect of his methodology, however, was that he used direct genealogical techniques to trace the presence of historically known peoples back to their supposed prehistoric origins. Kossinna's work struck a particularly nationalistic tone, as he attempted to delineate the descent of the Nordic/Aryan/Germanic "super-race" to the Indo-Europeans, attributing a deep antiquity to the "race". Kossinna was explicit about the nationalist and (now understood to be) racist overtones of his work, and after his death his theories played an important role in the ideology of the Third Reich. Following WWII his work was condemned as the main culprit in the nationalist abuse of archaeology in Nazi Germany. For a discussion of Kossinna's impact on German archaeology, see Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1997), 2-5.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Stanley Casson, O.E.M. Crawford, and R.E.M. Wheeler associated unique peoples with particular artifact types in their publications. Stanley Casson, "The Dorian Invasion Reviewed in the Light of Some New Evidence," *The Antiquaries Journal* 1, no. 3 (1921); O.G.S. Crawford and R.E.M. Wheeler, "The Llynfawr and other Hoards of the Bronze Age," *Archaeologia (Second Series)* 71(1921).

<sup>7</sup> Childe, *Piecing Together the Past: the Interpretation of Archeological Data*, 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 135; J.C. Gifford, "The Type Variety Method of Ceramic Classification as an Indicator of Cultural Phenomena," *American Antiquity* 25, no. 3 (1960): 341-42.

<sup>9</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, 18.

explained in terms of external influences, such as diffusion resulting from culture contact, or the succession of one cultural group by another as a result of migration and conquest.<sup>10</sup> As a consequence, archaeological cultures came to be regarded as organic, individuated entities – essentially the substitute for history’s individual agents. This is explicitly acknowledged by Childe, who wrote that “prehistory can recognize peoples and marshal them on the stage to take the place of the personal actors who form the historian’s troupe.”<sup>11</sup> Culture history allows for the past to be reconstructed in terms of the distribution of cultures, whose history unfolds in a coherent, linear narrative measured in terms of objectified events, such as contacts, migrations, etc. with intervals of homogenous empty time between.<sup>12</sup> It is undoubtedly an attractive approach to describing prehistory, and thus formed the framework for archaeological analysis throughout most of the world during the 20<sup>th</sup> century – even processual and post-processual schools that rejected culture history were (and still are) largely dependent on material evidence that has been described and classified using an essentially cultural historical epistemology.<sup>13</sup>

### Processual and Post-Processual Developments

The first critiques of culture history as a dominant paradigm in archaeology arose out of the processual movement. While “traditional” archaeologists were largely satisfied with tracing what happened in prehistory in terms of cultures and their movements, scholars in the 1950s and 60s became increasingly concerned with *how* and *why* cultural change occurred.<sup>14</sup> They argued that culture constitutes an integrated system, made up of different functioning sub-systems, and as a corollary archaeological remains must be regarded as the product of a variety of past processes, rather than

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<sup>10</sup> Childe, *Piecing Together the Past: the Interpretation of Archeological Data*, 135; Jones, "Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past," 45.

<sup>11</sup> V. Gordon Childe, *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles* (London, Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1940), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Jones, "Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past," 46.

<sup>13</sup> Siân Jones, "Archaeology and Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and the Present" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Southampton, 1994), 19-20.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips, *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1958), 5-6.

simply a reflection of ideational norms.<sup>15</sup> That said, most continued to accept that the identification of an archaeological culture was necessary before beginning the process of explanation.<sup>16</sup>

The next wave of critiques of archaeological practice came with the post-processual movement, which emphasized the subjectivity of archaeological explanations. One issue raised initially was the common equation of archaeological culture with ethnic/racial identity, as ethnographic research by then had shown that characteristic artifacts, languages, and cultures do not always coincide.<sup>17</sup> In response, post-processual archaeologists became interested in the relationship between material culture and symbolism as an avenue for understanding ethnic identity. Perhaps most famously, Ian Hodder showed that the expression of ethnic boundaries may involve a limited range of material culture, while other material forms and styles may be shared across group borders.<sup>18</sup> Thus, different ethnic groups could, in fact, share much of the same traditionally diagnostic material culture (such as pottery or domicile type), and instead express their differences in ways that may be difficult to detect, such as cooking styles, language, modes of dress, or certain aspects of ornamentation. Another issue with using diagnostic types is that the selection process, which tended to favor objects of interest to museums, led to overstating the importance of valuable objects in the definition of a culture. Cultures were defined by objects perceived as being of high status, and not those used by the whole population, which may have

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<sup>15</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, 26. Prominent examples include: Lewis R. Binford, "Archaeology as Anthropology," *American Antiquity* 28(1962); Lewis R. Binford, "Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Culture Process," *American Antiquity* 31(1965); David Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology* (London: Methuen, 1968).

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Colin Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilization: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (London: Methuen, 1972), 17.

<sup>17</sup> Randi Håland, "Archaeological Classification and Ethnic Groups: A Case Study from Sudanese Nubia," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 10(1977); Marek Zvelebil, "At the Interface of Archaeology, Linguistics and Genetics: Indoeuropean Dispersals and the Agricultural Transition in Europe," *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (1995).

<sup>18</sup> Ian Hodder, *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

resulted in ignoring more useful markers of cultural identity or completely misidentifying different socioeconomic classes as different ethnic groups.<sup>19</sup>

The most important critique to come from post-processualists, however, is the assumed lack of agency of ancient peoples by scholars.<sup>20</sup> A cultural historical approach is a classification of a culture from the outside, rather than analysis of the symbols and meanings used by the individuals involved to divide themselves from another group.<sup>21</sup> Thus, in the 1970s scholars began to place increasing emphasis on the self-identifications of the social actors concerned, the processes involved in the construction of group boundaries, and the interrelationships between socio-cultural groups.<sup>22</sup> In this way, sociological and anthropological research has suggested that ethnic groups are more an idea than a concrete entity – members choose to do some things in similar ways to each other, and in different ways from other people.<sup>23</sup> It is a “we-feeling”, often in contrast to real or assumed cultural difference with others.<sup>24</sup> As a concept, ethnic identity is connected to the construction of kinship – members of an ethnic group usually see themselves as having a common ancestry, though this is often socially constructed rather than a genetic fact.<sup>25</sup> Thus, ethnicity can be defined as a method of classifying people (both self and other) using a socially constructed origin as the primary reference.<sup>26</sup> It is also now understood that ethnic identity is only one social determinate, and it can be intersected or even superseded by status,

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<sup>19</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, "Introduction," 3.

<sup>20</sup> Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries; Ronald Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7(1978); Hodder, *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture*; Stephen Shennan, "Introduction," in *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, ed. Stephen Shennan (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Malcolm Chapman, Maryon McDonald, and Elizabeth Tonkin, "Introduction," in *History and Ethnicity* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Benjamin B. Ringer and Elinor R. Lawless, *Race, Ethnicity and Society* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

<sup>21</sup> Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives," 297.

<sup>22</sup> Jones, "Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past," 47.

<sup>23</sup> Sam Lucy, "Ethnic and Cultural Identities," in *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 86.

<sup>24</sup> Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology; Chapman, McDonald, and Tonkin, "Introduction; Ringer and Lawless, *Race, Ethnicity and Society*; Shennan, "Introduction; Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries."

<sup>25</sup> Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives," 302.

<sup>26</sup> Lucy, "Ethnic and Cultural Identities." after Hal B. Levine, "Reconstructing Ethnicity," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, no. 5 (1999): 168.

occupation, gender, age, ability, and many other social factors.<sup>27</sup> Such group identities form ideologies which are actively created, negotiated, and subscribed to through social practice.<sup>28</sup> Practices of affiliation can take many varied forms, and can have different levels of archaeological perceptibility. Untangling a particular group identity from material culture can be very difficult, as identity is produced through interaction, and any one interaction (and the resulting material culture distribution) may place more emphasis on one aspect over another. Thus, configurations of ethnic identity and consequently material culture involved in the signification and structure of ethnic relations may vary in different social contexts with relation to different forms and scales of social interaction.<sup>29</sup>

## Identity and Gender

At the same time some archaeologists were reconsidering concepts of ethnicity and its relationship to material culture, other scholars were beginning to criticize the treatment of women in archaeological research (or, more accurately, the lack thereof). In many ways, this was a consequence of the spread of feminism in Western societies during the 1970s and 80s. The foundation of “feminist archaeology” is generally attributed to a 1984 publication by Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector, who highlighted the history of androcentric scholarship in anthropology and archaeology.<sup>30</sup> In particular, they challenged the then-prevalent belief that men had a superior role in human development and the organization of society.<sup>31</sup> The motivations for their work were explicitly feminist, as they sought to engage other scholars in the investigation of questions concerning women, which they believed

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<sup>27</sup> Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," 25.

<sup>28</sup> Naoise Mac Sweeney, "Beyond Ethnicity: The Overlooked Diversity of Group Identities," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (2009): 105.

<sup>29</sup> Jones, "Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past," 52.

<sup>30</sup> Margaret W. Conkey and Janet D. Spector, "Archaeology and the Study of Gender," *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7(1984); Margaret W. Conkey and Janet D. Spector, "Archaeology and the Study of Gender," in *Reader in Gender Archaeology*, ed. Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley (London ;New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>31</sup> Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Gender Identity," in *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 18.

important because of their own political views.<sup>32</sup> This “first wave”<sup>33</sup> of feminist archaeology called for new approaches to archaeological interpretation that would promote gender-inclusive models of the past, question the universality of a rigid sexual division of labor, and challenge the ways that men’s purported activities are valued more than those believed to be performed by women – essentially, combating the effects of present-day sexism on archaeological interpretations.<sup>34</sup>

The second wave of feminist archaeology occurred nearly simultaneously with the first, and focused on “finding” women in the archaeological record. Specifically, there was an interest in understanding how forces such as environmental change, state formation, or the introduction of agriculture impacted women’s status within particular societies.<sup>35</sup> In conjunction with developments in post-processual archaeology, particularly in relation to the previously mentioned discourses on identity and ethnicity, a new archaeology began to take shape in the 1990s and early 2000s – gender archaeology. Framed as more inclusive than feminist archaeology or the archaeology of women, gender archaeology regards gender as a system concerning men as well as women, and masculinity (or masculinities) as well as femininity (or femininities).<sup>36</sup> Gender archaeology looks not just at women in

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<sup>32</sup> Alison Wylie, "Gender Politics and Science in Archaeology," in *The Archaeology of Identities : A Reader*, ed. Timothy Insoll (New York: Routledge, 2007), 103.

<sup>33</sup> Alison Wylie first suggested that feminist archaeology had three conceptual “waves” in archaeological theory. Alison Wylie, "Gender Theory and the Archaeological Record," in *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991). This is generally accepted by scholars e.g. Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 54.

<sup>34</sup> Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*, 54; Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," 26; Wylie, "Gender Politics and Science in Archaeology," 104; Barbara Voss, "Feminisms, Queer Theories, and the Archaeological Study of Past Sexualities," in *The Archaeology of Identities : A Reader*, ed. Timothy Insoll (New York: Routledge, 2007), 126.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Cheryl P. Claassen, "Gender, Shellfish, and the Shell Mound Archaic," in *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); Christine Hastorf, "Gender, Space, and Food in Prehistory," in *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); Patty Jo Watson and Mary Kennedy, "The Development of Horticulture in the Eastern Woodlands: Women's Roles," in *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991).

<sup>36</sup> Ruth Whitehouse, "Gender Archaeology and Archaeology of Women: Do We Need Both?," in *Archaeology and Women: Ancient & Modern Issues*, ed. Sue Hamilton, Ruth Whitehouse, and Katherine I. Wright (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 27.

the archaeological record, but at more complex, nuanced understandings of gender identity. This third wave is seen as a reconceptualization of feminist archaeology, where gender identity is understood as a complex assortment of networks of signifying practices, varying for individuals over time, as it intersects with other networks of signifying practices located in other concepts such as class, race, or ethnicity.<sup>37</sup>

With these more nuanced views of gender in archaeology came theoretical and conceptual difficulties for those researching topics related to men's and women's differential experiences in the archaeological record, principally the equation of biological sex and gender identity. Much in the same way scholars critiqued the idea of equating archaeological cultures with ethnic identities, archaeologists (particularly postmodernists), have critiqued this "gender essentialism," the assumption of a universal binary dichotomy between women and men, and the corresponding notions of universal features of femininity and masculinity.<sup>38</sup> Some prominent post-processual scholars such as Ian Hodder argue against even using the analytical category of gender at all:

[...] but even the use of the term 'gender' would appear to involve defining some universal, essentialist category. The very notion of gender, even the question of whether 'it' can be discerned a distinct category of relationship or identity or domain may have varied throughout time.<sup>39</sup>

Scholars are rightly concerned that by equating biological sex with gender identity we are imposing our own ethnocentric categories on the archaeological past. However, anthropological and sociological studies have shown that in the vast majorities of societies there is a clear, everyday classification of people into female and male, based on genital differences identified at birth.<sup>40</sup> This is true even in societies where children are regarded as androgynous until puberty, as it is quite clear to all which

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<sup>37</sup> Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," 29.

<sup>38</sup> Whitehouse, "Gender Archaeology and Archaeology of Women: Do We Need Both?," 29.

<sup>39</sup> Ian Hodder, "Commentary: The Gender Screen," in *Invisible people and processes*, ed. J. Moore and E. Scott (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), 75.

<sup>40</sup> Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley, "Introduction: Gendering the Past," in *Reader in Gender Archaeology*, ed. Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley (London ;New York: Routledge, 1998), 3; Whitehouse, "Gender Archaeology and Archaeology of Women: Do We Need Both?," 33-34.

gender they will be upon maturity.<sup>41</sup> Biological facts such as menstruation, reproduction, menopause, etc. would have clearly led to different lived experiences, and thus different categories, for biological males and females in most past human societies, just as they do today. It is important to not impose our own views of male and female on to the past, but to ignore such biological differences would be to ignore an important aspect of ancient societies. Also, if we follow Hodder's ideas to their logical conclusions, that all analytical categories are constructs and thus not valid, we would be precluded from studying anything at all to do with femaleness and maleness.<sup>42</sup> For this reason archaeologists studying males and females in the archaeological record typically adopt the sex/gender system model, in which gender is taken to be the cultural expression of biological sex.<sup>43</sup> Gender can then be further related to two other terms important for the present study: gender role and gender ideology. Gender role is the differential participation of men and women in social, economic, political, and religious institutions, while gender ideology is the meaning, in given social and cultural contexts, of male, female, sex, and reproduction.<sup>44</sup> Both are frequently studied by archaeologists, but this requires accepting the assumptions of the sex/gender model, while at the same time always checking assumptions for potential biases.

Thus, the outcome of the critiques of archaeological theory during the past few decades that relate to the present study is twofold: it is no longer held standard that spatial variations in material culture must have an ethnic basis, and ethnicity is just one aspect of identity that interacts with many others, such as gender and class, and can be emphasized or deemphasized in a particular context.<sup>45</sup> That is not to say that two distinct material cultures cannot be two distinct groups of people; rather, it would

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<sup>41</sup> Whitehouse, "Gender Archaeology and Archaeology of Women: Do We Need Both?," 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>43</sup> First described by Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

<sup>44</sup> Conkey and Spector, "Archaeology and the Study of Gender," 25.

<sup>45</sup> Mac Sweeney, "Beyond Ethnicity: The Overlooked Diversity of Group Identities," 104.

be more accurate to state that not all persons associated with a particular material culture necessarily hold the same group identity. Variations in material culture can be due to many different reasons, and the proper approach is to pay close attention to the context in which objects and other aspects of material culture are used, and the ways in which people use them. In the case of colonial and postcolonial contexts, such as Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom, such an approach is key to understanding changes in material culture and social organization.

### Ethnic and Cultural Identity in Lower Nubia

Questions of ethnic and cultural identity have been central in Nubian studies since the first proper archaeological campaigns in the region in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. With the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia,<sup>46</sup> which occurred in response to the heightening of the original Aswan Dam in 1908-10, scholars sought to separate the material they found according to different Nubian “cultures”. Analyzing the results of that campaign, George Andrew Reisner proposed the terminology for the indigenous cultures of Nubia, which remain part of the Nubian lexicon today.<sup>47</sup> Reisner was also the first to observe the dominance of Egyptian material culture – particularly in burial practices – in Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom. This change was first seen as the result of the native population migrating to Upper Nubia and being replaced in the region by Egyptian settlers.<sup>48</sup> Later scholars proposed that these

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<sup>46</sup> Reisner, *The Archæological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907-1908*; Cecil Mallaby Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1908-1909* (Cairo: Government Press, 1912); Cecil Mallaby Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1909-1910* (Cairo: Government Press, 1915); Cecil Mallaby Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1910-1911* (Cairo: Government Press, 1927).

<sup>47</sup> Originally Reisner identified four archaeological cultures, termed A-, B-, C-, and X- Group. The B-Group was later determined to be a subset of the A-Group by Harry Smith, and the X-Group is now called the Ballana Culture, but the other terminology remains in use. See Harry S. Smith, "The Nubian B-Group," *Kush* 14(1966).

<sup>48</sup> Reisner, *The Archæological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907-1908*, 340-42; William Y. Adams, "Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology. I," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50(1964); William Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 240; William Y. Adams, "The First Colonial Empire: Egypt in Nubia 3200-1200 BC," *Comparative Studies in Sociology and History* 26(1984); Ginette Billy, "Affinités Morphologiques de la Population de Mirgissa: Analyse Multivariate," in *Mirgissa III*, ed. J. Vercoutter (Paris: Direction Generale des Relations Culturelles, Scientifiques et Techniques, 1976), 112-13.

changes were the result of rapid acculturation of the Lower Nubian population to the Egyptian way of life, a process more commonly known in the literature as “Egyptianization”.<sup>49</sup>

### Egyptianization: Processes and Explanations

The concept of Egyptianization went through several evolutions of meaning. The term was first coined by Reisner, who used it to describe the process of replacement of the native population in the region with Egyptian settlers.<sup>50</sup> In his later publications the term evolved to refer to the acculturation of the indigenous Nubian peoples, rather than their replacement.<sup>51</sup> Reisner’s model had colonialist ideological underpinnings, as it supposed the reason behind the adoption of Egyptian culture was that it offered the Nubians an inherently more desirable way of life than their own culture:

These men, by their intelligence and the greater physical comfort of their existence, impressed on the Ethiopian mind day by day the superiority of the Egyptian race and the futility of a conflict with them. [...] All these activities and influences taught the Ethiopians not only the hopelessness of resistance, but also the advantages of an ordered life. Most of the Egyptians were permanently domiciled in the country and had brought their families with them. The decimated tribes grew into a completely submissive population, were affected racially by intermarriage with the ruling class, and became more or less Egyptianized.<sup>52</sup>

This sentiment was tied to an evolutionary model of culture – best defined as a “progressive movement through which communities and individuals advance towards a ‘higher’ level of civilization or development by shedding the least desirable features of ‘traditional’ society”.<sup>53</sup> The “pinnacle” of

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<sup>49</sup> Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr*, 5, 113; Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 34-35; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 9-10; Stuart Tyson Smith, "A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia," *Göttinger Miszellen* 122(1991): 91-92; Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 148-54; Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," 277-78; Bruce Williams, William J. Murnane, and Keith C. Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, vol. 6, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992), 2-3.

<sup>50</sup> Reisner, *The Archæological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907-1908*, 341.

<sup>51</sup> Reisner, "Outline of the History of the Sudan Part III: The Egyptianization of Ethiopia," 237.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 236-37.

<sup>53</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 525; Greg Woolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," *World Archaeology* 28, no. 3 (1997): 339.

societal evolution was, of course, Western civilization.<sup>54</sup> This model in turn relies on systemic cultural biases that are now considered racist, particularly the supremacy of “white” culture over “black” culture.<sup>55</sup> For example, William Flinders Petrie went to great lengths, including inventing a “Dynastic” (white) race that migrated to Egypt from the north, to avoid stating that Egypt’s cultural and material achievements were the result of native (African) peoples.<sup>56</sup> Many Europeans and Americans of Petrie’s day openly espoused what we consider today to be racist viewpoints, so it is unsurprising that scholars might incorrectly interpret evidence so that it might fit with their own worldview. This is seen most clearly with those scholars writing on the interactions between the “white” Egyptians<sup>57</sup> and their Nubian neighbors, even before Reisner’s creation of the term Egyptianization. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Heinrich Brugsch postulated that the Egyptians had “ascended the river to found in Ethiopia temples, cities, and fortified places, and to diffuse the blessings of a civilized state among the rude dark-coloured population.”<sup>58</sup> Even Reisner himself, who could be considered the “father” of Nubian archaeology, was not immune from the racist (and sexist) beliefs of his time:

The social mingling of the three races, the Egyptian, the Nubian, and the negro in one community, would naturally be supposed to have a marked cultural effect on the community. The most obvious result in all such cases is of course the production of offspring of mixed blood who do not inherit the mental qualities of the highest race, in this case the Egyptian. But a

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<sup>54</sup> This was sometimes quite literally built into the Western institutions studying the Middle East. For example, the sculpture above the entrance of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago by Ulric Henry Ellerhusen, depicts various figures of Near Eastern history (Hammurabi, Thutmose III, etc.) offering the fruits of their knowledge to the West. Installed in 1931, the commemorative publication describes it thusly: “It is intended to suggest the transition of civilization from the Ancient Orient to the West. The East, on the left, is symbolized by the tall figure of an Egyptian scribe confronting the vigorous and aggressive figure of the West.” University of Chicago, *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: In Commemoration of the Dedication of the Oriental Institute Building, December Fifth, 1931* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), front cover, interior.

<sup>55</sup> van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement,” 525.

<sup>56</sup> Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 31 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1920), 49-50.

<sup>57</sup> The actual skin color (e.g. race, in the modern sense) of the ancient Egyptians is still a matter of debate; however, many scholars accept that the racial makeup of ancient Egypt was similar to modern Egypt. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 58.

<sup>58</sup> Heinrich Karl Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs: a History Derived Entirely from the Monuments* (London: Murray, 1891), 3.

portion of the offspring will perpetuate the qualities, physical and mental, of the male parent, and thus the highest race will not necessarily disappear, even after some generations.<sup>59</sup>

Given such a perspective, we should not be surprised that scholars of that era viewed Egyptianization of the Nubian populations an inevitability requiring no further analysis, as it was an extension of their own colonialist worldview.<sup>60</sup>

In defense of Egyptology's forefathers, this colonialist view was reinforced by the records left behind by the ancient Egyptians themselves. As with many societies (ancient and modern), from the Egyptian perspective, they were the civilized superiors to their foreign counterparts.<sup>61</sup> In fact, in the Egyptian language, foreigners were not even designated with the same terminology as the Egyptians used for themselves. Egyptians were *rmT* (typically translated as "people"), while other groups had distinctive terms, usually based on their geographical origin.<sup>62</sup> Different terminology could imply that foreigners were considered sub-human.<sup>63</sup> Some descriptions of foreigners were even derogatory, such as when the Nubians were described with terms commonly translated as "wretched" or "vile". This is unsurprising given an Egyptian worldview in which Egypt was the center of the universe, with foreigners representing malevolent threats to the proper universal order (*m3ʿt*).<sup>64</sup> Artistically, their conventions used skin color to designate particular groups of people – black for Nubians, reddish<sup>65</sup> tones for

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<sup>59</sup> Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma: Parts 4-6*, 556.

<sup>60</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 526. For an overview of the impact of such perspectives on the field of Egyptology at large, see Willeke Wendrich, "Egyptian Archaeology: From Text to Context," in *Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>61</sup> Stuart Tyson Smith, "Race," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt vol. III*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 112.

<sup>62</sup> Stuart Tyson Smith, "Ethnicity and Culture," in *The Egyptian World*, ed. Toby Wilkinson (London: Routledge, 2007), 224.

<sup>63</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 526.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, "Race," 114-15; Stuart Tyson Smith, "Imperialism," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt vol. II*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 153; Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 173.

<sup>65</sup> For males. Females are typically represented in pale tones, typically of a peachy or yellow hue.

Egyptians, yellowish colors for Canaanites and Libyans<sup>66</sup> – which could be interpreted as illustrating a racial difference as well. And while this may seem similar to modern definitions of racism, the Egyptians separated language and cultural achievement from skin color, acknowledging that foreigners could act in positive ways and be incorporated into the Egyptian world as long as they were willing to conform to Egyptian cultural norms.<sup>67</sup>

Given the textual and material evidence of the Egyptians themselves and the cultural milieu of early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars, it is understandable that colonialist viewpoints were espoused by many famous Egyptologists. It is to the field's credit that such models of Egyptianization as a civilizing force were questioned as early as 1925, and completely refuted by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>68</sup> However, such ideologies had a profound impact on Egyptological and Nubian studies. Even as scholars began to apply anthropological theories such as core-periphery interactions, economic developments, and elements of native agency, their work continued to use underlying assumptions regarding the Nubian populations similar to such colonialist viewpoints. W. Paul van Pelt has outlined this continuing legacy of colonialism, an argument which will be outlined and expanded upon in the following discussions.<sup>69</sup>

### *Models of Resistance*

As previously mentioned, one of the most important critiques of early culture history was the assumed lack of agency of native populations. The idea of native agency was first introduced to the understanding of Egyptianization by Hermann Junker in 1925, and further elaborated by Torgny Säve-

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<sup>66</sup> Anthony Leahy, "Ethnic Diversity in Ancient Egypt," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, vol. I*, ed. J.M. Sasson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2000), 226; Smith, "Race," 112; Smith, "Imperialism," 219; David O'Connor and Andrew Reid, "Locating Ancient Egypt in Africa," in *Ancient Egypt in Africa*, ed. David O'Connor and Andrew Reid (London: University College London Press, 2003), 13.

<sup>67</sup> Smith, "Race," 112; van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 527.

<sup>68</sup> Though they were accepted by some scholars as late as 1965. See Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*, 177-78.

<sup>69</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement."

Söderbergh in 1941.<sup>70</sup> Both considered the lack of cultural assimilation in the Middle Kingdom as a response by the indigenous groups to the military occupation of their lands. Thus, in their models, the withdrawal of Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom facilitated more amiable interactions and allowed for the adoption of “superior” Egyptian culture. Egyptians who remained in Nubia after the Middle Kingdom as well as the return of Nubian mercenaries who served in the armies of the Theban 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty played a part in their models as well.<sup>71</sup> This model does allow for at least some agency in the adoption of a new culture, but still relies on notions of one culture being superior over another, as well as problematic assumptions regarding military service and the ethnic identity of the Medjay.<sup>72</sup> This model also is an example of cultural essentialism – Egypt is simply one entity, Nubia another, with no internal diversity or individual agency amongst either population.

#### *Spread of Egyptian Religion*

In the 1970s, Bruce Trigger<sup>73</sup> and William Adams<sup>74</sup> separately argued that religion played a role in the Egyptianization of the region. During the New Kingdom, the Egyptians introduced a large number of gods and goddesses into Nubia, many of whom acquired new histories, regional associations, and roles particular to Nubia.<sup>75</sup> Many temples were built, extended, and/or restored over the course of the Egyptian occupation in the region, establishing the assimilation of Nubia within Egypt on multiple levels – practical, political, and spiritual. On the practical level, these “temple towns” were economic and civil

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<sup>70</sup> Junker, *Ermenne Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhofen von Ermenne (Nubia): im Winter 1911/12*; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik* (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1941).

<sup>71</sup> Junker, *Ermenne Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhofen von Ermenne (Nubia): im Winter 1911/12*, 37; Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 4; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "A Buhen Stela from the Second Intermediate Period," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35(1949): 57.

<sup>72</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 528.

<sup>73</sup> Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 134.

<sup>74</sup> Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 229-30.

<sup>75</sup> David O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa* (Philadelphia: University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1993), 79-80; Bruce G. Trigger, "Toshka and Arminna in the New Kingdom," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter der Manuelian (Boston: Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1996), 804.

administration centers of the Egyptian government. Politically, they physically manifested the power of Pharaoh for the local populations, while spiritually, they were the dwelling places of the gods who established and perpetuated royal power.<sup>76</sup> Though these religious institutions clearly played an important role in the governance of the region, there is some question as to the extent to which Egyptian religious ideology would have been accessible to non-elites within the Nubian population. It is accepted that in Egypt proper, access to Egyptian religious practice was restricted to members of the priesthood and elites, with the exception of festival days and associated processions.<sup>77</sup> There is no reason to suggest that these temples in Nubia would have operated any differently, so a similar restriction of knowledge is presumed.<sup>78</sup> How then were the majority of Nubians to become acquainted with Egyptian religion? While the burial assemblages and tombs of elites suggest that Nubians came to identify with Egyptian religious values in some way, there is little evidence in the archaeological record that Egyptian religious practices were widely observed amongst the lower classes of Nubian society.<sup>79</sup> Egyptian religion also had no history of proselytizing and lacked a defined doctrine of deliverance or salvation to appeal to the masses.<sup>80</sup> So, without an active policy of religious conversion and little direct access to religious practice, if this model were to hold true, indigenous groups must have adopted Egyptian religion while having little significant exposure, even though they would have had little or nothing of value to gain from adopting a new religion.<sup>81</sup> This is a problematic assumption to make without further evidence (see Chapters 4 and 5 for a discussion of indications of Egyptian religious beliefs in the material under study).

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<sup>76</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 209.

<sup>77</sup> John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27(1990).

<sup>78</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 210.

<sup>79</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 529.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 530.

### *Trade and Wealth as Prime Movers*

Subsequent models cite trade and a drive to accumulate wealth for the elite as the prime reason for acculturation. Advocated particularly by Stuart Tyson Smith, this model suggests that the Lower Nubian cultures became more stratified during the Second Intermediate Period, creating a leadership that could be co-opted by the Egyptian administration during the conquest.<sup>82</sup> This leadership could be encouraged to meet Egyptian goals through economic and social incentives, as they would be placed in control of the incoming exports from Egypt.<sup>83</sup> W. Paul van Pelt points out, however, one important problem: this model regards the Egyptianization of these elites as representative of the cultural development of the entire Lower Nubian population.<sup>84</sup> Since burials became increasingly impoverished over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, it would seem that non-elites did not gain much by adopting this new culture,<sup>85</sup> so how (and with what success) did Egyptianization actually operate amongst the lower socioeconomic levels of Nubian society? Van Pelt further argues that Smith's use of a core-periphery model emphasizing cultural innovation coming from a "dominant" Egyptian culture ignores any mutual transformation or sharing.<sup>86</sup> Another problematic underlying assumption is that Smith (following Bietak<sup>87</sup>) sees the cultural mixing between the Pan Grave and C-Group populations before the conquest

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<sup>82</sup> Smith, "A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia," 92; Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 248-54; Stuart Tyson Smith, "State and Empire in the Middle and New Kingdoms," in *Anthropology and Egyptology: a Developing Dialogue*, ed. Judith Lustig, *Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 71; Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," 277-79.

<sup>83</sup> Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," 261.

<sup>84</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 529.

<sup>85</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 249-51; Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," 278; Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 276-77.

<sup>86</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 529.

<sup>87</sup> Bietak, "The C-Group and the Pan-Grave Culture in Nubia," 122; Smith, "A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia," 92.

as negatively affecting their ability to resist Egyptian cultural domination.<sup>88</sup> For them, cultural mixing must result in a decline of social cohesion and identity, which ignores the possibility that a mixed community could be stronger.<sup>89</sup>

### *Emulation as Elite Native Strategy*

Research into core-periphery interactions has developed another model that could apply to Egyptianization – elite emulation as a strategy to maintain political power. Within this paradigm, periphery cultures sometimes derive a legitimating function from the core culture.<sup>90</sup> Features of the core are adopted and adapted by local elites to provide an iconography of power which transfers some of the prestige of the center to those local rulers. This concept has been successfully applied to Egypt's other main area of conquest, the Levant, though for the Ramesside Period rather than the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>91</sup> There, indigenous elites emulated Egyptian material culture in order to reinforce their social position and to ensure they received a share of proceeds of the Egyptian empire.<sup>92</sup> The Egyptian presence in the Levant followed a somewhat different governing pattern than in Nubia – local rulers were left to more-or-less govern themselves (provided tribute arrived according to schedule), and evidence for imperial Egyptian centers is limited to perhaps four locations (compared to Lower Nubia, where temple towns and forts abound).<sup>93</sup> According to Stuart Tyson Smith, this model of elite emulation is consistent with acculturation patterns south of the Third Cataract, but not with Lower Nubia.<sup>94</sup> If the model held true for this region, we would expect to see a continuation of some aspects of C-Group and

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<sup>88</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 529.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Carolyn Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 6.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>94</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 95. This model is also consistent with recent research on the Classic Kerma period remains at the site of Kerma. See Elizabeth Joanna Minor, "The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2012).

Pan Grave burial cultures, which would reinforce local ties and avoid nativist uprisings.<sup>95</sup> Similar to his critique of Smith's work, van Pelt points out that while the elite emulation model introduces the idea that acculturation had at least as much to do with power relations as with the recognition of culture values, it is still by and large assumed to be a self-generating process, with emulation remaining the catalyst of indigenous engagement with Egyptian material culture at all levels of society.<sup>96</sup>

It is certainly clear that Egypt had a deliberate policy of attempting to Egyptianize the elite populations within its empire.<sup>97</sup> During the New Kingdom, children of foreign rulers were taken to the Egyptian court to be educated, before returning to their homeland as ruling princes.<sup>98</sup> This policy is even explicitly stated by Thutmose III himself: "Now the children of the rulers and their brothers were brought to be in strongholds in Egypt. Now, whoever died among these rulers, his majesty will cause his son to stand upon his place."<sup>99</sup> This served to acculturate them to Egyptian ways, but they also served as hostages to ensure the allegiance of their families.<sup>100</sup> Some of these men even rose to high positions in the Egyptian bureaucracy, and it is clear that some local rulers came to identify themselves with Egyptian cultural norms, at least in part. Hekanefer, a "Prince of Miam", is depicted in the tomb of the Viceroy of Kush Huy (TT 4) as a conventional Nubian<sup>101</sup> with dark skin, a headdress adorned with ostrich plumes, and dressed in a Nubian-style garment.<sup>102</sup> His own tomb at Toshka in Lower Nubia, however,

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<sup>95</sup> Smith is speaking specifically of the strategy employed by the Kerma elites, but if the same elite emulation model were employed in Lower Nubia, we would expect similar results. Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 95-96.

<sup>96</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 530.

<sup>97</sup> Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," 174.

<sup>98</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik*, 185-86; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, 198-99; Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, 95-96. Morris even points out a modern parallel in the colonial practice of educating Algerian elite in Paris and Indian elite in English universities, which indoctrinates those upper classes with the ideology of the colonial power.

<sup>99</sup> Urk. IV, 690:2-5

<sup>100</sup> Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 115.

<sup>101</sup> According to Egyptian representational depictions. See below for further discussion of the depictions of Nubian within Huy's tomb.

<sup>102</sup> Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut'ankhamūn (No. 40)*, pl. XXVIII.

depicts him as a fully Egyptian official according to Egyptian styling conventions, including the red skin tone used for Egyptian males.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the tombs of Djhuty-hotep and Amenemhat at Debeira East, constructed and decorated in Egyptian style, present these two “princes of Tekhet” as proper Egyptians in their depictions.<sup>104</sup> In fact, in Djhuty-hotep’s tomb, while the Prince’s subjects are shown with varying skin tones, Djhuty-hotep and his wife are unvaryingly shown with traditional Egyptian complexions.<sup>105</sup> Such instances of what can be presumed to be ethnically Nubian individuals choosing to represent themselves as Egyptians are usually taken as indications of the effectiveness of Egypt’s acculturative policies. However, outside of such elites in regular contact with the Egyptian empire, there is no evidence of an Egyptian policy to actively acculturate the lower classes, either in Nubia or in the Levant.<sup>106</sup>

#### A New Model: Cultural Entanglement

As discussed above, W. Paul van Pelt points out that all the models historically used to explain the changes in Lower Nubian material culture do not address the agency of all members of Nubian society, instead assuming that all socioeconomic levels of society must have equally aspired to adopt Egyptian material culture, even though many individuals and groups would have had little or nothing of value to gain from doing so.<sup>107</sup> These models explain to some extent the actions of the elite population, but they do not examine the diversity and degrees of acculturation across an entire cultural population. He further points out that without an element of self-interest to explain the observed changes in material culture, we are left with the only reason for assimilation to be the supposed ‘superiority’ of

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<sup>103</sup> William Kelly Simpson, *Heka-nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna*, Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 1 (New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, 1963), 27.

<sup>104</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 205.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 530.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

Egyptian culture, which is in turn based upon problematic notions of Egyptianization as a civilizing force that have racist and colonialist ideological suppositions.<sup>108</sup> And while much of our knowledge and understanding of the cultures of ancient Nubia has changed in recent scholarship, there are still subconscious attitudes of a 'superior' Egyptian culture within Egyptology that can and do impact our assessment of material culture.<sup>109</sup>

Van Pelt instead proposes a new model for Egyptianization which draws on recent research in anthropology – cultural entanglement.<sup>110</sup> This model arose out of the study of colonial and post-colonial societies in the recent historical past. Like Egyptologists, early anthropologists saw colonial situations in the same racist light, whereby contact is one-sided and exclusively controlled by the colonizers.<sup>111</sup> However, anthropology as a whole more quickly adopted theories emphasizing the agency, and in particular, the methods of resistance, of the colonized.<sup>112</sup> Creolization theory was one of the first such paradigms in colonial studies. Popular in American and Caribbean archaeological research, it is used to model circumstances in which cultural resistance takes innovative and creative forms by adopting much of what is relevant and useful from the incoming, retaining many elements of what is traditional, and then creating a new blend or hybrid culture involving speech, technology, music, art, religion, craft, and institutions.<sup>113</sup> The particular ideological issue with adopting creolization theory in this study is that it

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 531.

<sup>109</sup> See Von Thomas Schneider, "Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the Concept of Cultural Appropriation," *Ägypten und Levante* 13(2006). Schneider points out that this is particularly prominent in discussions of the influence of foreign cultural and technological innovations on Egypt. The relative lack of Egyptological interest in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods compared to the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms is a symptom of these types of attitudes. Even the nomenclature (period vs. kingdom) reflects a notion of decline. van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 542 n.7.

<sup>110</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 531.

<sup>111</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1991), 83-84.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Lynette Russell, "'Either, or, Neither Nor': Resisting the Production of Gender, Race and Class Dichotomies in the Pre-Colonial Period," in *The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities: Beyond Identification*, ed. Eleanor Conlin Casella and Chris Fowler (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2005), 37. Based on Judy Birmingham, "Resistance, Creolization or Optimal Foraging at Killalpaninna Mission, South Australia," in *The Archaeology of*

solely functions as an extension of an acculturation model that provides an explanatory framework for materials/ideas travelling from the newcomers to the natives.<sup>114</sup> Hybridization is similar to creolization but introducing more agency and cross-cultural transfer. It was first theorized by Homi Bhabha, who suggested that cultural hybridity emerges from liminal spaces where two different identities overlap, which allows them to be free from the structural hierarchies of the entities themselves, permitting the creation of a hybrid culture.<sup>115</sup> Rather than applying this to archaeological material however, Bhabha politicizes the concept such that cultural hybridity becomes a symbol of the strategies that suppressed populations develop in colonial and postcolonial contexts to deal with their situations.<sup>116</sup> Later scholars applied cultural hybridity to archaeology to focus on the situations and spaces of intercultural encounter and emphasize the continual mediation of indigenous agency, local cultural practice, and colonial structure in an ever hybridizing culture.<sup>117</sup> Philipp Stockhammer recently proposed using the term cultural entanglement, rather than hybridity, because of the linguistic baggage of the term, particularly with reference to its biological uses.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, he proposes that there are actually two types of entanglement – *relational* and *material*. Relational entanglement is the situation in which the creative power of liminal spaces between two groups results in new practices connected with an appropriated object.<sup>119</sup> Because in such cases there would be no physical changes in the object, only in how it is used,

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*Difference: Negotiating Cross-Cultural Entanglements in Oceania*, ed. Robin Torrence and Anne Clarke (New York: Routledge, 2000), 362.

<sup>114</sup> Russell, "'Either, or, Neither Nor": Resisting the Production of Gender, Race and Class Dichotomies in the Pre-Colonial Period," 37.

<sup>115</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>116</sup> Stockhammer, "Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology," 45.

<sup>117</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 533. A similar definition is used by Lynette Russel for her version of creolization, which highlights the need for a standardization of terminology. Russell, "'Either, or, Neither Nor": Resisting the Production of Gender, Race and Class Dichotomies in the Pre-Colonial Period," 37.

<sup>118</sup> Stockhammer, "Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology," 46. The term was originally suggested decades earlier by Nicholas Thomas in his 1991 book *Entangled Objects*.

<sup>119</sup> Similar concepts have been explored in Egyptology in relation to the Ptolemaic Period, such as Ian Moyer's adaptation of Richard White's "Middle Ground." White was describing the history of Indian-European relations in the Great Lakes region of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, where his Middle Ground was described thusly: "On the Middle Ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often

viewed, and understood, it is challenging to identify relationally entangled objects in the archaeological record, due to the difficulty in reconstructing social practices and meanings associated with objects.<sup>120</sup>

Material entanglement, on the other hand, results in the creation of a new object that combines the familiar with the previously foreign.<sup>121</sup> Typically this is easier to identify in the archaeological record – for example, the burials of the Kerma elite at Kerma during the Second Intermediate Period/Classic Kerma Period include wall paintings that combine Egyptian visual motifs and stylistic conventions with indigenous styles.<sup>122</sup>

Van Pelt argues that the representation of Egyptianized Nubians in Egyptian elite tombs and in their own show clear evidence of cultural entanglement. In particular, he uses the example of Hekanefer, a “prince of Miam”. As previously mentioned, Hekanefer is depicted in the tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Kush wearing clearly non-Egyptian modes of dress. Van Pelt points out that the depiction, despite seeming “Nubian” at first glance, actually shows a combination of Egyptian and Nubian styles. The scene consists of two registers depicting members of the elite families from Upper (bottom register) and Lower Nubia (top register) presenting tribute to the Egyptian court. In the upper register, princes of Lower Nubia are shown in Egyptian dress, including wigs and the short-sleeved tunics of Egyptian fashion, but they also have animal tails suspended from their elbows and feathers in their hair. Other

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expedient, misunderstanding. People try to persuade others who are different from them by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others. They often misinterpret and distort both the values and the practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices the shared meanings and practices of the Middle Ground.” Ian S. Moyer, “Finding a Middle Ground: Culture and Politics in the Ptolemaic Thebaid,” in *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006*, ed. Peter Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 65* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), 116. citing Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650 - 1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ix-x. Both the “Middle Ground” and cultural entanglement models share the rejection of an acculturation/resistance dichotomy, and provide an alternate paradigm for exploring in-between cultural spaces. Both also emphasize the creative potential of such spaces.

<sup>120</sup> Stockhammer, “Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology,” 50.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Minor, “The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period,” 127.

Nubians depicted in the scene show a variety of Egyptian and (presumed) Nubian fashions.<sup>123</sup> This unusual combination of Nubian and Egyptian ethnic markers is usually explained on ideological grounds – that the Nubians were forced by the Egyptians to dress in “traditional” Nubian costume during ceremonies before the king, in order to reflect their otherness.<sup>124</sup> van Pelt rightly points out that this explanation eliminates any agency on the part of the princes:

This Pharaonic framework of analysis is questionable as it reduces the Lower Nubian princes to passive dupes of the Egyptian administration, rather than seeing them as active agents that could act as progenitors in the creation of ‘new’ entangled socio-political constellations.<sup>125</sup>

If these men were just “passive dupes” of the Egyptian administration, why then would they create elaborate Egyptian-style tombs in their homeland? The tomb of Hekanefer is in fact modeled on the tomb of Huy, indicating access to at the very least the plans of the tomb, and possibly the very same architects and workmen. The tombs of Djhuty-hotep and Amenemhat also show fine craftsmanship and a traditional Egyptian format in their plans and decorative schemes. Van Pelt argues then that these rulers were using Egyptian imagery and designs to give their tombs (and themselves) a cosmopolitan aspect and grandeur that matched their status as rulers of their regions of Nubia, much in the way rulers in some core-periphery relationships will use the core’s visual identity to legitimate their rule. But such connection to the colonial power may not have been reflected in the everyday lives of non-elites.<sup>126</sup> Cultural assimilation is a complex process, and not steered only by individual agency, but by social rules and customs in a society. In such a situation, where many of the “everyday” people perhaps connected strongly to their traditional ways, it is more likely that individuals did not fully adopt Egyptian culture.

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<sup>123</sup> For a full accounting of the different Egyptian and Nubian motifs present in the scene see van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 534-35; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 35-37.

<sup>124</sup> Smith, "Imperialism," 153; Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 173.

<sup>125</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 536.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 537.

Rather, they would have developed and mastered two cultural traditions that they could draw on according to the context of the interaction.<sup>127</sup> It is logical that appearing to have completely assimilated may have had social consequences, and since it is now known that ethnic identities are situational and can change between different social contexts according to the interests and positions of the individuals, the suggestion that the Lower Nubian population could be culturally entangled addresses many of the issues of the other models.<sup>128</sup> Particularly in Egypt, our evidence indicates that foreigners who followed Egyptian standards were accorded more social and professional opportunities and were accepted within society to a considerable extent, while those who presented as “foreign” tended to belong to lower echelons of society.<sup>129</sup> The Nubian princes’ emphasis on indigenous identity in some aspects of their lives may have served to smooth interactions with their own peoples.

van Pelt further argues that the depictions of Egyptianized Nubians in the tomb of Huy show instances of relationally entangled objects.<sup>130</sup> This particular aspect of van Pelt’s argument is unfortunately problematic. He argues for relational entanglement based on depictions in the tomb of an Egyptian elite, where any depictions of foreigners would have been constrained by the Egyptian artistic conventions, which in turn are informed by how foreigners fit within the Egyptian worldview rather than the actual dress and appearance of a particular person. In fact, van Pelt acknowledges this earlier in his article, pointing out that “these representations are highly idealized and standardized.”<sup>131</sup> However, while an argument based on pictorial representations may not be convincing, his application of cultural

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> See discussions above.

<sup>129</sup> William A. Ward, “Foreigners Living in the Village,” in *Pharaoh’s Workers: The Village of Deir el Medina*, ed. Leonard H. Lesko (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). Ward is discussing the specific situation of Deir el Medina, which may or may not have accurately reflected practices throughout Egypt. That said, given the ideology of the Egyptian worldview, it seems unlikely that someone presenting as completely foreign would have had an easy time operating amongst the Egyptian elite. In the instances where “foreign” peoples came to rule Egypt, they by and large presented themselves as Egyptians.

<sup>130</sup> van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement,” 538.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 526.

entanglement theory accounts for the material culture changes found in Lower Nubian burial sites. In particular, cultural entanglement would explain the fact that in many Lower Nubian cemeteries, Egyptian practices were adopted in ways that do not correlate with Egyptian 'norms'. In particular, these sites lack many items of particular importance to Egyptian conceptions of the afterlife, such as inscriptions mentioning the name of the deceased, ushebti, funerary cones, and offering equipment.<sup>132</sup> Without these items, it is difficult to make a case for adherence to Egyptian funerary ritual. This is explained by Smith as evidence of how impoverished the occupants of the Lower Nubian cemeteries must have been, as it is common in Egypt for poor burials to lack inscriptions and offering equipment.<sup>133</sup> For him, adoption of the east-west burial orientation is sufficient evidence of Egyptian beliefs.<sup>134</sup> However, the situation at individual cemeteries is more complex, and the orientation and position of the body can vary widely.<sup>135</sup> Also, the burial goods found in these cemeteries, particularly at the most studied cemetery, Fadrus, include goods that indicate higher status burials, such as coffins and expensive burial shrouds, and some tomb constructions are very elaborate.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, a lack of certain classes of goods cannot simply be explained through poverty. Instead, van Pelt argues that these are the burials of indigenous people who appropriated only a part of the broader range of Egyptian material culture, with the burial assemblages representing relationally entangled material culture.<sup>137</sup>

This model also explains *how* Egyptian material culture became so widely spread, an explanatory feature lacking from other models. It is clear that the Egyptian government was quick to integrate Nubia

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<sup>132</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 9, 247-51.

<sup>133</sup> Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," 277.

<sup>134</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 159.

<sup>135</sup> See analysis presented in the following chapter. See also Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 277-78.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid. The excavators also argued that Fadrus was the main cemetery for a particularly prosperous settlement, at least through the early New Kingdom. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 249.

<sup>137</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 539.

into the Egyptian structure of administration, production, and redistribution.<sup>138</sup> The fortresses, temples, and settlements would have become important markets and workplaces, rather than simply places for the collection of tribute and control of river trade as the Middle Kingdom fortresses presumably were.<sup>139</sup> The indigenous populations would have played important roles as suppliers of foodstuffs and labor through trade and barter, quickly bringing Egyptian goods to the local populations. The routine availability of mass-produced Egyptian goods may have also gradually undermined indigenous C-Group and Pan Grave crafts, and adversely affected their productive output.<sup>140</sup> Thus the predominance of Egyptian material culture would result from these wider socioeconomic developments, rather than a total acculturation of the entire population. There are small burial grounds in Lower Nubia which date to the early New Kingdom and are more clearly culturally “mixed”. In the Scandinavian Joint Expedition concession area they were termed the “transitional” cemeteries, as they showed more traditionally Nubian burial customs such as the traditional stone slab superstructures, stones covering the body, and bodies placed in a contracted position, combined with a high proportion of Egyptian goods, with Nubian pottery and goods diminishing over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>141</sup> This fits quite well with the economic mechanisms described by van Pelt.<sup>142</sup> This model has even come to be accepted by Stuart

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<sup>138</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 275.

<sup>139</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 540.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. citing Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 134.

<sup>141</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 23.

<sup>142</sup> A modern example of this would be the adoption of European material goods by certain Native Americans societies, who in many cases maintained much of their own identity and culture despite the adoption of mass-produced European goods in daily life. In fact, in the case of Native Americans it has been argued that adoption of European material goods was in fact a strategy to be able to maintain other aspects of their own traditional culture. See Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 4 (1991): 1205; Stephen W. Silliman, "Change and Continuity, Practice and Memory: Native American Persistence in Colonial New England," *American Antiquity* 74, no. 2 (2009): 214.

Tyson Smith, who recently applied it to the changes in material culture observed at his excavation site of Tombos.<sup>143</sup>

Adoption of the cultural entanglement model for the Lower Nubian material under study opens further avenues for research, particularly when looking at the burial arena as an avenue for display of identity. Instead of looking for “Nubian” and “Egyptian” objects, we must determine in what way an object is used and how that compares to the manner in which it is ‘traditionally’ found. This allows for a more nuanced view of ethnic identity than just Nubian, Egyptian, or Egyptianizing.<sup>144</sup> In the case of the material under study here, which in most interpretations is considered for all intent and purposes Egyptian, looking for relationally entangled identities provides clues to how individuals may have perceived themselves.

## Conclusion

This chapter presents a number of theoretical issues which impact consideration of archaeological material in situations of cultural contact. First, identifying ethnic affiliations in the archaeological record is not a straightforward process, and material cultures are not monolithic, unchanging entities that can be assigned categorically to a particular ethnic group. Second, group identity and associated practices of affiliation can be difficult to untangle, as identities can be numerous and emphasized or de-emphasized in individual interactions or contexts. The key for “untangling” aspects of group identity is careful consideration of the ways in which objects and other aspects of material culture are used. The identification of relationally entangled and materially entangled objects

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<sup>143</sup> Stuart Tyson Smith and Michele R. Buzon, "Colonial Entanglements: 'Egyptianization' in Egypt's Nubian Empire and the Nubian Dynasty," in *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, ed. Julie R. Anderson and Derek A. Welsby, *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014). Smith and Buzon are looking specifically at Upper Nubian material, rather than Lower Nubian communities.

<sup>144</sup> For example, see Minor, "The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period." Though Minor's work is important for the understanding of Egyptianized material at Kerma, the use of only a few categories without a more nuanced analysis may have overlooked important ethnic markers.

can provide insight into the ethnic and cultural identity of an individual in this regard. Third, implicit cultural biases can have lasting effects on consideration of archaeological material, and it is important to constantly evaluate how we look at material to avoid including such biases in our analyses. The next chapter moves on to consider the theoretical and methodological benefits – and drawbacks – of using mortuary analysis to investigate questions of status and identity.

## Chapter 3 : The Study of Inequality and the Role of Mortuary Studies

Discussions regarding social change and inequality in ancient Egypt and Nubia have only recently begun to take into consideration broader theoretical models and methodologies from the wider social sciences. This chapter reviews recent developments in anthropological and archaeological theory which have informed the study of social status and organization in ancient societies, exploring key concepts such as inequality and status, and how mortuary data can be used to access such aspects of social organization. A discussion of both the theoretical and methodological issues associated with mortuary studies is included, along with some suggestions for how those issues can be overcome. I also briefly review the few instances such theories and methodologies have been applied to the study of Egypt and Nubia.

### Introduction

Interest in socially-oriented mortuary analysis is a fairly recent development in Egyptian and Nubian archaeology, particularly when compared to the archaeology of other regions of the world. Primarily this is due to a preoccupation in Egyptology with the monumental graves of elite individuals, at the expense of accessing the entire range of mortuary behavior in cemeteries.<sup>1</sup> Historical interest in texts and art is also partly to blame, as well as the visibility of monumental tombs in the archaeological landscape. Periods and regions without monumental tombs, however, were very attractive to anthropologists and archaeologists, who originated socially oriented analyses of mortuary material. This led to a divide between Egyptologists and archaeologists/anthropologists, with the latter focusing on the periods preceding the development of writing and the former focusing on later periods. The general lack

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<sup>1</sup> A phenomenon Janet Richards calls “the tomb problem”. Janet E. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 49.

of socially oriented mortuary studies for historic periods reflects the idea that historic periods are best left to “pure” Egyptologists.

This divide was further solidified by the fact that Egyptologists studying the Pharaonic period can reconstruct social organization via written records, at least for the upper echelons of society, while those studying earlier periods cannot. Without written records or living beings with which we can converse, there are limited ways to access aspects of social organization. Thus, at the heart of mortuary analyses is a desire to reconstruct social organization and complexity from archaeological data, when other methods are unavailable to the scholar or to supplement existing sources of information. In archaeological literature, complexity is measured via the extent of socioeconomic differentiation present. Socioeconomic differentiation is defined as “differential access to and/or control of economic, productive, or symbolic resources, the mechanisms of enhancing socioeconomic status and the methods of displaying it, and the existence of economic and social mobility within a given social system, through the operation of agency, entrepreneurship, and the manipulation of other social factors.”<sup>2</sup> More simply put, socioeconomic differentiation denotes the unequal distribution of goods and services<sup>3</sup> within and among social groups. To study this differentiation, a scholar must look for evidence of such inequality.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 13. Definition based upon the works of: Robert McCormick Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society : Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1966); John Baines and Norman Yoffee, "Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia," in *Archaic States: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. Gary M. Feinman and Joyce Marcus (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1998); Allen W. Johnson and Timothy Earle, *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State*, ed. Timothy K. Earle, 2nd ed. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> While the unequal distribution of goods is self-evident in the mortuary record, unequal distribution of services is much harder to discern, as many “services”, for example, a performer at a funeral, may not leave any trace archaeologically. However, other services, such as specialized craft services, may be discerned by careful examination of material quality or manufacturing techniques.

## The Study of Inequality

The study of inequality between individuals and between social classes is historically central to the fields of anthropology and archaeology.<sup>4</sup> Social differentiation - inequality, in other words - is typically seen as one measurement of culture change, or the process by which societies change over time.<sup>5</sup> Two terms - social inequality and social stratification - are used interchangeably in the literature to refer to social differentiation, but both terms are used to describe differential access to and/or control of economic or productive resources and power.<sup>6</sup> Integral to these terms is the assumption that “differential access to certain goods confers real (economic) power and legitimates existing, or justifies changes in, social hierarchies.”<sup>7</sup> It is this assumption that allows the inference of social structures through the analyses of material wealth.

Archaeologists investigating socioeconomic organization typically focus on the hierarchical and spatial distribution of architecture and artifacts. It is assumed that empowered groups will manipulate the built environment to display the relations of social inequality; therefore, patterning in the built

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<sup>4</sup>E.g. V. Gordon Childe, *Man Makes Himself* (London: Watts, 1936); Ronald Cohen, "Introduction," in *Origins of the State : the Anthropology of Political Evolution*, ed. Ronald Cohen and Elman R. Service (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978); Morton H. Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology* (New York: Random House, 1967); Johnson and Earle, *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State*; Elman R. Service, *Origins of the State and Civilization: The Process of Cultural Evolution* (New York: Norton, 1975).

<sup>5</sup> For examples of scholarly works using social differentiation as a measurement of culture change see: Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society : Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico*; Robert McCormick Adams, "Mesopotamian Social Evolution: Old Outlooks, New Goals," in *On the Evolution of Complex Societies : Essays in Honor of Harry Hoijer, 1982*, ed. Timothy K. Earle, et al. (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984); J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands, "Notes towards an Epigenetic Model of the Evolution of Civilization," in *The Evolution of Social Systems : Proceedings of a Meeting of the Research Seminar in Archaeology and Related Subjects, held at the Institute of Archaeology, London University*, ed. J. Friedman and M. J. Rowlands (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978); William L. Rathje, "The Origin and Development of Lowland Classic Maya Civilization," *American Antiquity* 36, no. 3 (1971); Norman Yoffee, "Political Economy in Early Mesopotamian States," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24(1995).

<sup>6</sup>Robert Paynter, "The Archaeology of Equality and Inequality," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18(1989): 369-70; Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society : Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico*, 79; Johnson and Earle, *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Cathy Lynne Costin and Timothy Earle, "Status Distinction and Legitimation of Power as Reflected in Changing Patterns of Consumption in Late Prehispanic Peru," *American Antiquity* 54, no. 4 (1989): 691.

environment will reflect the patterning of society.<sup>8</sup> Differences in size and location of habitations would then have a relationship to the social status of their owners, as do the contents of such habitations. The consumption patterns displayed by these differences are believed to reflect differential access to the resources upon which stratification rests, and hence the structure that generated them.<sup>9</sup> It is thus through socioeconomic indicators that evidence of social organization in the prehistoric record is sought.<sup>10</sup> Socioeconomic indicators may not be the only such evidence available – more recent discussions have gone further and dealt with hierarchies of knowledge and the negotiation and communication of ideology as factors in the distribution and maintenance of control.<sup>11</sup>

Particularly in regions where habitations do not survive, such as the Lower Nubian heartland, cemeteries are the only means to access the socioeconomic organization of an ancient culture. Most analyses rely on the premise that the status held by an individual in life would be reflected in his or her treatment in death, and thus variability in burial practices should represent the variability present in the society itself.<sup>12</sup> Burials can be understood as systems of symbolic communication providing information on the organization of the society that has performed the interment.<sup>13</sup> Death is a significant and

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<sup>8</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 16; Robert Paynter, *Models of Spatial Inequality: Settlement Patterns in Historical Archeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 44; Paynter, "The Archaeology of Equality and Inequality," 370.

<sup>9</sup> Costin and Earle, "Status Distinction and Legitimation of Power as Reflected in Changing Patterns of Consumption in Late Prehispanic Peru," 691.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Christopher S. Peebles and Susan M. Kus, "Some Archaeological Correlates of Ranked Societies," *American Antiquity* 42, no. 3 (1977): 421.

<sup>11</sup> Influential examples of such discussions include: Daniel Miller and Christopher Y. Tilley, eds., *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Richard Bradley and Julie Gardiner, *Neolithic Studies: A Review of Some Current Research* (Oxford, England 1984); Ian Hodder, "Reply to Gary Webster, Labor Control and Emergent Stratification in Prehistoric Europe," *Current Anthropology* 31, no. 4 (1990); Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions; Mary Van Buren and Janet E. Richards, "Introduction: Ideology, wealth, and the comparative study of civilizations," in *Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth in Ancient States*, ed. Mary Van Buren and Janet E. Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Alan Saxe, "Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices" (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1970), 7; Lewis R. Binford, "Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Their Potential," *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, no. 25 (1971): 25; Robert Chapman and Klavs Randsborg, "Approaches to the Archaeology of Death," in *The Archaeology of Death*, ed. Robert Chapman, Ian Kinnes, and Klavs Randsborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 14-15.

<sup>13</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 54.

problematic event in the life of every culture, society, and individual. It is an emotionally charged event, overseen by cultural directives that structure the practices and attitudes relating to it. Responses to death offer an arena for the exercise, manipulation, and expression of the relations of power – mortuary practices thus convey ideologically structured views of social identities and relationships, representing those identities and relationships as suitable to express in the context of death.<sup>14</sup> Ethnographic analogy was (and is) used to confirm that such relationships exist and to develop generalizations about the relationship of social organization to variability in burial practices. Through such analogies, it is now generally accepted<sup>15</sup> that a) lineal descent groups will maintain formal disposal areas for the dead;<sup>16</sup> and b) sets of mortuary data clustered into distinctive levels of energy expenditure signify distinct levels of social involvement in the mortuary act and indicate distinctive grades or levels of ranking.<sup>17</sup>

### Assessing Inequality through Mortuary Data

When assessing variability in the mortuary record, archaeologists typically use effort expenditure as a proxy for socioeconomic status. Originally developed by Binford<sup>18</sup> and Tainter<sup>19</sup>, the premise is that the higher the social rank of an individual, the greater the amount of energy<sup>20</sup> is expended in the interment. This is reflected in the features of the burial, such as size and complexity of

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<sup>14</sup> Susan Pollock, *Ancient Mesopotamia: The Eden that Never Was*, Case Studies in Early Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 196.

<sup>15</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 55.

<sup>16</sup> Saxe, "Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices," 119; Lynne Goldstein, *Mississippian Mortuary Practices: A Case Study of Two Cemeteries in the Lower Illinois Valley* (Evanston: Northwestern University Archaeological Program, 1980), 125-26; Lynne Goldstein, "One-Dimensional Archaeology and Multi-Dimensional People: Spatial Organization and Mortuary Analysis," in *The Archaeology of Death*, ed. Robert Chapman, Ian Kinnes, and Klavs Randsborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 57.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph A. Tainter, "Mortuary Practices and the Study of Prehistoric Social Systems," *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 1(1978): 125.

<sup>18</sup> Binford, "Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Their Potential," 19.

<sup>19</sup> Joseph A. Tainter, "Social Inference and Mortuary Practices: An Experiment in Numerical Classification," *World Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (1975): 2.

<sup>20</sup> Energy expenditure is essentially analogous to fiscal cost in most cases, e.g. the amount of labor put into the construction of the burial site and the number and quality of the goods placed with deceased. While the actual ancient fiscal cost would be, in most cases, impossible to calculate, by dividing burials by the physical effort put into the creation of the grave/tomb and the amount and quality of goods, one can at least determine the various relative levels of fiscal effort put into different burials.

the interment, method of handling and disposing of the corpse, and the nature of objects associated with the grave. Therefore, the identification of different levels of energy expenditure permits a reconstruction of the relative size and number of social groups in society. Scholars accordingly implement statistical methodologies in order to measure the emergence of inequality in the mortuary record. The most frequent variables examined are the size and type of the facility, the complexity of treatment given to the body, and the extent of ritual behavior<sup>21</sup> surrounding the burial.<sup>22</sup> Effort expenditure also extends to the analysis of grave wealth, as a reflection of the effort expended in obtaining or manufacturing objects found in the grave assemblage.<sup>23</sup> The presence or absence and quantity of specific categories of grave goods can be used to detect groupings that are then identified with different statuses or groups in society.

There are valid criticisms of both the theoretical justifications for mortuary analysis, as well as with the methodologies used. First, while ethnographic data has indicated that mortuary practices can be indicative of social standing, some studies have shown that grave goods and socioeconomic status do not necessarily correlate.<sup>24</sup> Ethnographic data also suggests that the complex of ritual activity preceding the burial, including intangible acts (such as song or dance) or rites outside the burial area, may actually be more crucial to the distinction of status than the details of the burial itself, particularly to the survivors.<sup>25</sup> Such aspects of burial are largely unavailable to archaeologists. Second, for the principle of a

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<sup>21</sup> Ritual behavior is particularly difficult to detect in the archaeological record, as from anthropological analogy we know that it can take on a variety of non-material forms, such as song or dance. However, some archaeological remains, such as offerings left at a grave site or in the burial shaft, may indicate ritual activity of some kind.

<sup>22</sup> James Brown, "Charnel Houses and Mortuary Crypts: Disposal of the Dead in the Middle Woodland Period," in *Hopewell Archaeology: The Chillicothe Conference*, ed. D.S. Brosse and N. Greber (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1979), 211-12; John M. O'Shea, *Mortuary Variability: An Archaeological Investigation* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984), 39-40.

<sup>23</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 56.

<sup>24</sup> Peter J. Ucko, "Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains," *World Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (1969): 263-63.

<sup>25</sup> Edmund Leach, "A View from the Bridge," in *Archaeology and Anthropology: Areas of Mutual Interest*, ed. Matthew Spriggs, *British Archaeological Reports Supplementary Series* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1977), 162; Henry Wright, "Pre-state Political Formations," in *On the Evolution of Complex Societies: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoijer*, 1982, ed. Timothy K. Earle, et al. (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984), 44; Alice Stevenson,

correlation to be valid, there must be a belief in an afterlife in which the social patterning in life is replicated (or could be manipulated).<sup>26</sup> In the case of Egypt a belief in the afterlife is well documented. For Nubian cultures of the Pharaonic period such beliefs are assumed, based on both a close cultural connection to Egypt and the often-elaborate nature of the burials themselves. Particularly during the New Kingdom, burials took on Egyptian characteristics indicating at least some acceptance of the Egyptian view of the afterlife. Throughout the archaeological record, Nubian burials indicate care for the dead in a standardized and elaborate way, which suggests that treatment at death was believed to impact the afterlife.<sup>27</sup>

Possible inversion or distortion of the social order in burial practice has also been argued.<sup>28</sup> Some anthropologists even argue that a funerary assemblage is less reflective of the identity and social status of the deceased than it is of the presentation, negotiation, and manipulation of identities for perpetuation in this life of social boundaries after the death a particular individual.<sup>29</sup> Others question whether a direct link exists at all between burial practice and social status, because the nature of a given burial may be the result of choices made due to a combination of many factors such as descent, kinship, sex, age, and manner and place of death, as well as wealth and status.<sup>30</sup> Thus the possibility always

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ed. *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of El-Gerzeh : Social Identities and Mortuary Practices*, vol. 186, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 186.

<sup>26</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 57.

<sup>27</sup> It is also possible that the treatment at death reflects some other social function within the society, such as expressing in some fashion social upheaval in the wake of the grave owner's death. J. Bruck, "Material metaphors. The Relational Construction of Identity in Early Bronze Age Burials in Ireland and Britain," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4, no. 3 (2004): 307.

<sup>28</sup> Ian Hodder, "Social Structure and Cemeteries: a Critical Approach," in *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979 : the Fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium at Oxford* ed. Philip A. Rahtz, Tania Marguerite Dickinson, and Lorna Watts, *BAR British Series* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1980), 168; Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Michael Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> Stevenson, *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of El-Gerzeh : Social Identities and Mortuary Practices*, 15; Bruck, "Material metaphors. The Relational Construction of Identity in Early Bronze Age Burials in Ireland and Britain," 307.

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Arnold, "Social Structure and Cemeteries: a Critical Approach," in *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979 : the Fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium at Oxford* ed. Philip A. Rahtz, Tania Marguerite Dickinson, and Lorna Watts, *BAR British Series* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1980).

exists that differences in energy expenditure could occur amongst individuals within the same social stratum or class.<sup>31</sup> There is also the problem of posthumous upward mobility - the possibility that a person would attempt to improve his/her status in the afterlife through a more lavish provision of his/her grave than would be strictly representative of day-to-day means. Thus, a certain amount of deliberate distortion of the socioeconomic order is to be expected as a result of this exaggeration. Janet Richards believes this is mitigated by the fact that all groups in a society believing as such would manipulate symbols and materials in this fashion, and thus the relative relationships between statuses should be conserved.<sup>32</sup>

There are also significant methodological criticisms of mortuary variability studies. For statistical analyses of cemetery remains, it is necessary to assume a constant population. It is thus often difficult to distinguish between chronological changes and socioeconomic variability at a specific moment in time.<sup>33</sup> Controlling for time depth in Nubian cemetery populations is unfortunately difficult. Egyptian ceramic chronology is relatively fine-tuned; however, the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty is particularly problematic and not as well understood as other periods.<sup>34</sup> When neither diagnostic ceramic material nor other chronologically significant artifacts occur in graves, it is very difficult to ascertain the date of graves. Graves lacking such material are not uncommon in mortuary populations and can complicate the representativeness of a sample by leaving out the lower segments of society from analysis.<sup>35</sup> There is also the probable existence of different but potentially equally acceptable methods of communicating status in the

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<sup>31</sup> David P. Braun, "A Critique of Some Recent North American Mortuary Studies," *American Antiquity* 46, no. 2 (1981): 411.

<sup>32</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 65.

<sup>33</sup> Arnold, "Social Structure and Cemeteries: a Critical Approach," 107; Goldstein, "One-Dimensional Archaeology and Multi-Dimensional People: Spatial Organization and Mortuary Analysis," 56-57; Ian Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: the Rise of the Greek City-State*, New studies in archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 117.

<sup>34</sup> Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," 138-40; Pamela Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, ed. Janine Bourriau (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007).

<sup>35</sup> Typically graves with no finds are left out of analyses, as their date cannot be confirmed, particularly in cemeteries used for long periods of time. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 64.

mortuary arena. Ancient peoples may have deemed the inclusion of prestigious commodities with the body of the deceased as beneficial as the construction of a larger grave, for example.<sup>36</sup> The methodology of any mortuary analysis must attempt to account for this.

Post-depositional processes, both natural and cultural, affect the mortuary record, in ways that archaeologists cannot always see or account for.<sup>37</sup> Differential survivability of components of the mortuary behavior complex and associated burial goods may distort the picture of status. For example, organic material is preserved under certain conditions, and even under ideal conditions, some material is lost. Family burials and burial chambers opened multiple times are also a problem in Egypt and Nubia. Sometimes, the reopening was by the family that originally constructed it (often over multiple generations). For analyses considering the status of an individual or individuals, individual interments must be isolated. However, it is not always possible to distinguish individual burial episodes or identify a discrete date for use. In some cases, the disturbance is obvious, and provided that excavators carefully recorded the positioning of objects within the grave, some reconstruction of the original contents can be made. In other situations, however, burials and objects can be hopelessly mixed. In cultures practicing group interment or family tombs used over generations, it may be more informative to focus on tombs as family groups, rather than individuals.<sup>38</sup> Alternatively, and possibly more commonly, reopening was due to ancient (or modern) plundering. There is evidence that many ancient Egyptian tombs were robbed immediately after interment.<sup>39</sup> This often resulted in the displacement of skeletal

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Richard A. Gould, *Living Archaeology*, New studies in archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 33; Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society : the Rise of the Greek City-State*, 117; Michael B. Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

<sup>38</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*; Janet E. Richards, "Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Practice and the Study of Socioeconomic Differentiation," in *Anthropology and Egyptology : A Developing Dialogue*, ed. Judith Lustig, *Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Minor, "The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period."

<sup>39</sup> At Riqqeh, for example, Engelbach found that skeletons in disturbed/robbed graves "lifted out of coffins and flung aside", a state which could only have occurred if the bodies were still "pliable" e.g. intact. This can also be

materials and grave goods from the original context. In analysis of grave goods, this can sometimes be adjusted for, as ancient thieves targeted very specific materials (such as gold), which could easily be recycled into the economy.<sup>40</sup> Modern plundering is more problematic to account for, because the antiquities market generates interest in almost all ancient Egyptian objects.<sup>41</sup>

To make any substantive claims regarding social organization, it must be assumed that a cemetery population is either complete or a representative sample. Cemeteries must be excavated as fully as possible to be useful in scientific analysis, but complete excavation of a site or region is often difficult at best and impossible at worst, given the variances in preservation, geology, geography, and current occupation, along with political and social issues that may arise during an excavation. Most studies must then assume the population under study is a representative sample. Within Egyptology, it is well known that demographic representativeness within cemeteries is problematic. Scholars have convincingly argued that the combined totals of burials excavated to date represent only a small fraction of the total population of communities that generated them.<sup>42</sup> In particular, infant and juveniles are consistently underrepresented, both because their smaller bones do not survive as well and because they may have been interred beneath house floors.<sup>43</sup> Some scholars have also suggested that formal

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seen with some of the burials at Qustul and Adindan, discussed below. Reginald Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, BSAE XXVI (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1915), 21.

<sup>40</sup> The presence of gold within a tomb might be inferred from damage to the body at certain locations, due to the removal of jewelry, for example. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 68; Janine Bourriau, "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom," in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. Stephen Quirke (New Malden: SIA, 1991).

<sup>41</sup> In these situations, scholars will typically exclude extremely plundered graves from their analyses.

<sup>42</sup> Raymond Weill, "Ceux qui n'avaient pas de tombeau dans l'Égypte ancienne," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 118(1938); David O'Connor, "A Regional Population in Egypt to ca. 600 BC," in *Population Growth: Anthropological Implications*, ed. B. Spooner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 81-83; Karl W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology*, ed. Karl W. Butzer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 76-80; John Baines and Peter Lacovara, "Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society: Respect, Formalism, Neglect," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2, no. 1 (2002): 12; John Baines and Christopher Eyre, "Four Notes on Literacy," *Göttinger Miszellen* 61(1983): 65-67.

<sup>43</sup> Cornelius von Pilgrim, "The Town Site on the Island of Elephantine," *Egyptian Archaeology* 10(1997): 81-83; Brenda Baker, "Contributions of Biological Anthropology to the Understanding of Ancient Egyptian and Nubian Societies," in *Anthropology and Egyptology: a Developing Dialogue*, ed. Judith Lustig, *Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Matthew D. Adams, "The Abydos

burial may have been practiced by only a minority of the population<sup>44</sup>; however, given the minimal effort required for the construction of surface graves, it is generally accepted that Egyptians and Nubians practiced formal burial of some kind.<sup>45</sup> It is also possible that the desert, or regions of it, may have had some restrictions as to who could be buried there.<sup>46</sup> Control of mortuary space for non-royal contexts in prior to the first millennium BC is not well understood.<sup>47</sup> The possibility most certainly exists that different social or economic groups could be denied access to specific burial grounds and that less privileged groups might have disposed of their dead in a more diffuse pattern, which would exacerbate the archaeological visibility of such burials.<sup>48</sup> However, it can be reasonably assumed that if a burial ground shows a wide variety of burial practices, from simple burials without objects to complex constructions with hundreds of objects, that such a burial ground includes examples from across socioeconomic statuses.

When using tomb size and type as a measure of socioeconomic status, the influence of geographic factors must also be considered. The geology of a region largely determines the type of

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Settlement Site Project: Investigation of a major town in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995* ed. Christopher Eyre, *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); Josef Wegner, "The town of Wah-Sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations," *MDAIK* 57(2001); Brenda Baker, "Secrets in the Skeletons: Disease and Deformity Attest the Hazards of Daily Life," *Archaeology* 54, no. 3 (2001).

<sup>44</sup> John Baines, "Kingship, definition of culture and legitimation of rule," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O'Connor and David P. Silverman (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1995).

<sup>45</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 66.

<sup>46</sup> It is possible that certain classes of people were forced to bury their dead elsewhere, which, if the burial grounds for the rest of a population are excavated but the area used by those groups is not, would affect the representativeness of the sample. At Amarna for example, the Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten proclaim that his high officials were to be buried in the 'eastern mountains' of Amarna, precluding use of the area by any other party. William J. Murnane, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*, ed. Charles Cornell Van Siclen (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 41. Of course, the site of Amarna is exceptionally well preserved and studied, but other regions are not, or are no longer accessible, such as the Nubian burial sites currently beneath Lake Nasser.

<sup>47</sup> With the exception of Abydos, which is likely a special situation. See Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 169-72. More is known about administration of necropoli during the first millennium because of demotic documents at Thebes, which mention an "Overseer of the Necropolis", who receives payment for possibly burial plots as well as for burial taxes. Brian Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes*, Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2005), 101.

<sup>48</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 67.

tombs that can be built there - the type of rock within cliffs affects the ability to construct larger tombs, and the desert substrate varies in composition and density as well.<sup>49</sup> Grave shafts can only be constructed no deeper than the compact strata of the subsurface matrix.<sup>50</sup> Essentially, the local geology determines how large or complex a tomb one can construct, and thus the correlation between the labor expended in burial and the resources of the owner of the grave or tomb is not always direct, even within sites. This is particularly problematic when comparing regions with different geological formations. To account for this, mortuary analyses must consider all ways that social standing can be communicated, in addition to tomb size.

Alongside all of these theoretical and methodological issues with mortuary analysis, one must also consider the excavators themselves as potential sources of error. It is often assumed by archaeologists that burials are intact with accurate information available on the quantities and materials of goods present. But when considering excavations which took place years or decades prior to an analysis, the accuracy of the dataset may be an issue. Archaeologists have historically been focused on the more spectacular remains, often ignoring less “interesting” material such as undecorated pottery.<sup>51</sup> In the case of Nubia, the need for excavation before the construction of the Aswan High Dam meant that as much material as could be recovered was excavated using modern techniques. Older excavations

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<sup>49</sup> In the Theban region for example, the rock of the western desert is a shale limestone which varies in quality. At the foot of the hills it is fairly compact, which permits construction of sculptured reliefs as tomb decoration. But as one proceeds further up the hills the limestone becomes more friable, and does not allow for relief work. A person who had a tomb higher up in the hills had no choice but to plaster and paint their tomb. Ernest Mackay, "The Cutting and Preparation of Tomb-Chapels in the Theban Necropolis," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7, no. 3/4 (1921): 158.

<sup>50</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 67.

<sup>51</sup> For example, Emery & Kirwan surveyed and excavated the Adindan region of Sudan in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and despite a large number of burials uncovered and excavated, there are no grave registers, plans of cemeteries, or even a number of graves and objects found. The New Kingdom burial groups are described in two pages of text, which lists the typical body placement, typical pottery groups (unhelpfully described in general terms such as “red ware dish”), and types of objects found. Walter B. Emery and Laurence Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi Es-Sebua and Adindan, 1929-1931* (Cairo: Government Press, Bulâq, 1935), 19-20, Pl 126.

however used inadequate recording methods, often ignoring entire classes of objects or not accurately recording quantities.

Despite such valid criticisms, mortuary analysis can prove useful to archaeologists. Burial treatment is unavoidably an act of the allocation of time, effort, and resources for the end result of a given funeral, and it has been demonstrated convincingly that the scale of economic and political complexity of a society does have an effect on the complexity and range of a society's mortuary rituals.<sup>52</sup> Some scholars have developed more regional approaches to analyses, where multiple sites are compared within a region. Such regional approaches allow for the development of correction factors for methodological concerns and for the pooling of several cases to correct for statistical issues.<sup>53</sup> In the case of Egypt and Nubia, a correlation between status and mortuary variability is accepted.<sup>54</sup> And ultimately, in regions where written materials are lacking, such analyses may be the only way to access aspects of the society's organization. Even though Egyptology benefits from access to a fairly large written corpus, mortuary analysis has its place within the discipline.<sup>55</sup> For ancient Nubian societies, our understanding of "history" is entirely dependent on archaeology, as the ancient Nubians did not have their own writing system, though acculturated elites like Djhut-hotep and Amenemhat used the Egyptian system when writing was required. Nubians are of course mentioned by Egyptians in their documents, but from the Egyptian point of view - we have no native perspective on Nubian social organization, and the Egyptians were not particularly interested in recording the habits of their neighbors. The settlement pattern of Lower Nubia is also not well understood, as the few settlement sites excavated were Egyptian administrative centers, like Buhen and Aniba – we know almost nothing

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<sup>52</sup> James Brown, "On Mortuary Analysis- With Special Reference to the Saxe-Binford Research Program," in *Regional Approaches to Mortuary Analysis*, ed. Lane A. Beck (New York: Plenum Press, 1995), 10.

<sup>53</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 58.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 69; Stevenson, *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of El-Gerzeh : Social Identities and Mortuary Practices*, 16-18.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*. Stevenson, *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of El-Gerzeh : Social Identities and Mortuary Practices*

of Nubian architecture or daily village life. To attain any understanding of ancient Nubian culture and social organization, mortuary analysis must form the backbone of our investigations.

### Previous Mortuary Studies

As previously discussed, a mortuary study must focus on the entire complex of mortuary behavior within a region to provide useful information about a particular culture or society. Thus, given the focus in Egyptology on the burials of elite individuals – with their monumental tombs and usually museum-worthy artifacts – it is perhaps not unsurprising that there are few comprehensive mortuary studies on ancient Nubia, or in fact even on Egyptian material. The majority of studies of Egyptian and Nubian cemeteries deal with the Predynastic period exclusively, whether the object of study is social inequality, ethnic identity, or gender. The Predynastic lacks spectacular finds of subsequent periods, and with less archaeologically obvious remains, and was hence often ignored in analyses by Egyptologists. Anthropological archaeologists however have traditionally been concerned with the relationship of social and economic differentiation to the rise of the state, and so they were quick to focus on such a neglected period. For the present study, a review of previous mortuary studies of Egyptian and Nubian material is helpful, as there are many different methodologies employed, each with their own advantages and their own drawbacks.

### Predynastic Studies

Most mortuary studies on the Predynastic period attempt to analyze social inequality as displayed in the mortuary record and relate it to increasing stratification of society, ultimately trying to gauge the development of social hierarchies within the frame of state formation. Wendy Anderson studied eighteen Badarian period cemeteries in three adjacent regions (Matmar, Mostagedda, and Badari), analyzing patterns of association between the age and sex of the deceased, grave size, and the

quantity and type of associated grave goods.<sup>56</sup> Anderson's methodology was highly statistically based, making use of statistical modeling techniques for distribution of grave types and statistical tests such as chi-square to identify associations between variables. Such methods are very effective with large sample sizes, though their effectiveness with smaller data sets can be debated. Anderson's results were suggestive of a two-tiered social structure by the Badarian period, contrary to previous assumptions that social organization of the period was simple and undifferentiated.<sup>57</sup> However, the differences between social classes were marginal.<sup>58</sup>

The Naqada Period is by far the most emphasized in mortuary studies, as increasing social complexity is clearly evident in the archaeological material. Kathryn Bard analyzed the Naqada I-III cemeteries at Armant, using descriptive statistics and cluster analysis, and found the same two-tiered social organization for all three periods under study.<sup>59</sup> Michael Atzler also used cemetery data from the Naqada periods to trace social and economic evolution and political organization, identifying three categories of tombs based on the number and type of grave goods and dimensions and structure of the graves.<sup>60</sup> He proposed the existence of hierarchical family groups corresponding to clusters of tombs he identified in the data. Stephen Seidlmayer responded to Atzler's study with an analysis of the same material, disputing the claim that cemetery populations could be divided into ranked classes or family groupings.<sup>61</sup> However, Seidlmayer's discussion was limited by his decision to include only ceramic vessels in his analysis.<sup>62</sup> The most recent analysis of Predynastic mortuary material has been conducted

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<sup>56</sup> Wendy Anderson, "Badarian Burials: Evidence of Social Inequality in Middle Egypt During the Early Predynastic Era," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29(1992).

<sup>57</sup> Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

<sup>58</sup> Anderson, "Badarian Burials: Evidence of Social Inequality in Middle Egypt During the Early Predynastic Era," 58.

<sup>59</sup> Kathryn Bard, "A Quantitative Analysis of the Predynastic Burials in Armant Cemetery 1400-1500," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74(1988).

<sup>60</sup> Michael Atzler, *Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung von Herrschaftsformen in Ägypten*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Gerstenberg Verlag, 1981).

<sup>61</sup> Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer, "Funerärer Aufwand und soziale Ungleichheit: Eine methodische Anmerkung zum Problem der Rekonstruktion der gesellschaftlichen Gliederung aus Friedhofsfunden," *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologische Diskussion* 104(1988).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

by Alice Stevenson, who evaluated social identity at el-Gerzeh.<sup>63</sup> Stevenson, unlike many scholars, held the view that mortuary behavior does not necessarily indicate the status and identify of the deceased, but rather the negotiation of identity within the community which is burying the individual.<sup>64</sup> Her statistical analysis indicated that some graves stood out in terms of size and included goods, suggesting that these were individuals whose death had a significant impact on the surrounding community.<sup>65</sup> Stevenson also found that there was little correlation at Gerzeh between the effort expended upon grave construction and the diversity of goods accompanying the deceased, contrary to standard models of wealth and status.<sup>66</sup>

While generally the emphasis of Predynastic mortuary studies is identifying rising stratification, some scholars investigate other aspects of society, usually the relationship of biological sex to status.<sup>67</sup> As this study investigates several aspects of identities communicated in a burial as well as status, it is useful to discuss the methodologies of such studies in more depth. Fekri Hassan statistically examined five predynastic cemeteries at three sites – Naqada (the Main Cemetery, Cemetery B, and Cemetery T), Matmar, and Mostagedda – excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>68</sup> A total of 426 skeletons were included in his study. Sexes assigned in the field by the excavators were accepted, though in the case of Naqada the material was not evaluated in the field and Hassan sexed the skeletons himself based on the skulls

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<sup>63</sup> Stevenson, *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of El-Gerzeh : Social Identities and Mortuary Practices*.

<sup>64</sup> Stevenson further explains that this negotiation of identities is a mechanism by which the mourners could express the linkages between the dead and the living, as well as comment on the social upheaval experienced by a community in the wake of death. Essentially then, the deceased with the most energy expended upon their interment was the person of most import to their community. While the theoretical justifications for the use of energy expenditure as a proxy for social status in this case differs from other authors, the essential outcome is the same, e.g. more energy expended = higher social status.

<sup>65</sup> Stevenson, *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of El-Gerzeh : Social Identities and Mortuary Practices*, 192.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>67</sup> It is worth noting that each of the studies discussed here are published in anthropological journals, not Egypt or Near East centered journals, further exemplifying the divide discussed above.

<sup>68</sup> F.A. Smith Hassan, S.J., "Soul Birds and Heavenly Cows: Transforming Gender in Predynastic Egypt," in *In pursuit of gender : worldwide archaeological approaches*, ed. Sarah M. Nelson and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, *Gender and archaeology series ; v. 1* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002).

which were taken to London post-excavation.<sup>69</sup> It is possible to determine the sex of skeletons based on only the skull, usually using observations of size of various cranial features including supraorbital ridge, mastoid process, occipital area, orbits, zygoma and mandible.<sup>70</sup> Sex determinations with only the skull present tend to be between eighty and ninety percent accurate.<sup>71</sup> Fifty-three variables were coded into a database for each of the graves in Hassan's study, including frequency of different colors used on objects, types of grave goods, material of objects, imported vs. locally available goods, etc. Using statistical methods, Hassan eliminated "special" groups, as in his opinion the higher socio-economic status of those individuals may have skewed the results.<sup>72</sup> Factor analysis allowed him to create groups of objects/types of objects which occurred together and which were associated with the male or female sex. His major result was that the contents of female graves tended to be more homogenous but that the mean total number of artifacts was not statistically different in the graves of men and women.<sup>73</sup> Hassan used his results to support his theory that men and women were essentially socially equal prior to the rise of the state in Egypt, though they operated in different "spheres".

Stephen Savage assessed social inequality between males and females at the Predynastic cemetery of Naga ed-Der, excavated in 1902 and 1903.<sup>74</sup> Though the cemetery was plundered, he argued that there was still information that could be analyzed. He compared grave shape, size, and architectural elaboration for differences between male and female graves, finding none.<sup>75</sup> Savage also studied the different artifacts found with the skeletons which were sexed. Savage used presence/absence instead of quantity because he believed for reasons not stated that abundance would

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>70</sup> George E. Mann, "On the Accuracy of Sexing of Skeletons in Archaeological Reports," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75(1989): 247.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Hassan, "Soul Birds and Heavenly Cows: Transforming Gender in Predynastic Egypt," 48.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 50-52.

<sup>74</sup> Stephen Savage, "The Status of Women in Predynastic Egypt as Revealed Through Mortuary Analysis," in *Reading the body : representations and remains in the archaeological record*, ed. Alison E. Rautman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 83.

conflate issues of wealth or status with those of role.<sup>76</sup> By ignoring quantity in his investigation, the opportunity was missed to investigate the social status of women in this Predynastic cemetery. He was able to identify some categories of object which consistently appeared with only one sex. However, Savage's analysis rested upon the assumption that the original excavators in 1902 sexed the skeletons correctly. Some of the skeletons were kept in storage at the Hearst Museum in Berkeley, and later analysis<sup>77</sup> has differed from the original excavators on occasion.<sup>78</sup> Savage used the later, more accurate sex assignments when they were available, but not all excavation material survived to be stored in Berkeley.

Chris Ellis studied inequality in the valley cemetery of Kafr Tarkhan,<sup>79</sup> excavated by Petrie in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Data for the study was obtained by tabulating and reclassifying<sup>80</sup> the recorded information from Petrie's grave register and maps. Unfortunately, a large amount of information was missing from the analysis because Petrie did not include undatable artifacts or artifacts whose use spanned a wide range of time in his report. This information had been included on register cards, which were not investigated by the author due to time constraints.<sup>81</sup> Ellis investigated the relationships between sex and age of the individual, the date of the grave (based on Petrie's work), grave volume (organized into two classes, more or less than 2.5 cubic meters), number of objects (more or less than 9 artifacts), and whether the grave included a coffin.<sup>82</sup> He found that female burials were quantitatively

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 87.

<sup>77</sup> Patricia V. Podzorski, *Their Bones Shall Not Perish: An Examination of Predynastic Human Skeletal Remains from Naga-ed-Dêr in Egypt* (New Malden: SIA, 1990).

<sup>78</sup> Savage, "The Status of Women in Predynastic Egypt as Revealed Through Mortuary Analysis," 82.

<sup>79</sup> Chris Ellis, "A Statistical Analysis of the Protodynastic Burials in the 'Valley' Cemetery of Kafr Tarkhan," in *The Nile Delta in transition, 4th.-3rd. millennium B.C. : proceedings of the Seminar held in Cairo, 21.-24. October 1990 at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies*, ed. C. M. van den Brink (Tel Aviv, Israel: Van den Brink, 1992).

<sup>80</sup> It was necessary to occasionally reclassify material as scholarly understanding of predynastic material culture has changed significantly since Petrie's 1912-13 excavations.

<sup>81</sup> Ellis, "A Statistical Analysis of the Protodynastic Burials in the 'Valley' Cemetery of Kafr Tarkhan," 243.

<sup>82</sup> Ellis does not give a reason for choosing 2.5 cubic meters to divide the graves into two classes, or for choosing 9 objects to separate the graves, a potentially problematic premise.

different from male and child burials as they had more objects and also tended to have a greater range of artifact types.<sup>83</sup> Women's graves tended to include many objects associated with adornment, while the male burials tended to have larger volume and larger degree of elaboration.<sup>84</sup> This study illustrates the need to not only investigate the number of objects, but their type, quality, and material, in order to better understand the social differentiation displayed in the archaeological record. It is possible, for instance, that the female graves included more objects which were of lesser value or quality than the male graves, a possibility not explored by Ellis. Ellis was also not explicit as to how objects were counted, making it possible that objects which can easily break into constituent parts<sup>85</sup> were over counted. Ellis also used Petrie's sex assignments, because the original skeletal material was not preserved. However, it has been shown that archaeologists and anthropologists of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were not particularly accurate in making sex determinations, particularly in the absence of well-preserved pelvic bones.<sup>86</sup>

### Mortuary Studies of Pharaonic Egypt

Socially oriented mortuary studies of the Pharaonic period are few. Most, such as Ann Macy Roth's study of the Old Kingdom cemetery at Giza<sup>87</sup> and Naguib Kanawati's analysis of Old Kingdom noble's tombs,<sup>88</sup> focus only on the upper elite echelon of society. In 1932 George Reisner published a study on Naga ed-Deir which would foreshadow modern studies, analyzing patterns in the chronological and spatial development of the late Old Kingdom cemetery at that site.<sup>89</sup> One of the most thorough mortuary analyses undertaken to date was that of Janet Richards, who analyzed three Middle Kingdom

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<sup>83</sup> Ellis, "A Statistical Analysis of the Protodynastic Burials in the 'Valley' Cemetery of Kafr Tarkhan," 248.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>85</sup> Necklaces and bracelets often degrade into piles of beads, for example, making it nearly impossible to discern accurately the original quantity included on the body. Given accurate recording methods, however, it is possible to determine a minimum number of objects, based on placement on the body.

<sup>86</sup> Mann, "On the Accuracy of Sexing of Skeletons in Archaeological Reports."

<sup>87</sup> Ann Macy Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants : Including G 2084-2099, G 2230+2231, and G 2240*, vol. 6, Giza Mastabas (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1995).

<sup>88</sup> Naguib Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom : Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977).

<sup>89</sup> George Andrew Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932).

cemeteries to investigate the class structure of Middle Kingdom Egypt.<sup>90</sup> In particular she considered the possible existence of a “middle class” through the archaeological and textual analysis of Harageh and Riqqa near the center of the Egyptian political landscape, and Abydos, a provincial center. She evaluated not only the architecture and spatial location of the graves, but also the total amount of effort expended on them as determined by the total grave volume.<sup>91</sup> She combined this with a study of the diversity of objects found. Most interestingly, she also created “wealth indices” which allowed her to compare the quality of goods found in the tomb intra- and inter-site. Her “Wealth1” index assessed the amount of effort necessary to obtain the raw material of the object, compiled by considering the factors affecting the effort expended in obtaining the material, including distance, mode of transport, mode of extraction, processing and hardness.<sup>92</sup> Such indices are one way to attempt to apply some methodological categorization of wealth; however, they do overlook any alternative cultural construction of value the object might have. The “Wealth2” index hence represented an indigenous attitude about the value or relative importance of these materials during the Middle Kingdom. This was accessed by analyzing the order of materials found on mortuary stelae listing goods available to the deceased in the afterlife.<sup>93</sup> For cemeteries at the center (Harageh and Riqqa) Richards proposed a minimum of five levels of differentiation in burial practice, and suggested a possible middle group with graves in the 5-to-25 cubic meter range.<sup>94</sup> At the Abydos North Cemetery she found a similar situation, with a wide range of wealth, which could be expressed in a variety of ways (and in a multitude of combinations of grave size and architecture and grave goods).<sup>95</sup> Richards only analyzed sex and age relations for her own excavations at Abydos, finding similar distributions of burials for male and females.

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<sup>90</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>92</sup> Richards, "Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Practice and the Study of Socioeconomic Differentiation.", Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 110.

<sup>93</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 110., 110

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

She did not further investigate possible inequalities between male and female burials in architecture or grave good composition.

The second mortuary study of the Pharaonic period is Lynn Meskell's 1999 book *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*.<sup>96</sup> There she analyzed the approximately 400 tombs in the Eastern and Western Cemeteries of Deir el Medina using statistical analytical methods. Using Bernard Bruyère's field reports, Meskell studied each cemetery separately for two spans of time—the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the Ramesside period. Through her spatial analysis Meskell found that the wealthiest individuals were buried in the Western Necropolis, and the women who were interred there were always interred with a male relative, usually a husband.<sup>97</sup> The Eastern Necropolis was zoned by age, with the lowest part consisting of graves of the youngest children, the highest portion of the hill consisting of graves of adults, and midway between were the graves of adolescents.<sup>98</sup> This suggests that age was a substantive factors in social interactions within the Deir el-Medina community.<sup>99</sup> In this necropolis, women were often buried individually, unlike in the Western Necropolis. Meskell also analyzed the frequency of goods found in the graves. Burial goods were assigned to the occupant primarily on the basis of inscribed names, and thus goods without a name were not included in the analysis, unless they were found in a grave with only one occupant.<sup>100</sup> She found that in the Western Necropolis, as wealth and status increased, the relative wealth of females buried with males decreased.<sup>101</sup> This highlights the importance of investigating gender disparity by comparing within class parameters, as opposed to considering all graves together.

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<sup>96</sup> Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

Meskell also attempted to compare individual graves in terms of “costings” in *deben* for each grave item, using Jac Janssen’s analysis<sup>102</sup> of the economic ostraca of Deir el-Medina. By assigning a cost in the ancient Egyptian currency, she believed she could better evaluate the social differences within the community. Meskell admitted that this may be problematic as the majority of the grave material is 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty in date while the ostraca date to the Ramesside period. She also recognized that prices are not always standard and that it is impossible to see qualitative differences between objects mentioned in the ostraca.<sup>103</sup> She thus derives her own costings using Janssen’s work combined with Smith’s later analysis<sup>104</sup> of the ostraca. In the tombs she analyzed, she found that typically male family members had more expensive goods, though in a few cases the female occupant had the highest value objects within the tomb.<sup>105</sup>

While Meskell’s work is an important contribution to the study of gender in ancient Egypt, there are several methodological issues at play in her study. She did not consider the possibility that men and women chose different ways to display status – tomb size, elaboration, or inclusion of particular grave goods. Sexing of goods on the basis of name attached to the object is also problematic, as other potentially important goods are excluded from the analysis. In particular, this may have affected the analysis of the Eastern Necropolis, since if these were “lower class” individuals, access to writing may have been more limited and thus less employed in the grave. Hence the majority of objects may have been excluded from the analysis. Another methodological problem was the lack of explicit discussion of how she assigned costings to individual items or how she took into account quality. In general, Meskell tended to make statements about her results without supporting them with explicit discussion of the

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<sup>102</sup> Jac J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period : An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

<sup>103</sup> Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*, 184.

<sup>104</sup> Stuart Tyson Smith, "Intact Tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties from Thebes and the New Kingdom Burial System," *MDAIK* 48(1992).

<sup>105</sup> Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*, 184.

data and she tended to avoid displaying data graphically, hampering thorough understanding of her results and methodology.<sup>106</sup>

Lastly, Koichiro Wada studied provincial society and cemetery organization in the Fayuum and Heracleopolitan regions during the New Kingdom.<sup>107</sup> His work was heavily influenced by Richard's, and made use of her grave good categories and analytical methods. However, rather than make use of a wealth indices model, he relied on Janssen's wealth index for Ramesside Deir el-Medina (discussed above). Because the cemeteries were originally excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Wada re-evaluated the dates using an updated ceramic typology based on David Aston<sup>108</sup> and Rostislav Holthoer<sup>109</sup> combined with seriation using statistical software. For his analysis of the three cemeteries (Medinet Ghurab, Sidmant, and Harageh), he made use of a number of analytical methods. One was a presence/absence analysis, which is essentially the comparison of burials that contained a given object type. This method is particularly useful in considering graves that have been plundered, as direct comparisons of wealth are not possible in those instances. Wada also used a Lorenz curve analysis, which is a statistical method to show economic disparity by identifying the percentage of all wealth in a community held by each individual.<sup>110</sup> Lorenz curves are very effective in identifying disparity, however, they do require the use of some sort of estimation of wealth that takes into account economic realities (as opposed to, for example, the number of objects). Wada's results suggested that in non-elite

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<sup>106</sup> The few reviews of Meskell's work are generally positive, particularly for her discussion of theory in relation to practice in archaeology. However, reviewers have pointed out that Meskell on occasion misunderstands textual evidence and ignores the multi-dimensional nature of the evidence. Reviewers have not delved particularly deeply into her methodology. See Jaana Toivari-Viitala, "Review of: Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et Cetera in Ancient Egypt by Lynn Meskell," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45, no. 3 (2002); Ellen Morris, "Review of: Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et Cetera in Ancient Egypt by Lynn Meskell," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88(2002).

<sup>107</sup> Koichiro Wada, "Provincial Society and Cemetery Organization in the New Kingdom," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 36(2007).

<sup>108</sup> Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts."

<sup>109</sup> Rostislav Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications 5:1 (Stockholm: Scandanavian University Books, 1977). The issues with Holthoer's typology are discussed extensively in Chapter 4.

<sup>110</sup> Wada, "Provincial Society and Cemetery Organization in the New Kingdom," 361.

cemeteries burial expenditure, at least in grave goods, was relatively static during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> dynasties, which indicates that the lower classes of society were less impacted by changes in the economy. However, at Ghurab he identified a large economic disparity within the cemetery suggesting a distinct economic hierarchy between inhabitants.<sup>111</sup>

## Nubian Studies

Social-oriented studies of Nubian material are rare as well. One study on social inequality and gender focused on Nubian burials during the time period equivalent to the Predynastic in Egypt – the end of the Classic through the Terminal A-Group. Hans-Ake Nordstrom<sup>112</sup> investigated Cemetery 277 of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, a cemetery which was mostly undisturbed by robbers. His methodology included a qualitative assessment which separated tombs into “simple” and “elaborate” based on size, as well as adding up the categories of funerary offerings for each tomb.<sup>113</sup> He also counted the number of finds in total,<sup>114</sup> and combined this number with the category number to assess each grave. His results indicated that female burials possessed both more finds and a greater range of object categories, as Ellis found at Kafr Tarkhan.<sup>115</sup> This result of greater number of finds, however, appears related to the method of counting artifacts such as beads, which originally would have been deposited in the grave as one artifact but were found and counted as multiple objects.

More recently, Elizabeth Minor applied statistical analytical methods to the subsidiary burials of the kings at Kerma. Her dissertation investigated interregional interaction between the Kermans and Egypt during the Classic Kerman Period (the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt) by analyzing the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material and visual culture within those graves.<sup>116</sup> Because the subsidiary

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 383.

<sup>112</sup> Hans-Åke Nordström, "The Nubian A-Group: Ranking Funerary Remains," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 29, no. 1 (1996).

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>114</sup> Smaller finds such as beads or pendants were considered one find, to prevent overrepresentation.

<sup>115</sup> Nordström, "The Nubian A-Group: Ranking Funerary Remains," 25.

<sup>116</sup> Minor, "The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period."

graves were built directly into and adjoining the burial mounds of the Kerman rulers, she had relatively secure generational dates, allowing her to analyze change over time.<sup>117</sup> She first assigned objects to different categories of ethnic affiliation such as Egyptian import, closely Egyptianizing, Nubian, or unknown. She also gave each grave a wealth total – the sum of the number of objects found in the grave, with small items combined as one if they were normally used together (such as beads on a necklace).<sup>118</sup> Her statistical analysis compared the percentage of a private burial of type or generation that contained a given object type, with the goal of finding trends in the use of different types of objects over time or through different sections of the community.<sup>119</sup> She found that while the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects increased in time and were concentrated in the most elite graves, the placement of these objects indicated that they acquired different associations in Kerman contexts and that access and control of Egyptian imports were used in schemes of conspicuous consumption.<sup>120</sup> The Egyptianizing objects were also interesting in that they were made of Nubian materials by Nubian craftsman, but incorporated Egyptian motifs and styles, sometimes in innovative ways.<sup>121</sup> Alongside such Egyptian objects, Nubian objects appeared and were also concentrated in the elite burials. The most fundamental and accessible Nubian burial goods (Classic Kerma beakers and bone implements) were also consistently used throughout the period.<sup>122</sup> According to Minor, such continued use of Nubian material argues against the use of Egyptian material culture as a process of acculturation<sup>123</sup>, along with the fact that Egyptian object types were placed in ways that diverged significantly from their use in Egyptian funerary practice. Interestingly, Minor also found that high-status women in particular adopted the Egyptian Taweret hippopotamus to represent themselves – often Taweret figures are found on

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 121. These are examples of Stockhammer's relational entanglement, discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>123</sup> See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of models of acculturation.

funerary beds belong to high-status females, but not on males.<sup>124</sup> It is also worth noting that the type of skirt usually depicted on Taweret in Kerma was also found on a number of high-status females buried at Kerma, but no males. This may suggest that these high-status women were active participants in the religious-economic exchange of material resources at Kerma.<sup>125</sup>

## Conclusions

Though there are valid theoretical and methodological concerns when using statistical mortuary analyses to study inequality in the mortuary record, in Egyptology and Nubian studies a correlation between mortuary data and societal inequality is clearly well-accepted. The studies discussed above highlight the wide variety of methodologies applied to mortuary variability in Egyptology. Many of these studies have contributed greatly to our understanding of social systems in ancient Egypt and Nubia. However, many studies often have inherent methodical problems which call into question whether all the results and conclusions can be considered valid. These studies also highlight the need for precise, well-informed methodologies, which allow other researchers to reproduce and validate the results. The next chapter uses the theoretical groundwork and methodologies hereto discussed to inform and describe the approaches used in this study.

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<sup>124</sup> Minor, "The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period," 193.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 192-96.

## Chapter 4 : The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Cemeteries of Lower Nubia

Due to the unique history of excavations in the region and changes in our understanding of ethnicity, gender, and culture, there is a wealth of cemetery data in Lower Nubia yet to be completely analyzed. This study focuses on a group of cemeteries located on the east bank<sup>1</sup> of the Nile between the now-lost village of Qustul in Egypt and the district of Ashkeit in Sudan (see Figure 4.4). The area belonged to the sphere of influence of Tekhet, a Nubian chiefdom known because of the tombs of its rulers found at Debeira. Culturally, the area had significant variation during the Egyptian occupation, including cemeteries suggesting ties to the C-Group and Pan Grave cultures, as well as cemeteries that appear more Egyptian in nature. This area was also completely excavated in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century using modern excavation techniques, allowing for more complex forms of analysis. This chapter discusses the archaeological history of the region and how it impacts the methodology of the current study.

### The Sites

Given the preferential interest in the grand tombs of Egypt within mortuary studies and a lack of focus on Egypt's Nubian neighbors within archaeology until fairly recently<sup>2</sup>, it may be surprising to some that so many Lower Nubian cemeteries were excavated. In fact, the history of excavations in Lower Nubia is inexorably tied to changing agricultural needs in modern Egypt. The area was more or less archaeologically untouched prior to the construction of the first Aswan Dam in 1898. The first dam,

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the sites of the SJE concession were possibly located on the west bank of the Nile in ancient times. It is evident from the distribution of Middle Nubian and New Kingdom period sites that there is a gap in an otherwise densely occupied region. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy thus reconstruct the flow of the Nile such that the sites of the Debeira plain on the west bank, primarily because the large Egyptianized cemetery of Fadrus would then have been situated on the west bank in accordance with Egyptian burial traditions. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 247. However, a recent GIS analysis has suggested two reconstructions of the ancient coastline: one in which the Nile splits into two channels leaving one or several islands in the middle, and another where the sites of the Debeira plain are indeed on the west bank of the Nile. Johansson, "Digital Reconstruction of the Archaeological Landscape in the Concession Area of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (1961–1964)," 65.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapters 2 and 3.

constructed to meet water needs as Egypt introduced year-round cotton cultivation, inundated parts of Lower Nubia from Aswan to Wadi es-Sebua (approximately 160 km south of Aswan).<sup>3</sup> The dam was subsequently raised twice, in 1907-1912 and 1929-1934, bringing the height of the reservoir up to 121 meters above sea level. In response to the rising waters, the first surveys of Egyptian Nubia were conducted, and some small-scale excavations occurred, though an unknown number of sites were lost beneath the waters.<sup>4</sup> Following World War II, it became evident that the economic benefits of the current dam were not sufficient to deal with the accelerating population growth, as the dam at that time was not large enough to store water year round, which prevented meeting the agricultural needs of such a growing population.<sup>5</sup> It was also understood that for any further industrialization to take place, a new source of electricity would be needed. The solution to both problems was to construct a significantly larger dam at the recommendation of an international committee of experts.<sup>6</sup> The High Dam was to be built 7 kilometers south of the previous dam, and would raise the water level south of the dam by 63 meters for a distance of about 500 kilometers to the Dal Cataract. While the economic benefits were undoubtable, such a large dam would have a significant impact on Lower Nubia. Over 100,000 Egyptian and Sudanese Nubians would lose their homes, and in many cases losing their cultural identity as they were relocated to new regions within their respective countries.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, the cultural heritage of both countries would be lost under the waters of the soon-to-be-created Lake Nasser.

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<sup>3</sup> Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia: The International Rescue Campaign at Abu Simbel, Philae, and Other Sites* (New York, N.Y. : Thames and Hudson, 1987), 46.

<sup>4</sup> See discussion of the excavation history of the region below.

<sup>5</sup> In 1882, the population of Egypt was approximately 6 million people. By 1917, the population had more than doubled to 12.7 million, and in 1947 it was 20 million. At the time of the construction of the Aswan High Dam, the total population of Egypt exceeded 27 million. Säve-Söderbergh, *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia: The International Rescue Campaign at Abu Simbel, Philae, and Other Sites*, 50-51.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

At first, the Egyptian government sent requests for aid to scientific institutes around the world, but received limited response. Only two expeditions had begun by 1958: the German Archaeological Institute working at Amada, and the University of Milan in Ikhmindi.<sup>8</sup> But in 1959 a few dedicated individuals convinced the Egyptian and Sudanese governments that some monuments could be saved with help from UNESCO.<sup>9</sup> They successfully argued that the preservation of the monuments was not only a national concern but in the interest of all humanity, securing funding and support from Egypt, Sudan, and UNESCO. Foreign missions were invited to contribute with archaeological excavation, documentation, mapping, and technical aid in the relocation of certain monuments. In return, missions were offered 50% share of recovered objects, and in some cases countries or organizations were also offered rescued monuments. Besides the preservation of monuments, the secondary goal of the UNESCO campaign was to complete a thorough archaeological investigation of the entire region, thereby preserving knowledge for future academic study. Because the waters were expected to rise by 1965, it was necessary to work quickly to complete this aim. For this reason, the UNESCO Executive Committee overseeing the excavations directed that expeditions focus on sites visible on aerial photos. That is not to say more thorough surveys were not conducted – the Scandinavian Joint Expedition conducted an extensive ground survey which found many sites not visible on aerial photography, including some of the most productive in the entire region.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 66-77.

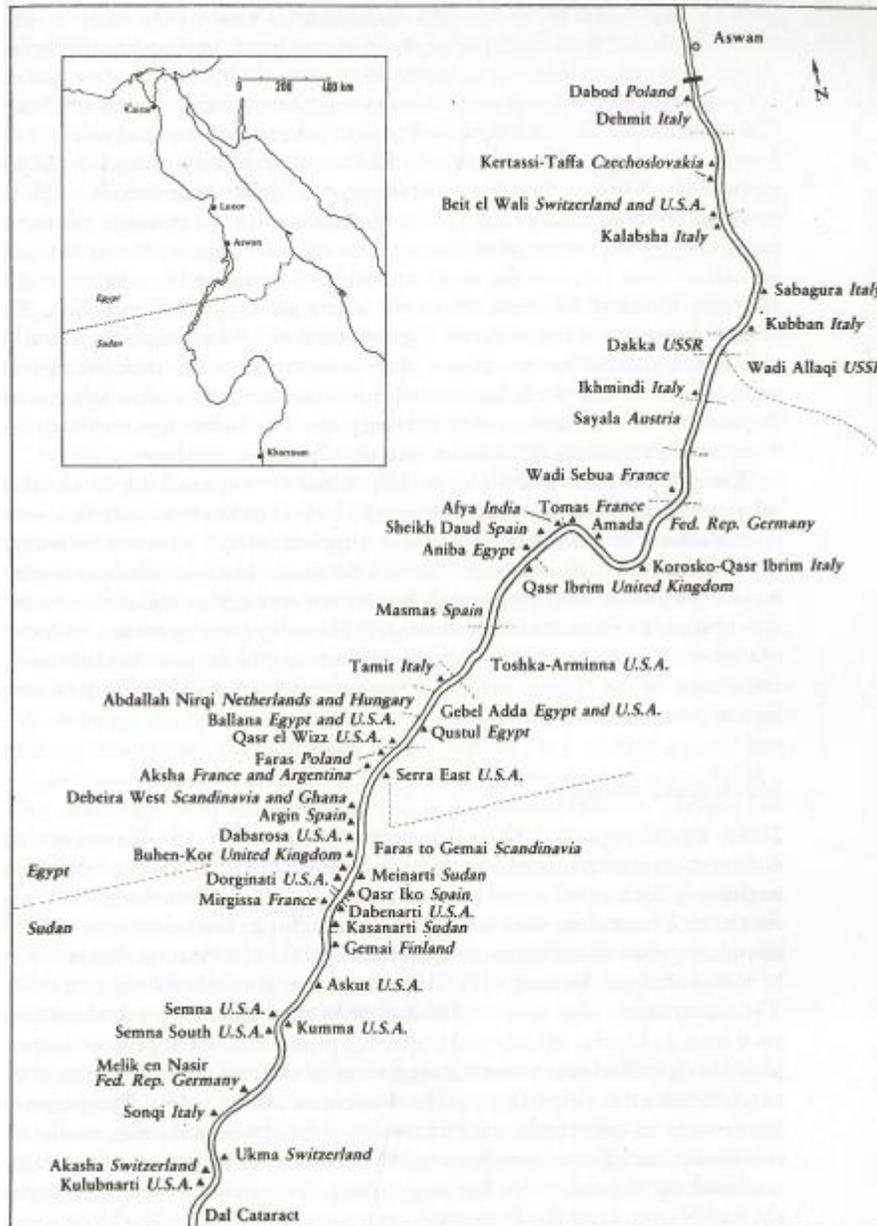


Figure 4.1: Map of the concessions granted during the UNESCO salvage campaign. SOURCE: Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia : The International Rescue Campaign at Abu Simbel, Philae, and Other Sites*, 195, Fig. 20.

Sudan and Egypt had very different archaeological traditions, which had an impact on the campaigns in those regions. Egypt had several prior archaeological surveys to draw on in planning the campaign, as well as a long history of working with foreign institutes, while the Sudan had neither. In Egyptian Nubia, the areas to be inundated were split into multiple concession areas, each having at least

one well-known site of high priority.<sup>10</sup> This method was chosen to ensure there was a total excavation of the region, and the agreements with missions included the directive that “...directors of excavations should not move on to a new site until they have completely exhausted the concession originally allocated to them. Investigations should be made to the east and west of the allocated areas to include all the ground that will eventually be covered by the waters of the reservoir.”<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Sudan lacked previous systematic archaeological surveys, and thus had no accumulated knowledge from which a campaign could be developed. Sudanese Nubia also included several large sites, the Middle Kingdom fortresses, that necessitated significant resources. The Sudanese government therefore decided to not parcel out large concession areas as Egypt did, but instead allowed missions to confine themselves to sites of their own choosing.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, the territory of the Sudanese concessions covered less than 25% of the threatened area.<sup>13</sup> Torgny Säve-Söderbergh has argued that while the salvage campaign had excavated no more than one-third of the total volume of archaeological material lost, this still represents a much fuller archaeological sampling than almost any other part of the world, and in fact should be considered a scientifically valid sample as there was a deliberate inclusion of all kinds of sites, large and small, from all periods of history and pre-history.<sup>14</sup> The region covered in the present study involved two expeditions, the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, granted a concession in Sudanese Nubia, and the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, whose concession was located in Egyptian Nubia adjacent to the Sudanese border. The work of these two expeditions was chosen for the present study for two reasons: 1) their concession areas were immediately adjacent to one another and covered a large but constrained geographic area, increasing the likelihood of studying a representative

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 192.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 192-93.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 204.

sampling of the ancient population and 2) the work of the majority of the other expeditions did not reach levels dating to this period or their work remains unpublished.<sup>15</sup>

### The Scandinavian Joint Expedition (SJE)

The leaders of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition (SJE) sought a large concession area for survey, rather than a specific site. They felt that this strategy was more fitting given the expertise of the archaeologists on their team, and because an emphasis on scientific data rather than objects was an intentional policy of the funding authorities.<sup>16</sup> The concession they were awarded spanned from Faras to Gamai on the east bank of the Nile, along with the Tomb of Amenemhat (Site Q) on the west bank (see Figure 4.2).<sup>17</sup> Very little prior archaeological work had been done in the area with the exception of an examination of a few cemeteries in the southern part of the concession by Oric Bates, and a few surveys of Nubian rock-drawing sites.<sup>18</sup> As plans for the campaign were beginning to get underway, three New Kingdom elite tombs were excavated, including the tomb of Djhuty-hotep, and Jean Vercoutter had also examined two so-called gold-washing stations in the Faras district.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the original plan of the SJE mission was to survey in order to locate sites, and by trial excavation make their nature, date, and size clear. Then the sites would be allocated between the foreign missions. However, very early on it was

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<sup>15</sup> For instance, the Polish expedition at Faras was unable to excavate the lower levels of the site because a gallery of Christian frescoes was found in the upper levels that absorbed all the resources of the Expedition until the rising water levels ended their work. *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>16</sup> Hellström, *The Rock Drawings*, 1:1, 14-15.

<sup>17</sup> The only area in the region excluded from their concession was the fortress of Serra East and its surrounding environs, which had already been promised to the Oriental Institute's Nubian Expedition at the time the SJE applied for permits. It is clear from the SJE publications that there was "friction" between the two teams as the boundary between the concessions was not fixed before they began work, causing "some inconvenience" over the course of the campaign. However, it is also emphatically stated that the investigation of the two sites was not hampered because of the disagreements. *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>18</sup> Oric Bates and Dows Dunham, "Excavations at Gammal," *Harvard African Studies* 8(1927); J.H. Dunbar, "Some Nubian Rock-Pictures," *Sudan Notes and Records* 17(1934); J.H. Dunbar, *The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, Les Temples immerges de la Nubie 22 (Cairo: Government Press, Bulaq, 1941).

<sup>19</sup> Thabit Hassan Thabit, "Tomb of Djehuty-hotep (Tehuti Hetep), Prince of Serra," *Kush* 5(1957); Nigm ed Din Mohammed Sherif, "Clearance of Two Tombs at Debeira East," *Kush*, no. 8 (1960); Thabit, "Tomb of Djehuty-hotep (Tehuti Hetep), Prince of Serra."

recognized that soil condition and other logistical circumstances meant that they would need to fully excavate to determine information such as the type of site and its date.<sup>20</sup> The SJE's agreement with the Sudanese government was revised, and the following four campaign seasons followed a total investigation and excavation model. Their goal was to collect as much data as possible without any preconceptions about the scientific importance of the different types of sites or time periods represented.<sup>21</sup> In their opinion, this was a goal achieved: "When the Expedition finished its work in the concession area after four campaigns, we felt that it was no exaggeration to say that this part of Nubia was one of those which had been investigated in the greatest detail and that practically no site of any importance had been left entirely unexcavated."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Hellström, *The Rock Drawings*, 1:1, 14.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 14. That is not to say the entire region was completely investigated. The SJE's agreements with the Sudanese government precluded investigation of inhabited areas, though in many instances, including the important cemetery of Site 185, they were able to work closely with the local population and conduct excavations in the areas around modern habitations.

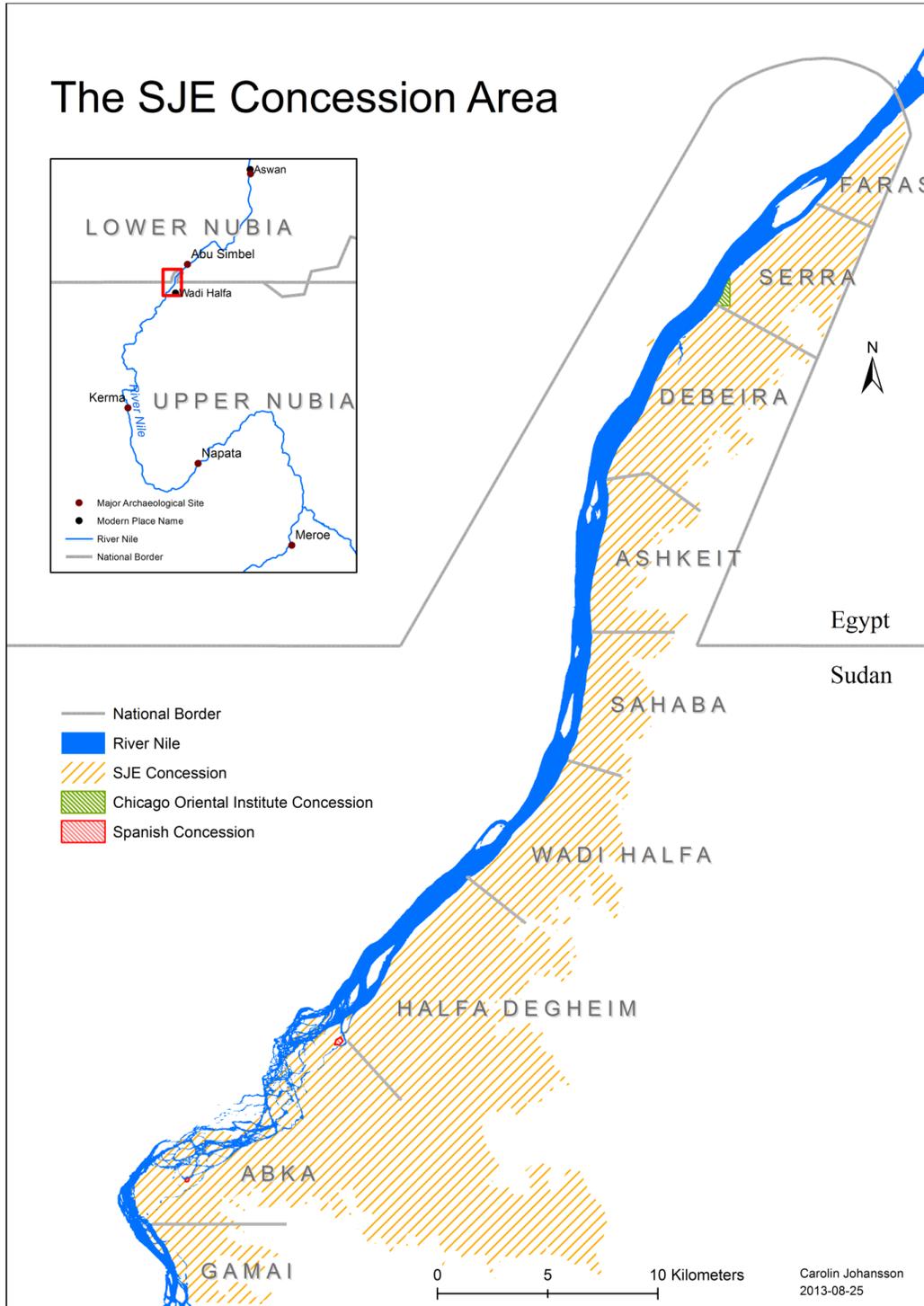


Figure 4.2: Map illustrating the concession area of the SJE. Orange, dashed areas represent the extent of the concession area, limited in the east by the 180 m.a.s.l. contour. Areas ceded to other expeditions are represented in green and red. SOURCE: Carolin Johansson, *Digital Reconstruction of the Archaeological Landscape in the Concession Area of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (1961–1964)*, 28, Fig. 6.

The SJE was able to accomplish a total investigation by doing a complete ground survey to identify sites, rather than using aerial photography, which did not show sites leveled by wind and sand.<sup>23</sup> During the expedition, the SJE members took a novel approach to organizing their excavations. Rather than work as a group, moving site to site, each time a potential site was found an archaeologist was assigned to it, so that the SJE had several small excavations going on simultaneously across the landscape. This method allowed them to investigate over 400 individual sites in the four years of the campaign, the majority of which were cemetery sites rather than habitation. The SJE believed that they were not intentionally seeking out cemetery sites due to a preconceived interest in them, but because the majority of settlements were likely located beneath modern villages, where they were not supposed to excavate.<sup>24</sup> Following the completion of operations in 1964, 50% of the finds as well as the majority of the pottery went with the team back to Scandinavia for study and eventual publication. Unfortunately, publication of the results of their excavations were significantly delayed. While the Pharaonic pottery was published thirteen years after the expedition, the Middle Nubian and Pharaonic sites themselves were not published until 1989 and 1991 respectively, almost three decades after the original excavations.<sup>25</sup> The main reason put forth for the delay, alongside the large volume of material to analyze, was the “difficulty in finding the necessary experts free to work full time in the preparation of the publications.”<sup>26</sup> Ultimately, the material of interest to this study was published in two multi-part volumes, *Middle Nubian Sites* and *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*.

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 17. In fact a great majority of sites identified by the SJE would have been missed if they had only used aerial photography, including Site 185 which was the most productive site of the entire concession.

<sup>24</sup> The fact that the majority of habitation sites they found were between modern houses supports this theory. Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*; Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*.

<sup>26</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, XV. Holthoer was originally supposed to author all three SJE New Kingdom material volumes, though due to the vast amount of pottery that needed to be analyzed, he only authored the pottery publication (Volume 5:1). The subsequent volumes were authored by series editor Torgny Säve-Söderbergh and Lana Troy.

The Middle Nubian and Pharaonic sites were published in significantly different formats. The Pharaonic publication documents meticulous recording methods, with detailed measurements and drawings, and written descriptions of every unit and its finds.<sup>27</sup> However, for “economic reasons,” descriptions of the graves, pottery, and other finds associated with the Middle Nubian sites were not published in the same detail as the graves determined to be Pharaonic.<sup>28</sup> Instead, they opted for a number of lists which used codes to indicate the existence of certain burial features or finds of a particular class. For finds other than pottery, the relevant description can usually be found within the section of the text discussing that type of find, though not necessarily with the level of detail seen in the Pharaonic material publication.<sup>29</sup> Ceramic finds were categorized according to their classification system (see below) and listed under either ‘Handmade Nubian Pottery’ or ‘Wheelmade Egyptian Pottery’. It is clear the excavators attempted to be meticulous in recording, but information became lost or confused either due to the delay between excavation and publication or issues with the recording methods. The find catalogue, for instance, makes clear that pottery was occasionally mixed between units.<sup>30</sup> Most problematic, however, is that upon closer inspection of the various lists it can be seen that there were inconsistencies in numbering finds, which may be indicative of recording errors. In some cases, there were multiple items with the same assigned number such as Unit 15 at Site 220, with four objects assigned the number 3 (three cups and a jar). This issue appears most commonly with pottery, which may suggest that some excavators assigned the same field number to all ceramic finds, though on occasion objects of different types were given the same number. In other cases, units lack sequential

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<sup>27</sup> Drawings were not published for all the Pharaonic graves. However, detailed descriptions and measurements were published which provide enough information for accurate reconstruction of the relative positioning of bodies and objects in most cases.

<sup>28</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 157.

<sup>29</sup> Detailed descriptions of body and object placement are not included, unless the unit was special in some aspect.

<sup>30</sup> Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, vol. 4:2, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications (Uddevalla: Paul Astrom Editions, 1989), 70. Finds thought to be from a particular unit are indicated by a 0 placed before the unit number (e.g. 35/01:1), while finds that could not be attributed to a particular unit are indicated by a unit number of 0 (e.g. 35/0:1). For the purposes of this study “likely” finds were accepted as belonging to the indicated unit.

numbering – such as Unit 80 at Site 35 that has objects numbered 1, 2, 3, and 5 – indicating that there may have been another object associated with the grave whose record was lost. Codes for objects of a particular class also occasionally appear on the register, but are not mentioned elsewhere in the publication. These types of issues prevent certain types of analysis, particularly those concerned with wealth.<sup>31</sup>

### *The “Middle Nubian” Sites*

“Middle Nubian” cemeteries, i.e. C-Group and Pan Grave, were extremely common throughout the entire SJE concession area (see Appendix I).<sup>32</sup> Burial customs of the Middle Nubian cultures are significantly different from typical Egyptian burials and from one and another. C-Group burials typically have well-built stone rings or walls frequently filled with pebbles or sand over an oval/rectangular shaft, as well as offerings of pottery in the east or north.<sup>33</sup> Superstructures on Pan Grave sites tend to be a set of loose stones in a ring, often standing, with grooves around it filled with bucrania and occasionally painted ornaments.<sup>34</sup> For both C-Group and Pan Grave cemeteries, the majority of burials were placed simply at the bottom of the shaft, though some elaboration such as recesses, trenches, stone slabs, or dug-out chambers is sometimes found. The bodies of the dead were positioned almost universally in a contracted position, and the dimensions of the shafts were usually far too small to permit anything other than one individual in a contracted position.<sup>35</sup>

Sites were considered Middle Nubian if the finds and pottery belonged to either the C-Group, Kerma, or Pan Grave cultures, which chronologically spanned from the Egyptian Middle Kingdom

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<sup>31</sup> Presence-absence analysis can account for these issues. See discussion in following chapter.

<sup>32</sup> No Kerma cemeteries were found within the SJE concession area, though one site (393) had indications of holes or depressions in the shaft bottoms which may have been from bed burials. However, no other finds within the cemetery corroborated a Kerma presence. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 22.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

through the early New Kingdom. Sites that had Nubian traits but could not be convincingly assigned to a specific group were considered “Middle Nubian.” The group of sites relevant to the present study were termed “Transitional” by the excavators, and are concentrated in the northern area of the concession (the Faras, Serra, Debeira, and Ashkeit districts).<sup>36</sup> These sites date to after the Egyptian conquest and show a continuation of Nubian burial traditions combined with Pharaonic finds.<sup>37</sup> The term “Transitional” is problematic, as the term itself supposes a transition from one culture to another, and precludes the idea of cultural entanglement with – or resistance to – Egyptian culture. For this reason, I will refer to these sites as New Kingdom Nubian, rather than the SJE’s designation of “Transitional”. While the term New Kingdom Nubian is not necessarily ideal, it conveys far fewer presuppositions about the nature of the cultural interaction than “Transitional”. To support their cultural designations, a statistical technique called correspondence analysis was used. Correspondence analysis, widely used in Scandinavia, compares and groups the occurrence of different features and artifact types in different cemeteries in mathematical multidimensional space, creating a linear representation of the relatedness of those sites.<sup>38</sup> The output of the analysis is multiple axes, or ways of interpreting the data, which are then evaluated by the investigator who determines which axis works best for their data. This is usually done in archaeology by using a few known features, such as artifacts with a specific date or cultural attribution, to identify which axis is correct. In the case of the analysis of the Middle Nubian sites, they used the cemetery as the unit of analysis, choosing twenty-four cemeteries in total. They then selected ninety-three attributes based on what previous scholarship had indicated might be suggestive of a

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<sup>36</sup> Only one small (3 grave) Transitional cemetery was found south of Ashkeit, at Gemai. The only other 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty in date cemetery in that region was a Kerma cemetery with 8 units excavated. The cemeteries in the Gemai region were not fully excavated due to time, and as they are a significant distance from the other cemeteries under study, they were not included in this analysis.

<sup>37</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 23. Williams has argued that sites with New Kingdom finds, stone circle superstructures, and contracted body positions such as these should be redated to earlier than the New Kingdom or the Napatan Period. This is presumably because he could not envision a non-Egyptianized population co-existing with an Egyptianized one. Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 4 fn. 11-12.

<sup>38</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 274.

particular culture, such as tomb construction methods, burial characteristics, types of pottery, and specific objects.<sup>39</sup> This analysis produced a clear clustering of sites, confirming what they believed the cultural attribution should be without any presuppositions about the nature of any particular sites.

### *The Pharaonic Sites*

Pharaonic burials in Lower Nubia are not dissimilar from contemporary burials in Egypt. Elite burials in Egypt during the New Kingdom were usually rock-cut chamber tombs in cliff walls, with regional variations such as pillared facades or small pyramids for superstructures.<sup>40</sup> For the sub-elites, shaft-tombs with burial niches or chambers, sometimes with offering chapels or superstructures were common, as well as more simple shaft constructions. Simple pit or surface burials were the main type of burial for the poorest individuals.<sup>41</sup> In almost all cases, burials were oriented west, in an extended position, and usually in a coffin (excepting the poorest burials). A “proper” Egyptian burial would also include funerary stelae, canopic jars, and inscriptions. In the case of Lower Nubia, the environmental conditions did not favor the preservation of superstructures, though in a few cases there are indications of square- or rectangular-shaped superstructures, and two tall pointed triangular stones with flat bases were found at Site 185 which may have been pyramidions.<sup>42</sup> Much as in Egypt, a wide variety of grave types indicating many different socioeconomic strata were found within the SJE concession, ranging from simple shafts and shafts with burial niches to mudbrick constructed chambers and rock-cut tombs (see Table 4.1). Rock-cut chambers were limited to geologically suitable areas, and for the most part were found thoroughly robbed. With the exception of a few rock-cut tombs in the Gemai district at the southern end of the concession, the Pharaonic sites are concentrated in the northern area of the concession (Faras, Serra, Debeira, and Ashkeit districts). Because the Gemai tombs were few, and in

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 275.

<sup>40</sup> Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 215-18.

<sup>41</sup> Wada, "Provincial Society and Cemetery Organization in the New Kingdom," 352.

<sup>42</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 52.

many cases not fully excavated due to time constraints, this study focuses on the cemeteries in the northern concession area.<sup>43</sup>

Table 4.1: Types of New Kingdom Pharaonic tombs found by the SJE. Parentheses denote the SJE's reference code for the type.

SJE Type	Description
<b>Shaft (S)</b>	Shaft grave
<b>Side Niche (SN)</b>	Rectangular shaft with a niche cut laterally along the side
<b>End Niche (EN)</b>	Shaft with a niche/chamber cut at the shorter side
<b>Double End Niche (EN/2)</b>	A shaft with two opposing end niches
<b>Chambers in Shafts (CS)</b>	A chamber built against the shaft walls, usually only one chamber but in some cases dividing walls were added to accommodate multiple burials
<b>Chambers with Ramps (CR)</b>	A chamber constructed in a pit-like shaft with the chamber walls most often built standing free from the shaft walls and a mudbrick sealed door with a sloping free space in front of it (the "ramp")
<b>Rock-cut tombs</b>	Tomb cut in to the rock of the desert escarpment

One site found by the SJE was particularly productive and for the most part undisturbed, Site 185, located under the modern village of Fadrus.<sup>44</sup> With over 680 graves, it was the largest Lower Nubian cemetery found during the UNESCO excavations. While it was largely spared looting, the environmental conditions were not conducive to the preservation of superstructures and organic remains, as the area periodically flooded. Only a few traces of superstructures were found, and in most cases skeletal remains were too fragile to remove and take back to Scandinavia for further study. Also, it can be assumed that more individuals were originally buried there, as modern houses destroyed a portion of the cemetery. However, despite these issues, the great majority of archaeological information about the Egyptian occupation of Lower Nubia comes from this site. Other sites were found within the SJE concession, but none were of the size of Fadrus, nor were they as well preserved (see Appendix I for a full list of sites found). Several pharaonic graves were found within preexisting Pan Grave and C-Group

<sup>43</sup> The results of the SJE's survey also indicate that there was no habitation of the region between Ashkeit and Abka/Gemai, which may suggest the possibility that this area belonged to another Nubian principedom during the New Kingdom. Hellström, *The Rock Drawings*, 1:1, 23-24.

<sup>44</sup> The SJE publications and subsequent scholarly works generally refer to Site 185 as Fadrus, after the modern village above it.

cemeteries, as well as within the New Kingdom Nubian sites. In a few cases, Pharaonic cemeteries were found closely located to earlier C-Group cemeteries. For example, Site 280 which was located very close to the large C-Group Cemetery 179, dated to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Such continuing use of the mortuary space may indicate that the “Pharaonic” burials were descendants of the C-Group peoples previously interred in the same location.

#### The Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition Concession (OINE)

The other major operation to excavate and publish cemetery material dating to the New Kingdom was undertaken by the Oriental Institute, which was awarded a concession area spanning from Abu Simbel in the north to the Sudanese border and included the large cemetery sites of Qustul, Adindan, and Ballana. They were also awarded the fortress of Serra East in the Sudan. Only Qustul, Adindan, and Serra East, located on the east bank of the Nile, had material dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and all three sites were located immediately adjacent to the northern part of the SJE concession (see Figure 4.4). Work in the OINE concession ran from 1961 to 1964, with majority of work at Qustul and Adindan in the later seasons. The OINE publications make no mention of a systematic survey like the SJE, and they do explicitly state that they concentrated on the village area of Qustul and Adindan.<sup>45</sup> A massive amount of material was excavated from the area, which also led to a long delay in publication. The New Kingdom material was finally published in the early 1990s in two volumes, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan* and *Excavations at Serra East: Parts 1-5, A-Group, C-Group, Pan Grave, New Kingdom, and X-Group Remains from Cemeteries A-G and Rock Shelters*.

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<sup>45</sup> Bruce Williams, *Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier, Part 1: The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 3 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986), 5.

### *Qustul and Adindan*

Qustul and Adindan were two modern villages located on the low plain adjacent to the Nile just north of the border with Sudan. In ancient times, the entire region was a continuous line of cemeteries. These cemeteries were in use for very long periods, with remains as early as A-Group and as late as X-Group (Ballana Culture). The first systematic survey of the region was by Walter Emery and Lawrence Kirwan in 1929, whose goal was to record the sites which would be below the Nile level after the construction of a new dam.<sup>46</sup> Only two sites were ultimately excavated at Ballana, both royal cemeteries, and thus a C-Group settlement site was lost because it was thought to be unimportant at the time.<sup>47</sup> A second major exploration was carried out by Walter Emery and Harry Smith, who explored a few small C-Group cemeteries near Qustul and in the hills south of Abu Simbel, but did not do any systematic excavation.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Emery and Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi Es-Sebua and Adindan, 1929-1931*. Cemeteries K and T of the OINE concession are the cemeteries the Emery-Kirwan survey numbered 224 and 226, both of which were designated C-Group. They were not however excavated at that time, as they were thought plundered.

<sup>47</sup> Williams, *Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier, Part 1: The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*, 6.

<sup>48</sup> Harry S. Smith, *UNESCO's International Campaign To Save The Monuments of Nubia: Preliminary Reports of the Egypt Exploration Society's Nubian Survey, Fouilles en Nubie: Egypt, Service des Antiquités 1* (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing, 1962), 19.

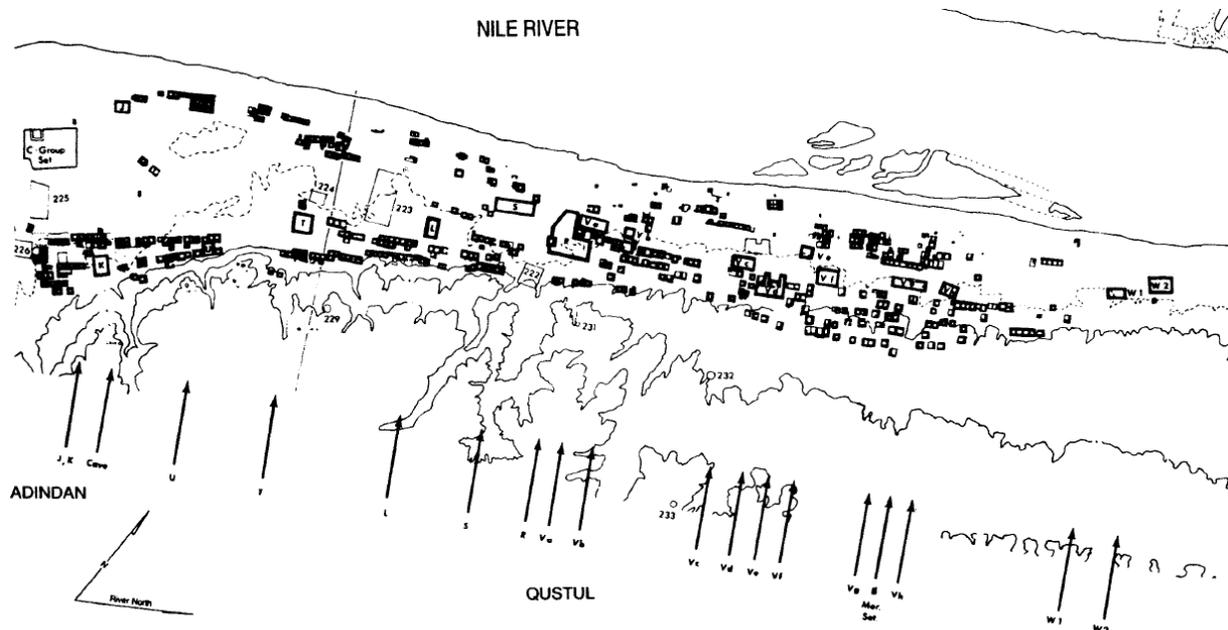


Figure 4.3: Map of the cemeteries at Qustul and Adindan. SOURCE: Bruce Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, Plate 1.

The Oriental Institute began work at Qustul and Adindan in 1962, spending a total of three field seasons there. The team included a physical anthropologist so that sex and age determinations could be made in the field. Over the course of their investigation they discovered the cemeteries extended to the current level of the river (see Figure 4.3), indicating that more graves were lost to the rising water after the construction of the first Aswan dam and subsequent heightening.<sup>49</sup> Total excavation of the cemeteries was also hampered by the modern houses that existed on the sites. They could not excavate under these structures but believed ancient settlements and cemeteries would likely be found there. Due to the time constraints of the project, they were also not able to excavate areas that had been previously investigated. However, the excavators suggest that previous surveys likely only found tombs with obvious surface features (e.g. C-Group and X-Group). A-Group and New Kingdom tombs were not often documented by these earlier surveys, probably due to the lack of preserved surface features, and

<sup>49</sup> Williams, *Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier, Part 1: The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*, 6.

thus would have been identified and excavated by the OINE.<sup>50</sup> So, while the aim was a total excavation of the region, there were limiting factors acknowledged by the excavators:

“...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 seabkh-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.”<sup>51</sup>

The graves found at Qustul and Adindan had many similarities in construction to those found at Fadrus and elsewhere within the SJE concession. Many graves were shafts or shafts with end niches, though in a few the shafts led to true subterranean chambers rather than niches. However, where the Fadrus tombs were generally used for only one interment, at these sites there were subsequent burials added at later times, in many cases stacked in layers up the tomb shaft. The OINE excavators were for the most part meticulous in their recording of these multiple graves, with drawings of each level of graves and detailed records of object placement, though in some cases burials were very mixed, and often the earliest interments were plundered. New Kingdom remains were found at Adindan Cemetery K, and Qustul Cemeteries R, S, V, and W. However, it must be noted that the designation “V” actually refers to many distinct clusters of tombs, listed as one cemetery by the excavators as the plain between Cemetery R and Cemetery W was “sparsely dotted with burials” and thus presumably not worth giving multiple letters.<sup>52</sup> Fortunately, the tomb numbers themselves do indicate which group each belongs to, with areas V, VC, VD, VF, VG, and VH including New Kingdom burials, and thus they are treated as separate cemeteries in this study.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>52</sup> Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 254.

## Serra East

The fortress of Serra East was technically located within the SJE's concession area, but had been awarded to the OINE prior to the submission of their request for their concession, so it remained with the Oriental Institute. Serra East was built during the Middle Kingdom, likely by Senwosret III.<sup>53</sup> Multiple cemeteries were found over the course of the excavation, going back as far as the A-Group. C-Group and Pan Grave burials dating to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period were found in Cemeteries B – F, while New Kingdom remains were restricted to Cemetery A and Cemetery G (which were actually one cemetery given different designations for administrative reasons).<sup>54</sup> Four major types of burial were identified at Serra East that range greatly in socioeconomic status. The designation Type I was given to a series of large tumulus/pyramid tombs erected on the gebel immediately east of Serra Fortress. Five had been excavated by Griffith in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and were not investigated by the OINE, but four others were able to be cleared during the one field season at Serra East.<sup>55</sup> The superstructures of these tombs, low mounds of debris with brick chapels on the east end, are particularly interesting as they may show the beginning of an evolution from a Nubian-style tumulus to an Egyptian style pyramid (such as was found at Debeira).<sup>56</sup> These tombs possibly belonged to the rulers of Tekhet and their families, the predecessors of Djhuty-hotep and Amenemhat, though the number of

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<sup>53</sup> Bruce Williams, "Serra East and the Mission of Middle Kingdom Fortresses in Nubia," in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. Emily Teeter and John A Larson (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1999), 447.

<sup>54</sup> Cemetery A was discovered during the first season of excavation, with the rock-chamber tombs and simple graves below them on the plateau excavated that year. During the 1963 season, more graves were subsequently discovered in the wadi wall and were designated G because A had been used in 1961 and they wanted to avoid confusion in the records. Bruce Williams, George R. Hughes, and James W. Knudstad, *Excavations at Serra East : Parts 1-5, A-Group, C-Group, Pan Grave, New Kingdom, and X-Group Remains from Cemeteries A-G and Rock Shelters*, vol. v. 10, University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 203.

<sup>55</sup> Francis Llewellyn Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 8(1921): 98-99.

<sup>56</sup> Williams, Hughes, and Knudstad, *Excavations at Serra East : Parts 1-5, A-Group, C-Group, Pan Grave, New Kingdom, and X-Group Remains from Cemeteries A-G and Rock Shelters*, v. 10, 151.

known individuals is too small to account for the number of tombs on the plateau.<sup>57</sup> The remains in these tombs were chronologically complex as the tombs were reused multiple times well into the Christian era, and thus almost no original burial equipment survived.<sup>58</sup> The Type II burials were stone chambers cut from the north side of the wadi opening to the river. Some were true Egyptian-style rock-cut chamber tombs with rough facades cut on the face and a square chamber cut towards the east or northeast that was usually 3 – 4 meters wide.<sup>59</sup> These also were thoroughly plundered. Narrow chambers cut into the rock or hollowed out from preexisting cracks or crevices in the wall of the wadi were designated Type III. When cut into a preexisting crevice in the wadi, a burial chamber was usually made by either constructing a vaulted chamber in the crevice or by building a vault against the stone on one side. Some of these tombs were found intact. The last type of burial found were Type IV, simple burials placed in a wooden coffin or a crude brick chamber. These were found only in Quarry Dump II, an area of the plateau that had been used as a dump for late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period occupations.<sup>60</sup> Because the area had been a dump, intrusive older materials were frequently found in the tombs.<sup>61</sup>

### *Middle Nubian Cemeteries*

Despite the large amount of C-Group and Pan Grave material in the OINE concession, very little of it is datable to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. A large C-Group cemetery was located at Adindan, of which the New Kingdom remains described above are likely a continuation. Bruce Williams identified many as C-Group IIIa/b tombs, which would correlate to roughly the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. However, with the exception of one clearly 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burner, no Egyptian ceramics datable to the New Kingdom were found. The few

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 150 n.2.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 152.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> The Serra East publication does not provide information regarding the origin of the dump debris (nor are they published), though it would be reasonable to assume they came from the fortress.

<sup>61</sup> Williams, Hughes, and Knudstad, *Excavations at Serra East : Parts 1-5, A-Group, C-Group, Pan Grave, New Kingdom, and X-Group Remains from Cemeteries A-G and Rock Shelters*, v. 10, 161.

Egyptian ceramics excavated were all of classic Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period types.<sup>62</sup> Most of the IIIa/b designated tombs lacked datable objects entirely, and were often dated to the C-Group III period because of the “simple nature” of the ceramics present.<sup>63</sup> This may have led to a conflation of socioeconomic status with chronology.

Serra East also had a large C-Group cemetery, but as with the C-Group graves at Adindan, almost no Egyptian ceramics were found. The few Egyptian ceramics were of the classic Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period types.<sup>64</sup> Four small clusters of Pan Grave tombs were found in Cemeteries C, D, E, and F, but in most cases datable remains were lacking due to plundering. However, Cemetery D was dated to the Napatan period, but may in fact be another New Kingdom Nubian cemetery:

“Although the tombs in Cemetery D resemble Pan Graves, some of the objects they contained did not, and these dissimilar objects indicate that the cemetery is to be assigned to the Napatan period, probably contemporary with some phase of Dorginarti fort. None of the vessels could date earlier than the New Kingdom, and the most distinctive black and gray handmade vessels were virtually identical to counterparts in the Napatan period fortress of Dorginarti. It is clear, therefore, that the cemetery dates to this period.”<sup>65</sup>

Despite their assertion, all the Egyptian pottery found convincingly dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, including a Pilgrim Flask and several red-slipped, ring-based bowls.<sup>66</sup> Later in the publication, the “Napatan” pottery mentioned is stated to be identical to what was found in the Site 176 within the SJE concession, a cemetery designated as “transitional with Pan Grave affinities” by the excavators and securely dated to the mid-to-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, these graves were unable to be included in the present

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<sup>62</sup> Bruce Williams, *Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier, Part 5: C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma Remains at Adindan Cemeteries T, K, U, and J*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 5 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1983), 52-53.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>64</sup> Williams, Hughes, and Knudstad, *Excavations at Serra East : Parts 1-5, A-Group, C-Group, Pan Grave, New Kingdom, and X-Group Remains from Cemeteries A-G and Rock Shelters*, v. 10, 42.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>67</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 201-03.

study, as they were heavily plundered with only a few objects remaining and very little information available on their construction due to damage.

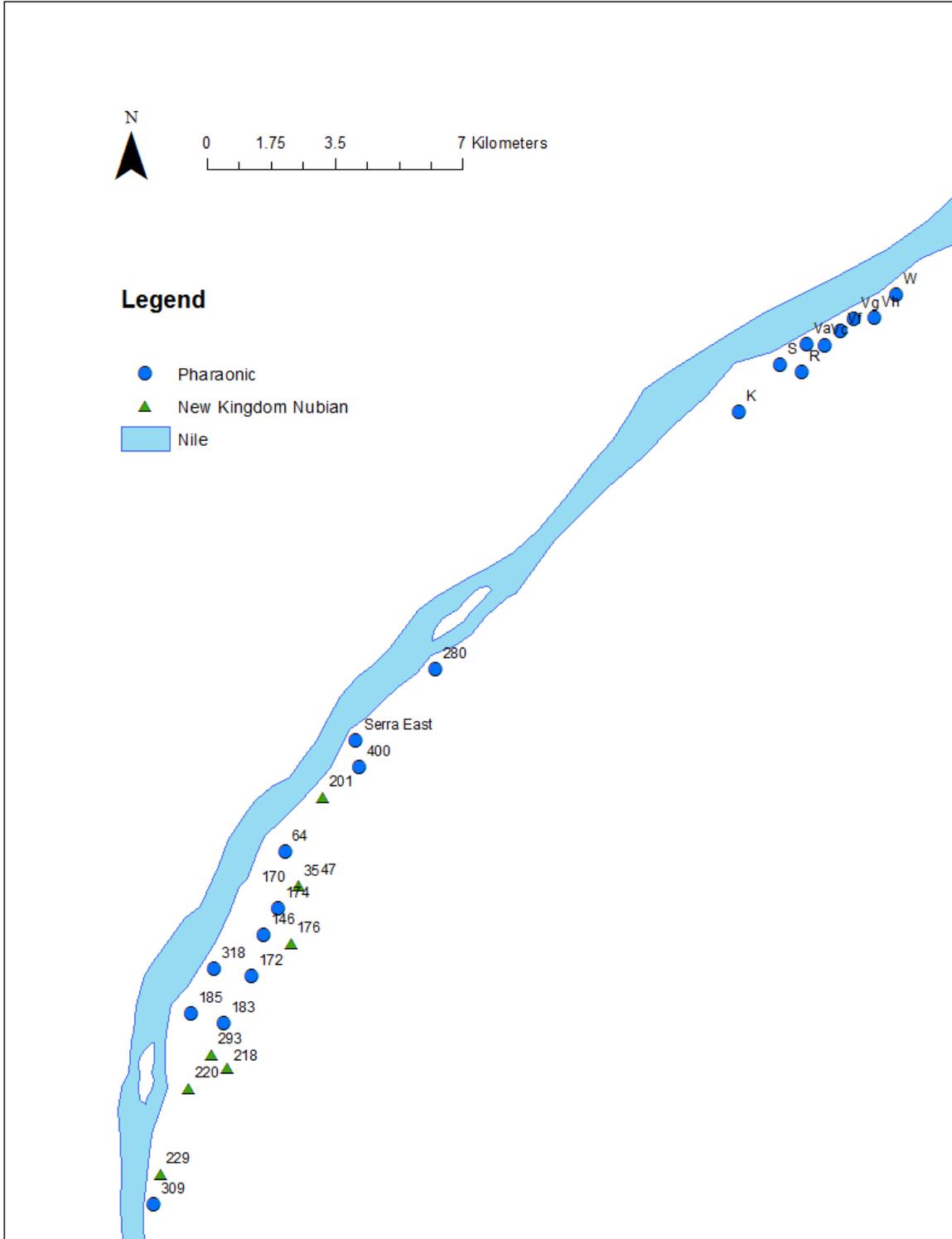


Figure 4.4: Map of sites dating to the 18th Dynasty of interest to this study, created using the ArcGIS software system. The coordinates of the SJE sites were obtained from Carolin Johansson's GIS study of the SJE concession area, while the OINE cemeteries and Serra East had to be referenced to Johansson's coordinate system using pre-1964 maps and aerial imagery and thus may have some small locational errors.

## Comparing the Material from the OINE and SJE

As can be expected from two different excavation teams, recording methods and categorization of objects differed significantly. The members of the SJE tended towards categorizing and coding everything, from ceramics to beads, an approach which works well with quantitative and statistical analyses.<sup>68</sup> However, due to the structure of their excavation team and subsequent division of publishing duties, categorization frameworks differ between sites considered to be Pharaonic and those considered to be Nubian, which hinders comparison. The OINE, on the other hand, tended towards description rather than categorization, with the exception of ceramics. Such an approach avoids the risk of over categorization, but also makes any substantive quantitative or qualitative analyses more difficult. In an effort to bridge these two differing approaches, it was necessary to create a new categorization system, in this case partially based on the SJE's Pharaonic find categorization. The new system, described in Appendix 2, keeps many of the same categorizations, but along with including additional types for find classes not found on the Pharaonic SJE sites, also avoids over categorization by creating links between similar finds while not ignoring differences.

### Ceramics

Ceramic finds are crucial for dating the graves and ensuring diachronic change is not confused for cultural change. As with the non-ceramic finds, each excavation developed their own typology separately, because there had been no standard ceramic classification system developed for early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ceramics at that time. The SJE ceramics were analyzed and published by Rostislav Holthoer in 1977. Holthoer developed a mathematically based method, which allowed the excavators to describe pots without classifying them as a particular type.<sup>69</sup> Pots were divided into multiple zones (called zonal

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<sup>68</sup> For example, beads were separated into categories A-H based on their material types, with several subcategories based on shape, size, and decoration, compared to other excavations which rarely develop detailed categorization systems for objects like beads. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 77-85.

<sup>69</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 45.

components) which were described based on their measurements and type of transition to the next component (smooth, angular, ledge). This method produced a long number-letter code that described each pot, along with a description of the ware and the decoration of the pot.<sup>70</sup> Holthoer then used the proportions of measurements along with the ware description to determine the different vessel types. For publication, these types were separated into families of like pots (e.g. plates, cups, ovoid jars, carinated vessels, etc.). Each pot was given a short code, which in theory enables the reader to determine the shape, fabric, decoration, and size without viewing a drawing or reading a longer description. For example, pot 185/511:89<sup>71</sup> is coded in this system as JU1/IIIP/5P/c-d which can be interpreted as “ordinary juglet, pink marl, bichrome decoration, medium/small sized.”

While a mathematical and organized classification system is admirable, there are a number of problems with Holthoer’s classifications due to the fact that our understanding of early New Kingdom ceramic forms has changed significantly in the intervening years. First, partially due to his reliance on a highly mathematical method, several of his categories subsume what are now known to be multiple types.<sup>72</sup> For example, the type JO1 (Ordinary Ovoid Jars) includes what are now known to be standard drop-shaped jars alongside various other types of storage jars (see Figure 4.5). Second, it has become standard to separate pottery by fabrics according to the Vienna system though at the time Holthoer separated primarily by shape-groups.<sup>73</sup> Third, decoration has come to be seen as an important chronological indicator, but at the time of Holthoer’s analysis no substantive work had yet been produced to justify including it. Ultimately, these issues pose a problem for the accurate dating of the

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<sup>70</sup> These codes and descriptions were not included in the final publication.

<sup>71</sup> Object numbers on the SJE excavation were assigned in the format Site/Unit: Object. In this case, the number indicates Site 185, Grave 511, Object 89.

<sup>72</sup> This was also pointed out by Smith. Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 151.

<sup>73</sup> Hans-Åke Nordström and Janine Bourriau, "Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics," in *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, ed. Dorothea Arnold and Janine Bourriau, *Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo 17* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 168-82.

graves, as the correspondence analysis of Fadrus only took into account family groups (e.g., the top-level categorization, such as JO1 or CV1). A number of chronological indicators, particularly types of decoration and certain types of pots were left out.

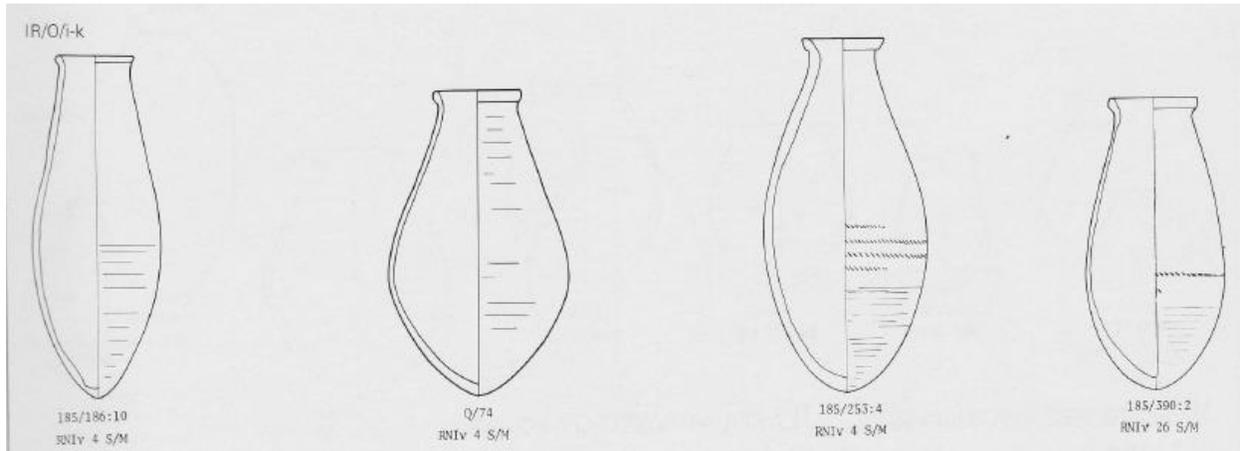


Figure 4.5: Jars of Holthoer's type JO1/IR/0/i-k. The classification system here clearly includes jars of significantly different shapes within the same type, including one drop-shaped jar (end right). SOURCE: Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, Plate 36.

The classification system for the OINE graves followed a far different organizational principle, that "...uses actual skills and habits (tradition), specific intentions (formal categories), and intended use as the major basis of class identification."<sup>74</sup> Williams never set out to create a new system of pottery classification, rather, the intent was simply to describe the sites' ceramics for future study. The OINE material was separated into unfinished jars, common bowls, common jars, pseudo-import jars, amphorae, lids, special purpose vessels, imports/imitations, stands, and course platters/burners. Within these groups are many sub-classifications based on differences in shape, a system which led to the problem of over-classification: even the slightest variation resulted in new types (see Figure 4.6). As with Holthoer, Williams did not use fabric as an organizing principle, and the fabric classifications that are used are fairly simple compared to the Vienna system.<sup>75</sup> Williams' system also does not take into

<sup>74</sup> Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 31.

<sup>75</sup> Form-group I is "grey-brown alluvial clay," while form-groups II, III, and IV are variations of marl. *Ibid.*, 32.

account decoration when determining types, and the drawings do not consistently note the colors of the decoration.<sup>76</sup>

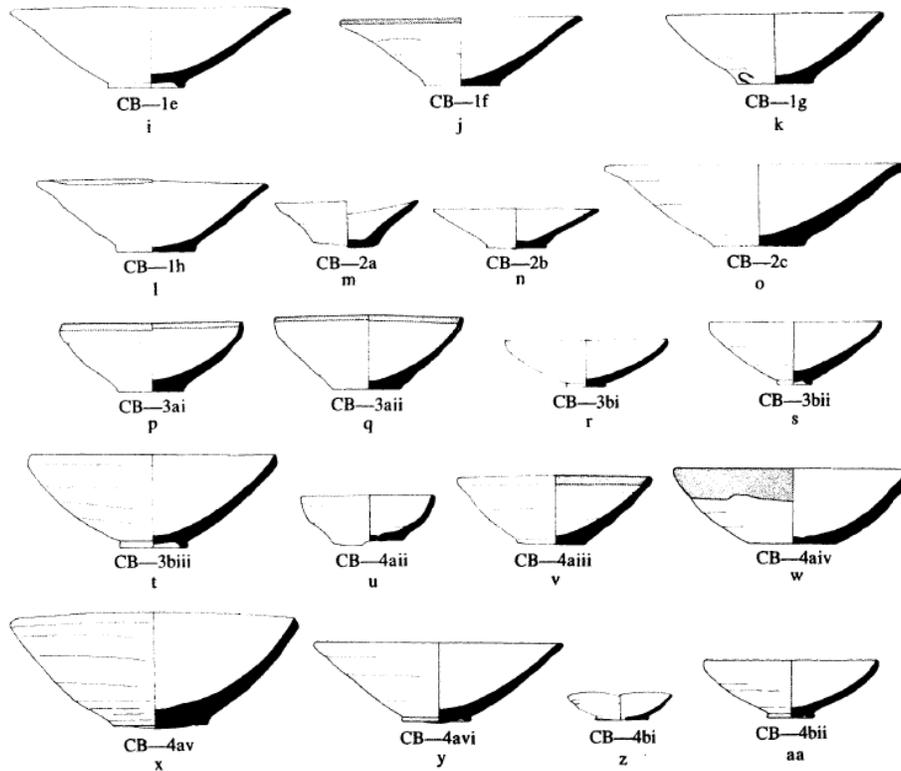


Figure 4.6: “Common bowls” within the OINE pottery classification. Types CB-1e, CB-3bi, CB-3bii, CB-3bii, CB-4avi, and CB-4bii are all the same type of standard New Kingdom ring-based bowl/plates which were common throughout Egypt and Nubia. SOURCE: Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 79, Fig. 1.

### Creating A New Typology

As demonstrated, a new typology was necessary to be able to accurately date and analyze the material from these two excavations. Holthoer’s 1977 typology was used as a starting point for two reasons. First, several of his classes still work for dating purposes without modification. Second, even with the more detailed descriptions in his publication, it was not always possible to separate out different types within the classification system. Drawings were only published for a small portion of the corpus and the rest was only described using Holthoer’s coding system, a problem for reclassification.

<sup>76</sup> In most cases the pots were taken back to the Oriental Institute and full descriptions (and sometimes photographs) are available in the Oriental Institute Online Database.

The first change was to separate marl and Nile fabrics. Second, types were collapsed where the division was not useful – this was particularly necessary due to Holthoer’s designation of “transitional” types, the term he used for pots whose dimensions were between two different sub-classes. Plates and cups were also collapsed into just a few categories, as in most cases, these were only size variations of the standard New Kingdom types. The third major change was the addition of subtypes with chronological distinction. For example, the type BO1 (bottles) included forms specifically attributable to early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>77</sup> as well as forms that are less chronologically specific. Because Holthoer did not take into account decorative styles in his typology, it was also necessary to separate decorative styles with chronological distinction (see below).

### *Nubian Ceramics*

With regards to the handmade Nubian wares, there are no standard typologies, though Manfred Bietak and Säve-Söderbergh have made attempts.<sup>78</sup> Part of the difficulty is that handmade vessels often have varying shape profiles<sup>79</sup> and decoration types on the same pot, which can pose a problem in classification. Attempts at typologies generally base their organization on presume cultural attribution, though by now most scholars accept that it is very difficult to separate the ceramics of the various Nubian cultures.<sup>80</sup> Even if one could create such a system, this would still be problematic as it is well-understood now that pots do not equal people (see Chapter 2). In the case of the SJE excavations, Säve-

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<sup>77</sup> Anne Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo 32 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 93, Folding Plate 8.

<sup>78</sup> Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr*, 5; Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 44-59.

<sup>79</sup> Because Nubian pots are handmade they are not as consistently shaped as wheel-made wares. This means that when drawing pottery from sherds (rather than whole vessels) sherds originally from the same pot may have very different drawn profiles, and thus it can be difficult to determine which shape class the pot belonged to or even if two sherds belonged to the same pot.

<sup>80</sup> Pamela Rose and Irene Forstner-Müller, "Introduction," in *Nubian Pottery from Egyptian Cultural Contexts of the Middle and Early New Kingdom: Proceedings of a Workshop Held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Cairo, 1-12 December 2010*, ed. Irene Forstner-Müller and Pamela Rose, *Ergänzungsheft zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 13* (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Wien, 2012), 7.

Söderbergh did to create a typology for their material that takes into account cultural origin by using the burial practices associated with various pot types as cultural indicators. In many ways it is similar to the Egyptian wares classificatory system, though rather than basing classes on shapes, he used the ware (fabric and surface treatment) as the starting point. He found that different wares were typically associated with certain groups of cemeteries, though with significant crossover of certain ware types. Decoration was not considered as a factor for initial division, though subclasses took these into account in some cases.<sup>81</sup> Essentially, his method separated the ceramics into different cultural classes by the occurrence of the ware type within cemeteries of specific cultural identification. He found that wares that appeared in the New Kingdom were different from previous types, and were found to dominate on the New Kingdom Nubian sites within the SJE. Given their similarity to Pan Grave wares, he saw these as a continuation of earlier Pan Grave styles. Beyond this distinction, there are no chronological indicators within the typology, and for the purposes of this dissertation, it was unnecessary to go beyond distinguishing Nubian ceramics from Egyptian.

### The Chronological Phasing of Lower Nubian Cemeteries

The dating of the Fadrus graves forms the backbone of all dating for the entire SJE concession, and many scholars reference ceramics at Fadrus to confirm dates of archaeological material at sites throughout Egypt, Nubia, and the Levant.<sup>82</sup> As with determining the cultural attribution of the Middle Nubian cemetery sites, correspondence analysis was used to determine the chronological phasing of Fadrus by selecting features with chronological implications rather than cultural. They selected 145 traits, which included both grave features and specific types of objects, including their ceramic classes

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<sup>81</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 43.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Martin, "Egyptian and Egyptianized Pottery in Late Bronze Age Canaan: Typology, Chronology, Ware fabrics, and Manufacture techniques. Pots and People?," 267; Krystal Victoria Lords Pierce, "Living and Dying Abroad: Aspects of Egyptian Cultural Identity in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Canaan" (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 2013), 495; David A. Aston, "Amphorae in New Kingdom Egypt," *Ägypten und Levante* 14(2004): 184.

(see discussion below).<sup>83</sup> In total, only 474 graves were included in the analysis, as units lacking finds or distinctive features could not be included.<sup>84</sup> As mentioned previously, correspondence analysis produces multiple “axes,” or ways of representing the relationship between each data point (in this case, an individual grave). In the analysis of Fadrus, these axes are essentially a statistical chronological seriation of the material, and as the algorithm places no weight on a particular trait, the investigator must choose which axis is the most logical. Of the four axes produced, Axis 1 was chosen as the best correlation with known chronology, particularly with names on kings found on seals in certain graves.<sup>85</sup> Each grave is listed with its Axis 1 score, which indicates where it fell in the seriation. Axis 2 was also found to have some chronological implications and was frequently used to further define the seriation in cases where scores on the first axis were identical.<sup>86</sup> Ultimately, the seriation was broken into three phases, further divided into seven sub-phases (see Table 4.2), and each grave was assigned a date within this phasing, even if it was not originally included in the analysis.<sup>87</sup> The phasing does fit fairly well with the natural growth of a cemetery, with Fadrus I beginning in the north-central part and the subsequent phases expanding outwards to the south and west. However, their phasing is difficult to support on an individual basis as many units are assigned to a range of phases and the use of complex statistical analysis can make it almost impossible to ascertain why a particular tomb was assigned to a particular phase (i.e. what features made it similar to the units “around” it on the axis). There is also the problem of the ceramic categories used in the seriation, which have been shown above to conflate some chronological indicators within the excavator’s groupings. In fact, in a number of instances the date

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<sup>83</sup> The full list of traits can be found in Figures 58a and 58b in Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 242-43.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 223. As scarabs can be kept for many generations as heirlooms, royal name seals were used only as *terminus post quem* items.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Graves excluded from the original correspondence analysis were given an approximate date based on the tomb type and the geographical location of the tomb. This is problematic due to the fact that poorer tombs may have been placed amongst older units in areas no longer in use.

suggested by more recent scholarship on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ceramics has conflicted with the excavator's date for a particular unit.<sup>88</sup> Thus, it was necessary to re-date the SJE cemeteries based on this new information, and to assign dates to the OINE graves, which were only given date ranges.<sup>89</sup>

Table 4.2: The phasing of Fadrus (Site 185), according to the correspondence analysis performed by Troy & Sinclair.

Fadrus Phase	Date
Ia	"Early 18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty"*
Ib	"Early 18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty"
IIa	Hatshepsut/Thutmose III
IIb	Thutmose III
IIc	Amenhotep II – Thutmose IV
IIIa	Amenhotep III
IIIb	"Late 18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty"

\* Both Fadrus Ia and Ib date to the early 18th dynasty, and the separation into two distinct subphases was the result of the statistical analysis, but could not be tied to a specific reign.

### Early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Ahmose through Thutmose II)

The late Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom transition is perhaps one of the least understood ceramic phases within Egyptian archaeology. This is partially due to the fact that there are very few intact tombs excavated in Egypt that securely date to this period.<sup>90</sup> But it is also because ceramic change does not necessarily correlate with regime change, and so it can be expected that forms would not immediately change with the unification of Egypt and the beginning of the New Kingdom.

Thus, tombs of the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty in Lower Nubia can be expected to have many of the same ceramic forms as are found in the late Second Intermediate Period.

<sup>88</sup> For example, Unit 122 includes a carinated vessel with bichrome decoration (which first occurs in the reign of Hatshepsut), but was dated to Fadrus Ia.

<sup>89</sup> The dates assigned by Williams to the Qustul/Adindan tombs are listed in a chart which only indicates whether positive or probable evidence for a particular period was present in the tomb, without listing said evidence. For instance, the table that indicates Tomb 13 at Cemetery R has positive evidence datable to the period of Amenhotep II – Thutmose IV and the post-Amarna period, but the only objects within the tomb were two New Kingdom type scarabs, a standard New Kingdom type ovoid jar (datable to anywhere in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty) and a carinated vessel (datable to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty). The date range assignments also do not take into account the multiple burials which occurred over the entire 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty in some tombs. Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 17.

<sup>90</sup> Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," 140.

### *Slender Round-Based Bottles*

Slender round-based bottles (Figure 4.7a) are a subset of category BO1 within Holthoer's typology, though not recognized by Holthoer as such.<sup>91</sup> The particular bottles within category BO1 that are chronologically indicative are the bottles with very slim necks and almost pointed bases. These are dated by Anne Seiler to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>92</sup> Bottles of this type are not found at Amarna or in well-dated Thutmose III contexts at Abydos in Egypt or Sai Island in Nubia, supporting an early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 130-33.

<sup>92</sup> Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, 90, folding plate 8.

<sup>93</sup> Mary Ann Pouls Wegner, "New Kingdom Ceramics Associated with the Cult Chapel of Thutmose III at Abydos: Preliminary Analysis and Interpretations" (n.d.): 367-414., *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 9(2011); Julia Budka, "The Early New Kingdom at Sai Island: Preliminary Results based on the Pottery Analysis (4th Season 2010)," *Sudan and Nubia: The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Bulletin* 15(2011).

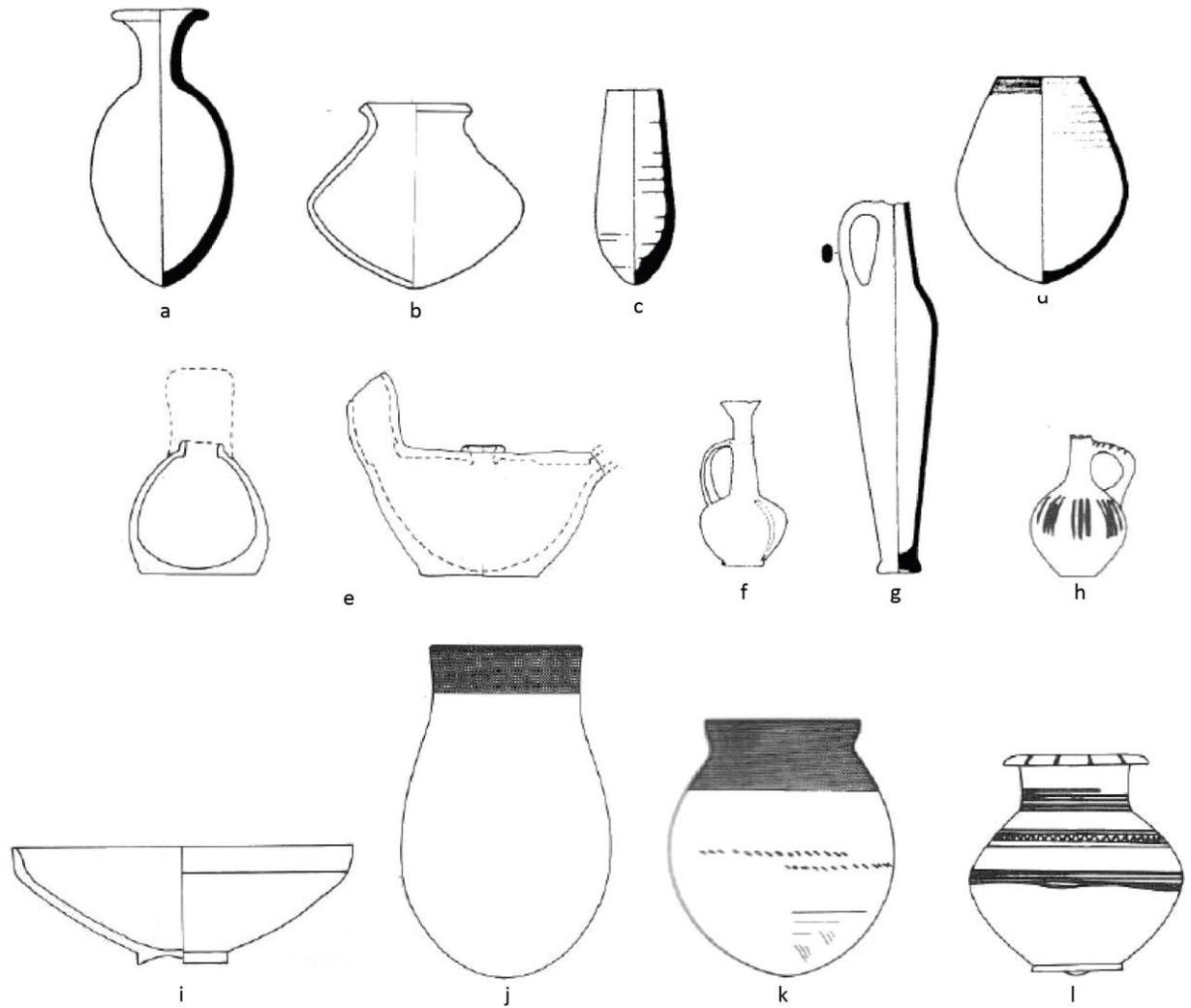


Figure 4.7: Ceramic forms of the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. (a) Slender round based bottle, V113-38, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 6k (b) short-necked carinated vessel, 185/31:1, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 30 (c) beaker, R29-30, Williams 1992, Fig 3b (d) direct rim cup with incised lines, R58-3, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 3e (e) zoomorphic vessel, 185/39:2, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 23 (f) Cypriot flask, V76-5, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 10f (g) Spindle bottle, V29-56, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 10j (h) Cypriot juglet, 185/196:13, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 41 (i) composite cup, 185/0:21, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 24 (j) black-rimmed jar, 185/383:1, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 38 (k) black-rimmed jar, 185/238A:6, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 34 (l) carinated jar with rim ticks, 185/541:43, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 22. Scale 1:5.

## Early 18th Dynasty Pottery at Fadrus



Figure 4.8: Early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ceramic forms at Fadrus.

### Short-necked Carinated Vessels

Carinated vessels are very common throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty; however, the variation with short necks and string-cut or rounded bases are only found in Second Intermediate Period and early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty contexts (Figure 4.7b).<sup>94</sup> These are found under Holthoer's category CS1, though not all CS1 types can be considered short-necked carinated vessels – in some cases the vessels more properly fit under the CV1 (ordinary carinated vessels) category, a form which occurs throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

<sup>94</sup> Janine Bourriau, "Relations between Egypt and Kerma During the Middle and New Kingdoms," in *Egypt and Africa : Nubia from prehistory to Islam*, ed. W. V. Davies (London: British Museum Press in association with the Egypt Exploration Society, 1991), 139, fig. 6.10; Janine Bourriau et al., "The Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom at Deir al-Barsha," *Ägypten und Levante* 15(2005): 122. Also compare Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, folding plate 4.

Vessels of the CS1 type are also geographically restricted to one area of the Fadrus cemetery (see Figure 4.8).

#### *Drop-pots (Beakers)*

Drop-pots or beakers (Figure 4.7c), thin-walled vessels of fine clay, were called 'wine decanters' by Holthoer (WD1). The forms seen within the OINE and SJE concessions occur in the Second Intermediate Period and early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty only.<sup>95</sup>

#### *Direct Rim Cups with Incised Lines*

Cups or beakers with incised grooves below the rim (*rillenrandbecher*) are found in the late Second Intermediate Period and the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>96</sup> They appear in both small and large sizes. They are relatively rare in Nubia, with only a few examples within the SJE and OINE concessions (Figure 4.7d).

#### *Zoomorphic vessels*

Vessels whose entire shape represents a zoomorphic motif are common throughout the ancient Near East, and are found in Egypt from the Late Predynastic through the New Kingdom. Bird-shaped zoomorphic vessels have a more restricted chronological distribution, and are typically only found in early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty contexts.<sup>97</sup> Only one example was found in either the OINE or SJE concessions, at the site of Fadrus (Figure 4.7e).

#### *Composite Cups*

Composite cups are unrestricted vessels with composite contours and typically fairly shallow shapes, and are sometimes called carinated bowls (Figure 4.7i). They are dated by Seiler to the late

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<sup>95</sup> Janine Bourriau, "Beyond Avaris: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt Outside the Eastern Delta," in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer Oren (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1997), Figs. 6.11, 6.11, 6.17, 6.19; Bourriau et al., "The Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom at Deir al-Barsha," 109; Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, folding plate 6.

<sup>96</sup> Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, 90, fig. 41.

<sup>97</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 105.

Second Intermediate Period and early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, though hers lack the common New Kingdom ring base.<sup>98</sup> They are found in some Thutmose III contexts, including the tomb of his three foreign wives.<sup>99</sup> At the site of Fadrus, composite cups are relatively rare and entirely restricted to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty core of the cemetery, the north-central area (see Figure 4.8), supporting an early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date.

#### *Cypriot Imports and Imitations*

Cypriot pottery (Figure 4.7f-h) first appeared in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period and the early New Kingdom. Spindle jars, flasks, and juglets of Cypriot origin or imitation are found throughout Egypt during this time, and surge in popularity particularly during the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>100</sup> Black lustrous ware Cypriot pots are attested through the reign of Amenhotep I.<sup>101</sup> Red lustrous ware, of the types found in both the OINE and SJE concessions, begins during the reign of Amenhotep I as black lustrous ware becomes less popular and eventually disappears.<sup>102</sup> In Nubia red lustrous ware is most common during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty into the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>103</sup>

#### *Black-rimmed Nile Silt Plates, Bowls, and Cups*

Painted black rims on vessels made of Nile clay (Figure 4.7j-k) became particularly fashionable during the late Second Intermediate Period, but the trend died out by the time of Thutmose III.<sup>104</sup> It is

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<sup>98</sup> Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, 144.

<sup>99</sup> Christine Lilyquist, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*, ed. James E. Hoch and A. J. Peden (New York : New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2003), 93.

<sup>100</sup> Kathryn O. Eriksson, *Red Lustrous Wheel-Made Ware*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 103 (Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1993), 80.

<sup>101</sup> Janine Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest: An Exhibit Organized by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 6 October to 11 December 1981* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 129, fig. 255; Bourriau, "Relations between Egypt and Kerma During the Middle and New Kingdoms," 135, fig. 4.10; Bourriau et al., "The Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom at Deir al-Barsha," 114.

<sup>102</sup> Eriksson, *Red Lustrous Wheel-Made Ware*, 68.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Bourriau, "Beyond Avaris: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt Outside the Eastern Delta," 72-74; Bourriau et al., "The Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom at Deir al-Barsha," 111; David A. Aston, "Tell Hebwa - Preliminary Report on the Pottery," *Ägypten und Levante*, no. 6 (1996): 182; Julia Budka, "The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: The New Kingdom Pottery," *Ägypten und Levante* 16(2006): 98.

fairly rare in the corpus here, though black-topped bowls and plates possibly influenced by Nubian ceramic tradition are fairly common, and are some of the few examples of material cultural entanglement (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 5).

### *Rim ticks*

Rim ticks are red or black lines on the rims of juglets and jars (Figure 4.71). Black decorative strokes of this type occur on both Nile and marl clay vessels, and are most common during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Rim ticks are frequently also combined with black banded decoration.<sup>105</sup> At Fadrus, this design occasionally appears in conjunction with the “swallows-on-a-wire” decoration (see below), indicating that at least in Lower Nubia it persists as a trend through to the reign of Thutmose III. Black rim-ticks also appear on certain marl vessels at Amarna, indicating that the decoration persisted for some time in Egypt as well.<sup>106</sup>

### Mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Hatshepsut/Thutmose III through Thutmose IV)

With the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, significant changes begin to occur to the ceramic corpus. The ceramic repertoire became much more standardized throughout Egypt and Nubia, and many of the forms typical of the New Kingdom first appear during this time.<sup>107</sup> A number of unique decorative styles also appear, frequently influenced by connections with Cyprus and the Levant. It is also during this period that we see the introduction of the end niche and double end niche burial types, a burial type which is geographically constrained at Fadrus (see Figure 4.9) and occurs only with ceramic

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<sup>105</sup> Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest: An Exhibit Organized by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 6 October to 11 December 1981*, 135, fig. 264; Bourriau, "Beyond Avaris: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt Outside the Eastern Delta," fig. 6.8; Bourriau et al., "The Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom at Deir al-Barsha," 122.

<sup>106</sup> Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, 27.

<sup>107</sup> Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," 145.

forms dating to the middle and end of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>108</sup> The end niche and double end niche burial types are thus also used as chronological indicators.

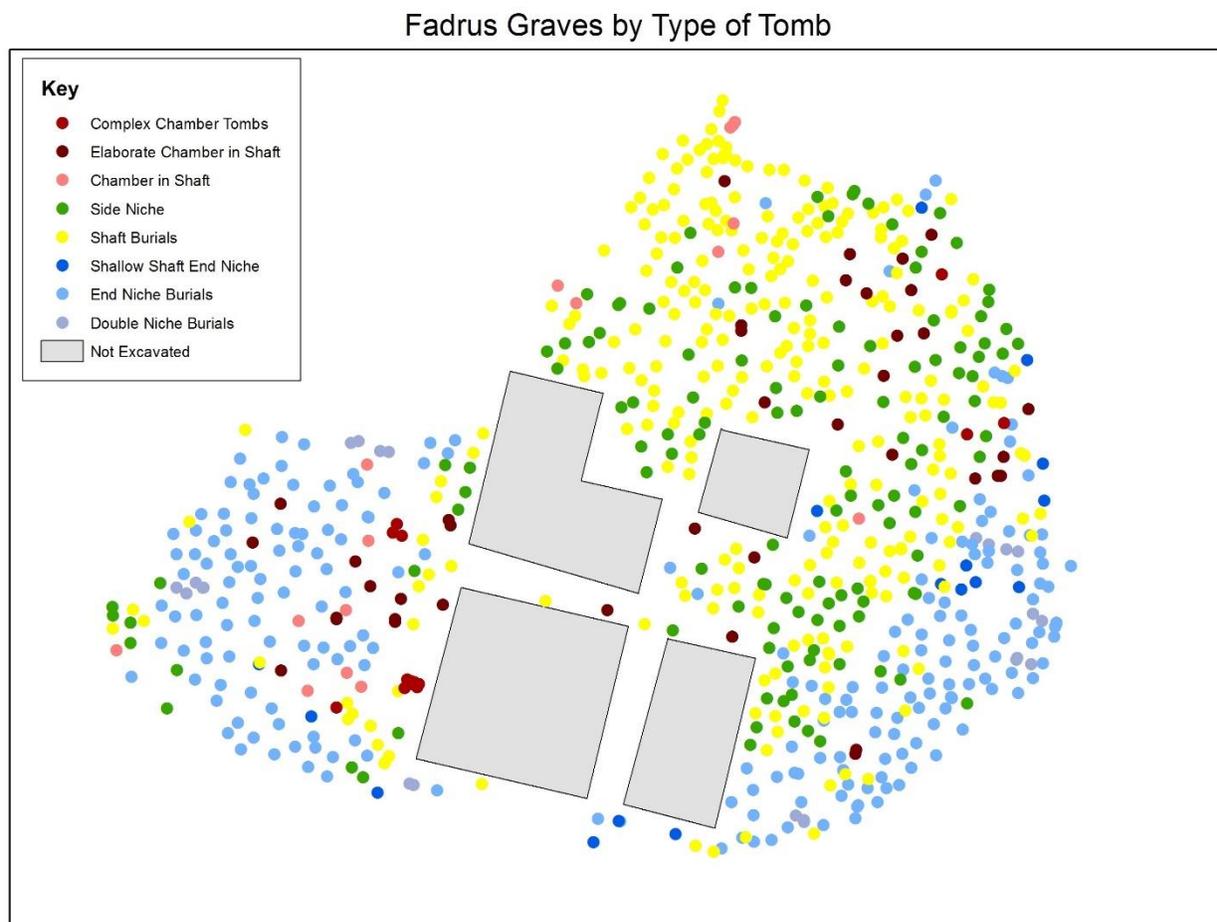


Figure 4.9: Types of tomb constructions at Site 185 (Fadrus).

<sup>108</sup> At Qustul, four end niche and double end niche tombs included earlier ceramics in their earliest burials. In three of the tombs (R45, R46, and VF83), the only early ceramic form was a short-necked carinated vessel (CS1). In the other instance (R58), the only early ceramic form was a direct rim cup with incised lines (WD3). The other pottery within these tombs were common throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, such as ring-based plates and ovoid jars. There are two possible explanations for the occurrence of early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty pottery with the end niche style tombs at Qustul. First, the end niche style could appear at Qustul at an earlier date, possibly because the site is located more closely to the Egyptian border and thus new burial styles were “imported” earlier there. Second, the earlier ceramic forms are “leftovers” from the previous period and the tombs in fact date to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. It is possible the short-necked carinated vessels and the cup with incised lines could have still been in the process of fading out of use at the time these individuals were interred (i.e. very early in the reign of Thutmose III). Given the lack of other early forms, that the end niche types are clearly associated with the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty within the SJE concession, and that the ceramics clearly indicate that main period of use of the Qustul/Adindan cemeteries was the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, I have taken these four tombs to date to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

## Amphorae

Amphorae can be difficult to date due to their long-lived forms; however, a few types appeared in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty that are distinct and chronologically limited. Amphorae with three handles (Figure 4.10a) are generally dated to the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>109</sup> A few examples are found at Amarna, indicating they could appear as late as the reign of Akhenaten.<sup>110</sup> Amphorae with horizontal handles (basket handles) were thought by Holthoer to possibly date to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Figure 4.10b).<sup>111</sup> Handles of this type are now known to first appear on necked jars during the reign of Hatshepsut.<sup>112</sup> They are also very common at Amarna, indicating their use spans to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty chronologically.<sup>113</sup> Most examples within the OINE and SJE concessions have bichrome decoration (discussed below), indicating a mostly mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date.

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<sup>109</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 101.

<sup>110</sup> Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, Type MF7.

<sup>111</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 102.

<sup>112</sup> Susan J. Allen, "Pottery and Stone Vessels in the Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III," in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catherine Roehrig, Renee Dreyfus, and Cathleen A. Keller (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 228, 32-33.

<sup>113</sup> Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*. Types SF 6.6 and MF 9.1-9.5.

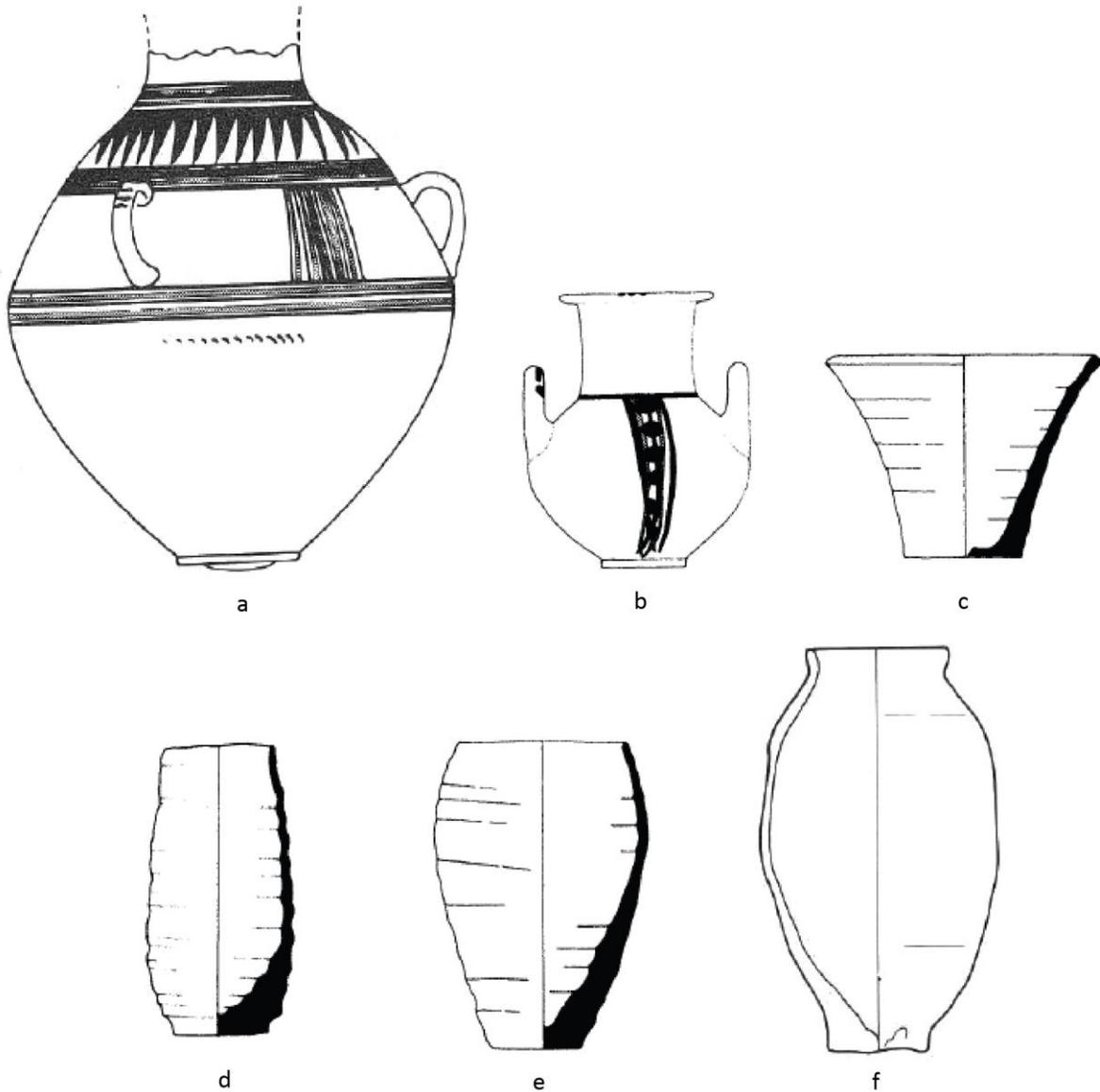


Figure 4.10: Pottery typical of the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. (a) three-handed amphora, 185/520:2, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 32 (b) jar with horizontal handles, V76-21, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 8p (c) flower pot, R35-87, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 1d (d) beer jar, R29-4, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 2i (e) beer jar, S8-31, SOURCE: Williams 1992, Fig 2o (f) beer jar, 185/354:1, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 18. Scale 1:5.

### Flower Pots

Flower pots (also known as Blumentopf or pot de fleur) are so named because of their universal shape and generally perforated bases (Figure 4.10c). The hole precludes their use for holding liquids, and they are suggested by Holthoer as possible bread molds.<sup>114</sup> In the case of the SJE cemeteries, there

<sup>114</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 83.

is no evidence of secondary heat exposure, which lead Holthoer to conclude that these were votive symbols for bread, a statement which could be supported by their frequent occurrence with the “beer jars” (see below). This interpretation has since been discarded, and based on evidence of flower pots found in situ in a garden at Ezbet Helmi they are now considered likely to be actual flower pots.<sup>115</sup> Recent research also indicates that flower pots have a much more restricted chronological range than the beer jars, which are found well into the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Flower pots first appear during the reign of Hatshepsut, and cease to be common by Amenhotep III’s time.<sup>116</sup> At Fadrus they are only found in the outer areas of the cemetery, further supporting a mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date (see Figure 4.11).

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<sup>115</sup> Irmgard Hein, "Erste Beobachtungen zur Keramik aus Ezbet Helmi," *Egypt and the Levant* 4(1994): 39-40.

<sup>116</sup> Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," 145; Martin, "Egyptian-Type Eighteenth Dynasty Pots at Megiddo," 215-16; Pierce, "Living and Dying Abroad: Aspects of Egyptian Cultural Identity in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Canaan," 494. At Amarna they are very rare, with only a few attestations. Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, 71, Type SE1.1.

## Flower Pots at Fadrus

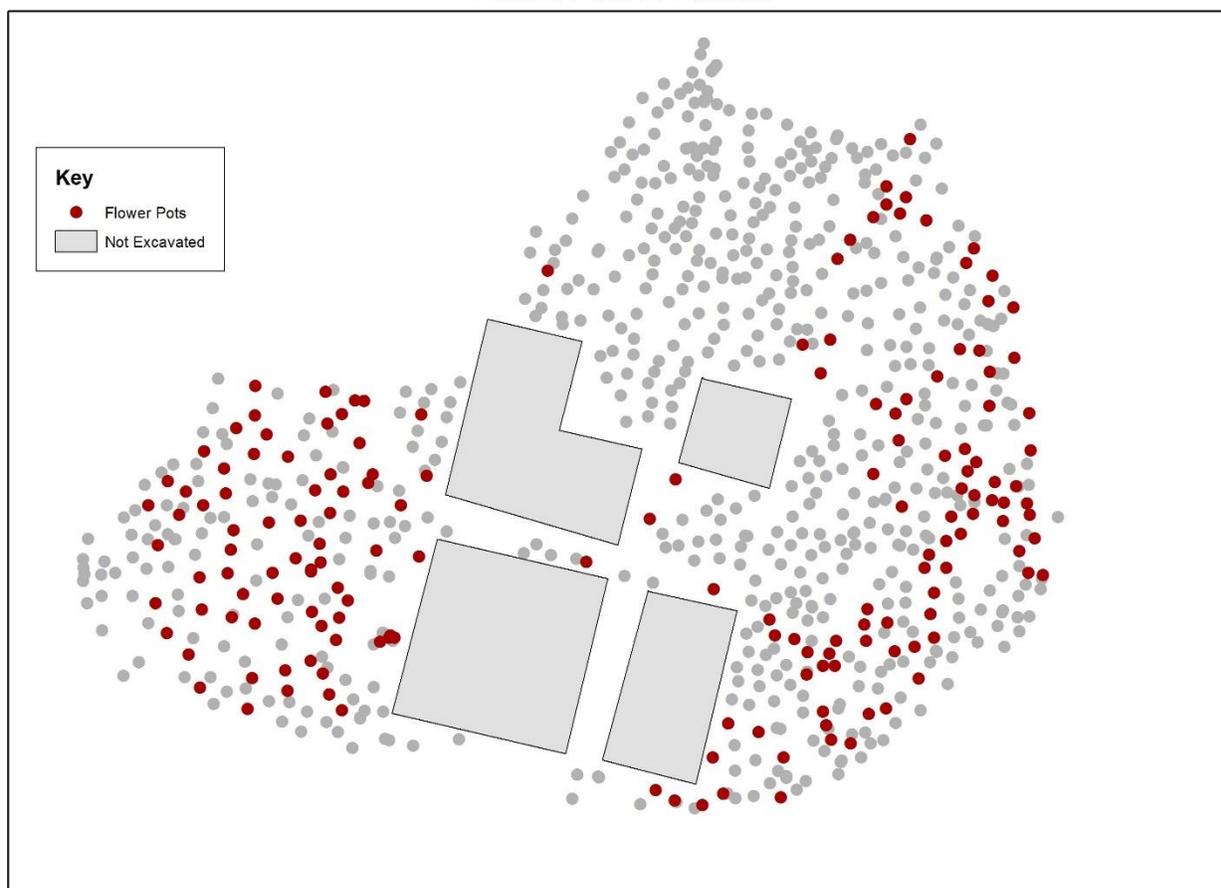


Figure 4.11: Occurrence of Flower Pot ceramic forms at Fadrus.

### Beer Bottles

Vessels termed to be beer bottles or beer jars (Figure 4.10d-f) are characterized by their “careless” fabrication and fingerprints on the base.<sup>117</sup> They are found throughout Egypt, Nubia, and the Levant in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> dynasties. Because they are locally produced for the most part, there is a great deal of intra-site variation which precludes a standard typology. In Lower Nubia they do not seem to enter the ceramic corpus until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, as they do not appear in tombs with other ceramics dating to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This is also supported by their geographical distribution at the Fadrus cemetery (see Figure 4.12).

<sup>117</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 86.

## Beer Bottles at Fadrus

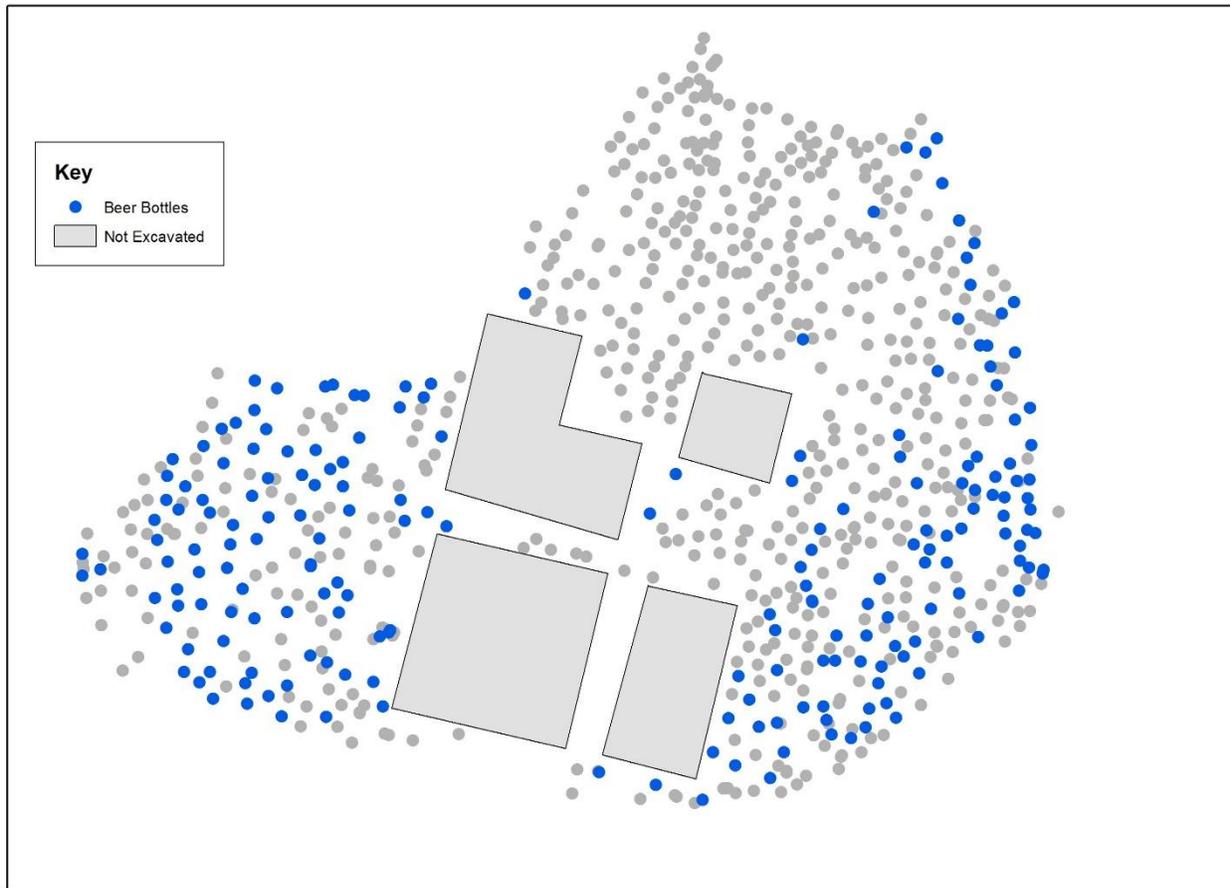


Figure 4.12: Occurrence of Beer Bottles at Fadrus.

### New Decorative Styles

During the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, a new decorative style of lines with round circles or dots appears, termed “swallows on a wire” (Figure 4.13a-b).<sup>118</sup> This motif is typical of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, but does not last long after.<sup>119</sup> Another short-lived decorative style was “splashware” (Figure 4.13c). These are what appear to be careless drips of red paint on vessel walls. Once assumed to just be the result of careless handling by the potter or painter, they are actually found from Canaan to Nubia in fairly restricted chronological contexts. Aston has shown that so many

<sup>118</sup> Holthoer’s dot-dash decoration. *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>119</sup> Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga’ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest: An Exhibit Organized by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 6 October to 11 December 1981*, 78-79, n.150; Bourriau et al., “The Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom at Deir al-Barsha,” 120.

“careless” potters in so many places seems unreasonable, and that these splashware pots all date to the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.<sup>120</sup> The last new decorative style to appear during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty was bichrome decoration in red and black (Figure 4.13d-e). This first appears on carinated vessels, juglets, and jars in the reign of Hatshepsut.<sup>121</sup> Its height of popularity is during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and it becomes rare by the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> David A. Aston, "Making a Splash: Ceramic Decoration in the Reigns of Thutmose III and Amenophis II," in *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, ed. Ernst Czerny, et al., *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 149* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006).

<sup>121</sup> David A. Aston, *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes QI: Teil 1: Corpus of Fabrics, Wares and Shapes*, Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt: Die Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir - Pi-Ramesse: Ein Gemeinschaftsprojekt des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim und des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo 1 (Mainz: Verlag Philippe von Zabern, 1998), 55; Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest: An Exhibit Organized by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 6 October to 11 December 1981*, 134 no. 262; Janine Bourriau, "Pottery," in *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 B.C.* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1982 ), 79-80 no.55. It should be noted that Holthoer consistently uses the term polychrome to refer to what is now considered bichrome decoration. For example, decoration type 6P is described as "Polychrome intricate vertical decoration, similar to the previous one [6D], but involving two colours, usually red and dark." Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 93. True polychrome decoration is datable to the Amarna period and does not appear in the corpus here except for a few surface sherds. *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>122</sup> Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, 26.

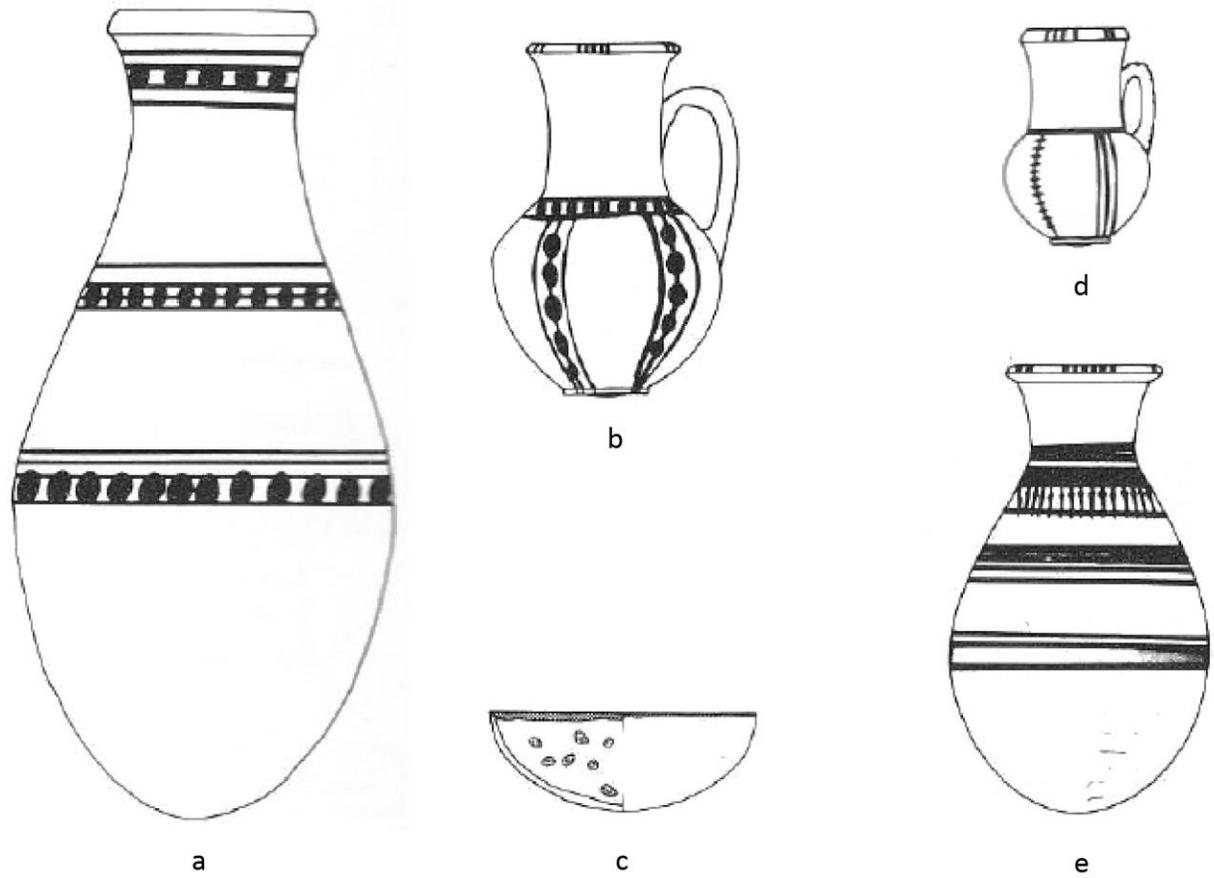


Figure 4.13: New decorative styles in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. (a) ovoid jar with “swallows on a wire” decoration, 185/599:4, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 37 (b) juglet with “swallows on a wire” decoration, 185/463:4, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 20 (c) splashware decoration on a bowl or cup, 185/507:27, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 25 (d) bichrome decoration on a juglet, 185/371:3, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 20 (e) bichrome decoration on an ovoid jar, 185/322:6, SOURCE: Holthoer 1977, Pl 36. Scale 1:5

### Mid to Late 18th Dynasty Ceramics at Fadrus

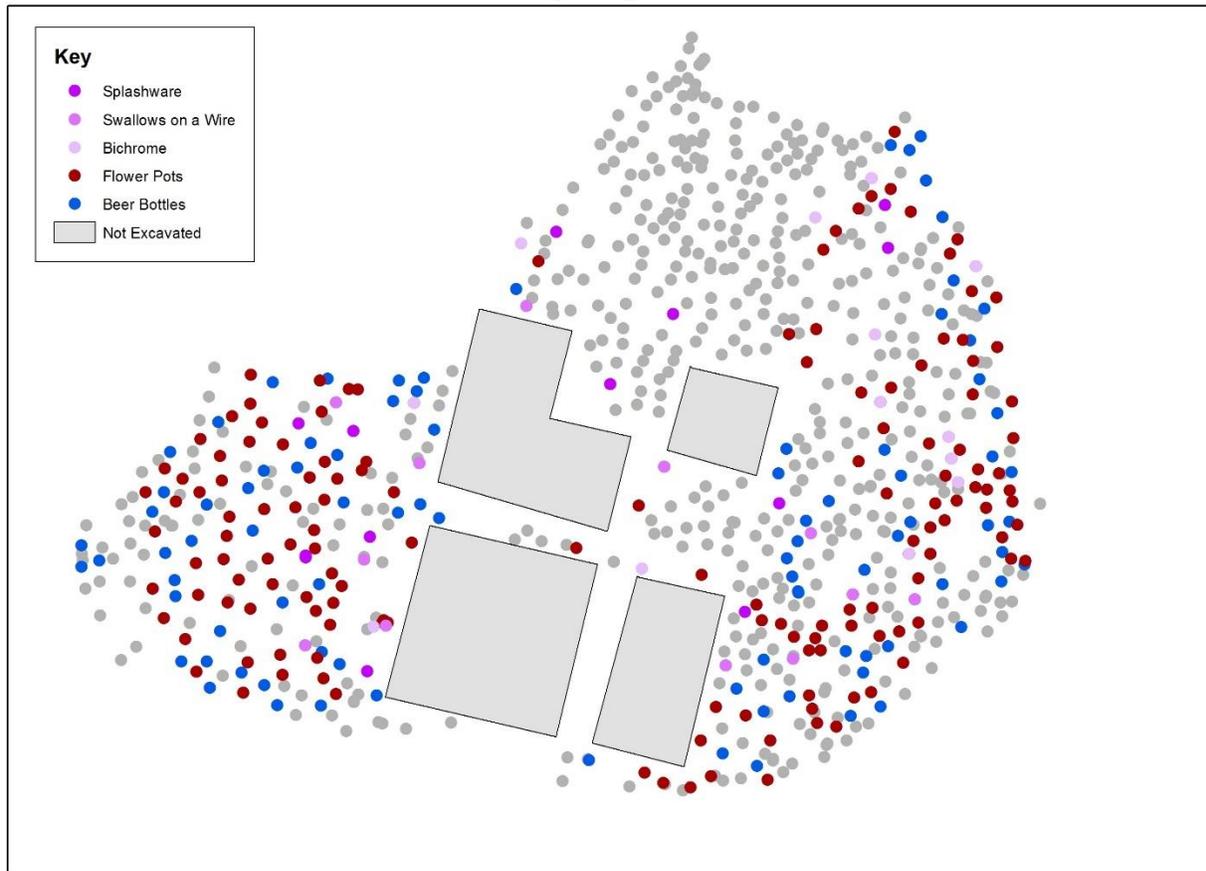


Figure 4.14: Mid-to-late 18th Dynasty ceramic forms at Fadrus.

#### Late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Amenhotep III through Horemheb)

From the pottery found in the tomb of Tutankhamun and the elite burials of the period, it is clear that there was a major break in pottery traditions. A large number of new forms enter the repertoire, and marl fabrics begin to dominate, at least in Egypt.<sup>123</sup> Blue painted pottery also first appears, and reaches its zenith of use between the reigns of Tutankhamun and Horemheb, though it is not frequently seen outside of the tombs of elites.<sup>124</sup> Pottery typical of the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty does not frequently appear in the OINE and SJE concessions, suggesting that by those periods the cemeteries in the region had fallen out of use for the most part.

<sup>123</sup> Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," 147.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

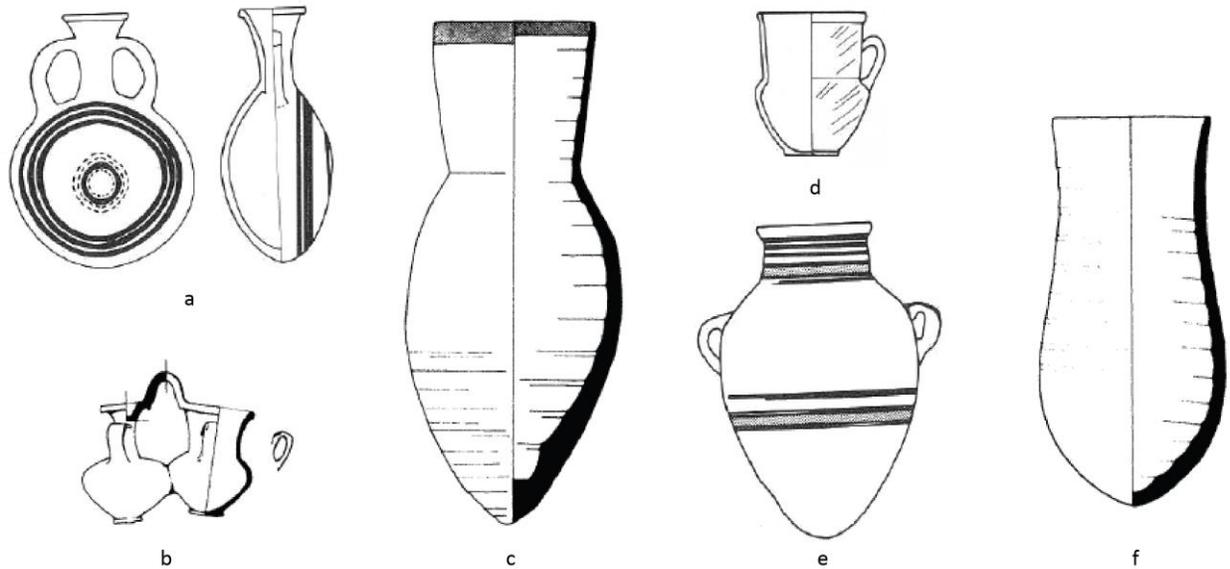


Figure 4.15: Late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty forms found in Lower Nubia. (a) pilgrim flask, 176/12:05, Holthoer 1977, Pl 22 (b) Double vessel, V48-104, Williams 1992, Fig 9d (c) funnel-necked jar, R35-40, Williams 1992, Fig 6g (d) squat mug, 185/401:1, Holthoer 1977, Pl 21 (e) Squat amphora, 185/245:1, Holthoer 1977, Pl 22 (f) wavy sided beaker, R35-75, Williams 1992, Fig 3f. Scale 1:5.

#### Pilgrim Flasks

Pilgrim flasks or bottles (Figure 4.15a) have a Cypriot or Phoenician origin, and are very common throughout the Near East during the Late Bronze Age.<sup>125</sup> They first appear in tomb contexts in Egypt dated to the reign of Thutmose III, but are most common in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and into the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>126</sup> They appear rarely with the SJE and OINE concessions, with the exception of Site 176 which had a large number (24) included as grave goods, six of which were ritually “killed”.<sup>127</sup>

#### Funnel-necked Jars

Biconical jars with composite contours, short-to-medium length necks and direct rims are commonly referred to as funnel-necked jars (Figure 4.15c). They do not appear until the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>128</sup> They are common at Amarna, and frequently have a polychrome decoration there.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 99.

<sup>126</sup> Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," 145.

<sup>127</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 202.

<sup>128</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 103.

<sup>129</sup> Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, 101. Types SH9.4 and SH 9.5.

Polychrome decoration is not represented within the SJE and OINE concessions with the exception of a few sherds in disturbed contexts.

#### *Double Vessels*

Double vessels are composed of two vessels, usually of two different types, connected at the body and at the rim by means of an attached piece of clay (Figure 4.15b). Usually double vessels are a combination of a pilgrim flask and a squat juglet, and are only found in tomb contexts. They are dated specifically to the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>130</sup>

#### *Squat Mugs or Juglets*

Squat vessels with one handle (Figure 4.15d) first appear in the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and are a common component in Double Vessels, usually with a pilgrim flask. There are good parallels at Amarna and in the tomb of Tutankhamun for the types found in Lower Nubia.<sup>131</sup> They are very rare within the SJE concession, and only appear in the OINE concession as part of double vessels.

#### *Wavy-sided beakers*

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, drop pots or beakers evolve from the straight-sided forms of the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty to more sinusoidal forms (Figure 4.15f). These beakers are common at Amarna.<sup>132</sup>

#### *Squat Amphora*

Squat amphora are generally dated to the mid-to-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Figure 4.15e).<sup>133</sup>

### Chronology of the Lower Nubian Cemeteries

As evidenced by Table 4.3 and Table 4.4 below, it is not always possible to date individual graves with more specificity than the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Many individuals were interred with only a few grave goods

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<sup>130</sup> Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, 103; Aston, "New Kingdom Pottery as Revealed Through Well Dated Tomb Contexts," 151.

<sup>131</sup> Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, 123, Types MD1.2, MD1.3.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 90. Type SH2.1.

<sup>133</sup> Aston, "Amphorae in New Kingdom Egypt," 184.

(or none at all), and in those instances the goods included were usually of very common 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty types, such as plates or bowls. Within both concessions, only about 50% of the individual graves could be securely dated, though nearly half of that number could only be dated to Thutmose III or later due to ceramic forms which came into use during his reign but persisted until the end of the dynasty. Even at Fadrus, which given the large number of units and detailed site plans has the advantage of using geospatial information to assist in dating, it is still difficult to assign dates to the poorer burials in the center of the cemetery (see Figure 4.16). Many of them likely date to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty given their location, but it is also possible that those units may be poorer burials of the mid- and late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty which were interspersed in the older parts of the cemetery. The dating problem is particularly pronounced with the New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries, which were heavily plundered, reducing the amount of securely datable material. With the exception of Site 176, which is unusual in many respects and will be discussed in the following chapter, no material dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty was found on the New Kingdom Nubian sites, suggesting that these sites solely date to the early and mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Thus, it is clear that given the lack of late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ceramic forms, within the SJE area the majority of cemeteries date to the early and middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, with relatively little activity taking place after the reign of Amenhotep III.

Table 4.3: Dated graves within the SJE concession, based primarily on ceramic forms and grave type.

	Type	Early 18 <sup>th</sup>	Probable Early 18 <sup>th</sup> *	Mid-18 <sup>th</sup>	Late 18 <sup>th</sup>	Mid-late 18 <sup>th</sup> **	18th Dynasty Unknown
<b>Fadrus</b>	Pharaonic	51	208	236	13	209	15
<b>Site 35</b>	New Kingdom Nubian	7		1		1	64
<b>Site 64</b>	Pharaonic			1		1	
<b>Site 146</b>	Pharaonic			1			1
<b>Site 172</b>	Pharaonic			5		1	9
<b>Site 174</b>	Pharaonic			2			
<b>Site 176</b>	New Kingdom Nubian			2	11	1	90
<b>Site 183</b>	Pharaonic			2			11
<b>Site 201</b>	New Kingdom Nubian						27
<b>Site 220</b>	New Kingdom Nubian					1	55
<b>Site 229</b>	New Kingdom Nubian			1			3
<b>Site 229</b>	Pharaonic						1
<b>Site 280</b>	Pharaonic			1		2	5
<b>Site 309</b>	Pharaonic						1
<b>Site 318</b>	Pharaonic			2			4
<b>Site 400</b>	Pharaonic			6			4
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>56</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>290</b>

\*“Probable Early 18th” is used for tombs at Fadrus that lack ceramics specifically datable to only the early 18th dynasty but are located in the area of the cemetery that appears to be the central core of the cemetery, where the majority of ceramics found are of early 18th dynasty date. For analysis these are considered as early 18th dynasty.

\*\* The designation “Mid-late 18th” is used for tombs with ceramic forms that are in use from the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III to the end of the dynasty. In the case of Fadrus and the other SJE sites it is clear that very little ceramics typical of the late 18th dynasty are present, and thus these tombs could be considered mid-18th dynasty in date for the purposes of this analysis.

### Burials at Fadrus by Date

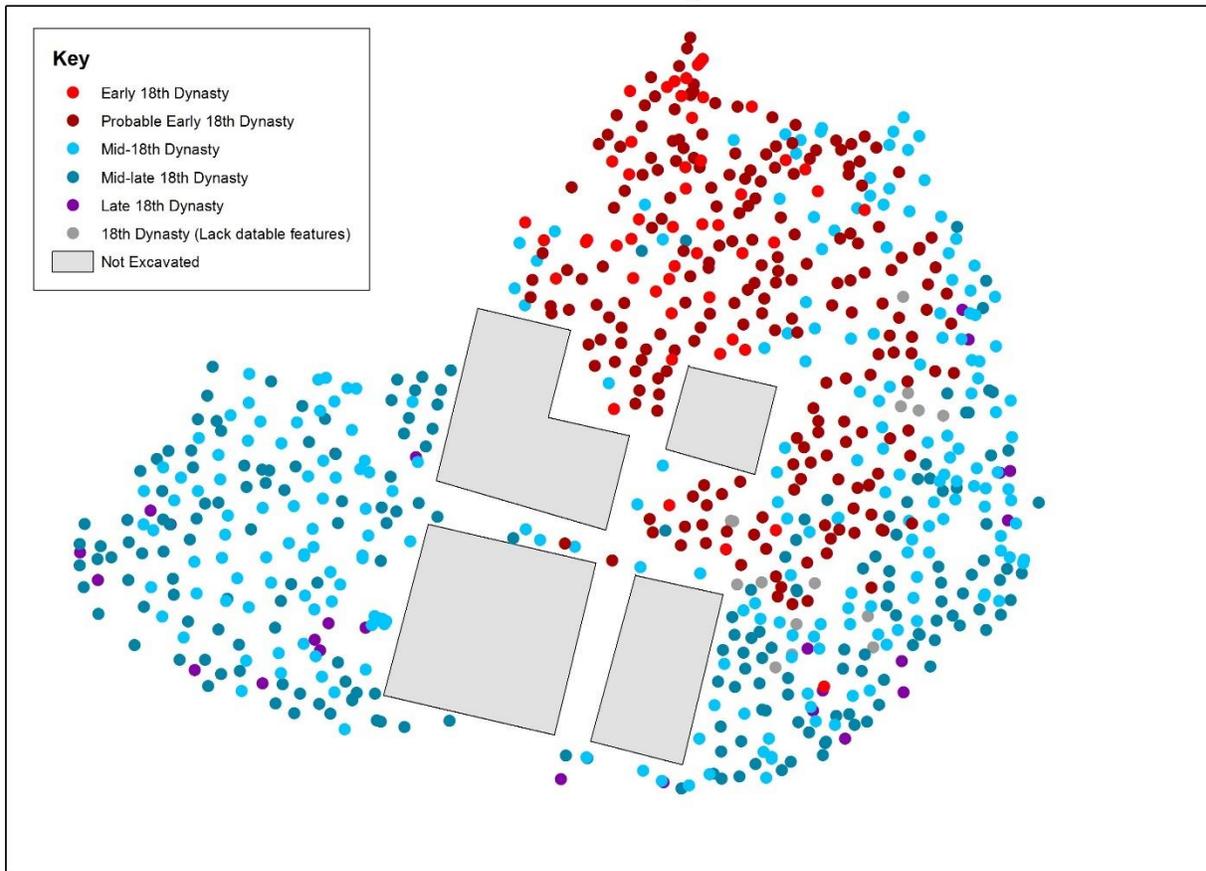


Figure 4.16: Burials at Fadrus by date.

At Qustul and Adindan we see a similar evolution of the cemeteries. While early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burials are present, they are relatively small in number.<sup>134</sup> Graves with ceramics datable to the middle of the 18th dynasty predominate, as seen within the SJE concession area. However, there are more examples of individuals with late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ceramics included in their tomb equipment (54). That said, it should be noted that late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ceramics are still rare within the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries, and nearly all of the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burials were in two tombs with multiple interment episodes.<sup>135</sup> The lack of forms typical of the Amarna period may indicate that the majority of these late

<sup>134</sup> It is probable that many early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burials were lost by subsequent reuse of their tombs, which was common. In many of the tombs with multiple burial episodes, the burials in the chamber/niche, which could be presumed to be the earliest, often had only fragmentary remains.

<sup>135</sup> Tomb 35 at Cemetery R, an enlarged double end niche tomb, had a minimum of 33 individuals interred during at least 7 burial episodes (20 of whom were included in the study here, the rest being disarticulated mixed

18<sup>th</sup> dynasty individuals date to the reign of Amenhotep III, after which the cemetery fell out of use. The exception to this is VC46, an end niche style tomb with an enlarged chamber that has typical mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty material in the chamber but significantly later objects associated with the subsequent burials in the shaft. These include a scarab with the prenomen of Ramesses II included with a burial at the base of the shaft, and multiple point-tapered amphora which date to the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty, along with other ceramics which are not typical of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>136</sup> These appear to be the only 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty burials in the region, and due to its late date VC46 is not included in the analyses.<sup>137</sup>

Table 4.4: Dated individual burials within the OINE concession area included in this study, primarily based on ceramic forms and grave type.

	Cemetery Type	Early 18th	Probable Early 18th	Mid-18th	Late 18th	Mid-late 18th	18th Dynasty Unspecified
Serra East	Pharaonic			3			3
Cemetery R	Pharaonic	5	4	62	28	18	12
Cemetery S	Pharaonic					18	1
Cemetery V	Pharaonic			1		14	
Cemetery VC	Pharaonic			1	19	5	1
Cemetery VD	Pharaonic			5	5		2
Cemetery VF	Pharaonic	6	2	8	2	27	6
Cemetery VG	Pharaonic			3		3	
Cemetery VH	Pharaonic					7	
Cemetery W	Pharaonic	1					7
Cemetery K	Pharaonic	4				1	7
<b>TOTAL</b>		16	6	83	54	86	43

### The Implications of Re-dating Fadrus

As perhaps the most heavily studied Lower Nubian cemetery, there are significant implications in adjusting the dates of the Fadrus tombs, as many authors cite the analysis of Fadrus by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy to support their own discussions of the occupation of Nubia by Egypt. In particular,

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remains). The east burial chamber and one of the shaft burials included funnel necked jars, indicating the shaft burials must date to the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The west chamber was heavily disturbed, but included ceramics datable to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The other tomb was another double end niche, Tomb 48 in Cemetery VC, which included 23 individuals interred in 9 burial episodes. The remains in the chambers date to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty based on the inclusion of flower pots, but the burials in the shaft (18) include funnel necked jars, pilgrim flasks, and double vessels.

<sup>136</sup> Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 264.

<sup>137</sup> A list of all Qustul and Adindan tombs excluded from this study can be found in Appendix 3.

scholars use their analysis of changes in socioeconomic status over time. To determine status, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy assigned a ranking system making use of a five-point scale, based mainly on the types and number of objects in the tomb (

Table 4.5). They then evaluated changes in status of the populations in each Fadrus phase. Phase I (early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty) in their analysis is characterized by the generous distribution of wealth, with a large number of chamber with ramp tombs as well as side niche tombs displaying some degree of wealth, as 63% of tombs dated to Fadrus I had a ranking of 3 or above.<sup>138</sup> In Fadrus II (mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty), they see increasing social differentiation, which indicates a class society. The proportion of rank 2 burials increases to 70.6% in IIa, 53.5% in IIb, and 63.4% in IIc, while the higher level units become more complex in construction and have an increase in wealth. They also hypothesize an increase in population, perhaps reflecting an increase in the labor force corresponding to the needs of the Egyptian bureaucracy.<sup>139</sup> However, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy do admit that a large portion of the transition between I and II was lost under modern housing, which may have had an impact on their analysis.<sup>140</sup> In Fadrus III (late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty), they see the strongly differentiated hierarchy of Fadrus II replaced by the total domination of lower status units, with 90.7% of the units of IIIb classified as rank 2, with the remaining few rank 3. Imported goods decline in the tombs, and personal adornments become rare, as do other manufactured goods such as kohl pots. They interpret this as due to the gradual limitation of Egyptian involvement in the area.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 249.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

Table 4.5: The status ranking system employed by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy. SOURCE: Säve-Söderbergh, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, Vol. 5:2, 224-225.

Rank	Criteria
1	Findless units, most commonly shafts but also side niches and end niches (23%)
2	Units with one to four pots, sometimes also containing seals, beads, and/or earrings. Tomb types include shafts, side niches, and end niches. (48.8%)
3	Units with four or more pots, and may also include beads, seals, necklaces, bracelets, and/or figurative pendants. Tomb types include shafts, side niches, end niches, and chambers-in-shafts. (20%)
4	Units with four or more pots and metal objects such as weapons, razors, or metal vessels. Funerary masks can also appear. Only found in side niche and chamber-in-shaft tombs. (1.8%)
5	Chamber with ramp tombs, commonly containing the remains of funerary masks, numerous ceramic vessels, possibly seals, beads, and the remains of metal items. Four chamber-in-shaft tombs are also included. (6.2%)

This analysis and interpretation is frequently cited by scholars to support their own analyses of the Egyptian occupation and the process of Egyptianization. Stuart Tyson Smith in his book *Askut in Nubia* extensively discusses the site of Fadrus in relation to his evaluation of the economics of Egyptian imperialism.<sup>142</sup> Like Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, he argues that the jump in lower status burials in the Fadrus II period indicates an increasingly stratified society, and suggests that the Fadrus III burials indicate that the majority of the population had moved to the towns.<sup>143</sup> Smith refines his arguments in his 2003 book, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. There he argues that the increase in middle and low status burials at Fadrus during the II phase (mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty) reflects the acculturation of the broader populace at that time.<sup>144</sup> In the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Fadrus III) he sees elite burials only in the Egyptian centers, as large private and temple estates managed by the elites replaced the more egalitarian socioeconomic structure of the C-Group.<sup>145</sup> Lastly, László Török refers extensively to Fadrus in his discussion of acculturation in Lower Nubia.<sup>146</sup> He agrees with Säve-

<sup>142</sup> Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, 149-54.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>144</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 84-85.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 263-80.

Söderbergh and Troy's interpretation of the development of the cemetery, seeing a relatively egalitarian population in Fadrus I, followed by a more complex class society in II. He sees a picture of increasing Egyptianization in each stage, particularly in the change from the use of funerary masks to the use of coffins.<sup>147</sup> He interprets the decline of Fadrus as due to the development of the temple town of Faras in the reign of Tutankhamun, which shifted the settlement hierarchy away from the Serra region.<sup>148</sup> He also implicates the extinction of the line of the Princes of Tekhet sometime in the reign of Thutmose III as contributing to the decline.<sup>149</sup>

As Smith's and Török's interpretations are frequently cited by other scholars who do not always reference the original excavation publication, it is worth discussing in detail the original analysis by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy. There are two different sets of issues with their analysis, which have to do with how they determined the chronology (discussed in part above) and with their methods for assessing socioeconomic status. The perhaps most problematic issue with their methodology is the exclusion of units that were not assigned a specific phase during the correspondence analysis. They state: "Although effort has been made to place these units in the context of the system of Fadrus phases, taking geographical placement, tomb type, etc. into consideration...the placement is much too vague to be used in an overall analysis."<sup>150</sup> They then go on to discuss their results (described above). Thus, a large portion of the population is missing from their discussion, the majority belonging to the lower classes (e.g. an SJE status ranking of 1 or 2). In total, it appears that 136<sup>151</sup> tombs were excluded from the analysis, or 20% of the Fadrus tombs (see Figure 4.17). Such an exclusion makes it difficult to make any

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 249.

<sup>151</sup> This number was not published but arrived at by counting the number of tombs given a provisional date of multiple periods (e.g. "Fadrus Ib-IIa") in the registers.

determinations regarding the proportion of lower class individuals in each phase, as the majority of such individuals were never included in the analysis in the first place.

SJE Status Rankings with SJE-Assigned Dates

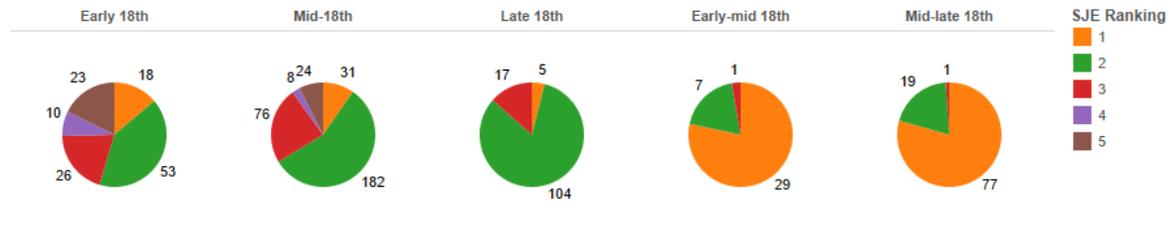


Figure 4.17: SJE status rank by SJE-assigned dates. Early, Mid, and Late 18<sup>th</sup> refer to Fadrus I, II, and III phases respectively. Early-mid and mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> refer to tombs which did not receive a date in the correspondence analysis, primarily due to lack of finds.

The ranking system itself is also problematic, as it relies heavily on pottery as the primary criteria. Essentially, units with four or less pots are determined to be lower status (e.g. rank 1 or 2), while units with more are higher status (e.g. ranks 3, 4, or 5, depending on the type of tomb and whether metal objects were found). The reasoning behind the choice of four pots as the cutoff is not explained. I would argue that the emphasis on pottery as an indicator of status is inherently flawed, as it was by far the most common grave good found and thus the amount of pottery is unlikely to have been primary avenue for ancient Nubians to have displayed the status of their dead. That is not to say tombs with unusually large amounts of pottery are not remarkable, but that the choice of four pots as the dividing line is not based on any rigorous criteria in relation to social status. It should also be noted that choosing metal as a secondary criterion is also an issue – clearly small spiral earrings should not be considered as equal in value to a worked and decorated metal bowl. Particularly comparing tombs of different middle rankings, we can see how problematic this status ranking system is individually. For example, Unit 74, containing a kohl pot, beads, scarabs, gold earrings, and two pots,<sup>152</sup> and Unit 260, containing a hair curler, silver spiral earrings, and a pot,<sup>153</sup> are both rank 3 according to the SJE’s system. These seem to be two individuals interred with quantitatively (and perhaps qualitatively) different

<sup>152</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 256.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

amounts of wealth, who yet are considered the same rank. In fact, some rank 2 tombs would appear to be of similar or higher status than Unit 260. For instance, the individual in Unit 73 was buried with three kohl pots, an ointment jar, and three pots.<sup>154</sup> The following chapter will suggest and apply alternative methods for assessing socioeconomic status in mortuary contexts that rely on more objective measures than used by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy.

Beyond their measures of socioeconomic status, the larger issue is that the dates of some tombs are wrong or less specific than their publication would indicate. Some of this is due to issues particular to the use of a correspondence analysis to determine the dates of the tombs. With such statistically-based techniques, the categories (“traits”) that are used are extremely important, and thus for dating it is critical to choose categories that are thought to have a chronological significance. The full list of traits (145 in total) used in the analysis are documented in Appendix 4, and it is clear that some categories are very broad and unlikely to have chronological significance, like axes or the use of faience beads. In fact, some categories had few occurrences in the dataset at all, such as ivory box inlays, which occurred in only three tombs and thus may not have had any significance chronologically. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy’s chronology also used royal name scarabs as categories, even though scarabs can remain in use for much longer than the reign of the king and therefore often only providing a *terminus post quem* for the tomb.<sup>155</sup> However, though these are all issues, the ceramics are in particular the most problematic, as documented above. It is clear that the categories used subsume multiple types of ceramics, and in some cases pottery from multiple periods, which would have had a significant impact on the results of the correspondence analysis. An example of how problematic the reliance on a solely statistical method can be demonstrated with Unit 356. This end niche tomb included a primary burial in the niche (B) sealed by mudbrick, and a secondary burial in the shaft next to the sealing (A). The tomb and its occupants were

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>155</sup> A fact acknowledged by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy themselves in their discussion of the seals found in the SJE concession. Ibid., 92-94.

dated by the correspondence analysis as Fadrus IIc (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV); however, Burial A included a scaraboid with the prenomen of Amenhotep III.<sup>156</sup> There is no reason to assume these two individuals were not buried in relatively close succession, given they were buried on the same level with no disturbance of the original burial. At the very least, the secondary burial must be reassigned to the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, if not the primary as well. In this particular instance, the use of the tomb for multiple burial episodes highlights an issue with the correspondence analysis, which was based on the tomb, not burial (and thus could be confused by successive burials). Lastly, it must be noted that the sub-phase dates assigned by the excavators are more specific than can be justified by the ceramics. For example, the Fadrus II phase, the most extensive in the number of tombs, is subdivided into IIa (the Hatshepsut/Thutmose III coregency), IIb (Thutmose III's sole rule), and IIc (Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV), though as discussed above there is not necessarily a great deal of difference in the ceramics in the reigns of Thutmose III and his next two successors (if any). Such short phasing also does not account for any style lag that might have occurred between ceramic developments in Egypt and their subsequent dissemination to Nubia.

A comparison of the socioeconomic status analysis using the original and revised dates further sharpens the issue with the dates. Figure 4.18 compares shows the SJE socioeconomic status rankings with both the SJE-assigned dates and the revised dates. The revised dates at first glance appear to leave more tombs in with uncertain dates, as a large portion of the tombs contained either pottery which is only suggestive of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty after the reign of Thutmose III, but without further specificity; or other, less certain metrics were used to suggest a date (such as tomb location, type, or a lack of later ceramic types<sup>157</sup>). Even so, it is immediately clear that with revised dates the SJE's socioeconomic status

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>157</sup> It was generally assumed that if a tomb contained an unusually high number of ceramic forms (5 or more) and did not include a common mid/late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty indicator (such as bichrome decoration, beer bottles, or flower pots, all of which are extremely common on the site), this tomb was likely to be early, particularly if it was located in the core of the cemetery.

model collapses from three periods (early-middle-late) into two (early-middle). Given the high probability of the “likely early” tombs as belonging to the Early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, as well as the little evidence for a significant Late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty presence on the site (discussed above), an argument can be made for further condensing the revised dates (Figure 4.19). In this instance, it would appear that socioeconomic stratification remained stable between the Early and Mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, at least by the metrics of the SJE.

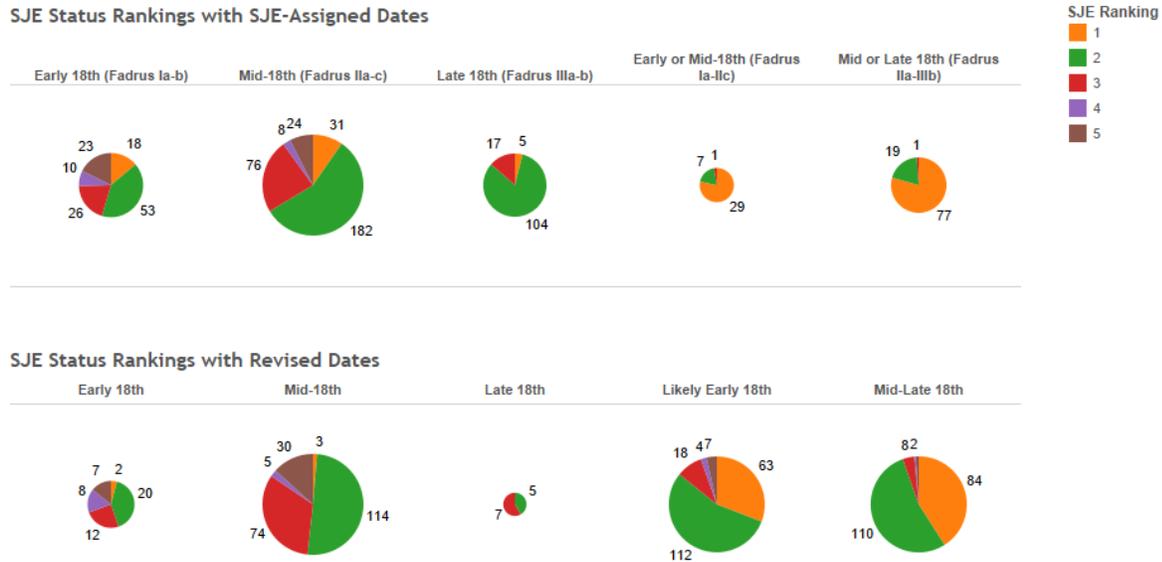


Figure 4.18: Comparison of SJE status rankings using the SJE-assigned dates with the same status rankings using revised dates. In the bottom chart, suggested by not independently confirmed dates are separated (furthest right pie charts).

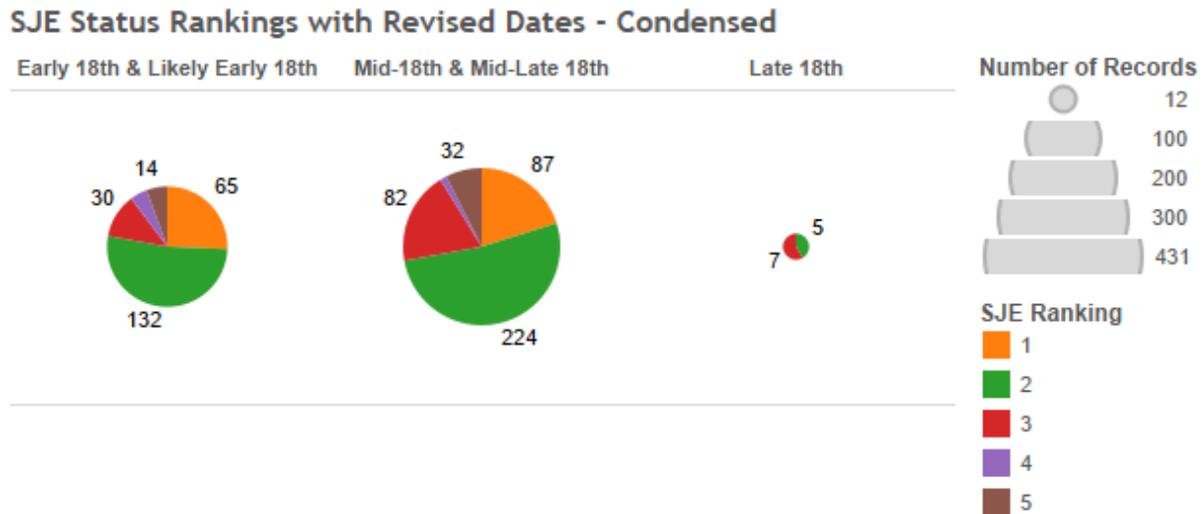


Figure 4.19: SJE status rankings with revised, condensed dates.

Thus, it is necessary to reevaluate the dates of the tombs and the status analysis. Using the criteria proposed above, we can see that while the majority of dates are correct in terms of early, middle, or late part of the dynasty, there is a significant amount of error (Figure 4.20). Amongst the tombs dated as early 18<sup>th</sup> (Fadrus Ia-Ib), only 17 were confirmed as not belonging to that chronological phase (13%). For the Fadrus IIa-IIc phase (mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty), about half were confirmed to be mid-18<sup>th</sup>; however, 54% were earlier or were termed mid-late, and 6 tombs were confirmed as late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty based on the ceramics. The most problematic phase was Fadrus IIIa-IIIb, the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. There over half (63) were confirmed mid-18<sup>th</sup> in date, while the remaining were mid-late in date (56). Only 7 tombs could be confirmed late, or 6%. The issues with the status ranking and the reevaluation of the dates of the tombs taken together show that the conclusions reached by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy and referenced by Smith and Török are invalid. In particular, any theories drawn from data regarding Fadrus in the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty are difficult to support, as the majority of those tombs in fact date to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty instead. The exclusion of lower status units from this analysis also calls into question any use of changing socioeconomic status to support theories of increasing Egyptianization.

**SJE Assigned Dates for Fadrus versus Reevaluated Dates**

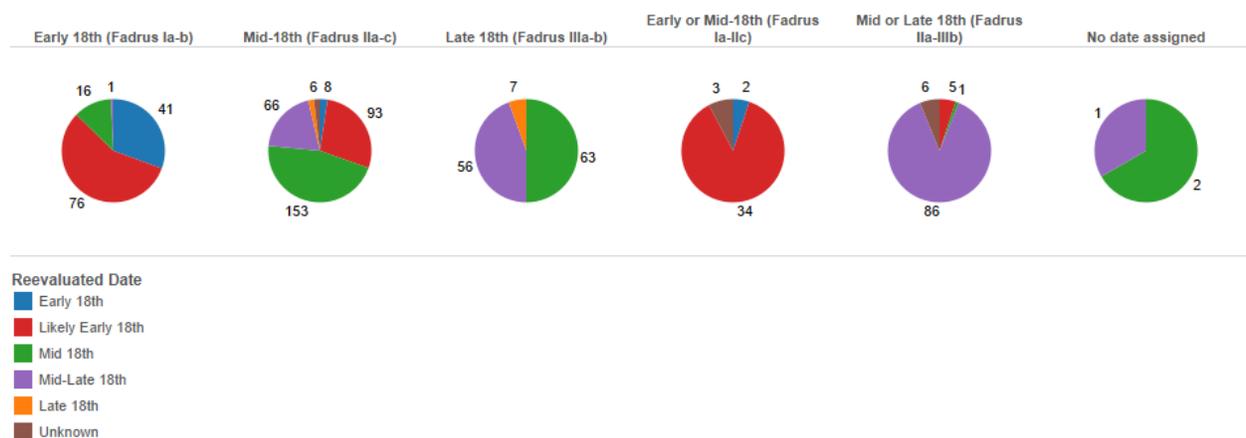


Figure 4.20: Comparison of SJE assigned dates with reevaluated dates based on recent scholarship.

## Conclusion

As has been demonstrated, the cemeteries excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia and the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition provide the opportunity to analyze a representative sample of the ancient Nubian population. Recent scholarship on the ceramic forms of the early and mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty allows for more accurate dates to be assigned, and to confirm that the cemeteries were in use for a relatively short span of time. The “Egyptian” cemeteries first appeared during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, likely after the reign of Amenhotep I. During the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, from the reigns of Thutmose III to Thutmose IV, the cemeteries expand greatly, after which they mostly fell out of use. The New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries, though heavily plundered, likely date to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty as well, and with the exception of the unique Site 176, also fell out of use by the Amarna period. The reasons for this seeming depopulation will be discussed in the following chapters, which use the methodologies and theoretical schema of the previous chapters to analyze the socioeconomic and cultural change within Lower Nubian cemeteries during the early New Kingdom.

## Chapter 5 : Socioeconomic and Cultural Change in Lower Nubian Burials

As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, investigating issues of identity, status, and cultural entanglement is a difficult, though necessary task in order to further our understanding of the Nubian response to the Egyptian occupation of their land. The dataset under study here is particularly complex, as it is made up of cemeteries scattered in space and time, with various preservation states and levels of detail in recording during excavation. Though the full dataset – 1,344 individual burials in 1,054 tombs – is large, it is not large enough to gauge trends on a level that takes into account every aspect of identity that might be communicated in burial practices. For example, to investigate whether women were more likely to be buried in ways that might suggest aspects of a Nubian identity, we would ideally want to control for the variables such as date, age, socioeconomic status, kin group, etc. This would require grouping burials by cemetery, date, age of the individual, and socioeconomic status, ultimately analyzing each group independently – looking, for example, first at elderly females at Cemetery W, followed by non-elderly adult females at Cemetery W, etc. However, in each “tier” of analysis we would be left with so few individuals matching our criteria that no results would be of statistical significance. Continuing the Cemetery W example, we only have two elderly adult females and two non-elderly adult females – hardly enough data to identify trends. Thus, it becomes necessary to investigate burials in aggregate, from different perspectives each time, eventually forming a picture of socioeconomic and cultural change in the region. By using intra- and inter-site comparisons and multiple variables, we can identify common trends in aggregate, while also not ignoring chronological change and intra-population diversity. This chapter investigates socioeconomic changes associated with the passage of time, and then analyzes the effect of age and sex on burial treatment. Lastly, it looks for evidence of cultural entanglement in the burial record.

## Quantifying the Dataset

In order to quantitatively and qualitatively analyze the Lower Nubian dataset, it was necessary to create a complete catalog of all of the region's burials using a standardized system that would work for both concessions. The database software FileMaker Pro was used to input all known information about each individual within each tomb. A separate but linked table was used to catalog objects associated with the burial. As single burials (one tomb, one body) comprise 70% of the Lower Nubian dataset, it was frequently possible to include even disturbed and plundered graves in the cataloging process. However, multiple burials are not uncommon, particularly in the OINE concession. Janet Richards, following Barry Kemp, suggests treating multiple burials as family burials, and thus a discrete unit of analysis.<sup>1</sup> This approach is certainly appropriate for Richards' study, which was focused on comparing the socioeconomic status of family groups at cemeteries near the administrative center of Egypt (Harageh and Riqqa) with those buried in a provincial cemetery (Abydos). Because this study is focused on a location and period of complicated cultural entanglement, where the expression of cultural affinity could be different between individuals even within the same family, it is necessary to focus on the individual rather than the family. Therefore, every effort was made to disentangle multiple burials and assign objects to their "owners". In some cases, it was clear that objects were intended for multiple individuals – such as when individuals shared coffins or in situ pottery was grouped around multiple skeletons – and in those instances the objects were included as belonging to multiple individuals.<sup>2</sup> This was usually only possible in the instances where tomb plans were available, as the written descriptions were not usually enough to reconstruct the relationships of objects to the individuals.<sup>3</sup> In many cases,

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<sup>1</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 66; Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 1989), 11.

<sup>2</sup> These objects were marked in the object database as shared so that they would not be duplicated in analyses of object placement.

<sup>3</sup> For many of these tombs without drawings, the descriptions make clear that the excavation records also lack the required information, as many objects are listed as having an uncertain location, and in some cases they could not even be attributed to a particular level.

tombs were heavily disturbed and mixed such that it was impossible to make sense of either the tomb chronology or the object-owner relationships. These burials were excluded from the data collection process and the subsequent analysis (see Appendix III), though they are sometimes used to emphasize or qualify conclusions drawn with the statistical evidence.

Once burials were cataloged, a number of quantitative measures of socioeconomic status were calculated, drawn from the mortuary studies discussed in Chapter 3. The most common measure employed in such studies is the use of effort expenditure as a proxy for status. Effort expenditure is the simple measure of grave volume, expressed in cubic meters, and is taken as a reflection of the ability or willingness of the individual or group responsible for the grave to invest in labor.<sup>4</sup> The requisite measurements (length, width, and height of chambers and shafts) are available for most, though not all, of the tombs in the dataset. In the case of multiple interments, the volume was computed by determining the volume of material excavated from the preexisting tomb to inter the body. Excavating material from a preexisting tomb was likely a less labor-intensive process than the creation of an entirely new tomb; however, while intra-site comparison may be hindered by this issue, the relative hierarchy within sites dominated by multiple burials would still be preserved. For the New Kingdom Nubian sites, grave volumes are especially small (usually less than 0.50 cubic meters), with very little variation within sites.<sup>5</sup> It would appear at those cemeteries that the labor-intensive portion of the burial process was the surface construction of a stone ring or mound, and the burial shaft itself was only required to be as large as was necessary to fit the contracted body on its side. For this reason, the surface construction was used as the equivalent for grave volume within the analysis.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 109.

<sup>5</sup> Though few skeletons were preserved in these sites, where they are preserved, variations in shaft size are directly proportional to the size of the individual.

<sup>6</sup> Because these were for the most part irregular circles (as indicated by the drawings) but only had maximum length and width recorded, these numbers are only estimates. To compute the area, the formula  $A=r^2\pi$  was used, where each radius was one-half the width/length measurement.

The other manner of assessing socioeconomic status involves the objects interred with the individual. One method is to simply count the number of objects found, which necessitates excluding any plundered or heavily disturbed burials from analysis, as the numbers would of course be artificially low. A simple count can also be misleading, as there were many types of objects interred with the deceased which would have had different (monetary) values. Thus, a better method, used by Janet Richards, is to determine the assemblage diversity, which is a straight count of the number of major artifact categories that are present.<sup>7</sup> The object categories used here are described in Table 5.1. Each category is counted once; for instance, a unit with four types of pottery and a selection of beads would have a score of 2, while a unit with a coffin, two types of pottery, beads and scarabs, and a kohl jar would have a score of 4. In a similar vein to object diversity, the diversity of materials can also be used to determine access to resources. The basic assumption with both methods is that individuals with greater access to different kinds of resources will show greater diversity of equipment, thus providing a proxy for socioeconomic status. These methods also allow for the inclusion of some disturbed and plundered graves, as in many cases there were remains of many classes of objects, even though the unit had been plundered. However, multiple burials where interment episodes are difficult to discern cannot typically be included as it is difficult to determine with any certainty which objects belonged to which individual. Also, both of these methods can be problematic in certain situations – such as a grave with dozens of pots but very few other classes of objects. Thus, as no method hereto described will perfectly demonstrate socioeconomic status for all units, a combined approach using all available methods allows for the most accurate understanding of the data.

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<sup>7</sup> Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, 109.

Table 5.1: Object categories used to determine assemblage diversity.

Category	Description
<b>Burial Outfit</b>	Items used to encase the body, such as coffins, shrouds, masks, etc.
<b>Containers</b>	Non-ceramic containers, e.g. stone, faience, etc.
<b>Cosmetic/Toilet Items</b>	Objects used for application and storage of cosmetics, such as kohl and ointment jars, kohl sticks, etc.
<b>Decorative Items</b>	Objects used to adorn the body, such as scarabs, earrings, beads, etc.
<b>Pottery</b>	Ceramic vessels
<b>Organics</b>	Remains of organic materials like food or leaves
<b>Textiles</b>	Textiles not including those included as part of the burial outfit
<b>Tools</b>	Objects with a practical service application, such as awls or grinding stones
<b>Weapons</b>	Weapons such as axes, knives, or arrowheads
<b>Other</b>	Objects which did not fit into any of the above categories

The last part of the data analysis relates to the objects themselves. Analyzing trends in object use within archaeological remains can be difficult, particularly due to varying preservation statuses. Direct comparison of object quantities is not generally a statistically meaningful method, as there are many reasons that an object of a particular type can be distributed within graves and between sites in different quantities (not to mention the issue of plundering). For example, at Qustul/Adindan, 7 scarabs were found in Tomb K31 (12% of the corpus). While an interesting statistic, it only tells us that K31 had more scarabs than other units, and does not allow us to make statements about general trends in scarab use at Qustul/Adindan. More useful is a presence/absence analysis, which is essentially a comparison of the percentage of burials that contained a given object type, with the goal of finding trends in the use of different types of objects between sites, segments of society, time periods, etc. To use the previous example, it is a more useful statistic to say that at Qustul/Adindan, 12% of male burials (11/92) included at least one scarab, as opposed to 24% of female burials (23/95). And while it is impossible to reconstruct items that were looted from the tomb, this type of analysis does allow for the inclusion of plundered units in more complex analyses, bringing a wider socioeconomic range of the population within the discussion.

## Socioeconomic Change during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

### The Pharaonic Sites

As demonstrated in Figure 5.1, Fadrus has by far the largest numbers of individuals of the sites excavated during the UNESCO campaign. It also has the highest proportion of early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty tombs, and very few confirmed late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty interments. It appears to have been the cemetery of a fairly large settlement, perhaps even the seat of the rulers, as Djhuty-hotep's Egyptian-style tomb is approximately 4 kilometers northeast. The other SJE Pharaonic sites lack early ceramics, suggesting that Fadrus was the "epicenter" of the Egyptianization of the local population at that time. Of the tombs with datable pottery within the SJE concession area, the majority indicate interment during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. As late ceramics are for the most part lacking at all of the sites, it could be presumed that the majority of graves termed "mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty"<sup>8</sup> also date to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Looking at effort expenditure, between the early and mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty there is a decrease in the proportion of the smallest graves at Fadrus, from roughly 50% to 23%. At this time, there is an increase in slightly larger graves (2 to 4 cubic meters), and a significant increase in the proportion of the largest units relative to the rest of the population. During this time the simple shaft tombs fall out of preference, and the end niche style dominates. This indicates that the site appears to have gone through a "boom" period economically, though this was followed within a generation or two by a bust, as fairly few confirmed late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty units are documented (13 in total). We see a similar picture at Qustul/Adindan; however, at these cemeteries a high proportion of the individuals had large graves throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, which might have been due to local topography or preferences. Interestingly, the tombs at Qustul and Adindan tended to have shafts in excess of 2 meters deep, while Fadrus tombs tended to be around 1

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<sup>8</sup> These graves include ceramics that are datable to after the reign of Hatshepsut, but lack any further chronological specificity, such as bichrome pottery. For transparency they are grouped separately in the majority of analyses below.

meter deep. This may have been due to planning for multiple interments, or for a geological reason.

Only Cemeteries VF, R, and W had evidence of early 18th dynasty activity (Figure 5.2), though the

number of individuals interred during that time were quite small. The other cemeteries (V, VC, VD, VG,

S, and K) seem to have been founded during the mid-18th dynasty (Figure 5.3). Cemeteries W and K

seem to have only included individuals of lower socioeconomic classes, as these tombs were smaller and

included significantly fewer finds than the other cemeteries.

Effort Expenditure at Pharaonic Sites by Date

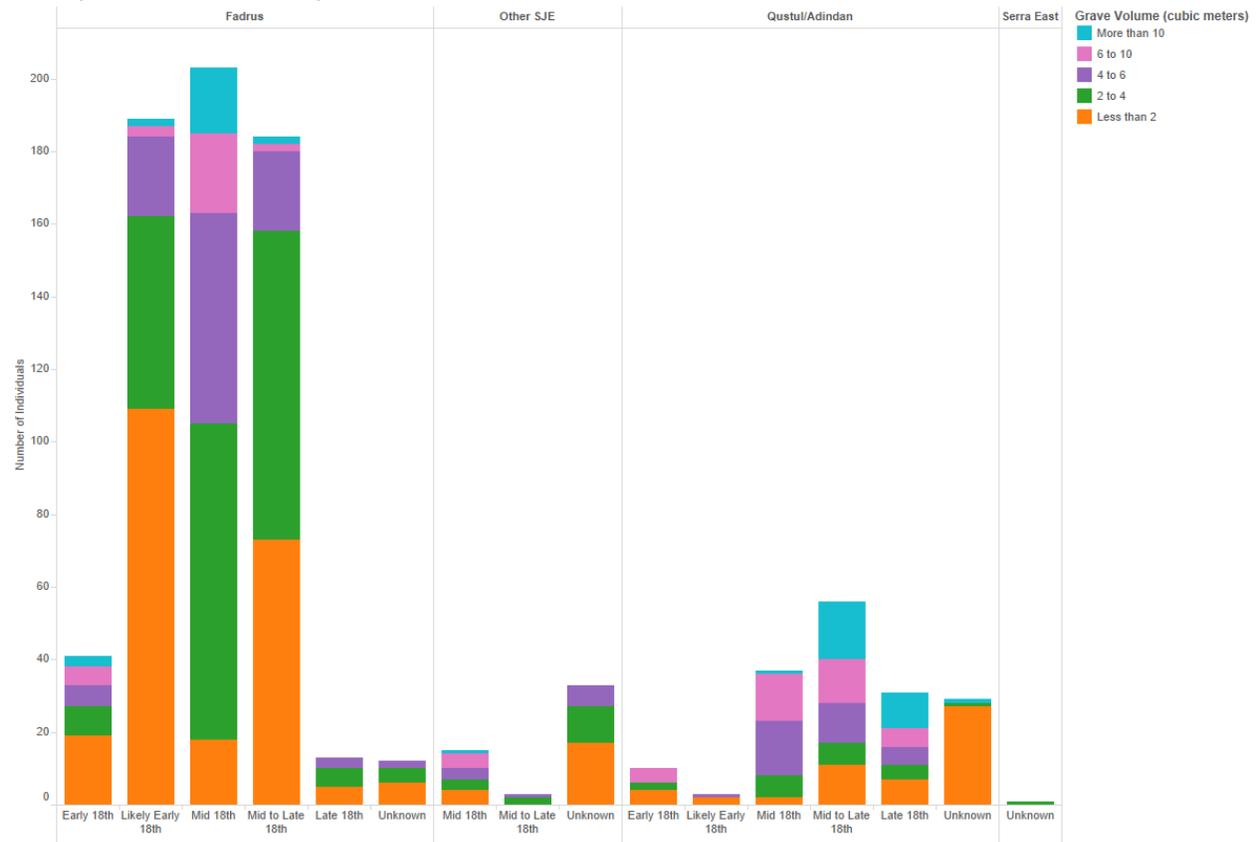


Figure 5.1: Effort expenditure at Pharaonic sites by assigned date. SJE sites other than Fadrus are grouped as one unit as each site was relatively small. For each group, the number of individuals excluded from this measure was: Fadrus – 90 (12%), Other SJE – 8 (13%), Qustul/Adindan – 116 (41%), Serra East – 5 (83%). Many of the OINE concession area tombs were published without complete dimensions, which is why so many were not included in this portion of the study.

Effort Expenditure at the Qustul/Adindan Cemeteries VF, R, and W

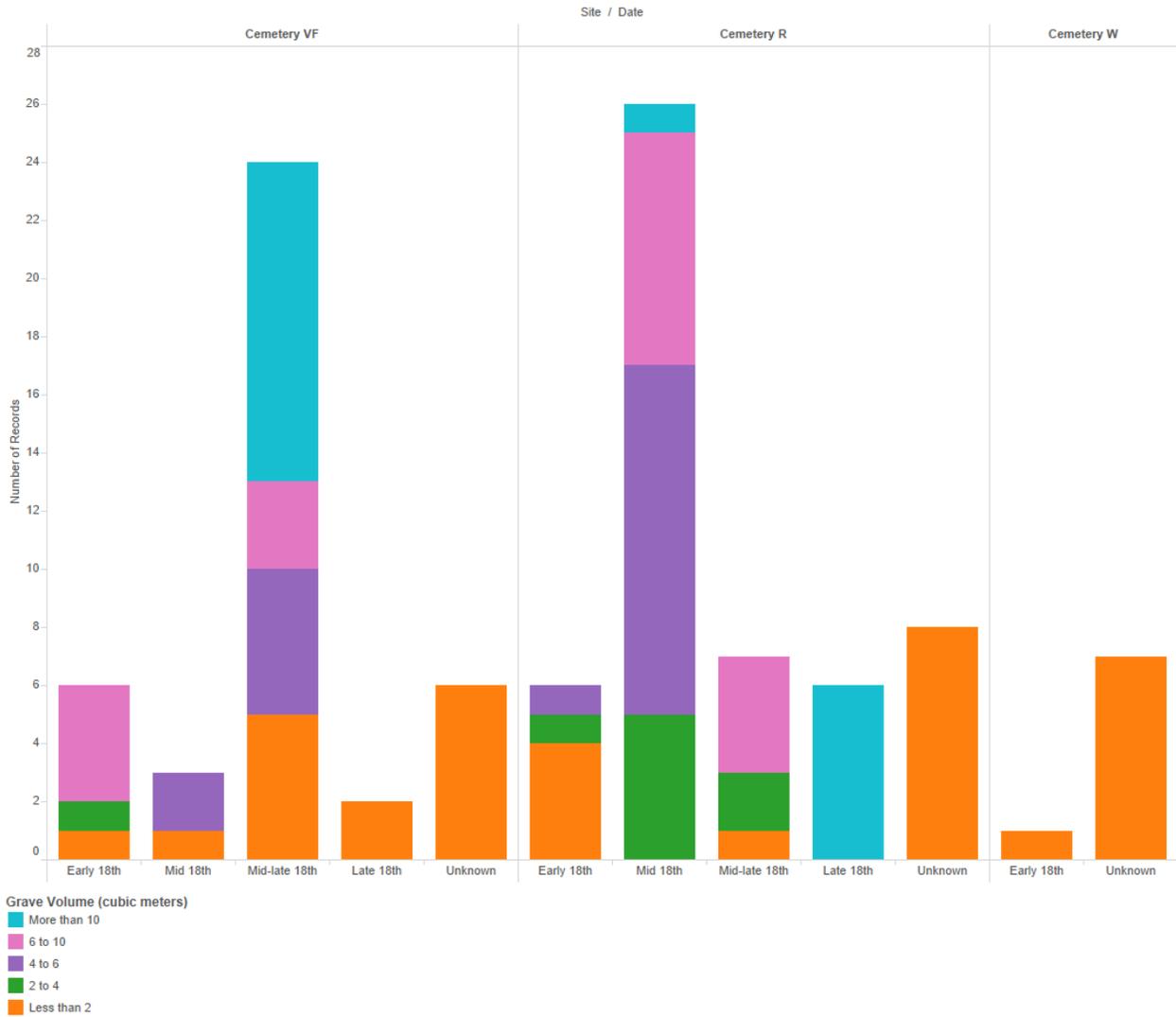


Figure 5.2: Effort expenditure at Qustul Cemeteries VF, R, and W. These cemeteries are the only ones within the OINE concession to have evidence of early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty activity. Of the cataloged individuals, 10 had to be excluded from Cemetery VF (20%), 76 from Cemetery R (59%), and 4 from Cemetery W (33%).

Effort Expenditure at the Qustul/Adindan Cemeteries V, VC, VD, VG, S, K

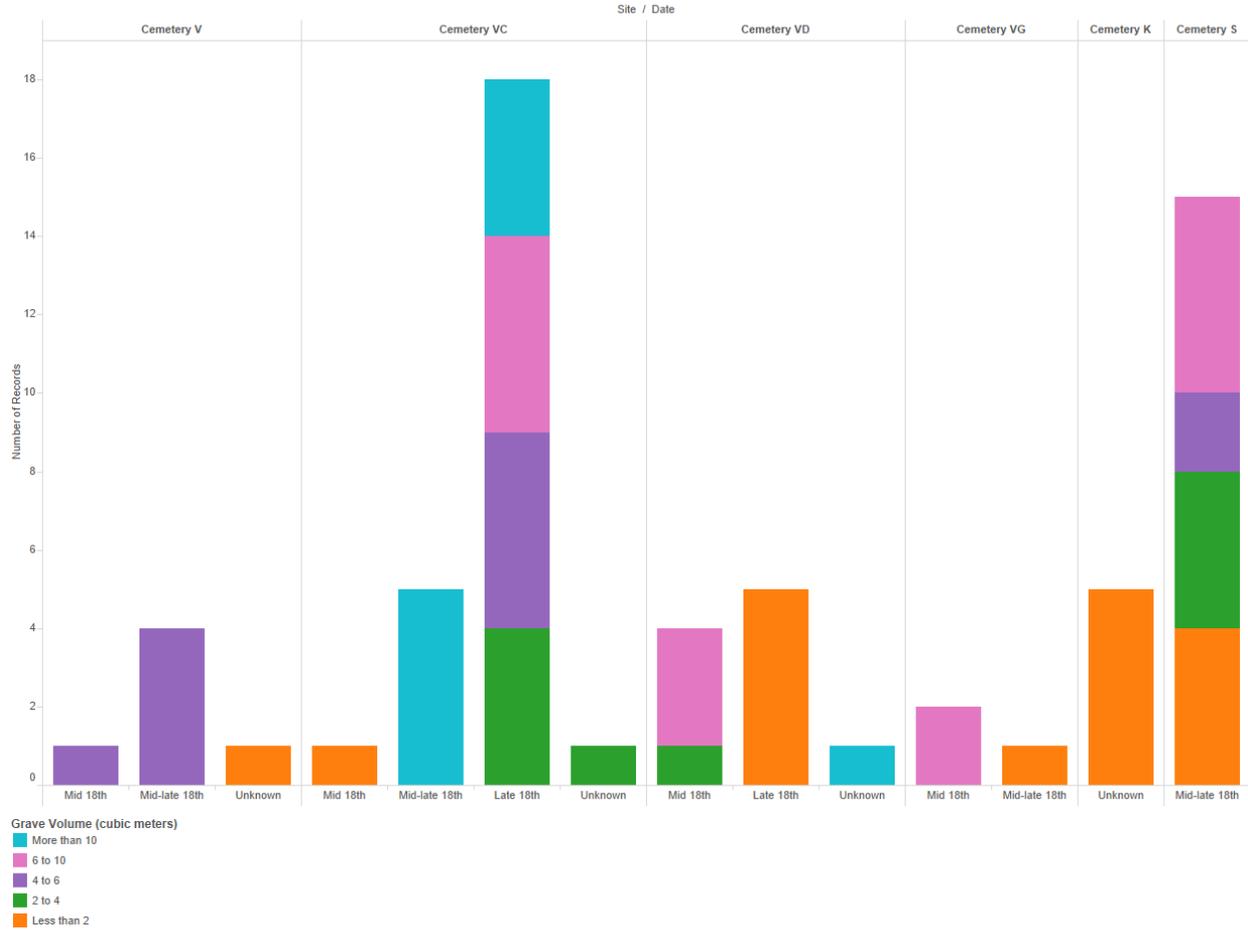


Figure 5.3: Effort expenditure at Qustul Cemeteries V, W, VD, VG, K, and S. Of the cataloged individuals, 7 had be excluded from Cemetery K (58%), 4 from Cemetery S (21%), 13 from Cemetery V (68%), 2 from Cemetery VD (17%), and 3 from Cemetery VG (50%).

Diversity of Object Types at Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan

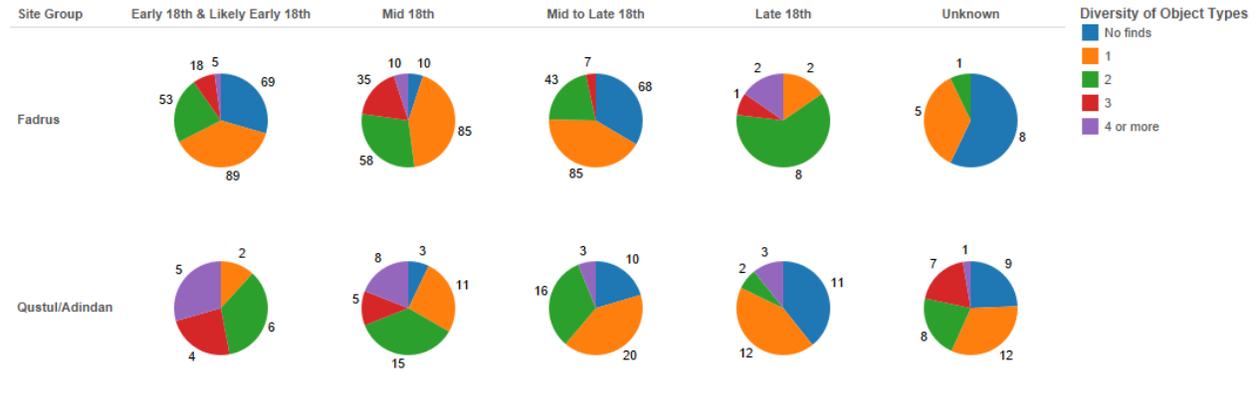


Figure 5.4: Diversity of object types found with burials at Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan. Chart excludes 84 individuals at Fadrus, and at Qustul/Adindan, 146 individuals (52%).

### Diversity of Materials Found in Burials at Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan

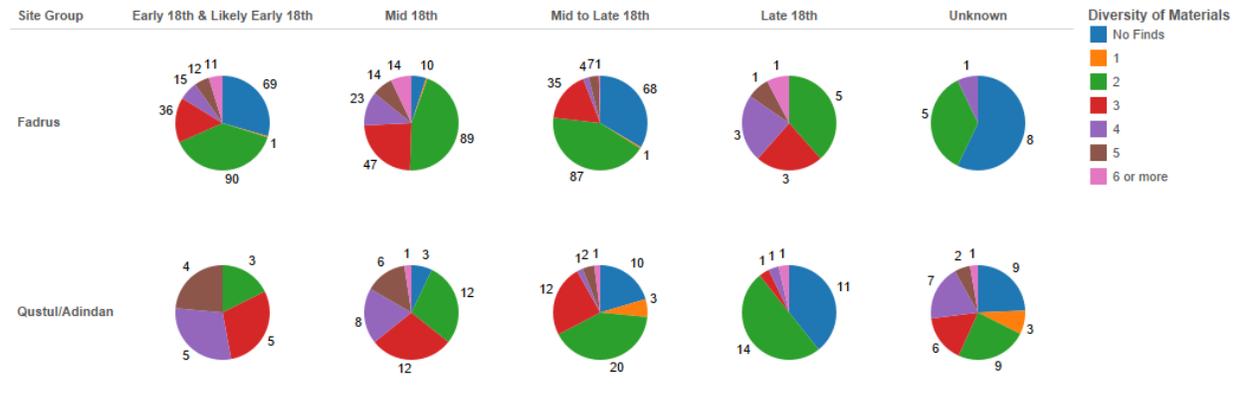


Figure 5.5: Diversity of materials found with burials at Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan. Chart excludes 84 individuals at Fadrus, and at Qustul/Adindan 146 individuals (52%).

The analysis of the objects supports the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the effort expenditure. Between the early and mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, there is a reduction in the percentage of individuals buried without objects, and an increase in those buried with at least one or two types of objects. At the same time, we see an increase in the percentage of persons buried with objects made of one to three materials, particularly if the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burials are considered. However, this is a modest change, and overall the number of individuals with only a few objects from a small range of materials is the same. It would seem that despite a population increase and an increase in ability to provide labor for grave construction, there was not a significant increase in access to objects and materials. At Qustul/Adindan on the other hand the graves datable to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty were already fairly rich, with significantly more diversity in objects and materials than their counterparts at Fadrus. This relative richness is continued into the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, though this picture may have been distorted by the exclusion of graves lacking datable ceramics, which were for the most part relatively poor, and by the exclusion of plundered tombs. With the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty it appears that individuals are interred with drastically fewer grave goods with less variety in type and material. Taken all together, these results suggest an economic boom as Egyptians and their mass-produced goods begin to enter the economic system, followed by a collapse in the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This is also supported by the multiple

graves at Qustul/Adindan, where the later burials are generally significantly poorer than the earliest burials.

Interestingly, during this period of change, there are some noticeable differences in how objects are placed relative to the body. Figure 5.6 shows the placement of pottery, decorative items, cosmetic equipment, and weapons found in undisturbed tombs at Fadrus. In tombs of the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, most pottery and cosmetic equipment is placed in a group around the head and shoulders. By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, there is a change, and only about half of pots are placed around the head, the majority of the others being placed along the side of the body. Placing objects along the side of the body was actually more difficult than placing them around the head, as by this time the majority of burials were in end niche tombs, where the body was typically interred feet-first (i.e., with the head by the shaft sealing). This choice to position objects there must therefore have been intentional on the part of those conducting the burial. At Qustul and Adindan, the percentage of undisturbed burial episodes was lower than at Fadrus, but some trends can be identified from the few well-recorded, intact burials. In those cemeteries, there is significantly more variety in how objects are placed relative to the body, particularly in the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (see Figure 5.7). In the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty there is more standardization, with pottery generally grouped around the head and/or feet. In an acculturating society, standardization of practices over time would be likely.

### Placement of Pottery, Decorative Items, Cosmetic Equipment, and Weapons at Fadrus

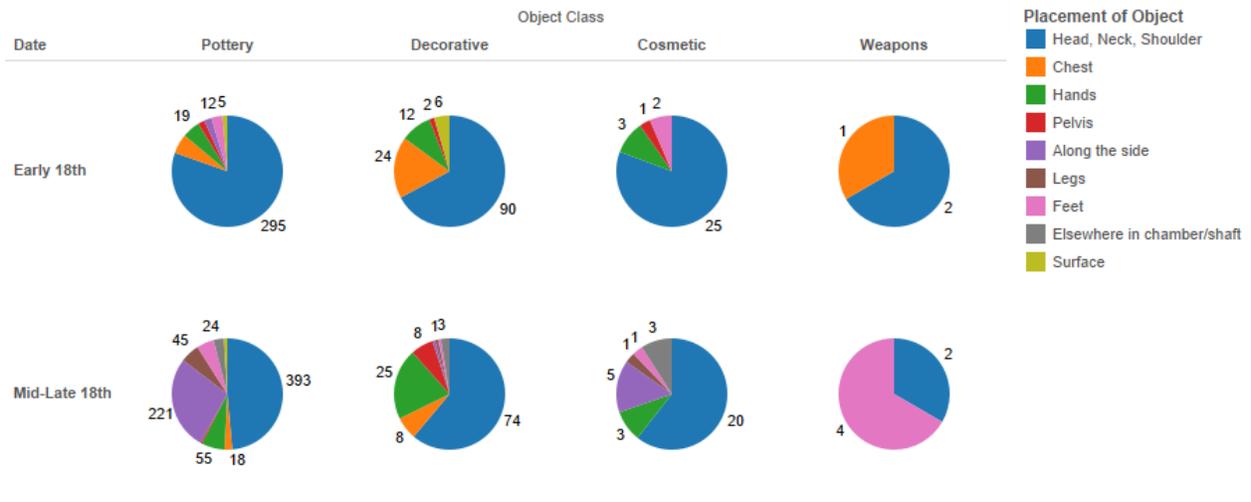


Figure 5.6: Placement of pottery, decorative items, cosmetic equipment, and weapons at Fadrus. For clarity, this chart groups the date of the burial by early vs. mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Chart only includes objects with secure find spots in intact tombs. At Fadrus this includes 1,176 pots (52%), 64 cosmetic items (57%), 255 decorative items (65%), and 9 weapons (64%).

### Placement of Pottery, Decorative Items, and Cosmetic Equipment at Qustul and Adindan

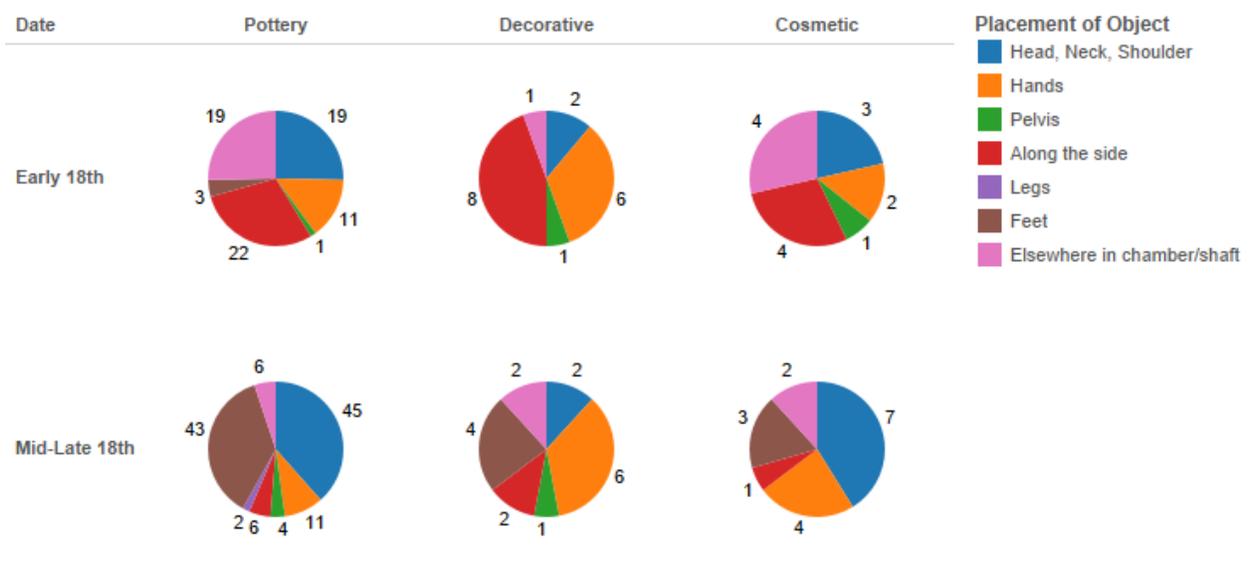


Figure 5.7: Placement of pottery, decorative items, and cosmetic equipment at Qustul and Adindan. For clarity, this chart groups the date of the burial by early vs. mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Chart only includes objects with secure find spots in intact interments: 192 pots (34%), 31 cosmetic items (42%), and 35 decorative items (30%). Weapons were not included in this chart as only one example was found in its original context at Qustul.

### The New Kingdom Nubian Sites

Unfortunately, diachronic change is much more difficult to track within the New Kingdom

Nubian sites, as they were significantly more disturbed than those at the Pharaonic sites within the OINE

and SJE concessions (see Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.9).<sup>9</sup> Datable ceramics are for the most part lacking due to the poor preservation, though enough were found at each site to provide a general picture (see Figure 5.10). The only site with early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty material is Site 35, which also has some ceramics dating to the mid and late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty as well. Sites 220 and 229 had almost no datable material, but what there is suggests a mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date. Site 176 is an interesting site, as a significant portion of the burials included Pilgrim Flasks, indicating the site continued to be used into the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. These were the only examples of Pilgrim Flasks in the SJE concession area, which were even rare at Qustul/Adindan (2 examples). With so little chronological data, it is unfortunately impossible to track changes over time within these sites.

#### Preservation Status of Pharaonic Burials Included in Analysis

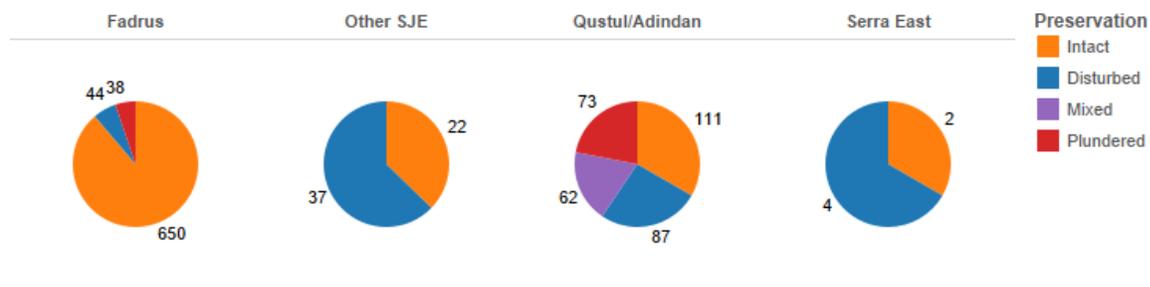


Figure 5.8: Preservation status of Pharaonic burials, by site grouping.

#### Preservation Status of New Kingdom Nubian Burials Included in Analysis

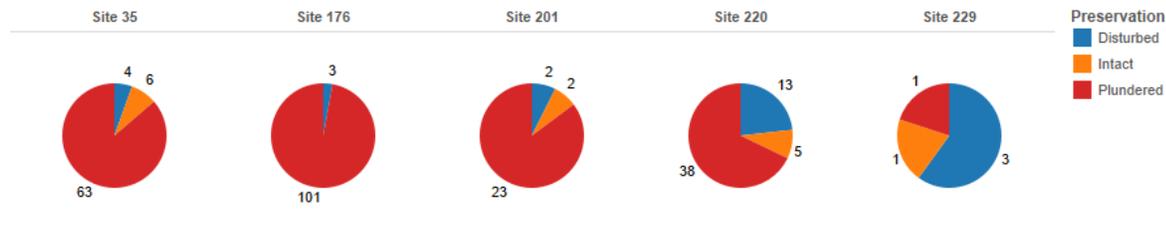


Figure 5.9: Preservation status of New Kingdom Nubian burials included in analysis, by site.

<sup>9</sup> This is likely due to the fact that Nubian tombs were marked by surface structures, while the Pharaonic tombs were apparently not (and those that were, were mostly plundered).

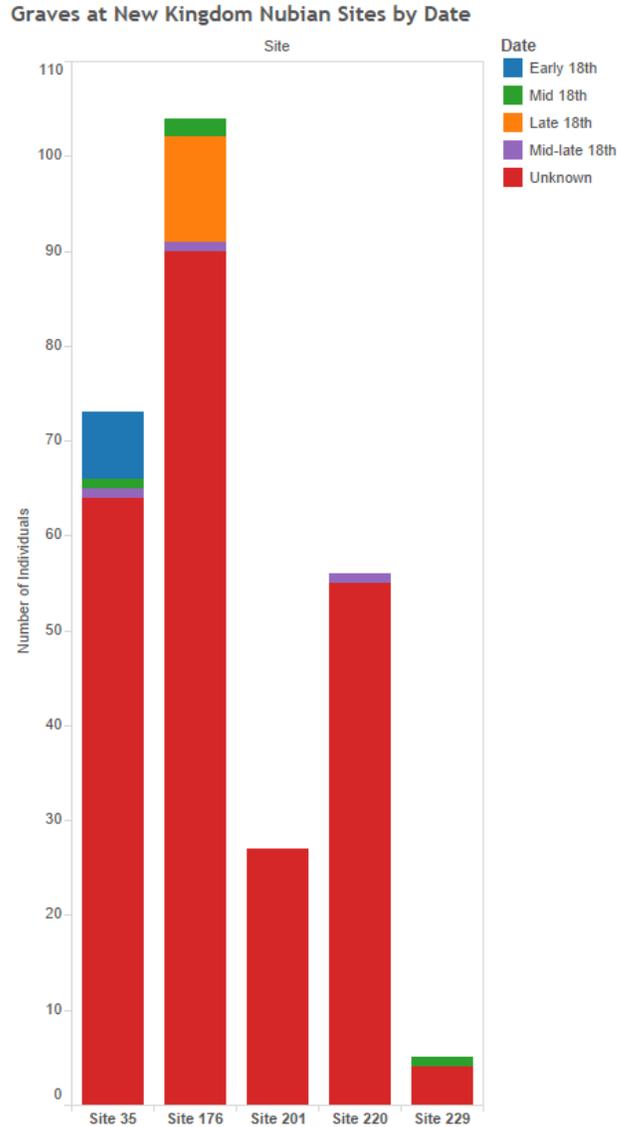


Figure 5.10: Suggested dates for graves at the New Kingdom Nubian sites.

### The Effect of Age and Sex on Burial Practices

In many societies, age and sex have a profound effect on burial practices and the goods interred with the deceased.<sup>10</sup> It has also been pointed out that, in general, archaeological reconstructions have done little to account for the role of gender in cultural mixture processes.<sup>11</sup> It is thus particularly important to investigate such variation in the burial record of Lower Nubia. The sex and approximate

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*, 155-60.

<sup>11</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 540.

age of an individual can be determined from the skeleton by a trained physical anthropologist. The SJE did not have one with them in the field, and thus all remains were transported to Europe for examination by Ole Vagn Nielsen. Unfortunately, the majority of burials in the SJE concession were too fragile to transport, and thus sex and age determinations by Nielsen are lacking for the majority of individuals.<sup>12</sup> However, the SJE excavators did record the length<sup>13</sup> of each skeleton at Fadrus, which allowed an estimation of age for the current study. According to physical anthropologist Sonia Zakrewski, who studied 150 adult skeletons from Middle and Upper Egypt dating to between the Predynastic and Middle Kingdom, the mean height for women in ancient Egypt was 157.5 cm (5 feet 2 inches), while the mean for men was 167.9 cm (5 feet 6 inches).<sup>14</sup> While not an ideal comparative population to Lower Nubia, her data provides a suitable guide for estimating age based on skeleton length, especially when combined with Nielsen's analysis.<sup>15</sup> Thus, skeletons with lengths under 50 cm (approximately 20 inches) were assigned the age "Probable Infant", skeletons 51 – 121 cm (approximately 20 inches to 4 feet) were considered "Probable Child", and skeletons with a length measurement above 140 cm (approximately 4 feet 5 inches) were assigned the age "Probable Adult". Burials with lengths between 121 and 140 centimeters were considered "Indeterminate" as they could have been older children or particularly short adults. This considerably expands the dataset, as many skeletons had no information regarding age or sex listed in the SJE publication.

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<sup>12</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 212.

<sup>13</sup> Length measurements were not technically taken in the field directly. Instead, the length is derived from the exact measurements taken for the position of the top of the head, the pelvis, and the heel of the foot. The margin of error is estimated to be  $\pm 2$  cm. *Ibid.*, 213.

<sup>14</sup> Sonia R. Zakrewski, "Variation in Ancient Egyptian Stature and Body Proportions," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 121, no. 3 (2003).

<sup>15</sup> Vagn Nielsen reports the height interval for adults was 128 – 173 cm amongst the Pharaonic population of Fadrus, the largest studied population dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 213.

### Pharaonic Burials with Age Determinations by Cemetery Group and Date

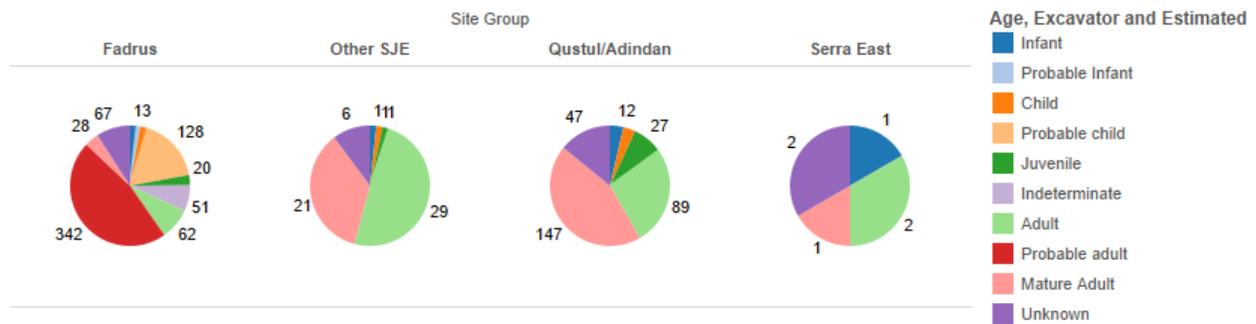


Figure 5.11: Pharaonic burials with age determinations by cemetery group and age. Child burials are notably rare at sites other than Fadrus.

### Age and Burial Treatment

Much like cemetery sites in Egypt, child burials in Lower Nubia are represented at a lower rate than might be expected, given presumed childhood mortality rates. Fadrus had by far the highest percentage of child burials, with 182, or roughly 25% of the cemetery population (including 13 confirmed infants).<sup>16</sup> Child burials were even more rare at the other SJE sites and the OINE concession (see Figure 5.11). This number is likely only a percentage of the infants and children that died in the settlements associated with these sites. In Egypt and Nubia, published cemetery data rarely includes significant numbers of infant and child burials, though it can be presumed that childhood mortality rates would have been high.<sup>17</sup> It has been suggested that inadequate recording by early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavators may be the reason for the relative dearth of child burials, though this would not explain the low numbers of child burials in Lower Nubia, which was excavated using modern techniques and recording methods.<sup>18</sup> Burials of very young children may have also been within the house itself, rather than a formal cemetery, which would explain some of our missing child burials.<sup>19</sup> Although precise historical data is lacking, it is generally assumed that at least 20% of infants in ancient societies died

<sup>16</sup> 47 of the child burials were examined by a physical anthropologist and their estimated age can be considered relatively certain; the rest are presumed children based on the recorded length of the skeleton.

<sup>17</sup> Baines and Lacovara, "Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society: Respect, Formalism, Neglect," 14.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> For example, infant/neonate burials were found in houses at Kahun. Rosalie A. David, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt: A Modern Investigation of Pharaoh's Workforce* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 112.

within a year.<sup>20</sup> Less data is available concerning mortality post-infancy. The cemetery most thoroughly studied using modern excavation techniques is the Kellis 2 cemetery in the Dakhleh Oasis, a Romano-Christian cemetery in use between 50 and 360 AD.<sup>21</sup> Though this population lived nearly 2,000 years after the occupants of the Lower Nubian cemeteries, it is a useful example of the high death rate in ancient times. Of the 770 individuals interred there, fully 66% were children. Of those, 39% were fetuses, 25% infants (aged less than 1 year), 9% young children (aged between 1 and 4 years), and 16% older children (aged between 5 and 10 years).<sup>22</sup> Given the fairly low numbers of child and infant burials in the Lower Nubian cemeteries, particularly compared to Kellis 2, it can be assumed that most children were buried either in the settlement or in another separate and unexcavated burial ground.<sup>23</sup>

While children are underrepresented in the majority of the cemeteries, the data does indicate that amongst the Pharaonic cemeteries, age seems to be an important factor in burial practices. In particular, the child burials in the Pharaonic Lower Nubian cemeteries are, in most cases, “poorer” than adult burials. At Fadrus, the effort expenditure (grave volume) for children is typically lower than adult burials, though this may be due to the smaller physical size of children compared to adults (see Figure 5.12). At Qustul and Adindan, differences in effort expenditure are not evident (see Figure 5.13), as many of the children buried there were interred with adults (21 of 27). At all sites, object diversity is

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<sup>20</sup> Edward G Stockwell, "Infant Mortality," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease.*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 224-25; Eleanor Scott, *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death*, BAR international series (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999), 30-32.

<sup>21</sup> Tosha Dupras, "Birth in Ancient Egypt: Timing, Trauma, and Triumph?: Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis," in *Egyptian Bioarchaeology: Humans, Animals, and the Environment*, ed. Salima Ikram, Jessica Kaiser, and Roxie Walker (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 57.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>23</sup> Nielsen also makes note of the surprising lack of children in the skeletons he examined. He notes: "The frequency of children in the material thus varies from 14.3% in the Pharaonic graves to 35.1% in the Christian series. This child mortality must be said to be very low in all groups, so low that one must highly doubt whether one will be able to make actual statistics of mortality in ancient Nubia from these excavations." Ole Vagn Nielsen, *Human Remains: Metrical and Non-metrical Anatomical Variations*, vol. 9, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1970), 28.

significantly lower with children compared to adults (see Figure 5.14 for Fadrus example).<sup>24</sup> Most children are buried with only one object type, usually something decorative such as a bead or a scarab. Pottery is less frequently interred with children as well – at Fadrus, only about half of the infants and children were interred with at least one pot, contrary to the adult population, where 75% of adults were interred with at least one pot (see Figure 5.17). Material diversity of child burials is relatively similar to adult burials, though this may be due to the inclusion of beads and other decorative items which tend to have more material variety than other classes of objects. Contracted burials also appear more frequently with children – 33 of the 50 contracted burials at Fadrus belonged to infants and children. Stated another way, 18% of children, compared with 4% of the adult population, were buried in a contracted position. Child burials at Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan were also more likely to be interred in a multiple burial or have their burial built into a preexisting structure.<sup>25</sup> An exception to the general trend of relatively poor child burials are the two child burials in Unit 511 at Fadrus, who were buried with numerous items of jewelry in their coffin, amongst a large amount of pottery that may have been interred with them or the adult burials in the same chamber.

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<sup>24</sup> As the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries had only 11 child burials, it suffices to say that with the exception of one burial, all the child burials there had at most one object type included with their burial.

<sup>25</sup> At Fadrus, 29 of 163 (18%) child burials were interred with another individual or built into a preexisting tomb. Amongst adult burials, only 53 of the 453 (12%) adult and presumed adult burials were multiple or intrusive.

### Effort Expenditure at Fadrus by Age and Date

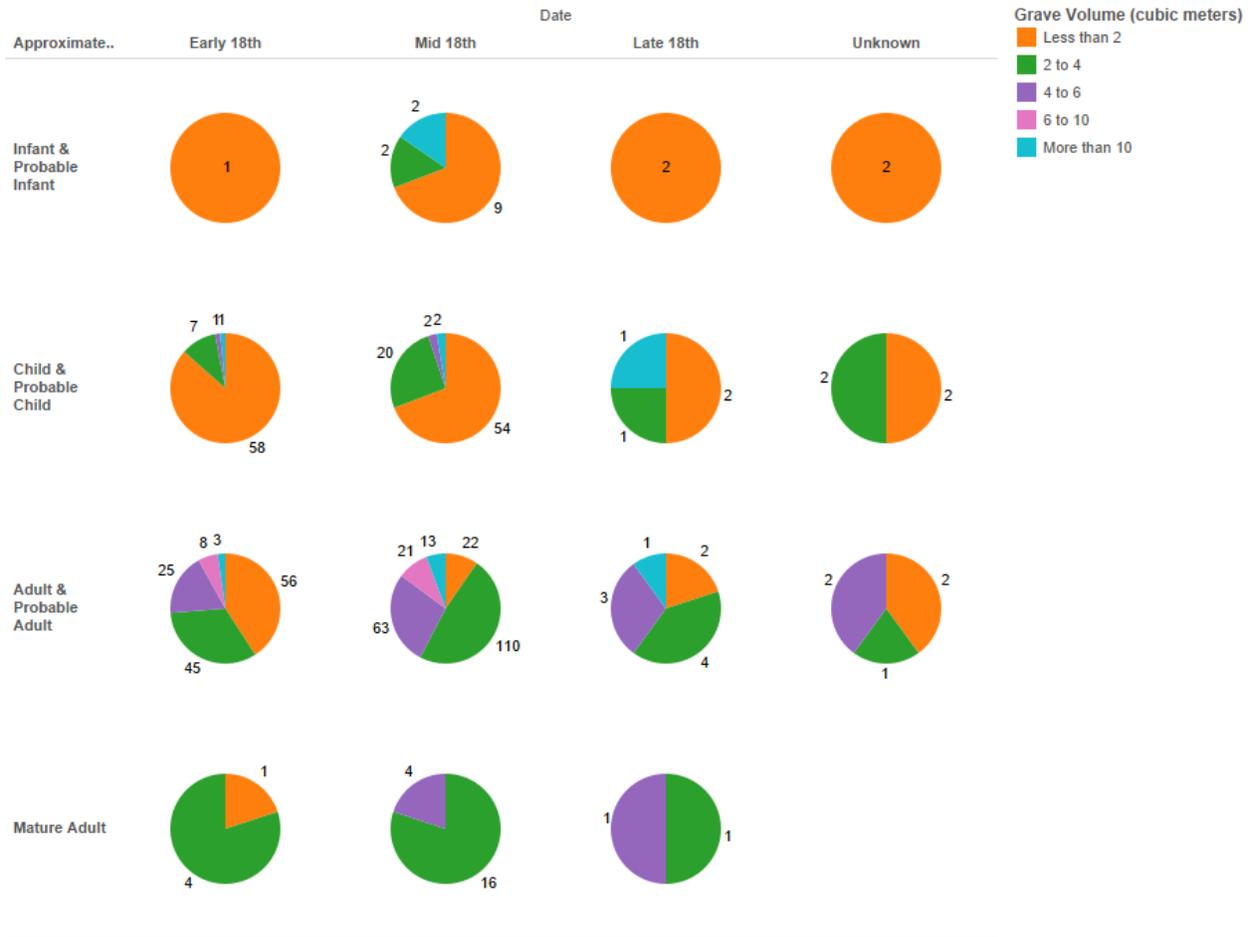


Figure 5.12: Effort expenditure by date and age at Fadrus. Chart excludes 153 burials (21%) that lacked an age determination made by the excavators or the physical anthropologist and had no recorded skeleton length (or a length that was indeterminate between child and adult), as well as tombs without recorded dimensions necessary to calculate effort expenditure.

Effort Expenditure at Qustul and Adindan by Age and Date



Figure 5.13: Effort expenditure at Qustul and Adindan by date and sex. Chart excludes 147 burials (52%) an age determination or that lack recorded dimensions of the tomb.

### Diversity of Object Types at Fadrus by Age and Date

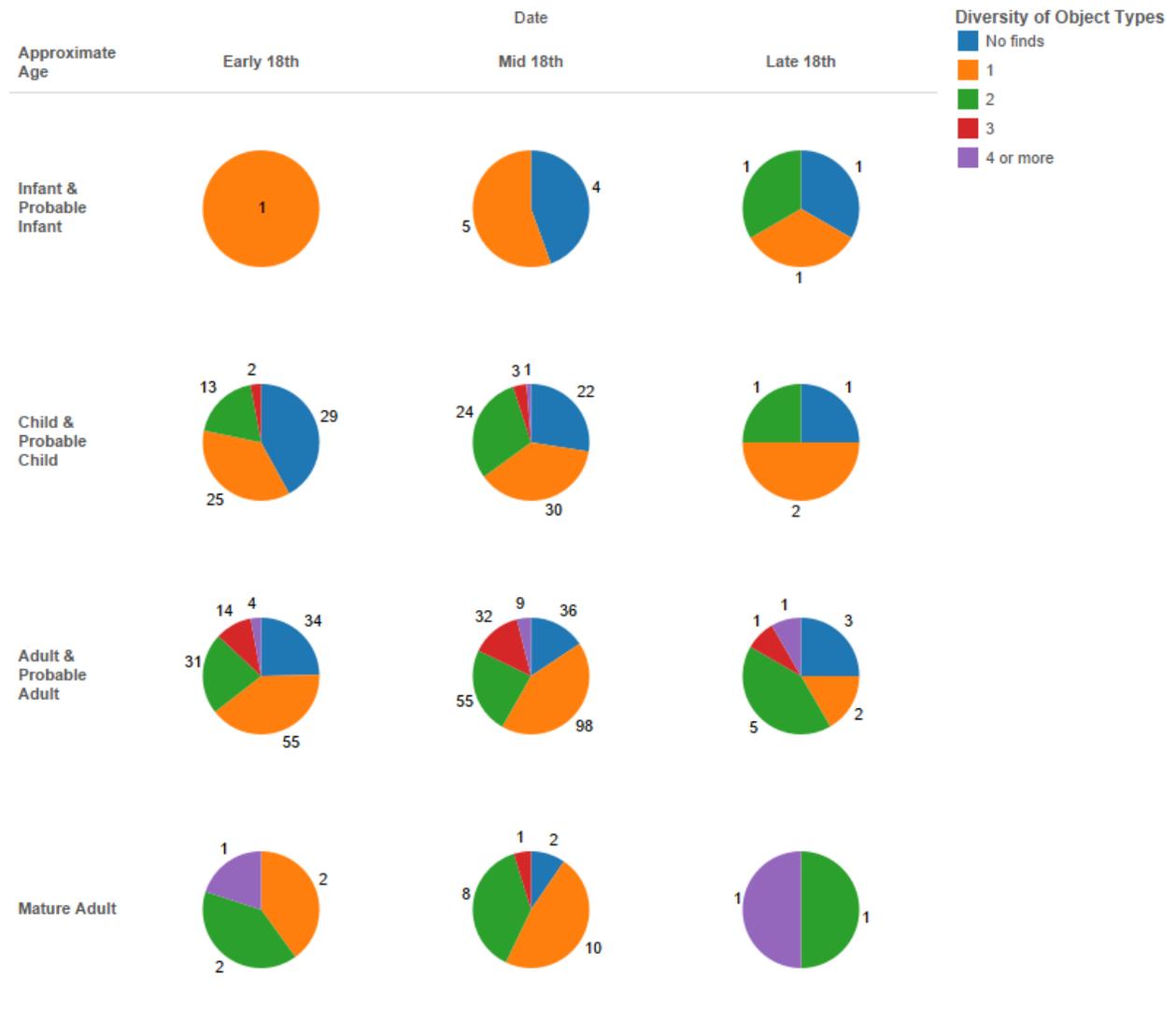


Figure 5.14: Diversity of object types at Fadrus, by age and date. Chart excludes 158 burials (22%) that lacked an age determination made by the excavators or the physical anthropologist and had no recorded skeleton length (or a length that was indeterminate between child and adult), as well as tombs too plundered to estimate the original diversity of objects.

## Diversity of Materials Found in Burials at Fadrus

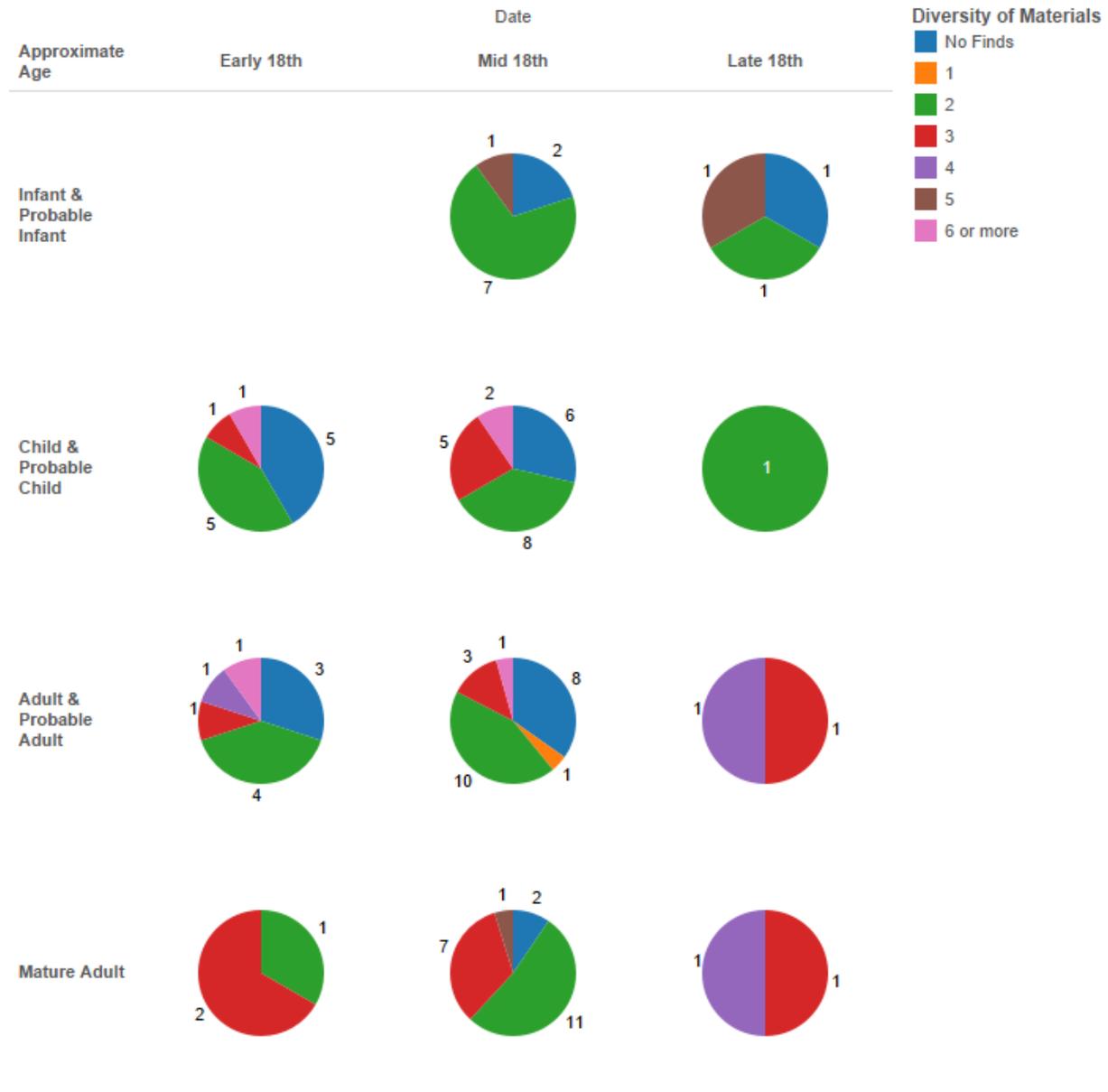


Figure 5.15: Diversity of materials at Fadrus, by age and date. Chart excludes 158 burials (22%) that lacked an age determination made by the excavators or the physical anthropologist and had no recorded skeleton length (or a length that was indeterminate between child and adult), as well as tombs too plundered to estimate the original diversity of objects.

### Diversity of Materials Found in Burials at Qustul and Adindan

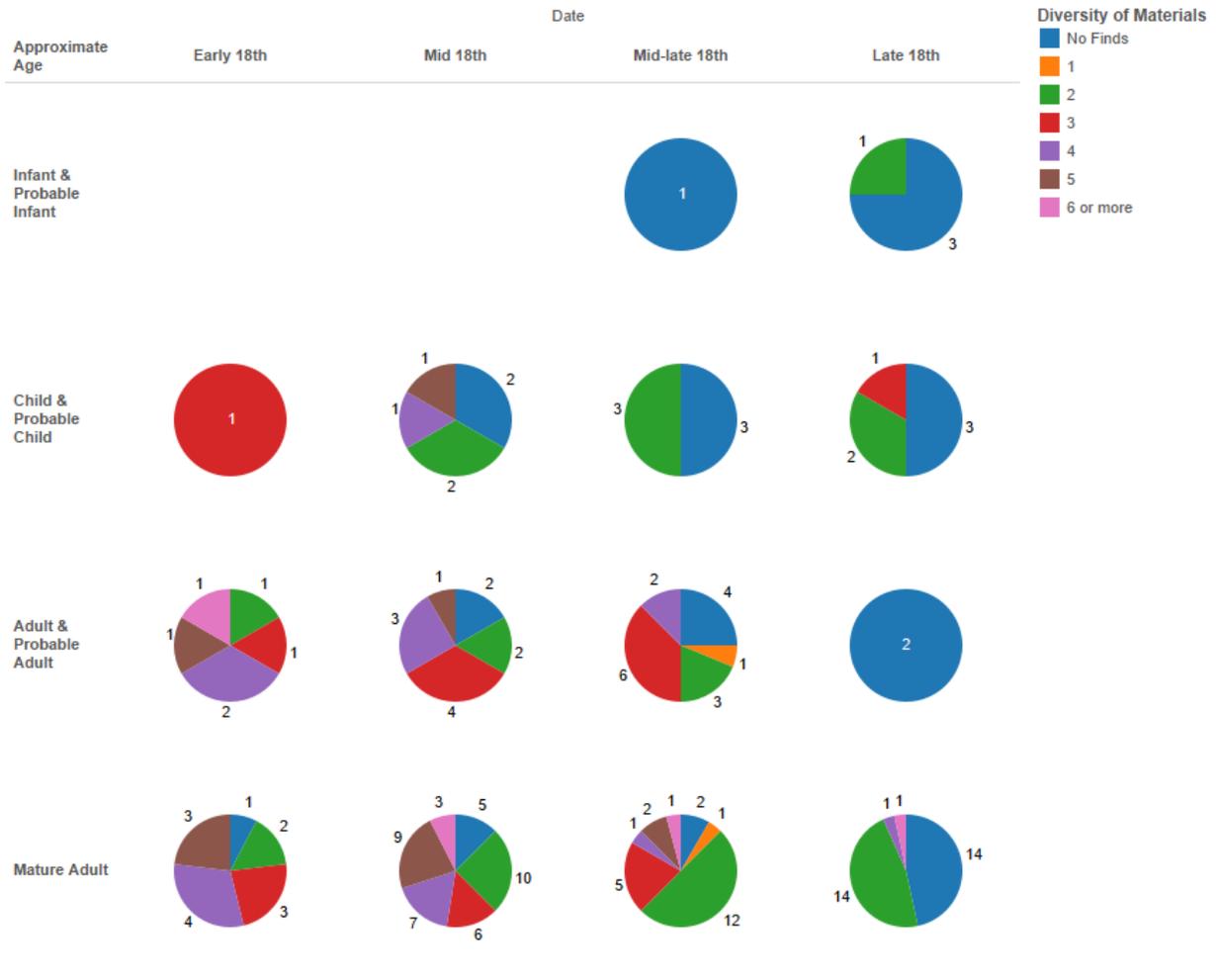


Figure 5.16: Diversity of materials found in burials at Qustul and Adindan. Chart excludes 115 burials (41%) without age determinations or that were too plundered or mixed to determine a material diversity score.

### Presence/Absence of Pottery, by Age and Site Group



Figure 5.17: Presence/absence of pottery at Pharaonic sites, by assigned age. For clarity, this chart includes data from throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty; however, there are no significant differences evident in dated tombs of different periods. Chart excludes 118 burials at Fadrus (16%), 6 burials from the other SJE sites (10%), 63 burials from Qustul and Adindan (22%), and 2 burials from Serra East (33%) that could not be assigned an age.

Determining any trends with regard to the age of adults versus their burial treatment is more difficult than with the child burials. In the case of the SJE excavations, the majority of adults were not examined by Nielsen and thus more specific age information is not available. For those he was able to examine, Nielsen described ages simply as “adult”, “mature”, or “senile”, and admits that age determination of adults is more difficult than with children.<sup>26</sup> The OINE also uses similar terminology,

<sup>26</sup> Vagn Nielsen based adult age estimations on the closure of the sutura sagittalis, coronalis, and lambdoidea in the skull. Thus, he defines adult as aged 20 to 30 (35 high estimate), mature adult as 30 (35) to 50 (55), and senile adult as aged 50 (55) plus. Nielsen, *Human Remains: Metrical and Non-metrical Anatomical Variations*, 9, 27.

but no explanation is given for how they defined their age groups.<sup>27</sup> For that reason, I considered “senile” and “mature” as the same for the purposes of this analysis. The effort expenditure analyses in Figure 5.12 and Figure 5.13 indicate that the known older adults were less likely than younger adults to have the smallest tombs.<sup>28</sup> In terms of objects, it would appear that older adults were less likely to be buried with no finds or finds of only one kind (see Figure 5.14, Figure 5.15, and Figure 5.16). Thus, we can assume status generally increased with age.

At the New Kingdom Nubian sites, it is more difficult to make definitive statements about the effect of age and sex on burial treatment, as these sites had far lower preservation indices than the Pharaonic sites. Skeletal remains were rare (see Figure 5.18), though children were surprisingly well-represented. The preserved child burials follow a similar pattern to the Pharaonic sites. They have significantly smaller superstructures than adult burials at the same site (Figure 5.19), and the few intact burials tended to have lower object and material diversity scores than adult burials (Figure 5.20 and Figure 5.21). Object diversity and material diversity scores tend to be lower than adults within the same cemetery. It is acknowledged that lack of datable material in the majority of the tombs means that chronological change could be mistaken for synchronic differences in this instance. However, I would argue that it is highly unlikely that all the child burials date to only one period in time, and as the data presents a clear picture, it is most likely indicative of a general pattern that is not influenced by chronological change. With regard to child burials it is also necessary to mention Site 293, a unique cemetery which was not included in the analysis due to its unusual nature. Site 293 consisted of 13

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However, the data becomes more confused by the use of “adult” to designate burials not examined by Vagn Nielsen but determined by excavators in the field to be adults based on height.

<sup>27</sup> The physical anthropologist in the field as part of the OINE was Duane Burnor. Burnor’s categories for age were infant I, infant II, juvenile, adult, mature adult, and senile; however, the publication makes no mention of how each was defined. Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 159.

<sup>28</sup> As the Fadrus “adult” class likely includes mature adults due to the lack of examination by a physical anthropologist, which would conflate the analysis, this should be taken with a grain of salt with regard to Fadrus. However, the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries’ age determinations are more specific and lend support to this conclusion.

burials of children, half of whom (7) were placed in storage jars of Egyptian types dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the remaining were buried in the soft sand layer (3) or in a stone slab chamber at the bottom of the shaft (3).<sup>29</sup> No other ceramics, Egyptian or Nubian, were found. The majority of the burials were undisturbed, but only four burials included any finds at all, and they are all small items, such as an agate bead and copper ring (Unit 1), pebbles of precious stones (Units 8, 10, and 12), and animal bones (Unit 12).<sup>30</sup> Here too it seems that children were buried in relatively low-cost ways, though why they were buried separately (unlike the other New Kingdom Nubian sites) is unknown. Perhaps the people who used the cemetery believed children should be spatially separated from adults upon burial, or perhaps these were children who died at the same time due to some illness, and their burials were thus segregated. Spatial segregation of child burials from the wider population has been suggested to indicate that children were conceptualized differently from adults in societies practicing such segregation.<sup>31</sup>

Age of Individuals in New Kingdom Nubian Burials

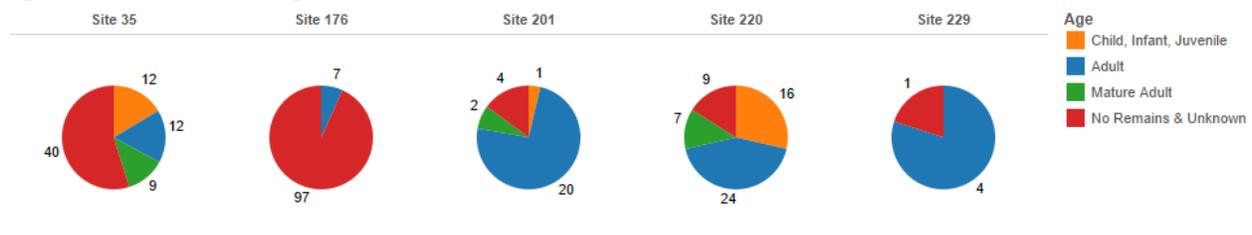


Figure 5.18: Skeletal remains by sex at New Kingdom Nubian sites.

<sup>29</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 243.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

<sup>31</sup> Analysis of the treatment of the remains of Roman children in both Italy and Africa in the 1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries CE shows that young children were often clustered in special areas of established cemeteries and sometimes placed in their own age-restricted cemeteries, while neonates and infants were often buried in amphorae. Such patterning suggests that the Romans conceptualized and defined children as different from adults, something which is confirmed by the written and artistic evidence. Naomi J. Norman, "Death and Burial of Roman Children: the Case of the Yasmina Cemetery at Carthage - Part II, The Archaeological Evidence," *Mortality* 8, no. 1 (2003).

### Effort Expenditure by Superstructure Area at New Kingdom Nubian Sites

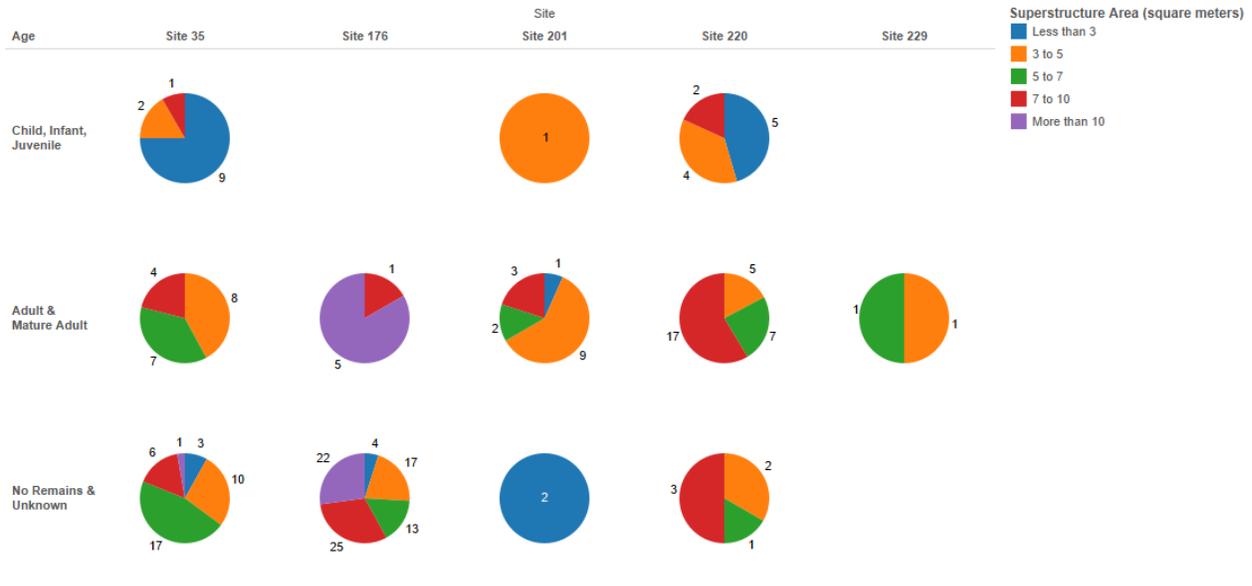


Figure 5.19: Effort expenditure (superstructure area) at New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries. Due to the preservation issues detailed above, burials with enough of a skeleton remaining to assign an age were rare: Site 35, 33 (45%); Site 176, 2 (2%); Site 201, 5 (19%); Site 220, 27 (48%); Site 229, 2 (33%).

### Diversity of Object Types at New Kingdom Nubian Sites

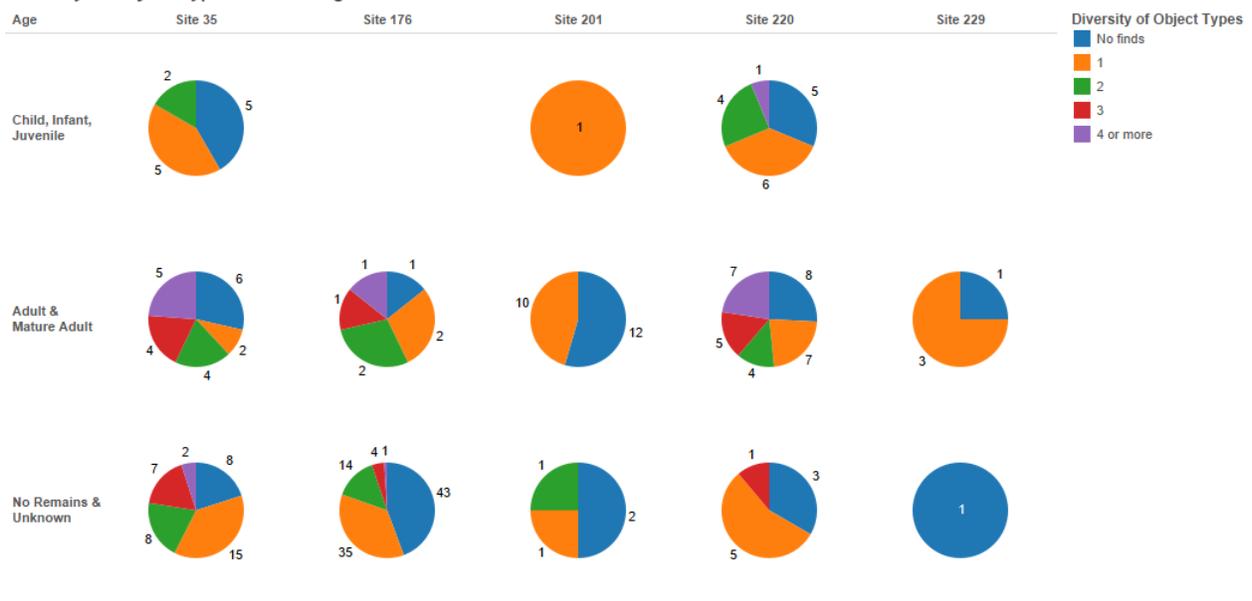


Figure 5.20: Diversity of object types at New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries. As so few units were found intact at these sites, all tombs are included here. It is reasonable to assume that all burials likely had higher original object diversity prior to their plundering; however, I would argue that looters would have been interested in robbing the same types of objects regardless of the burial, so the relative relationships are likely preserved.

### Diversity of Materials at New Kingdom Nubian Sites

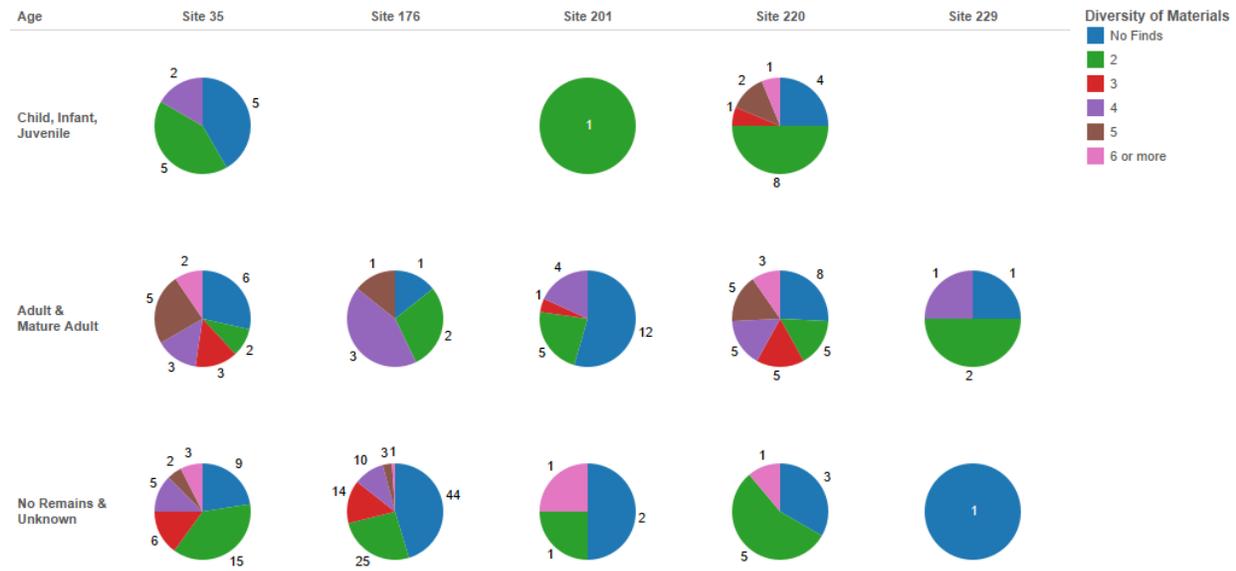


Figure 5.21: Diversity of materials at New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries. As so few units were found intact at these sites, all tombs are included here. It is reasonable to assume that all burials likely had higher original object diversity prior to their plundering; however, I would argue that looters would have been interested in robbing the same types of objects regardless of the burial, so the relative relationships are likely preserved.

### Biological Sex and Burial Treatment

Discerning trends in burial practices between the sexes is more difficult, primarily due to the relatively few sexed skeletons from SJE sites. Fadrus in particular has fairly few sexed skeletons relative to the complete population – of the 445 excavated adult and presumed adult burials, only 62 (14%) had a sex determination made. The other SJE sites fared better, with 100 of the 157 (64%) excavated adult skeletons determined to be male or female. As the OINE did have a physical anthropologist on staff, a much higher proportion of burials could be sexed – 203 (92%) adult burials at Qustul and Adindan, and 4 (66%) at Serra East. That said, some general statements can be made regarding the relationship of sex and status as displayed in burial practices. Effort expenditure is generally similar between male and female individuals at Fadrus (Figure 5.22), though the number of sexed burials relative to the total population is very low and females are underrepresented compared to males. At Qustul and Adindan, due to the chronological problems and particularly the prevalence of large tombs for multiple individuals, there do not seem to be any differences in effort expenditure.

### Effort Expenditure at Fadrus by Date and Sex

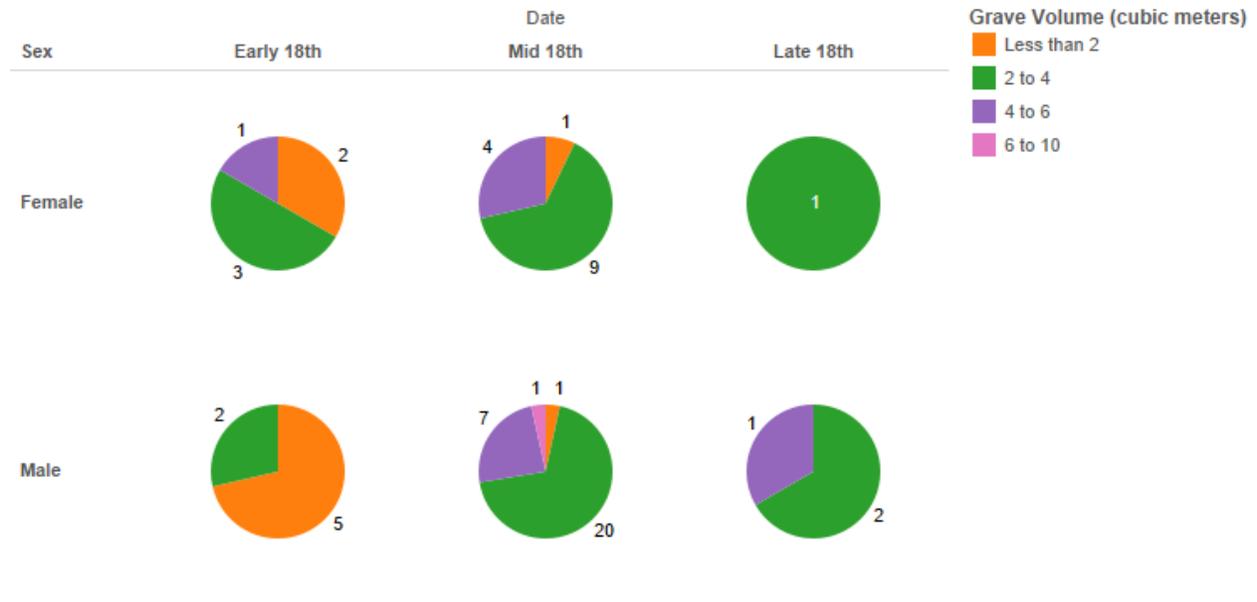


Figure 5.22: Effort expenditure at Fadrus by date and sex. Because so few skeletons were examined by a physical anthropologist, and some tombs did not have published dimensions, only 60 burials could be included here (8% of the Fadrus population).

### Effort Expenditure at Qustul and Adindan by Date and Sex

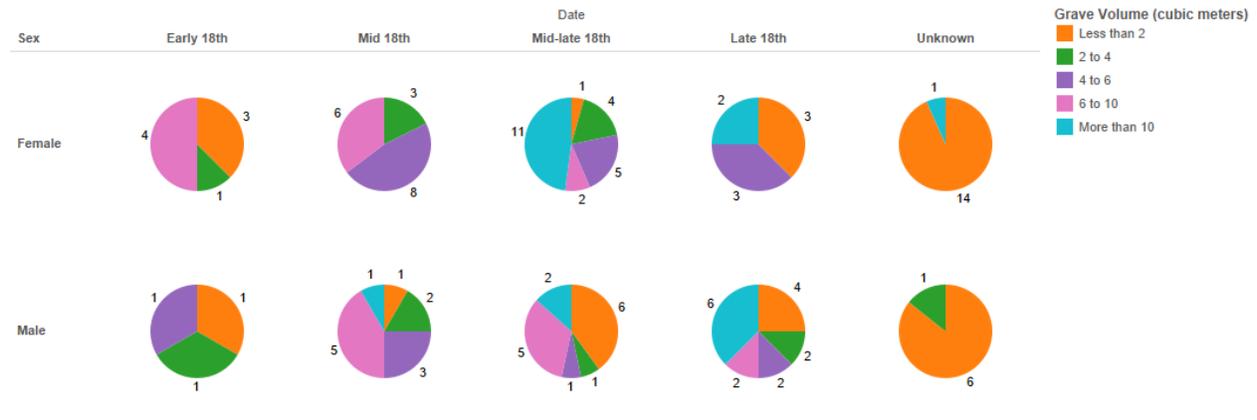


Figure 5.23: Effort expenditure at Qustul and Adindan by date and sex. Though the OINE excavations had a physical anthropologist, and thus accurate sex determinations in the field, tomb dimensions were not always recorded and thus calculation of effort expenditure was not always possible. This chart includes 124 individual (56% of the cemetery population).

Object and material diversity scores are more interesting. At Fadrus, they are fairly similar, though more of the most diverse graves belonged to females (see Figure 5.24 and Figure 5.25). The data at Qustul and Adindan suggests that females were less likely to have burials without finds, though the chronological issues with the site preclude making a definitive statement in this regard. Interestingly, decorative items appear slightly more frequently within female burials (Figure 5.26). Though the

numerical differences are small, they are more striking considering the smaller number of female burials in the data set. That said, within each type of decorative object – scarabs, beads, earrings, etc. – there seems to be no statistically significant differences between men and women, though scarabs, plaques, and cowroids do appear in more female burials than male. Other common object classes, such as cosmetic items or pottery, show no difference between the sexes. Object types where we might expect to see a difference, like weapons, appear too infrequently in the dataset to draw any conclusions. For example, there are only 14 burials with weapons included in this analysis – 10 at Fadrus, and 4 at Qustul, 3 in Cemetery VC and 1 in Cemetery R. Unfortunately, only 1 burial had a sex determination made, Burial R29:H in Qustul Cemetery R. Thus, it seems that from the available data, sex had little impact on burial expenditure or the types of objects included in burials.

#### Diversity of Object Types at Fadrus

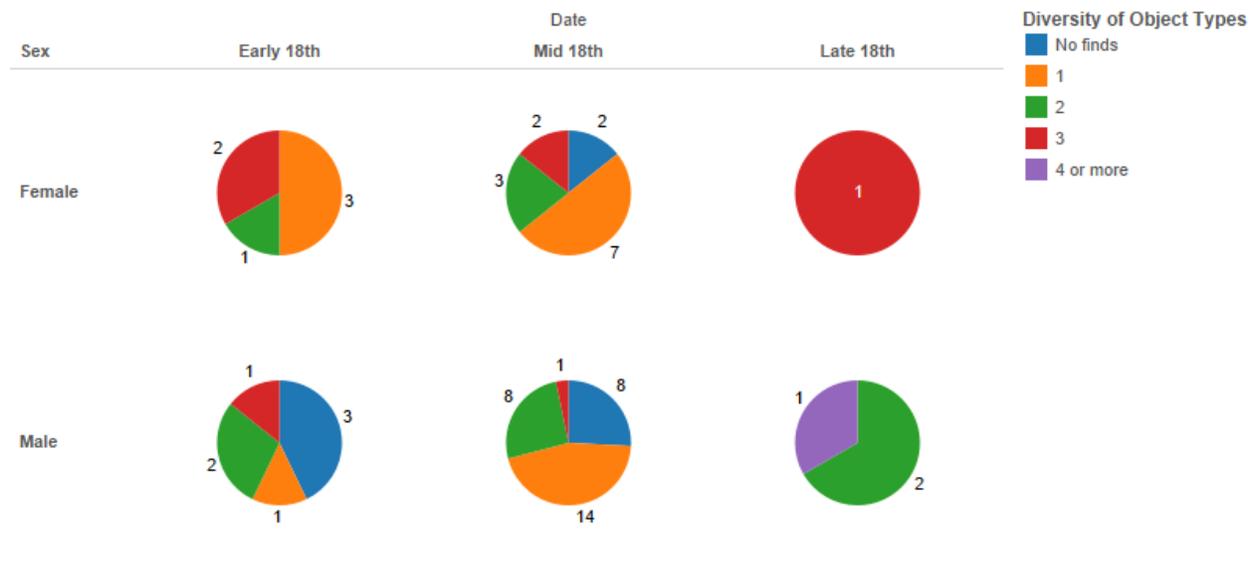


Figure 5.24: Diversity of object types at Fadrus for males and females. Chart includes 62 sexed burials (8% of the Fadrus population).

### Diversity of Object Types at Qustul and Adindan

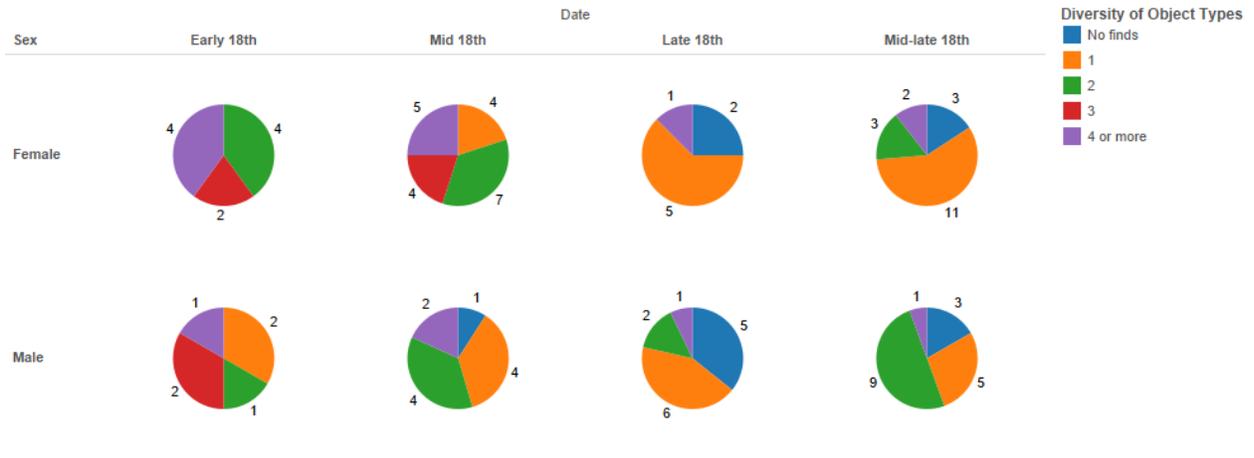


Figure 5.25: Diversity of object types at Qustul and Adindan for males and females, by date. Chart includes 106 individuals (48% of the population).

### Presence/Absence of Decorative Objects at Pharaonic Sites, By Date and Sex



Figure 5.26: Presence/absence of decorative objects amongst adults, by sex. Chart includes 61 sexed adult burials from Fadrus (8% of the population), 41 from the other SJE sites (68%), and 168 from the Qustul/Adindan cemeteries (60% of the population). Serra East was not included here due to the very small sample size (n=4).

**Presence/Absence of Scarabs, Plaques, and Cowroids in Pharaonic Burials, by Sex and Date**



Figure 5.27: Presence/absence of scarabs, plaques/plaquettes, and cowroids in Pharaonic burials, by sex and date. Chart includes 61 sexed adult burials from Fadrus (8% of the population), 41 from the other SJE sites (68%), and 168 from the Qustul/Adindan cemeteries (60% of the population). Serra East was not included here due to the very small sample size (n=4).

Though differences between males and females in terms of economic expense are not evident, there seem to be significant differences in how objects are placed on and around their bodies (Figure 5.28). However, it should be noted that due to the small number of sexed burials at Fadrus and the high number of disturbed burials at Qustul and Adindan, any results here are only speculative. At Qustul and Adindan during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, decorative items are most frequently found placed at the side in male burials. There are a few possible explanations for this. One, these objects were originally on an arm or hand, but in the process of decomposition were disturbed from their original placement. Alternatively, the objects could have been placed there deliberately by family as an offering. More variety is observed amongst female burials of the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, including placement on the hands, pelvis, side, and head. The many different find spots would indicate there were many different kinds of jewelry worn by these women. In the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty female burials tend to have many more decorative items placed at their feet, while male burials tend to see them placed on their hands or pelvis. These differences might hint at different treatment during the burial process between the sexes, though why this might be the case is impossible to determine.

### Placement of Pottery, Decorative Items, and Cosmetic Equipment at Qustul and Adindan

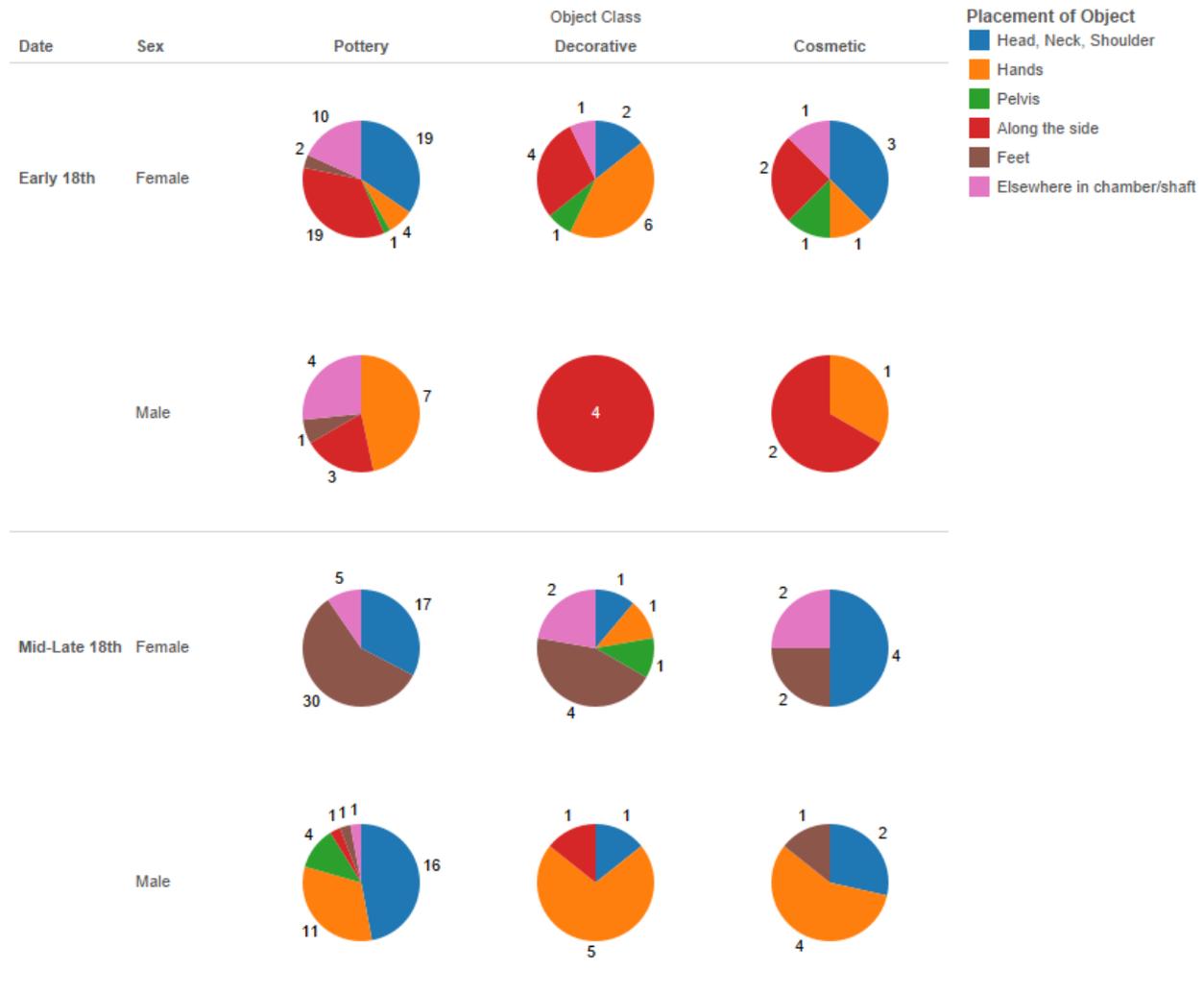


Figure 5.28: Placement of pottery, decorative items, and cosmetic equipment at Qustul and Adindan in undisturbed tombs with known find spots. Chart includes: 156 pots (27% of corpus), 26 cosmetic items (36%), and 34 decorative items (29%).

At the New Kingdom Nubia sites, trends are again more difficult to discern due to the low preservation and issues dating the burials more specifically than the general 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Effort expenditure analysis of the few preserved, sexed burials indicate that effort expenditure was similar, though the largest graves belonged to males. However, as Figure 5.29 demonstrates, of the three large burials belonging to males, two were at Site 176, which on average had larger superstructures than the other sites. Thus, this difference is likely simply an accident of preservation. The sites with relatively higher preservation indices, Site 35 and Site 220, show relatively similar patterns between males and

females. Object and material diversity scores are higher for females than males (see Figure 5.30 and Figure 5.31), though again, the dataset is not necessarily a representative sample of the population. Interestingly, decorative items like scarabs, beads, and pendants appear much more frequently in female graves than males (Figure 5.32 and Figure 5.33). Tentatively, I would suggest then that sex had little impact in burial expenditure, though burial goods appeared to have varied by sex.

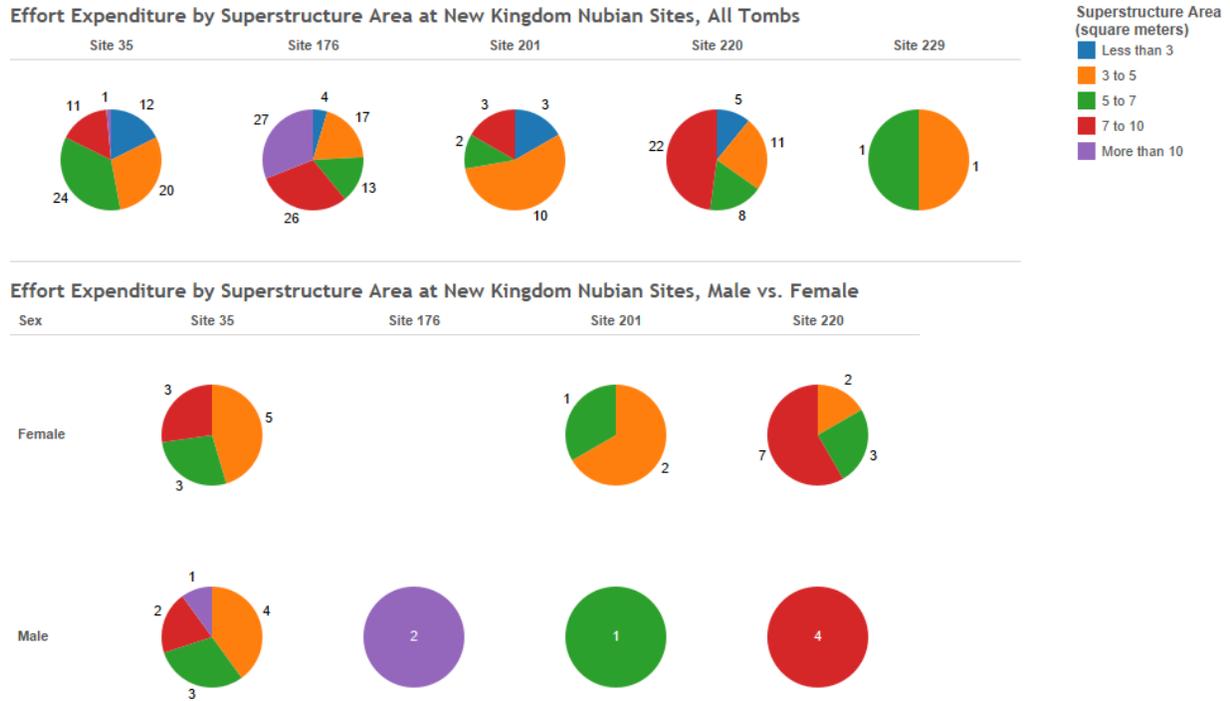


Figure 5.29: Effort expenditure at New Kingdom Nubia sites, all tombs (top) versus breakdown by sex (bottom). Due to the low preservation index and the lack of a physical anthropologist onsite during the excavation, there were very few sexed burials that could be included in the analysis by sex: 21 at Site 35 (29%), 2 at Site 176 (2%), 4 at Site 201 (15%), and 16 at Site 220 (29%).

### Diversity of Object Types at New Kingdom Nubian Sites



Figure 5.30: Diversity of object types at New Kingdom Nubian sites, by sex. Due to the low preservation index and the lack of a physical anthropologist onsite during the excavation, there were very few sexed burials that could be included here: 21 at Site 35 (29%), 2 at Site 176 (2%), 4 at Site 201 (15%), and 16 at Site 220 (29%). Because almost no burials were found intact, partially disturbed burials are included here, with the acknowledgment that there may have been more objects (and thus higher object diversity scores).

### Diversity of Materials at New Kingdom Nubian Sites



Figure 5.31: Diversity of object materials at New Kingdom Nubian sites, by sex. Due to the low preservation index and the lack of a physical anthropologist onsite during the excavation, there were very few sexed burials that could be included here: 21 at Site 35 (29%), 2 at Site 176 (2%), 4 at Site 201 (15%), and 16 at Site 220 (29%). Because almost no burials were found intact, partially disturbed burials are included here, with the acknowledgment that there may have been more objects (and thus higher object diversity scores).

Presence/Absence of Decorative Items at New Kingdom Nubian Sites, by Sex



Figure 5.32: Presence/absence of decorative items at New Kingdom Nubian sites, by sex. Due to the low preservation index and the lack of a physical anthropologist onsite during the excavation, there were very few sexed burials that could be included here: 21 at Site 35 (29%), 2 at Site 176 (2%), 4 at Site 201 (15%), and 16 at Site 220 (29%).

**Presence/Absence of Scarabs, Plaques, and Cowroids in Pharaonic Burials, by Sex and Date**



**Presence/Absence of Beads and Pendants, by Sex and Date**

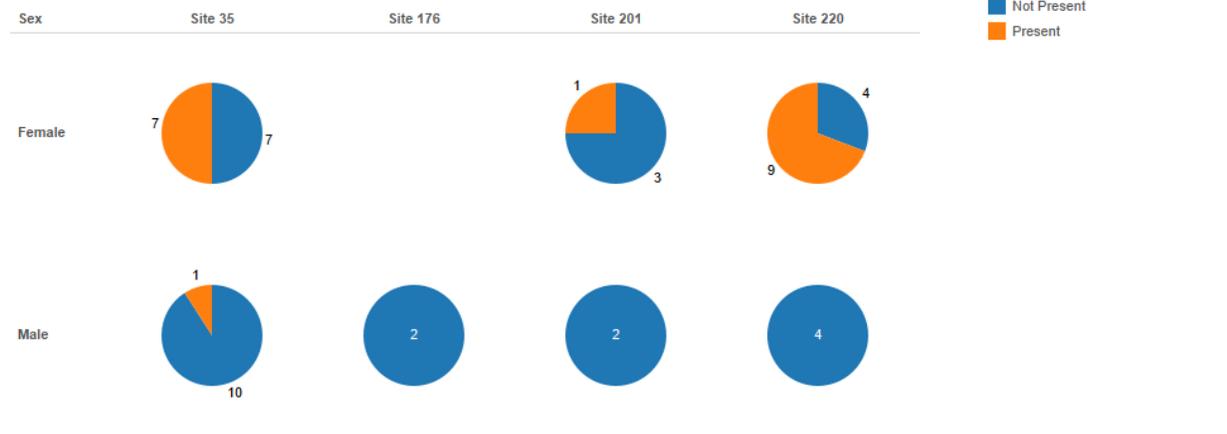


Figure 5.33: Presence/absence of scarabs and similar Egyptian objects (top) and beads and pendants (bottom) at New Kingdom Nubian sites, by sex. Due to the low preservation index and the lack of a physical anthropologist onsite during the excavation, there were very few sexed burials that could be included here: 21 at Site 35 (29%), 2 at Site 176 (2%), 4 at Site 201 (15%), and 16 at Site 220 (29%). The only other decorative objects found associated with a sexed burial were a shell in a male grave at Site 35 and a spacer in a male grave at Site 176.

Evidence of Cultural Entanglement

What is Nubian?

To look for evidence of cultural entanglement, we must first determine what features might indicate an affiliation with a Nubian culture or an Egyptian culture. As discussed in Chapter 3, cultures with a belief in an afterlife of some sort tend to dispose of their dead in a standardized fashion. Thus, we might expect to see differences in the treatment of the dead between people who emphasize one cultural identity over another. For the Egyptians, burial practices were culturally standardized fairly early

in their history, though with some changes over time. Before the Middle Kingdom, burials were in an extended position on the side, usually the left, with the head in the north.<sup>32</sup> Beginning in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, there was a gradual transition to the body being placed on the back, and by the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty only a small portion of burials were on the side.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, the head began to be placed in the west, perhaps so that the deceased could raise their head and look east towards the sun.<sup>34</sup> There are variations to this standard orientation of the head, but these are usually related to the course of the Nile. For instance, Stephan Seidlmayer has pointed out that Middle Kingdom cemeteries located where the Nile had a westerly course produced more westerly oriented burials than others, because they were using the river as their means of orientation.<sup>35</sup> Seidlmayer also points out that the orientation rule was more strictly observed with richer burials, while poorer burials displayed more variation in orientation, possibly due to ignorance or lack of care.<sup>36</sup> In New Kingdom Nubia, such standardization would indicate that the position of the body was important to the person's afterlife, and thus one could argue that adoption of the westerly burial orientation indicates adoption of Egyptian religion. Egyptian burials are also typically in a coffin, and the body mummified to preserve the individual's link with this world.

Amongst cemeteries of the Middle Nubian period, there is much more variation in burial treatment than in Egypt, indicating different "cultures" in the region. However, there is significant disagreement amongst scholars on what burial features should be associated with the C-Group, Pan

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<sup>32</sup> Maarten J. Raven, "Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 91(2005): 40.

<sup>33</sup> Janine Bourriau, "Change of Body Position in Egyptian Burials from the Mid XIIIth Dynasty until the Early XVIIIth Dynasty," in *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Leiden University 6-7 June 1996*, ed. Harco Willems, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 103 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

<sup>34</sup> Raven, "Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body," 40.

<sup>35</sup> Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich : Studien zur Archäologie der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, vol. Bd. 1, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1990), 110.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 422.

Grave, and Kerma<sup>37</sup> cultures. For instance, Manfred Bietak suggests that a burial place protected by standing slabs is indicative of the C-Group, but Säve-Söderbergh associates them with Pan Grave or his “Transitional” cemeteries.<sup>38</sup> As we now understand that cultures are not monolithic entities (see Chapter 3), it shouldn’t be surprising that it is difficult to definitively associate burial features with one Nubian group over another. Given this, for the purposes of this work it suffices to say that Middle Nubian graves are typically topped by a circular mound structure or a stone ring, with a burial set in a small shaft and the body in a contracted position. Though Bietak states that C-Group peoples orient their graves Nile north, it is clear from the wide variety of orientations present in the SJE concession that this is probably not a universal practice.<sup>39</sup> Nubian burials also frequently include offerings of pottery next to the superstructure, and sometimes pits or “grooves” (long curved trenches) filled with animal bucrania.<sup>40</sup> Further contrasting from Egyptian burials, Nubians were frequently buried in leather or fur (either as shrouds or clothing), something the Egyptians did not do. Given these significant differences from Egyptian burials, a Nubian cultural affinity could be inferred from a non-western body orientation, a contracted burial, and/or the inclusion of leather or fur in the burial.

The inclusion of Nubian objects within a burial might signify an identification with a traditional Nubian culture. However, assigning a cultural designation to an object or object type is not

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<sup>37</sup> There is very little evidence for Kerma material culture in the region of Lower Nubia under study here. The SJE found only one possible Kerma cemetery (Site 393, in the southern part of the concession), and otherwise Kerma culture is only represented by a relatively small amount of pottery. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 22. Within the OINE concession, the only possible Kerma burial was a secondary burial dating to the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty in Qustul Tomb VF60. This burial is described in the excavator notes as “Kerma type burial, bowl at three corners, a skull placed to the east.” Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 297. However, it is clear from the tomb drawings and the status of the other burials in the tomb that the unit was heavily disturbed, so whether any of the objects or bones were in the original positions is debatable.

<sup>38</sup> Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr*, 5; Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 8.

<sup>39</sup> Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr*, 5, 94.

<sup>40</sup> Bucrania are thought to be indicative of Pan Grave culture by Säve-Söderbergh. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 17.

straightforward, nor necessarily accurate. Objects can certainly be made locally, and with many object categories discerning between an import or something made by local artisans in an Egyptian style can be difficult or impossible. That said, for the purposes of this study some classes of objects can be assigned as Egyptian or Nubian, and thus provide some insight into the mechanisms of cultural entanglement. Scarabs and other objects that have hieroglyphs most likely came from Egyptian artisans, as the Nubians did not use a written script. Amulets of known Egyptian types also likely came from Egyptian artisans. Stone vessels and kohl pots of known Egyptian types were also likely imports, or at least produced by craftsmen with ties to Egypt. Egyptian pottery was probably both imported and locally made, and without scientific analyses of fabrics it is not usually possible to determine the origin of individual pots. Given the amount of ceramics found within the SJE and OINE concessions, it is likely the majority were locally produced.

Nubian-style objects, on the other hand, can be considered to have been produced in Nubia. Nubian pottery is perhaps the most obvious distinguishing “Nubian” object found in Nubian burials. Nubian pottery is handmade, typically consisting of incised decoration of various types, or black topped and red polished. Decorative objects may also be very indicative of cultural affinity, as the body is frequently the canvas used to distinguish groups of people. One particularly Nubian decoration is a spacer, a kind of rectangular plate with holes at the ends, made of shell or mother-of-pearl. The term comes from their use in holding strings of beads apart, though they seem to have usually been mounted together side by side to form a bracelet of only these plates at sites within the SJE concession.<sup>41</sup> Spacers are considered typical of Pan Grave sites.<sup>42</sup> The prevalence of ostrich shell beads on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Middle Nubian sites may also suggest a cultural preference. However, there is relatively little recent work on materials used in decorative items, and it has been noted that ostrich

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>42</sup> Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr*, 5, 122. They were not found at any Pharaonic sites in Lower Nubia.

shell beads were popular in Egypt into the Second Intermediate Period, and declined in use during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>43</sup> Thus, any association between ostrich shell objects and Nubian cultural affinity must be taken with a grain of salt.

In situations of cultural entanglement, we might also expect to see objects displaying material entanglement alongside objects more “traditional” of the cultures involved. Here, this might be traditional Nubian objects that take on Egyptian decorative motifs and vice versa. Ellen Morris has defined this as “Egyptianizing”, that is, “an adaptation of reworking of Egyptian motifs or styles in a manner alien to Egypt’s artistic traditions.”<sup>44</sup> Surprisingly, this seems to be fairly rare in Lower Nubia with only a few objects, described below, fitting the criteria discussed in Chapter 3. Whether an object is Nubian, Egyptian, or Egyptianizing, we still have the fundamental problem that objects do not necessarily equal ethnicity. Just because an individual was buried with an object of a certain cultural designation, it doesn’t mean that they were part of that culture – there are many reasons one might use an object from another culture, such as associated prestige or simply liking the object. In this case, we need to look for relational entanglement and ask ourselves, is the object used in ways different from its original (Egyptian) context?

## The Pharaonic Sites

### *Treatment of the Body*

As discussed above, the placement and treatment of the body can provide clues to how an individual represented themselves within a community undergoing a period of cultural entanglement. Most notably, the excavations in Lower Nubia found no evidence of artificial preservation of the body

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<sup>43</sup> A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th, rev. and enl. by J.R. Harris. ed. (London: E. Arnold, 1962), 38.

<sup>44</sup> Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, 15.

(i.e. mummification).<sup>45</sup> It was Inge Hofmann who first observed that mummification was absent in Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom, something that was subsequently confirmed by the physical analysis of skeletal remains in the SJE concession.<sup>46</sup> Mummification was an essential part of Egyptian beliefs regarding the afterlife, so it could be inferred by the lack of mummification that Egyptianized Nubians had not necessarily adopted the entirety of the Egyptian belief system, though it is possible that they simply did not have access to the requisite materials and/or skilled individuals. That shabtis and funerary stelae<sup>47</sup> were also lacking within Lower Nubia, suggests that the afterlife was, perhaps, not seen by the Nubians in the same way as the Egyptians.

Extended burials are generally taken as indicating an Egyptianized Nubian, while contracted burials indicate a Nubian cultural affinity. Contracted burials are rare at the Pharaonic sites, but still occur into the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (see Figure 5.35). They occur with greater frequency at Fadrus than any other site in this study, with only seven examples at Qustul/Adindan.<sup>48</sup> However, it should be noted that full contraction burials are rare – in most cases, burials were classified as contracted by the excavators when the body was straight but the legs were bent at the knees (see Figure 5.34). Only four adult burials

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<sup>45</sup> The only exception was Site Q, the Tomb of Djhuty-hotep, where canopic jars were found. As this was an elite burial in an Egyptian-style tomb, the presence of artifacts of mummification is not surprising. A ceramic canopic jar was also found in tomb VF60 at Qustul; however, in this instance it was included in a small collection of pottery placed with a group of burials (2 preserved, along with the disarticulated remains of 2 more individuals). In this instance, it appears the canopic jar was simply included as a ceramic jar, rather than used for its original (Egyptian) purpose. I would argue that this is an instance of relational entanglement.

<sup>46</sup> Inge Hofmann, *Die Kulturen des Niltals von Aswan bis Sennar vom Mesolithikum bis zum Ende der christlichen Epoche* (Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1967), 314; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 51.

<sup>47</sup> The only funerary stelae found in the SJE and OINE concessions on the east bank of the Nile were found at Qustul. The first, OIM 21560, was not found in situ but presented to the expedition by a local Nubian, who had used it for a threshold. The other, OIM 21688, was found in fragments, used in the blocking of tomb VD55. The former was dated by William Murnane to the Ramesside Period, the latter to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, either to the reigns of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III. Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 133-36. Fragments of one shabti were found in Tomb R94. This tomb was completely plundered, with only disarticulated bones mixed with the remaining objects. *Ibid.*, 250-52.

<sup>48</sup> The OINE considered all burials on the side with bent knees as contracted, which is not what should properly be considered as such. When classifying the OINE burials, the drawings of the skeletons were used to determine whether the body was actually contracted (i.e. in the hocker position) or if the body was in an extended position with knees slightly bent.

with full contraction were found (Units 230, 304, 320, and 685).<sup>49</sup> In most cases, contracted burials do not occur with any other objects or characteristics that might indicate a Nubian cultural origin. Eight of the burials included a shroud or wrapping, but only one in leather or fur. Nubian pottery and traditional Nubian jewelry are also not present. Contracted burials do occur with a variety of burial orientations, though a western or northwestern orientation is most prevalent (see Figure 5.38). Interestingly, the effort expenditure (Figure 5.36), object diversity, and material diversity (Figure 5.37) of contracted burials tends to be much lower than the rest of the tombs.<sup>50</sup> This suggests that within these Egyptianized communities, displaying a Nubian ethnic affiliation might have been more common amongst the lower socioeconomic classes. As a number of theories described in Chapter 2 suggest that Egyptianization began with the highest social classes, it is not surprising that the lowest status burials display more Nubian traits. However, it should be noted that the majority of contracted burials belong to children (33 of 50), which also tends to be correlated with smaller effort expenditure and lower diversity scores, as shown above. That said, the remaining contracted burials, adults or likely adults based on skeleton length, all have similarly small grave volumes and low diversity scores.

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<sup>49</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 213. The degree of contraction of the other burials is difficult to confirm as the majority were not drawn for publication. It should also be noted that at Tombos, Smith found four contracted burials of presumably Nubian women who were also not buried in the fully contracted position. Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 162-63.

<sup>50</sup> The exception are three child burials in a large grave with several other individuals, who were all placed in a contracted position (Unit 511). This tomb was unusual in many ways, as it was one of the largest constructions at Fadrus and included multiple burials with many objects (though most of them were plundered).

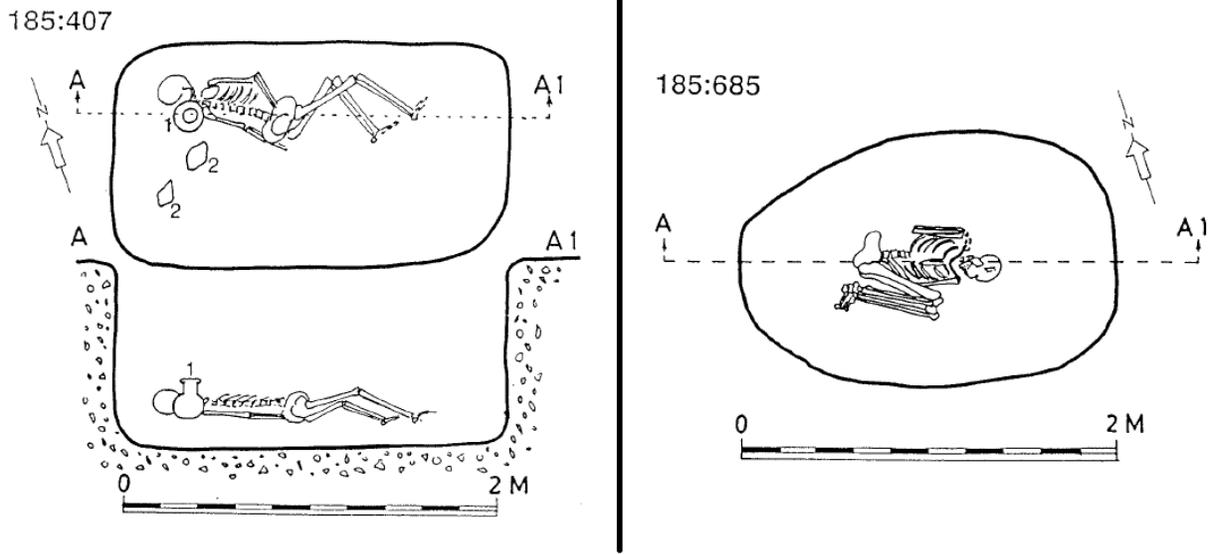


Figure 5.34: Left, a partially contracted adult burial (Unit 407). Right, a fully contracted adult burial (Unit 685). SOURCE: Säve-Söderbergh, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites Vol. 5:2, Plates 79 and 81.*

### Contracted and Extended Burials by Date, Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan

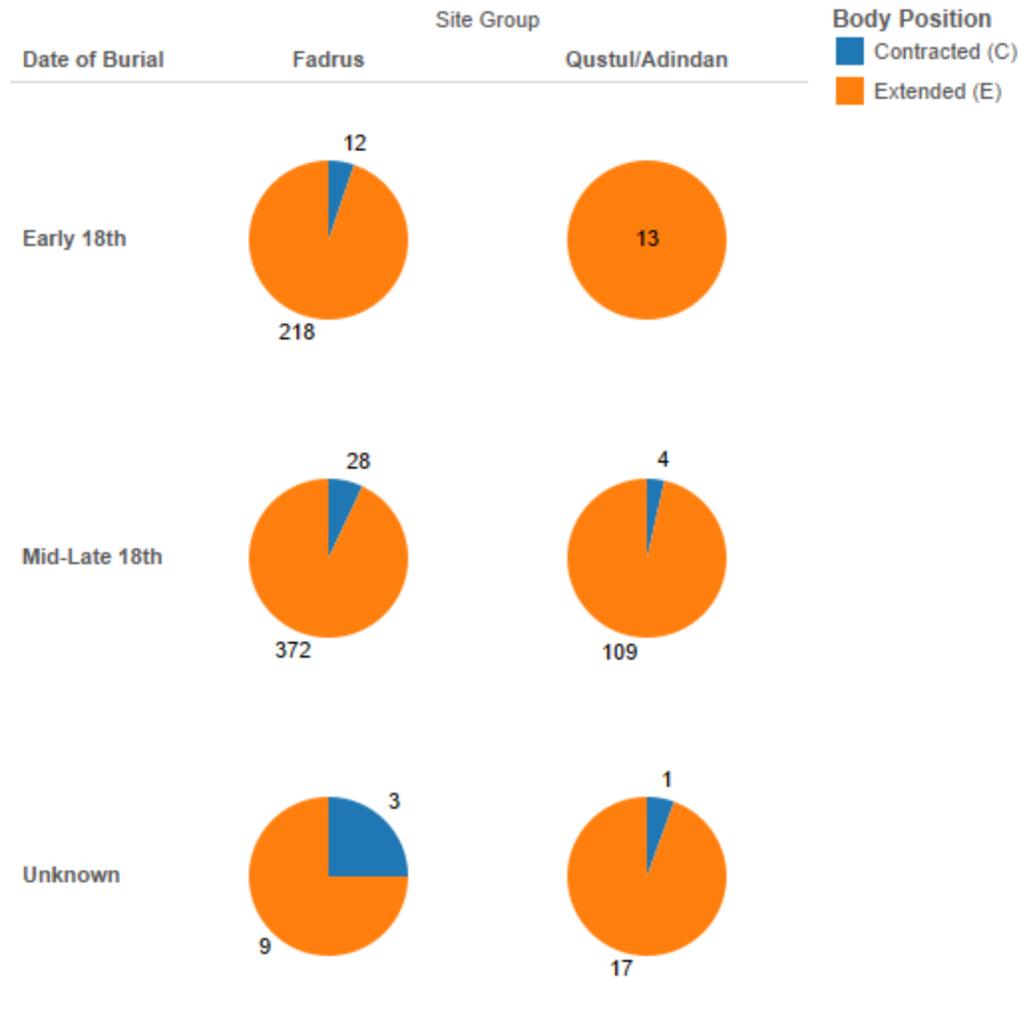


Figure 5.35: Body position of burials at Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan by date. Chart excludes 90 burials from Fadrus (12%) and 138 burials from Qustul/Adindan (49%), as they lacked enough bones to determine original body position.

### Grave Volume of Contracted vs. Extended Burials

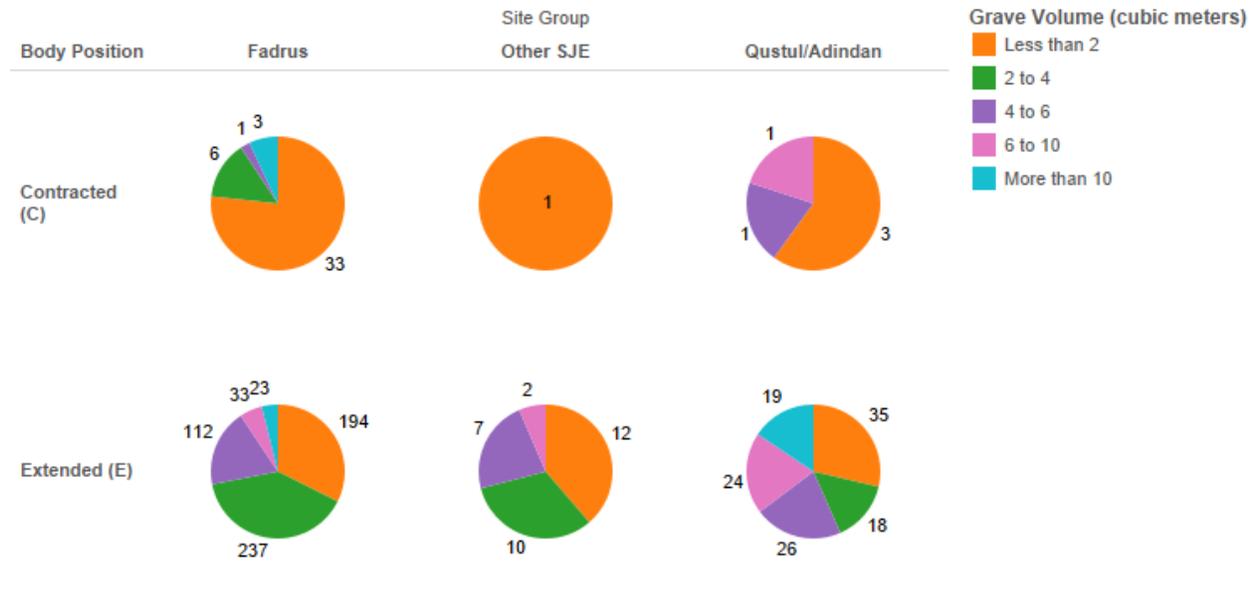
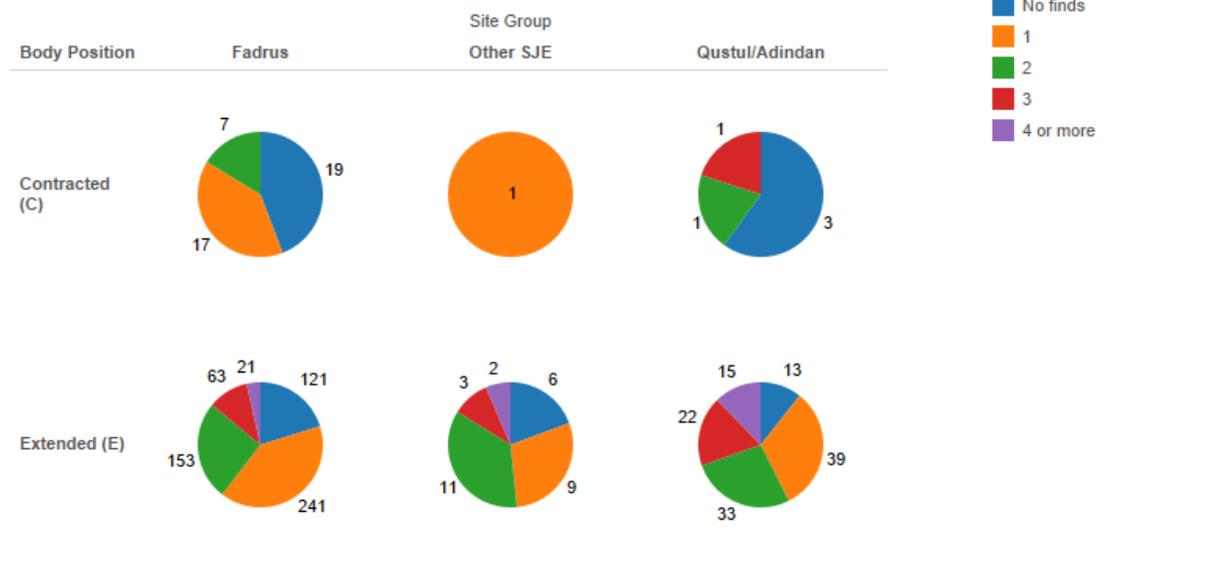


Figure 5.36: Grave volume of contracted and extended burials. Chart excludes 90 burials from Fadrus (12%) and 138 burials from Qustul/Adindan (49%), as they lacked enough bones to determine original body position or enough information to compute the volume of the grave.

### Diversity of Objects in Contracted vs. Extended Burials



### Diversity of Materials in Contracted vs. Extended Burials

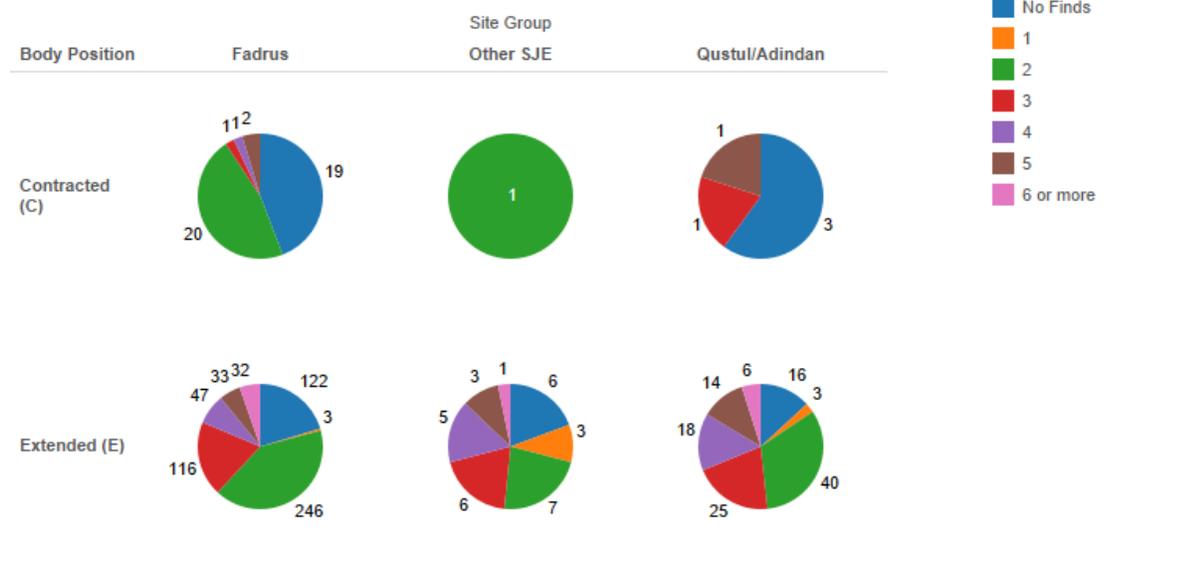


Figure 5.37: Object diversity and material diversity of burials in contracted versus extended positions. Chart excludes 90 burials from Fadrus (12%) and 155 burials from Qustul/Adindan (55%), as they lacked enough bones to determine original body position or were too mixed to determine the association between objects and individuals.

Some have also argued that a western head orientation indicates the adoption of Egyptian beliefs regarding the afterlife.<sup>51</sup> While there is certainly a preference for a western<sup>52</sup> orientation, there is

<sup>51</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 159.

<sup>52</sup> Western here assumes river north rather than magnetic north. Within the SJE concession, river north and magnetic north are roughly the same, but the path of the river at Qustul and Adindan is more easterly. Thus, the western oriented burials at Qustul and Adindan are actually oriented more or less towards magnetic north, but are perpendicular to the course of the Nile.

significant variety within extended burials, and no chronological patterns indicating a difference in preferences over time (see Figure 5.38 and Figure 5.39). At Fadrus, northwest is also a common burial orientation, but every other direction appears as well. There is less variation at Qustul/Adindan, with a much larger proportion of the burials having a western orientation. This, however, may be a somewhat misleading statistic. The OINE excavators did not generally use more specific descriptions than the four cardinal directions (North, East, South, West), unlike the SJE, who were very precise in their recording of body orientations. In most cases, the OINE tomb drawings are not helpful in further describing the orientation of the body. Unlike with the contracted burials, there are no statistically significant differences in effort expenditure or diversity measures for non-westerly oriented burials. Interestingly, the most variation occurs at Cemetery K at Adindan, where all but one preserved burial was oriented in a direction other than west (see Figure 5.40). Cemetery K is located some distance from the other cemeteries, and is the continuation of an earlier C-Group cemetery. It may not be surprising then that the burials there conform less to Egyptian practices. The Cemetery K burials are relatively poor in comparison to the rest of the site, as the burials usually have only a few ceramics and a scarab or amulet, though two disturbed burials (K31 and K50) had more pottery than the others as well as other objects such as razors, plaques, and stone jars.

### Head Orientation of Contracted vs. Extended Burials

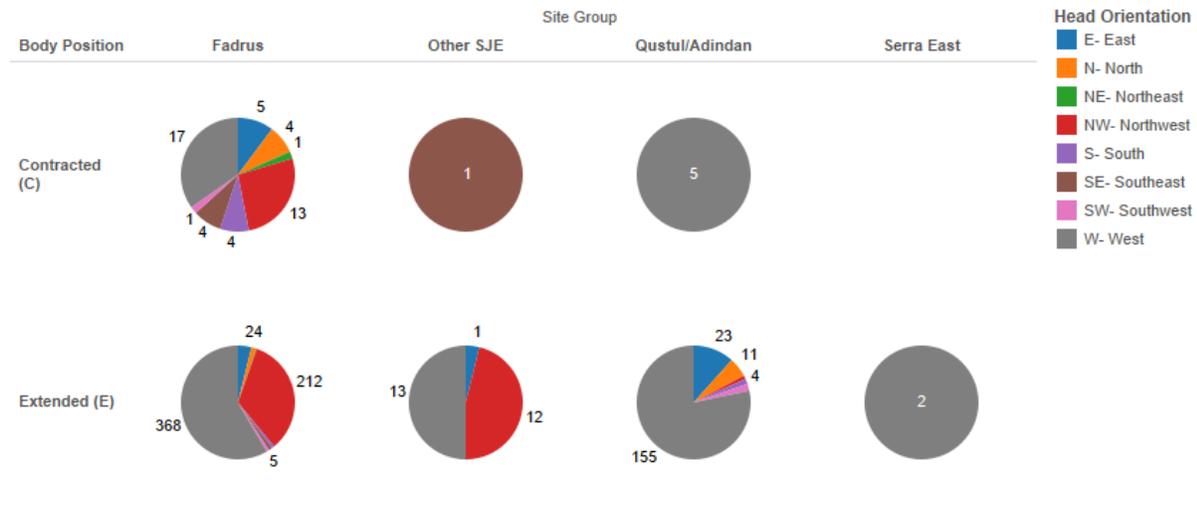


Figure 5.38: Orientation of the head in contracted and extended burials. Chart excludes 53 burials from Fadrus (7%), 33 burials from the other SJE sites (55%), 79 burials from Qustul/Adindan (28%), and 4 burials from Serra East (67%), where the bodies were not preserved in a condition to determine the original body position or orientation.

### Burial Orientation at Pharaonic Cemeteries, by Date

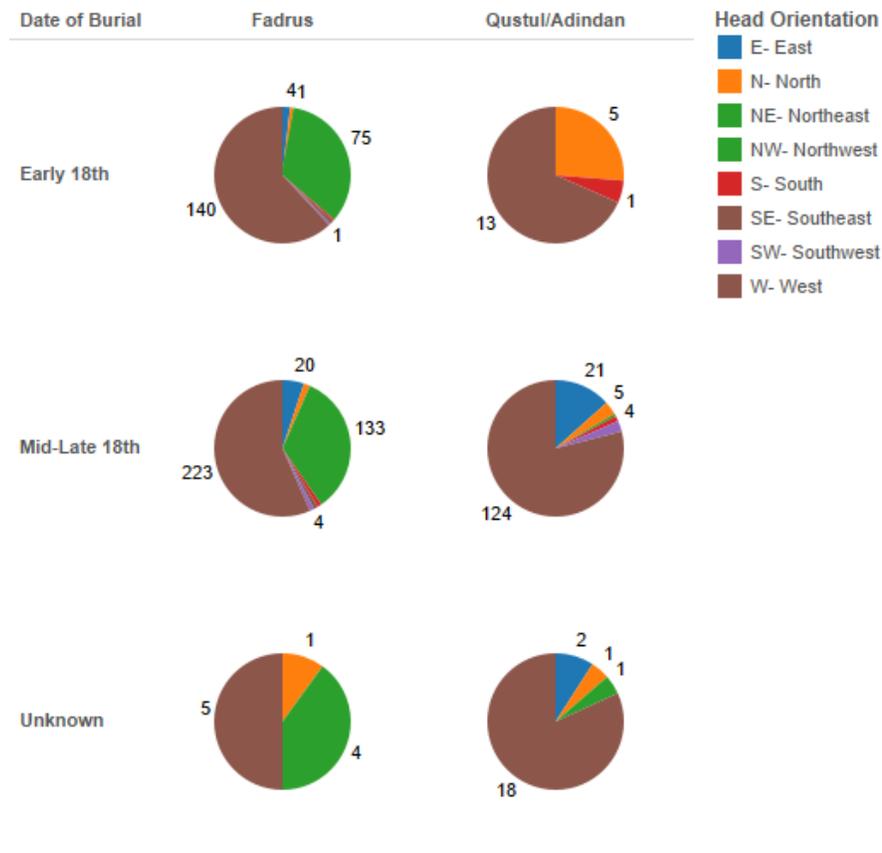


Figure 5.39: Orientation of extended burials at Pharaonic cemeteries, by date. Chart excludes 53 burials from Fadrus (7%), 33 burials from the other SJE sites (55%), 79 burials from Qustul/Adindan (28%), and 4 burials from Serra East (67%), where the bodies were not preserved in a condition to determine the original body position or orientation.

### Head Orientation of Extended Burials at Qustul and Adindan

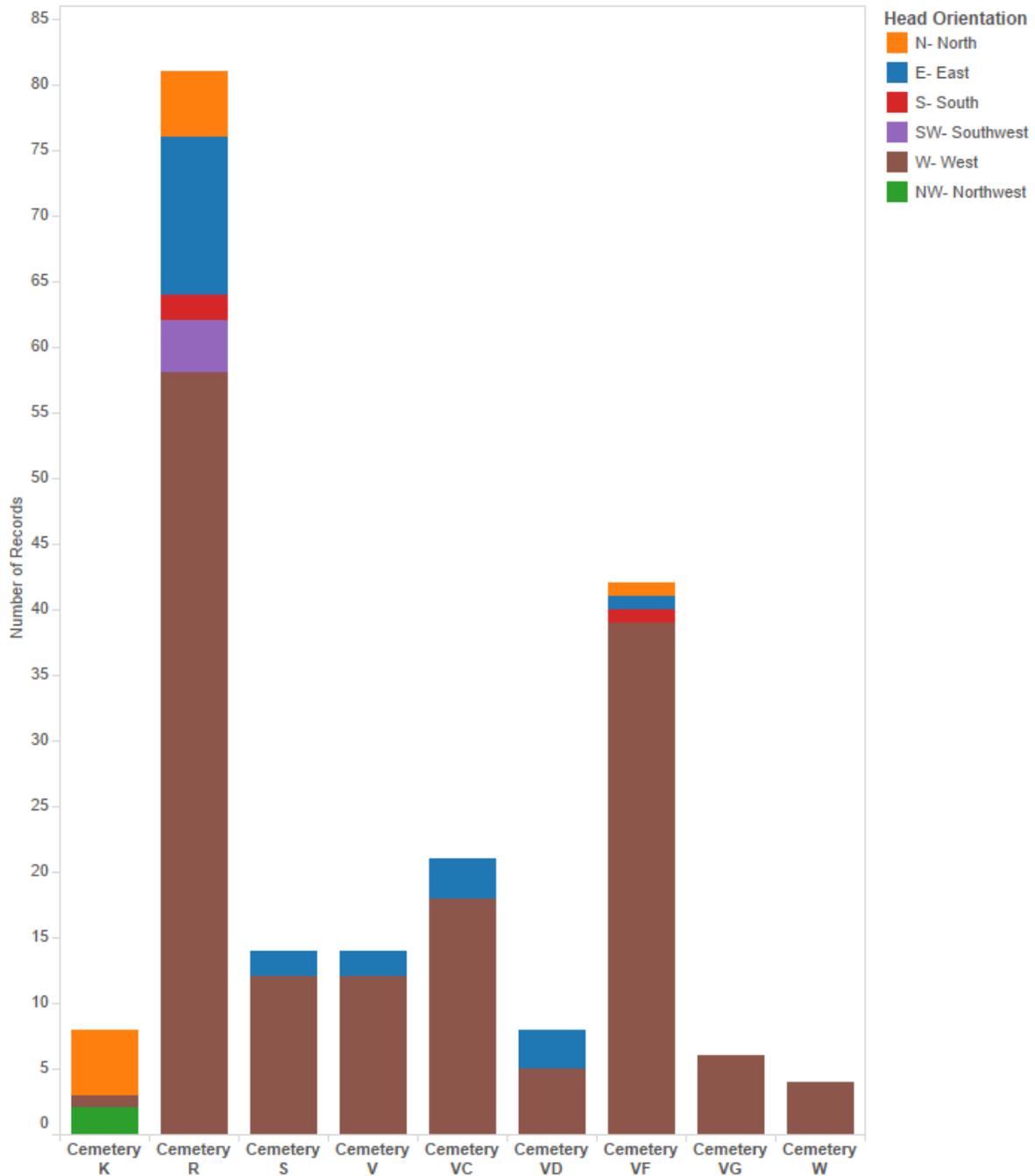


Figure 5.40: Head orientation of extended burials at Qustul and Adindan, by individual cemetery. Chart excludes 4 burials from Cemetery K (33%), 47 burials from Cemetery R (36%), 4 burials from Cemetery S (21%), 5 burials from Cemetery V (26%), 5 burials from Cemetery VC (19%), 4 burials from Cemetery VD (33%), 7 burials from Cemetery VF (14%), and 7 burials from Cemetery W (58%).

As discussed above, Egyptian mortuary tradition in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty called for the body to be positioned such that the dead could raise its head to look at the rising sun, i.e. on its back. Amongst the

sites in this study, there is significant variation in the positioning of the body (Figure 5.41). At Fadrus, about half of all burials are placed on their back, with no increase in the proportion of burials on the back over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, which would be expected if Egyptian mortuary beliefs were increasingly adopted. Instead, we see a significant proportion of burials on the right or left side, as well as an unusual number buried on their faces. The face-down position is explained by Troy and Säve-Söderbergh as the body having “been wrapped in such a manner than an error in the placement of the body was made.”<sup>53</sup> Though no shrouds were found associated with these burials, they argue that the prevalence of burials placed on the face suggests increasing use of shrouds or body coverings of some kind. At Qustul and Adindan, the majority of burials were placed on the back, though left or right side burials still appear throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. The lack of a clear preference for the orientation of the face, particularly at Fadrus, along with the variations in burial orientation, does suggest that Egyptian traditions were not consistently observed.<sup>54</sup>

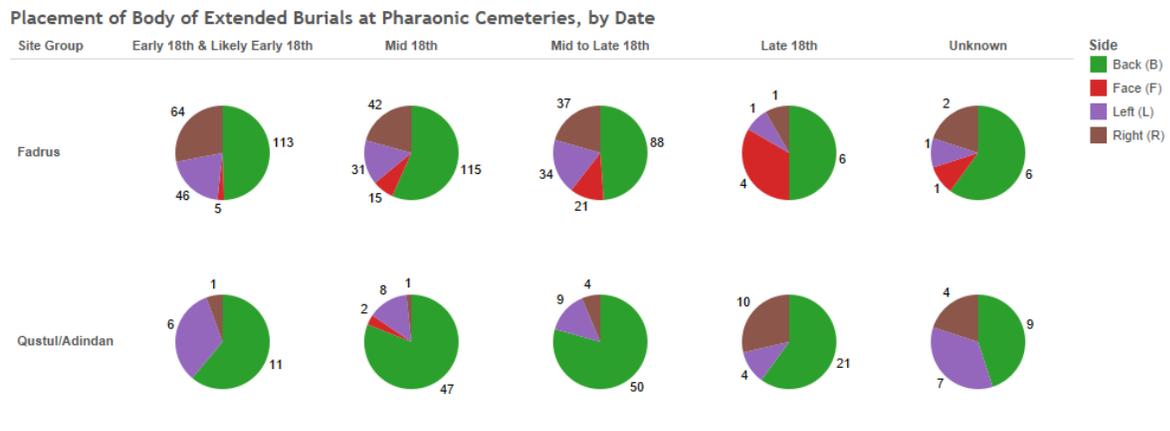


Figure 5.41: Placement of the body in extended burials at Fadrus and Qustul and Adindan, by date. Chart excludes contracted burials and burials where the original position of the skeleton could not be determined: 99 burials at Fadrus (14%) and 88 burials at Qustul and Adindan (31%).

<sup>53</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 213.

<sup>54</sup> This point is also argued by Török. Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 278.

The usage of coffins is also frequently cited as an indicator of the adoption of Egyptian religious beliefs.<sup>55</sup> Stuart Tyson Smith has argued that coffins are, in fact, the most basic requirement for a New Kingdom burial.<sup>56</sup> Coffins are fairly rare at Fadrus in the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, while in the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty they are present in a little under a third of burials (see Figure 5.42). Geographically, their usage is most common in the southwestern portion of the cemetery (Figure 5.43). Interestingly, while we might expect coffin usage to appear more frequently amongst those of higher socioeconomic status, that is not the case at Fadrus. Instead, we see very little difference in the socioeconomic status as measured by effort expenditure (Figure 5.44) or diversity of object types (Figure 5.45) between individuals with coffins and those without. Turning to the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries, we see that coffin burials appear in higher rates across the 18th dynasty than at Fadrus, with a noticeable drop in use amongst the confirmed late 18th dynasty graves. As at Fadrus, effort expenditure (Figure 5.46) and object diversity (Figure 5.47) are similar amongst burials with coffins and those without. However, it is worth noting that in the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty almost all of the most diverse burials in terms of objects were placed in coffins. It would seem that despite a coffin burial being one of the “most basic requirements” in Egyptian mortuary tradition, in Lower Nubia they were not universally used by the populations at Fadrus and Qustul and Adindan. There is a chronological component to their use at Fadrus, as they are rare in the cemetery prior to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, but at Qustul and Adindan their use appears at relatively similar rates throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. That there is no correlation with socioeconomic status, as it can be measured archaeologically, would indicate that there was another factor in the decision to use a coffin, other than expense.

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<sup>55</sup> E.g. Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Smith, "Intact Tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties from Thebes and the New Kingdom Burial System; Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 146.

### Coffin Usage by Site and Date

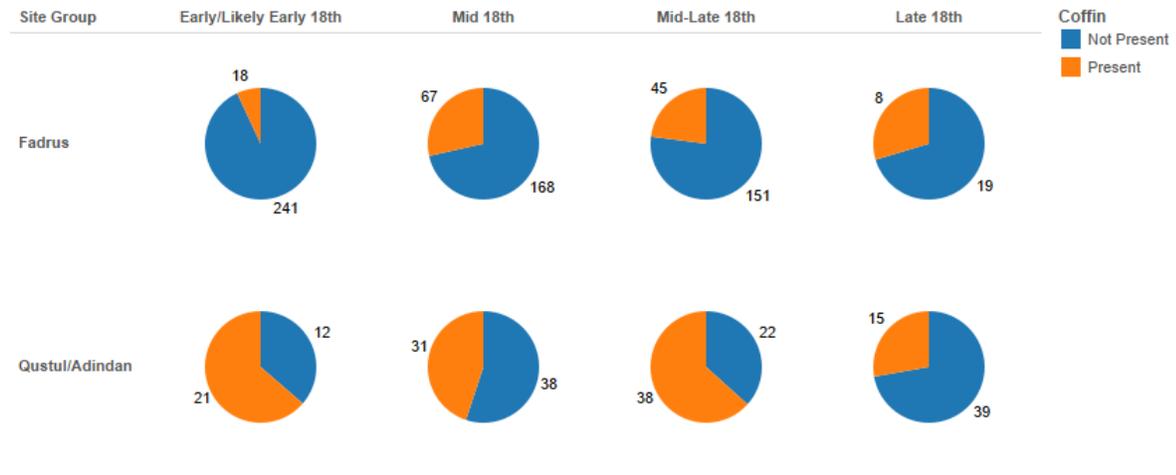


Figure 5.42: Coffin usage in burials at Fadrus and Qustul and Adindan, by date. The other SJE sites and Serra East were excluded due to the small number of securely datable burials.

### Fadrus Graves: Coffins vs. No Coffins

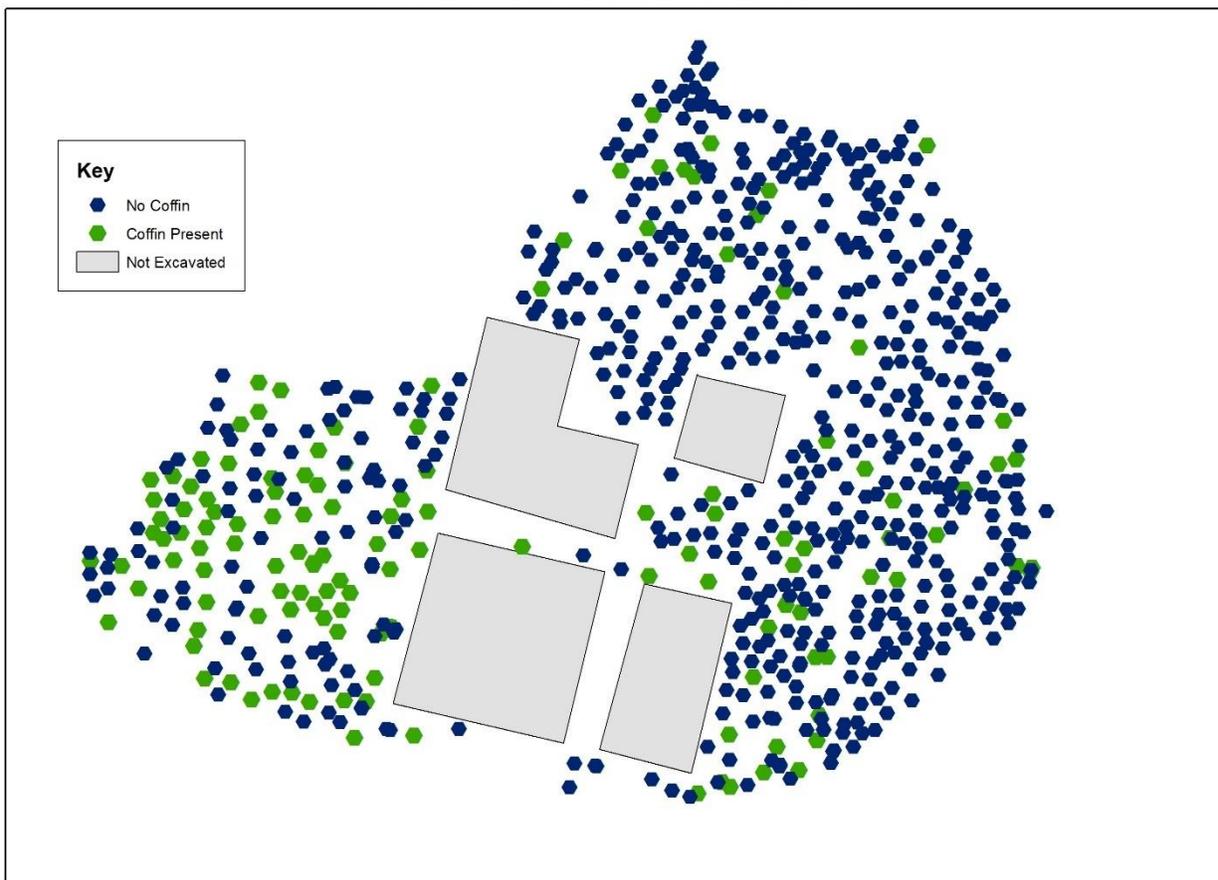


Figure 5.43: The geographic distribution of coffins at Fadrus.

### Grave Volume of Burials at Fadrus with Coffins and without, by Date

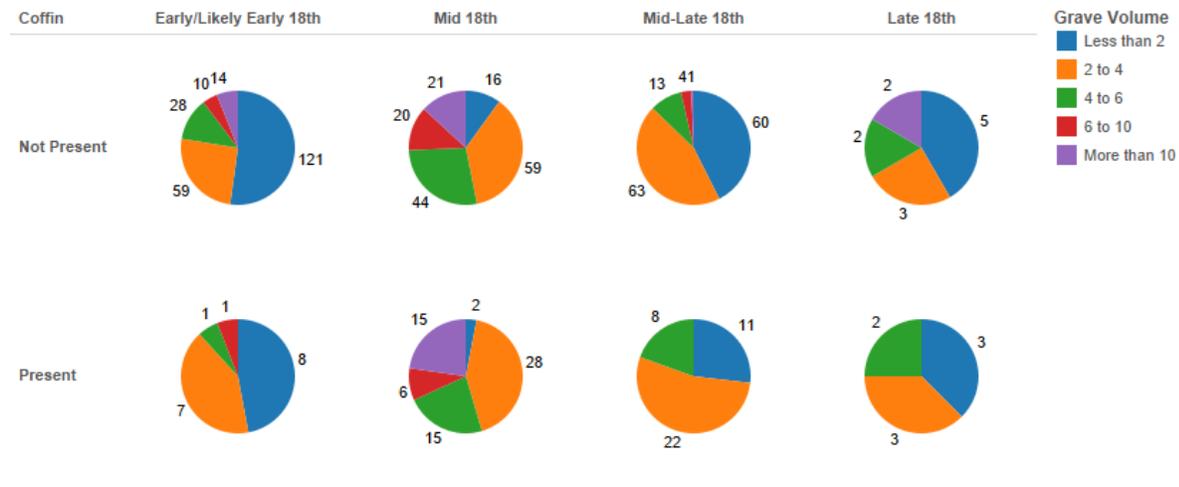


Figure 5.44: Grave volume of burials at Fadrus comparing coffin burials and burials without coffins, by date. Excludes 55 burials (8%) without grave measurements or that could not be assigned a specific date.

### Object Diversity of Fadrus Burials with Coffins versus those without, by Date

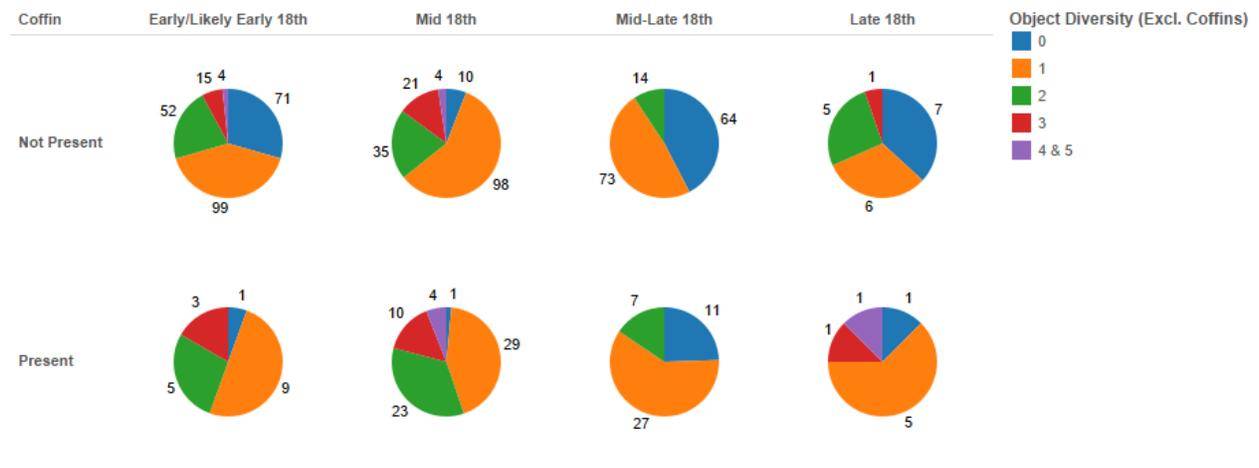


Figure 5.45: Diversity of objects at Fadrus comparing coffin burials and burials without coffins, by date. The object diversity scores here are adjusted to exclude coffins, thus preserving the relationship between the two groups. Excludes 15 burials (2%) that could not be assigned a specific date.

### Grave Volume of Burials at Qustul and Adindan with Coffins and without, by Date

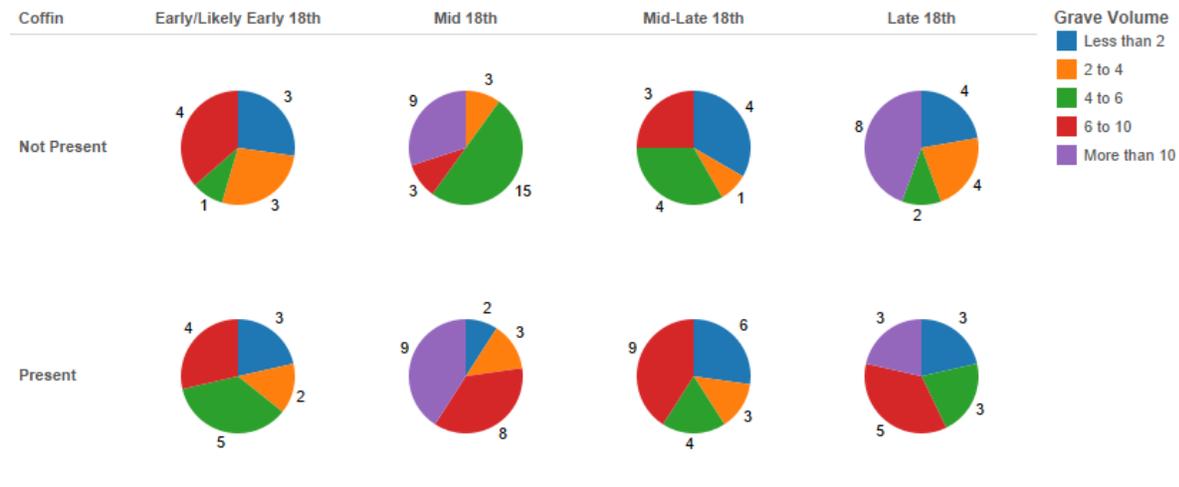


Figure 5.46: Grave volume of burials at Qustul and Adindan, comparing burials with coffins and those without. Excludes burials unable to be assigned a specific date or without the requisite measurements to determine grave volume (139, 49% of burials).

### Object Diversity of Qustul and Adindan Burials with Coffins versus those without, by Date

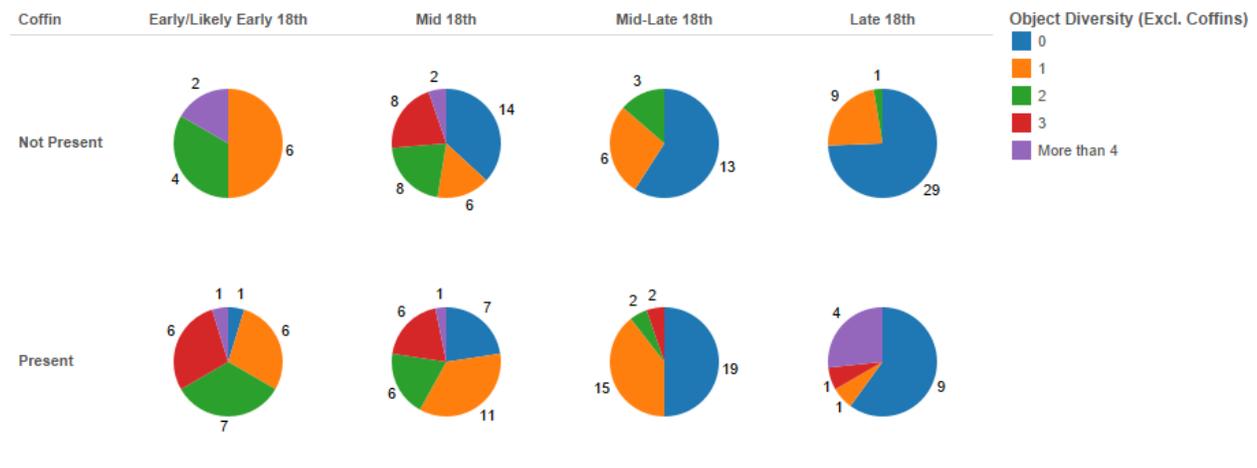


Figure 5.47: Diversity of objects at Qustul and Adindan comparing coffin burials and burials without coffins, by date. The object diversity scores here are adjusted to exclude coffins, thus preserving the relationship between the two groups. Excludes 66 burials (23%) that could not be assigned a specific date or were too mixed to estimate object diversity.

Lastly, the inclusion of leather or fur as a burial shroud or clothing can be interpreted as having Nubian origins. Unfortunately, due to preservation conditions that did not favor organic material, it was rare for the SJE and OINE archaeologists to find remnants of leather or fur. There were no examples found at Qustul/Adindan, and within the SJE concession only fifteen burials had preserved remains. The majority were unsurprisingly at Fadrus (9 burials), but leather/fur was also found at Site 64 (2 burials), Site 172 (2 burials), Site 280 (1 burial), and Site 309 (1 burial). Other than Unit 640 at Fadrus, all the

individuals with fur or leather shrouds were buried in an extended position. Almost all of the Fadrus examples date to the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, with the remainder found in graves that could not be dated. All examples of burials including leather or fur are fairly poor, with only a few objects included (usually pottery), and no high-value items like metals or stone. This could again support the idea that presenting a traditional Nubian cultural identity was more common amongst the lower socioeconomic classes. More modern ethnographic studies of acculturation and cultural exchange have suggested that higher socioeconomic status can facilitate penetration into and interaction with a new society.<sup>57</sup> It is also worth noting here the unusual burial at Site 280, Unit 253, which was of a mature female buried wrapped in leather and clay (Figure 5.48). While no photographs were published, the burial is described as “covered with a primitive mummiform cover of clay, leaving only the skull and the remains of a leather wrapping at the feet visible.”<sup>58</sup> The grave was intact, and dates to the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, on the basis of a beer bottle placed by her waist. This unusual “coffin” is likely a materially entangled object, in that it takes the form of a traditional Egyptian coffin, but utilizes a new method and materials, employing clay over a leather wrap.

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<sup>57</sup> Charles Negy and Donald Woods, "A Note on the Relationship Between Acculturation and Socioeconomic Status," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 14, no. 2 (1992). Negy and Woods found links between higher incomes and acculturation within Hispanic-American groups in the late 1980s. However, the process of cultural entanglement may happen differently in the situation of an immigrant to a new culture than amongst a population during a period of colonization by another culture. A perhaps more similar example would be colonial and post-colonial India, where those with the income to afford English-medium educations became (and become) more acculturated to British/Western society while also benefiting from further vertical economic/social mobility. At the same time, those without such access remained (and remain) more traditionally “Indian”. David Faust and Richa Nagar, "Politics of Development in Postcolonial India: English-Medium Education and Social Fracturing," *Economic and Political Weekly* 36, no. 30 (2001).

<sup>58</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 311.

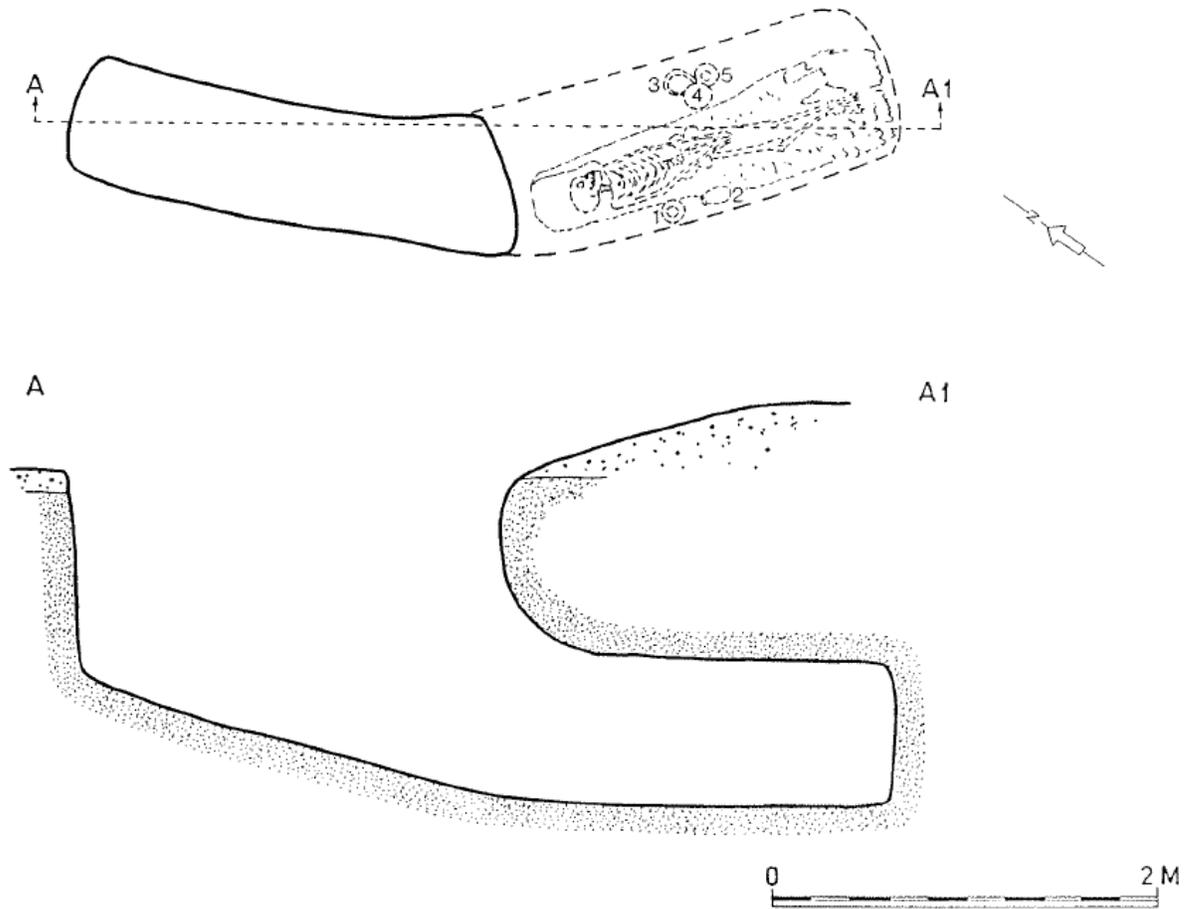


Figure 5.48: Excavation drawing of Site 280, Unit 253, showing the leather and clay "mummiform coffin". SOURCE: Säve-Söderbergh, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds*, Plate 205.

#### *Inclusion of "Nubian" Objects*

As previously mentioned, the use of ostrich shell in objects may be an indicator of Nubian ethnicity. Ostrich eggshell beads were particularly common at Middle Nubian sites dating to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period – for example, at Site 47 (which dates to the Second Intermediate Period) nearly every example of a burial found with beads included ostrich eggshell beads, including several examples with over a hundred ostrich eggshell beads.<sup>59</sup> Ostrich eggshell beads also appear in significant quantities at the New Kingdom Nubian sites, but are very rare at the Pharaonic cemeteries. The only examples in the corpus are found at Fadrus, where ten burials included ostrich

<sup>59</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 84.

shell beads (along with one example in the fill of a completely plundered large tomb). Of those units, one dates to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, with six more likely dating to the same period, and three units confirmed as mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. With the exception of one relatively large end niche unit (481, discussed below), most had fairly small grave volumes, between one and two cubic meters. Looking at the object diversity scores, most (7 burials) are below 2, which fits with the overall trend discussed above. The material diversity scores are interesting, however. Overall at Fadrus, fully three-quarters of individuals had scores of 3 or less, while of the ten burials with ostrich shell beads, only two have scores below 3. This higher material diversity is likely due to the inclusion of a variety of beads, scarabs, and other decorative items in these units, and highlights the importance of using multiple approaches to measuring wealth and socioeconomic status. Ultimately, it is difficult to say whether the use of ostrich shell beads indicates Nubian affinity, especially considering these beads do not occur with non-standard burial orientations, positions, or leather/fur shrouds (though one, the female buried in Unit 74, was also interred with a Nubian pot). The locations where the beads were found at are also not particularly helpful – in five cases the beads were found on the neck, and in one they were found on the wrist, common locations for jewelry. In two burials the beads were found on the chest or body, possibly sewn into clothing, though use in necklace cannot be ruled out either. The most interesting instance of ostrich shell beads is Unit 481 (Figure 5.49), likely the burial of a child<sup>60</sup>, where an unknown number of ostrich shell beads (unfortunately crushed) were found on the pelvis, along with over 180 carnelian beads and a large number of amulets and pendants. Given the placement and amount of beads/amulets, it is likely they were part of a skirt, kilt, or loincloth, something that was common at Middle Nubian sites of the SJE concession.<sup>61</sup> The materials used included faience, glass, gold, and various stones. Unlike the other burials with ostrich shell, this tomb was fairly large (grave volume: 3.95 cubic meters), and also included

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<sup>60</sup> While the burial in 481 was not taken back to Scandinavia for analysis by the physical anthropologist, the skeleton's length (90 cm) indicates a child or juvenile.

<sup>61</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 76.

a bronze vessel (rare at Fadrus) and an ointment jar. These objects and the relatively large size of the grave point to this individual belonging to a fairly rich family.

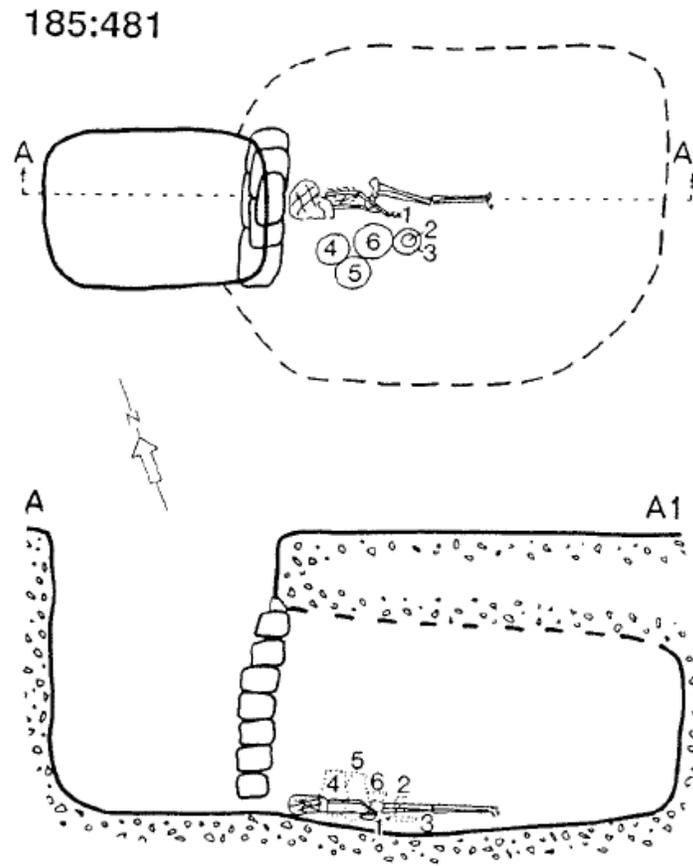


Figure 5.49: Tomb drawing of Unit 481, probably the burial of a child. This particularly rich burial, which dates to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty on the basis of a Flower Pot included in the burial, includes ostrich shell beads as part of a kilt, skirt, or loincloth. Image taken from Säve-Söderbergh, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds*, Plate 120.

More interestingly, there is also one instance of an ostrich shell container, in Unit 402, the burial of a probable adult of unknown sex (Figure 5.50).<sup>62</sup> Dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty based on the inclusion of a double vessel and a funnel necked jar, this tomb was unique in many ways: it is the only SJE tomb to contain a mirror, it was the only tomb to contain a ring found on the toe, and the coffin was made of stucco and apparently cast directly on the floor of the shaft.<sup>63</sup> This unusual coffin may be, like the coffin at Site 280, an example of material cultural entanglement. According to Säve-Söderbergh, ostrich

<sup>62</sup> Though not evaluated by a physical anthropologist, the length of the skeleton (142 cm) suggests an adult.

<sup>63</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 170.

eggshell vessels are not usually seen as funerary gifts in Nubia, though they are depicted by the Egyptians in scenes of Nubian tribute.<sup>64</sup> Such vessels are also seen in the burials of Middle Bronze II peoples of the eastern Delta and the Levant – the practice was observed at Tell el-Dab’a, Jericho, and Lachish.<sup>65</sup> In discussing this vessel in Unit 402, Säve-Söderbergh states: “One can only note the occurrence of the ostrich eggshell vessel, as well as other features of this tomb, as anomalies.”<sup>66</sup> However, in light of the theoretical approach discussed in the previous chapter, it seems more likely that the individual buried in 402 was a culturally entangled individual, whose family choose to display mostly Egyptian cultural traits in their burial, but also included objects and practices that read more as Nubian. The ostrich eggshell vessel, an object that is traditionally Nubian, at least according to the Egyptians, was used in a new way by being included in the burial, further complicating the picture of entanglement.

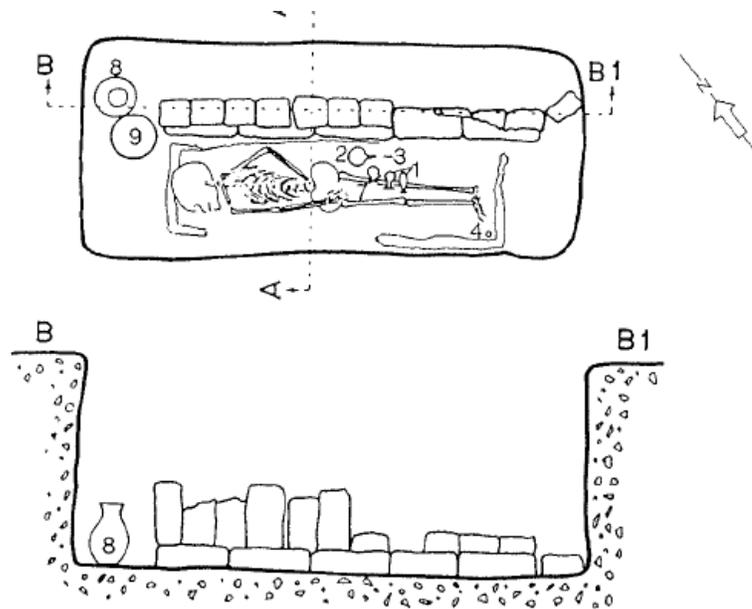


Figure 5.50: Unit 402 at Fadrus, a burial of an adult of unknown sex that included an ostrich eggshell vessel (Object 7, one of the two unlabeled objects on the thighs of the body). SOURCE: Säve-Söderbergh, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds*, Plate 97.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Edwin C. M. van den Brink, *Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a and Their Cultural Relationship to Syria-Palestine during the Second Intermediate Period*, *Beiträge zur Ägyptologie* 4 (Wien1982), 85.

<sup>66</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 170.

Nubian pottery also appears in the Pharaonic-style burials in Lower Nubia, but it is difficult to infer that including Nubian pottery in a grave indicates a Nubian ethnic/cultural identity. Nubian style pots are found throughout Egypt in the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and early New Kingdom, either due to trade or local Nubian populations living in the region.<sup>67</sup> Within the Lower Nubian Pharaonic cemeteries, there are fifteen examples of handmade Nubian pots, the majority of which (12) were found at Fadrus.<sup>68</sup> Most are black-topped red polished cups and bowls, along with a few examples of drab wares and one black incised example. At Fadrus, Nubian pottery is found in some of the largest, most diverse burials. That these pots appear in some of the richest tombs may indicate that they were more expensive goods, as handmade goods would have been more labor intensive than the wheel-made Egyptian pottery. Usually the pots were placed adjacent to or on the body, but in three instances the complete pots were found in the shaft (Units 74, 69, and 507), possibly indicating offerings or some sort of ritual behavior. On the other hand, only two examples of Nubian pottery were found at the cemeteries of Qustul and Adindan. One, a polished bowl in Cemetery V, was found in an early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burial of a woman. The pot was found placed on her pelvis. The other Nubian pot found in a Pharaonic context within the OINE concession was in Cemetery K, which was the continuation of an earlier C-Group cemetery. The relative lack of Nubian pottery at Qustul and Adindan may have been due to their physical distance from any groups maintaining a Nubian cultural identity. The nearest known contemporary “Nubian” site is approximately 12 kilometers south along the Nile.

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<sup>67</sup> For discussions regarding the Nubian pottery found in Egyptian archaeological contexts, see Irene Forstner-Müller and Pamela Rose, eds., *Nubian Pottery from Egyptian Cultural Contexts of the Middle and Early New Kingdom: Proceedings of a Workshop Held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Cairo, 1-12 December 2010*, *Ergänzungsheft zu den Jahreshften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 13 (Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Wien, 2012).

<sup>68</sup> This number excludes sherds found in shaft/chamber fills, which could have been accidentally deposited during the burial/plundering process.

Table 5.2: Examples of Nubian pottery found in situ in Pharaonic cemeteries.

Site/ Tomb	Date	Grave Vol.	Obj. Diversity	Material Diversity	Type	Remarks
<b>Fadrus:69</b>	Mid-18th	6.85	3	3	Black topped red polished cup	Found by head, along with two complete pots found in the fill (offerings?). Burial is also unusual in that it includes a large number of arrowheads.
<b>Fadrus:74</b>	Probabl e Early 18th	1.18	3	7	Polished red and black bowl	Found in fill near surface, but complete (offering?). Burial also included a necklace of ostrich shell beads with a scarab.
<b>Fadrus:84 (A/B)</b>	Early 18th	11.94	3	4	Kerma beaker	Burial shared by two individuals, along with a large amount of grave goods, including 32 pots
<b>Fadrus:123</b>	Mid-18th	13.89	1	1	Black incised	Pot contained animal bones.
<b>Fadrus:210</b>	Mid-18th	6.09	4	4	Black mouthed red polished	Described by excavators as "late A-Group or early C-Group", but was not intrusive (clearly placed on the legs with other pots).
<b>Fadrus:259</b>	Probabl e Early 18th	1.19	1	1	Drab ware	
<b>Fadrus:275</b>	Probabl e Early 18th	2.62	1	1	Drab ware	
<b>Fadrus:277</b>	Probabl e Early 18th	4.32	1	1	Black topped red polished bowl	
<b>Fadrus:400</b>	Mid-18th	3.6	4	4	"handmade"	One of 17 complete pots found in the unit.
<b>Fadrus:434</b>	Mid-18th	5.98	2	2	Drab ware	"Black and sooty"
<b>Fadrus:507 (A/B)</b>	Mid-18th	22.22	4	7	Black topped	Burial shared by two individuals, disturbed but many items found in situ. Burial had 36 complete pots found.

Table 5.2: Examples of Nubian pottery found in situ in Pharaonic cemeteries, continued.

Site/ Tomb	Date	Grave Vol.	Obj. Diversity	Material Diversity	Type	Remarks
<b>Fadrus:512</b>	Mid-18th	32.56	5	6	2 pots, "handmade"	Found in the main chamber of a plundered burial, no further descriptions or images.
<b>Qustul. Cemetery V:VF72B (F)</b>	Early 18th	8.71	4	3	Black topped red polished cup	
<b>Adindan, Cemetery K:K50 (A)</b>	Early 18th	0	3	3	Black topped ware	No drawings.
<b>Site 172:16</b>	?	0	2	2	Black-topped ware	No drawings.

It is clear that within the Lower Nubian “Pharaonic” burials, there are many burials with atypical features that hint at different presentations of ethnic/cultural identity within the community. In total, there are 188 burials with an atypical burial orientation, body placement, or that include unusual, possibly Nubian objects. The majority of these were within the site of Fadrus, which as demonstrated above tended to have more variation in burial treatment than cemeteries elsewhere in the concession, possibly due to its larger population. Though these individuals were in the minority, it would seem clear that the population of Fadrus was not fully Egyptianized, but still maintained some ties to their traditions. Because so few sex determinations were made for the Fadrus burials, it is difficult to discern whether men or women were more likely to express aspects of Nubian identity. It has been suggested by Stuart Tyson Smith, based on the New Kingdom settlement at Askut, that Egyptian men married Nubian women, who maintained certain Nubian practices such as methods of food preparation.<sup>69</sup> Evidence at Tombos of four females buried in traditional Nubian ways in an otherwise Egyptian cemetery has also been used to support the notion that females might have in some ways preserved aspects of Nubian culture.<sup>70</sup> At the site of Fadrus, no correlation was found between contracted burials,

<sup>69</sup> Smith, "Ethnicity and Culture," 233-34.

<sup>70</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 165.

non-western burial orientations, or leather or fur burial shrouds and either sex. Coffins, which might indicate a preference or affinity for Egyptian practices, also appear with the same frequency amongst the male and female sexed burials.

At the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries, again there is no correlation between Nubian burial practices and sex. However, in these cemeteries there is generally less variation in burial treatment, and almost no “Nubian” objects, unlike at Fadrus. There could be a few different ways to interpret this. First, the individuals there may have identified more with Egyptian culture, perhaps because they were geographically closer to Egypt or to a town that served as a center of Egyptian administration. The relative richness of objects and the size of graves there might suggest these were cemeteries used by a middle or upper middle class who might have chosen to emulate Egyptian culture to gain prestige (i.e. an elite emulation model). Alternatively, these might be the cemeteries of a partially or fully Egyptian population, associated with a regional center. However, the lack of any traditional Egyptian funerary items like shabtis or funerary stelae argues against this interpretation, particularly given how rich the burials are otherwise.<sup>71</sup> Thus, I would argue that the populations of Fadrus and the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries were two distinct Nubian populations that adopted Egyptian burial practices to different degrees, and in different ways. Even within the SJE concession area, where we might expect populations to be more interrelated, we see significant variation in how tombs were constructed and burial equipment was created (for instance, the unusually created mummiform coffins described above). Given the presumed tribal nature of the Lower Nubian population, it is not surprising to see variation in the “Egyptianized” Nubian population – different groups adopted these new practices in different ways, depending on their own entanglement with Egyptian culture.

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<sup>71</sup> Smith has argued that the burials at Fadrus were simply too poor to afford such specialized goods. *Ibid.*, 159. If that were the case, we might then expect to see them appear within some of the richer burials at Qustul and Adindan, but they do not. While an argument can be made for a lack of excavated shabtis due to preservation, this does not account for the lack of funerary stelae, heart scarabs, canopic jars, or Book of the Dead papyri.

## The “New Kingdom Nubian” Sites

Cultural entanglement theory does not apply to only the Pharaonic sites in Lower Nubia, as sites that are clearly more aligned with traditional Nubian culture existed during the same time period as the Pharaonic cemeteries. In a time of complex cultural interaction such as the period following the Egyptian annexation of Lower Nubia, there must have been varied responses by different cultural groups. As discussed in Chapter 3, the notion of “resistance” to Egyptian culture plays a part in many models of Egyptianization. If the Nubian populations that were buried at Fadrus, Qustul/Adindan, and the other Pharaonic sites adopted much of Egyptian culture, we might expect to see other groups hold more strongly to their traditions, though perhaps in different and unique ways. Though considered all one cultural group by Säve-Söderbergh, each of the five “New Kingdom Nubian” sites display some similar features but also many that differentiate them. Thus, before discussing the results of this analyses, it is necessary to provide a little more detail regarding the archaeological material at each site.

Site 35, located at Debeira East, was part of a concentration of several other cemeteries, including three earlier Middle Nubian cemeteries, the Tomb of Djhuty-hotep, and elite Pharaonic tombs (Site 64). A total of seventy-four burials were excavated there, though the preservation index of Site 35 was low, with only sixteen wholly or partially preserved burials. The vast majority had stone superstructures of single or multiple circles of standing slabs of sandstone (the SJE’s types RS and R2 through R5), a type that is not typical of the C-Group according to Bietak.<sup>72</sup> There may have been parallels in the late Pan Grave Cemetery C at Aniba, which suggested to Säve-Söderbergh that the New Kingdom Nubian sites were the descendants of Pan Grave peoples.<sup>73</sup> Within the shaft of the burial, a small chamber was usually constructed of flat sandstone or ironstone slabs. These two features are

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<sup>72</sup> Bietak, *Studien zur Chronologie der nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr.*, 5, 84.

<sup>73</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*. citing Georg Steindorff, *Aniba I* (Gluckstadt: Druck Von J.J. Augustin, 1935), Taf 79b.

what tied the New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries together for Säve-Söderbergh, as they appear on all five sites to varying degrees. This site was the only New Kingdom Nubian cemetery to have early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ceramics found, though the majority of datable ceramics were of the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>74</sup>

Site 176, also located at Debeira East and nearby to several other Pharaonic and Middle Nubian cemeteries, is perhaps the most unusual site within the SJE concession. The superstructures at this site were most commonly constructed with a circular wall of stone boulders of various rocks (Type RW), which according to Säve-Söderbergh had some resemblance to Kerma graves at Mirgissa, though they lacked the tumuli found there.<sup>75</sup> The majority of the 101 graves were plundered, though 18 had offering niches preserved in their superstructure, usually filled with pottery of traditional Nubian types.<sup>76</sup> The burial place itself was of the same standing slab type described above, though some individuals were simply placed in the shaft. Most interestingly, Site 176 was the only site within the SJE concession area that had significant numbers of late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty vessels, including pilgrim flasks and double vessels. The pilgrim flasks, of which there were a minimum of 24 found at the site, were in some cases ritually killed (6 examples), whereby a hole was cut into the body of each vessel after firing but before deposition within the burial. Breaking or “killing” an object serves an apotropaic function, but may also have been intended to cause harm to an enemy, at least in an Egyptian context. Vessels with kill holes are found in Theban burial equipment of the late Second Intermediate Period and early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. There kill holes are typically seen on burnished bottles and beakers, though other vessel types appear as well.<sup>77</sup> In

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<sup>74</sup> The inclusion of a Thutmose III scarab in Unit 78 also supports a date range for the cemetery into the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty or later.

<sup>75</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 201. citing Jean Vercoutter, *Mirgissa I* (Paris: Direction Generale des Relations Culturelles, Scientifiques et Techniques, 1970), 278.

<sup>76</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 200.

<sup>77</sup> Burnished bottles with kill holes were found by Carter in his pit tombs 31-34 The Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911* (London: Oxford University Press,, 1912), Pl 53:2.. At Dra Abu el-Naga, kill holes were found on burnished bottles, beakers, a hes-vase, and a bottle. Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, figs. 37, 40-42, 46-48, folding plates 6:4, 7:4, and 8:5,7. Killed burnished bottles, jars, and beakers were found at el-Tarif as well. Dorothea Arnold, "Weiteres zur Keramik von el-Tarif," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 28(1972): pl 20:a,c.

Lower Nubia, kill holes are fairly rare in the Second Intermediate Period, with only a few examples in the Middle Nubian cemeteries, at least according to the publications.<sup>78</sup> A killed short-necked carinated jar<sup>79</sup> was found on the surface at Site 97, a C-Group cemetery dated by Säve-Söderbergh to the C-Group I/b and II/a periods.<sup>80</sup> Site 99, a Second Intermediate Period Pan Grave cemetery, produced one killed globular jar, found placed in Unit 13 immediately adjacent the head.<sup>81</sup> The Middle Nubian site to produce the most killed pots was Site 179, a particularly large C-Group cemetery in use from the Middle Kingdom throughout the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>82</sup> There, the excavators found three killed pots, two globular jars, and one necked jar.<sup>83</sup> Killed pottery is extremely rare amongst sites dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, other than Site 176. The only example published is at Fadrus, where a globular jar with a kill hole was found in Unit 53, the burial of an individual in a shaft dated to the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>84</sup> That the group buried at Site 176 ritually killed pots of only a specific type (pilgrim flasks), and at a much later date than elsewhere seen in Egypt and Lower Nubia, is likely an indicator of the cultural entanglement of the group using the cemetery. It is also interesting considering Site 176 is the latest in date of the New Kingdom Nubian sites, and possibly the entire data set, as late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty pottery is quite rare at every other site.

Unlike the other New Kingdom Nubian sites, Site 201 (at Debeira) was not located near any Pharaonic cemeteries. The only sites nearby were four completely plundered Middle Nubian cemeteries

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<sup>78</sup> The OINE publications did not publish detailed pottery lists as the SJE did for their material. While much of the Qustul and Adindan ceramic material is available for study at the Oriental Institute, to do so in this instance would be outside the scope of this dissertation.

<sup>79</sup> Find 97/0:229A. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:2, 95.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:1: 186.

<sup>81</sup> Find 99/13:1. *Ibid.*, 4:2: 96. For a discussion of the cemetery's date, see *ibid.*, 4:1: 190.. For a drawing of the tomb showing the placement of the jar, see *ibid.*, 4:2: Pl 98.

<sup>82</sup> Some evidence of early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty activity is attested in the form of New Kingdom style cups and a Syrian juglet, but these may have been later intrusions. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 208.

<sup>83</sup> Finds 179/5:01, 179/56:04, and 179/128:03. *Ibid.*, 4:2: 99.

<sup>84</sup> Find 185/53:2. Torgny Säve-Söderbergh and Lana Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications Vol. 5:3 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell Tryckeri, 1991), 32.

(Sites 202, 203, and 204). A total of thirty graves were excavated there, though only seven burials were preserved. About half had standing stone slab ring superstructures, while the other half had none (either due to plundering or because they were originally unmarked). The site had very few Egyptian ceramics found, and unfortunately by the time of publication the excavators were unable to determine to which tomb they had originally belonged. That said, all of the pottery found was clearly 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and included carinated cups, broad-necked carinated vessels, and red-slipped ring-based cups.

Only two New Kingdom Nubian sites were excavated in the Ashkeit District, Sites 220 and 229. Site 220 was, like Site 201, fairly remote, with the only nearby cemetery at Site 310 (A-Group and C-Group). Like the others, it was badly plundered, but the preserved superstructures were also of standing slabs. The central part of the cemetery was dominated by the most elaborate type found in the concession, with multiple rings of stones and a floor layer of flat stones as well. Säve-Söderbergh thus suggests that there was a development from elaborate types to simpler types over the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty at this site.<sup>85</sup> Site 229, a mostly A-Group cemetery that was badly plundered, had five New Kingdom Nubian type burials with standing stone slab superstructures and stone slab burial chambers. The site also included one Pharaonic-style shaft grave that was termed to be Pharaonic because the body was in an extended position and the tomb lacked a superstructure. Both Sites 220 and 229 included pottery generally dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

### *Burial Practices*

Burial practices at the New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries were unsurprisingly very different from the Pharaonic sites. The vast majority of individuals were buried in a contracted position, though there are a few instances of bodies placed in an extended position (see Figure 5.51). In total, six individuals were buried in an extended position, and only two of those were intact (but without finds). In the only extended burial with finds, the burial presents as no different from a burial at Fadrus, as the remaining

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<sup>85</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 223.

objects in this plundered grave were beads in carnelian and quartzite, a few Egyptian pots, and some pieces of leather. Burials were also typically placed on the right side, though at Site 201 most of the burials with preserved skeletal remains were on the left (see Figure 5.52). At the New Kingdom Nubian sites, unlike the Pharaonic, there is a general preference for an eastern orientation of the body (see Figure 5.53). However, there is still significant variation, particularly at Site 220. Essentially, the positioning of the body at the New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries is very traditionally Nubian, indicating little Egyptian influence. There are, however, three probable examples of coffins at Site 220 (Units 5, 6, and 56). Unfortunately, only one example was intact, a female buried in a contracted position (Unit 6). The unit has no published drawing, but according to the records, the woman was buried on her left side, with her head in the west. Though her grave was disturbed, the excavators did find fragments likely from a wood coffin, along with a leather shroud, faience beads, and sherds from an Egyptian pot. The use of a coffin in conjunction with a contracted burial indicates that the coffin could be considered a relationally entangled object.

#### Placement of Body at New Kingdom Nubian Cemeteries

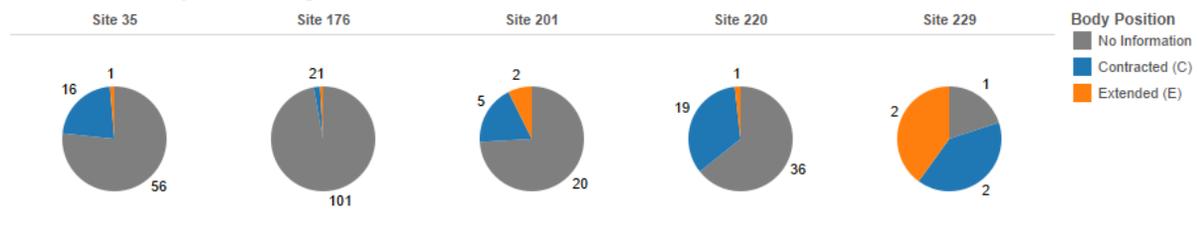


Figure 5.51: Body position (contracted or extended) of burials at New Kingdom Nubian sites. “No Information” refers to tombs where there were no skeletal remains; however, it can be presumed that the vast majority of these were also contracted burials, based on the size of the shafts.

#### Placement of Body at New Kingdom Nubian Cemeteries

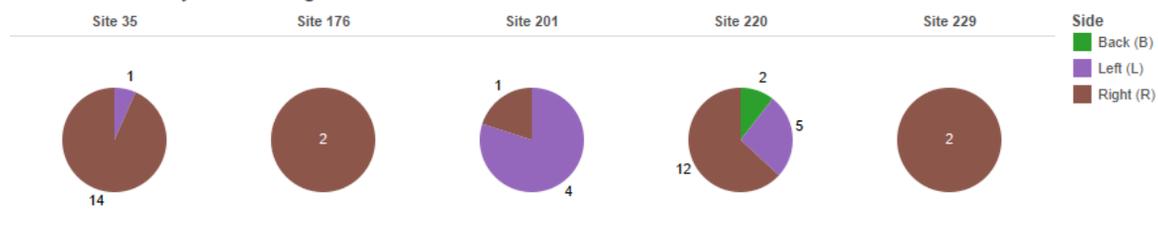


Figure 5.52: Placement of the body at New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries. There is a clear preference for position on the right side, though with some variation between sites, which is possibly due to the relatively low preservation indices of these sites. Because of the lack of preserved remains in the majority of these tombs, a large proportion of tombs could not be analyzed for trends in

body placement: 58 burials at Site 35 (79%), 102 burials at Site 176 (98%), 22 burials at Site 201 (81%), 37 burials at Site 220 (66%), and 3 burials at Site 229 (60%).

#### Burial Orientation at New Kingdom Nubian Cemeteries

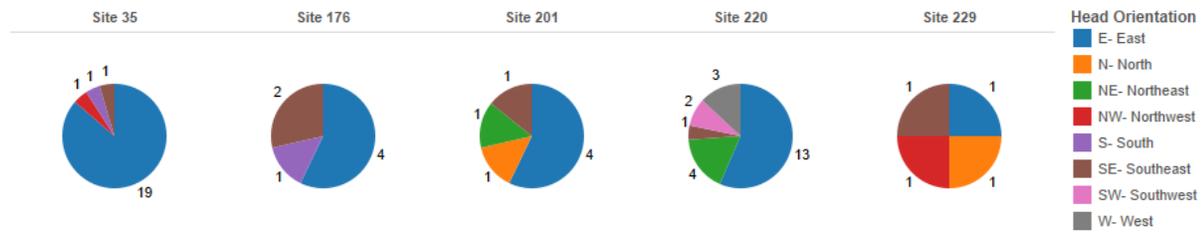


Figure 5.53: Orientation of preserved burials at New Kingdom Nubian sites. Because of the lack of preserved remains in the majority of these tombs, a large proportion of tombs could not be analyzed for trends in body placement: 51 burials at Site 35 (70%), 97 burials at Site 176 (93%), 20 burials at Site 201 (74%), 33 burials at Site 220 (59%), and 2 burials at Site 229 (60%).

#### Use of Egyptian vs. Nubian Objects

The presence/absence analysis of the origins of objects is particularly interesting. Wheel-made pottery, scarabs, amulets of Egyptian styles, and stone/faience containers can all be presumed to have come via Egyptian sources.<sup>86</sup> It is more difficult to determine the origins of some object types, such as beads. Beads were for the most part made of faience, carnelian, or ostrich eggshell, any of which could have been produced locally or imported.<sup>87</sup> As shown in Figure 5.54, the rates of the presence of definitively “Egyptian” objects vary significantly between sites. Site 35 shows the highest percentage of burials which include at least one Egyptian object, while Site 201 had almost none. The picture becomes more interesting by breaking down the types of Egyptian objects found at these sites (Figure 5.55). The vast majority of the Egyptian objects found were ceramics (about 75%), with the remaining 25% mostly decorative items like amulets and scarabs.<sup>88</sup> In fact, other than at Site 176, Egyptian pottery predominates the ceramic repertoire at each of the New Kingdom Nubian sites. It is unfortunate that the majority of burials in the New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries were too badly plundered to accurately

<sup>86</sup> The case for amulets being of Egyptian origin is acknowledged to be more complex and difficult to discern; however, whether the items were imported or locally made is of less importance for this analysis than the fact that the Nubian population used predominantly Egyptian motifs in their jewelry.

<sup>87</sup> Faience production was certainly taking place at Kerma during the Second Intermediate Period, but there is no evidence for or against faience production in Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom. Smith, "Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium BC," 266.

<sup>88</sup> Amulets, pendants, and scarabs of Egyptian design were extremely popular at C-Group and Pan Grave sites even before the Egyptian conquest. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 111.

date, as it would be very interesting to test whether the relative percentages of Egyptian and Nubian pottery changed over time. That Egyptian pottery does dominate these sites (Figure 5.56) so much would support van Pelt’s suggestion that the introduction of mass-produced (cheap) Egyptian pottery essentially flooded the market and drove local pottery producers out of business.<sup>89</sup> The fact that Site 176, the only site certain to have been in use into the reign of Amenhotep III, had the highest proportion of Nubian pottery hints that the site may have been the burial ground of one of the last Nubian groups to maintain their traditional culture. However, the site was also heavily plundered, which may have skewed the archaeological evidence.

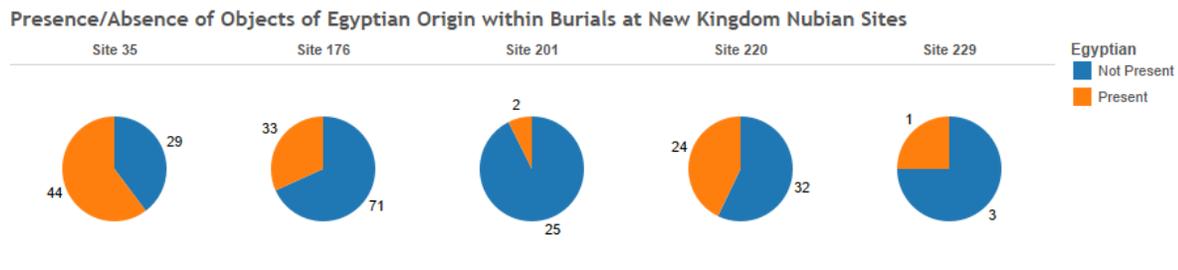


Figure 5.54: Presence/Absence of objects of presumed Egyptian origin within burials at New Kingdom Nubian sites. No burials are excluded here; however, as the majority of burials were plundered in antiquity, it may be possible that a higher proportion of burials included Egyptian objects.

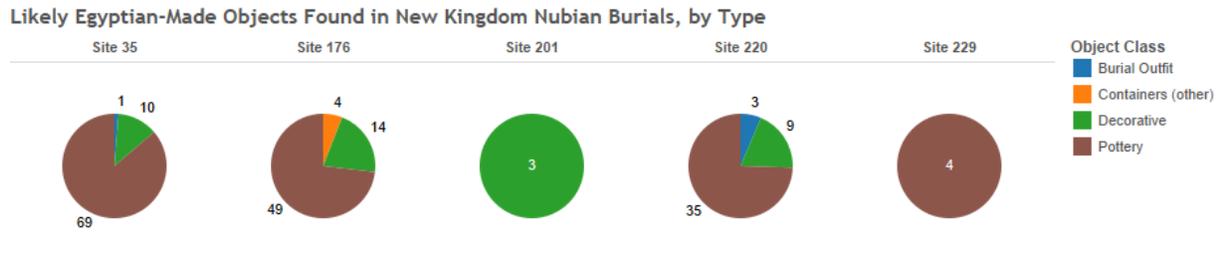


Figure 5.55: Likely Egyptian-made objects found in New Kingdom Nubian burials, by type of object. Egyptian pottery clearly predominates.

<sup>89</sup> van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement," 540.

Pottery Found in New Kingdom Nubian Burials, Egyptian vs. Nubian



Figure 5.56: All pottery found at New Kingdom Nubian sites, by type (Egyptian or Nubian). With the exception of Site 176, Egyptian pottery clearly dominates.

Having reviewed the New Kingdom Nubian burials, it is clear that rather than these sites being “transitional” to Egyptian culture, they are essentially a continuation of older traditions. The main difference between the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty sites and the earlier Middle Nubian cemeteries of the C-Group and Pan Grave peoples is the higher proportion of Egyptian pottery. The superstructures were of similar types to those used previously, and contracted burials still predominate. Within these sites there is some adoption of Egyptian customs, such as burials in extended positions or use of coffins, but these are very rare and always combined with other Nubian traditions such as leather wrapping. Thus, it can be argued that Nubian traditions continued throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and that these tribes existed side-by-side with populations that had adopted Egyptian customs, like those buried at Fadrus. Whether this coexistence was peaceful, or fraught with tensions, is difficult to determine. The fact that some new Kingdom Nubian cemeteries are located quite close to Pharaonic cemeteries – such as Site 176, located approximately 425 meters from Site 146, or Site 35, located approximately 100 meters from the Pharaonic tombs of Site 64 – suggests that these groups were in regular, likely peaceful contact.

It is also worth noting that the New Kingdom Nubian cemeteries, which were, as far as can be determined from the limited datable ceramics, all new foundations in the early or mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, might give the impression of a cultural discontinuity amongst the Nubian populations between the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom. This is not likely the case, as there is evidence for the continuation of some C-Group and Pan Grave cemeteries into the New Kingdom. Site 47, a heavily plundered Pan Grave cemetery with 159 excavated units, may show a transition from contracted to

extended burials.<sup>90</sup> While the excavated pottery indicates the main period of use was the Second Intermediate Period, the excavators also found clearly 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty pottery, including a short-necked carinated jar, broad-necked carinated vessels, and one beer jar.<sup>91</sup> Site 95 at Ashkeit, a partly Pan Grave and partly C-Group cemetery according to the excavators, also includes evidence of continuing 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty use, as well as a possible transition from “typical” round graves to oval/rectangular graves during the late Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom.<sup>92</sup> The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty pottery there includes a juglet, a bottle, and biconical stands.<sup>93</sup> Säve-Söderbergh dates the site as Bietak IIB-III based on the C-Group type pottery and the two Second Intermediate Period scarabs found, noting that “the wheelmade pottery indicates a continued use also in the New Kingdom”.<sup>94</sup> In fact, only a few of the Egyptian pottery examples indicate a date earlier than the New Kingdom – Säve-Söderbergh assigns a Middle Kingdom date to only two pots, neither of which were assigned to a unit in their records.<sup>95</sup>

The most significant argument for cultural continuity is the evidence of the continuation of the few excavated Middle Nubian habitation sites into the New Kingdom. One, Site 147 A-C, was located at Debeira East nearby to Site 35 (New Kingdom Nubian), Site 47 (Pan Grave), Site 170 (Pan Grave, discussed below), and Sites 64, 37, and 338 (Pharaonic). Unfortunately, this settlement was only excavated in three trial areas before the expedition had to divert attention to other sites. The trial excavations found a “house” in Area A, walls in an unknown configuration in Area B, and a concentration of pot sherds in Area C.<sup>96</sup> According to Säve-Söderbergh, the Middle Nubian pottery<sup>97</sup> shows Pan Grave

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<sup>90</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 166.

<sup>91</sup> Short-necked carinated jar (Type CS1): 47/75:3. Broad-necked carinated vessels (Type CV1): 47/2:2; 47/75:3; 47/135:3. Beer jar (Type BB-): 47/31:4 *ibid.*, 4:2: 93.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:1: 181.

<sup>93</sup> Juglet (Type JU2): 95/0:17. Bottle (Type BO1): 95/103:2. Biconical stands (Type TB3): 95/132:3, 95/149:1, 95/164:3. *Ibid.*, 4:2: 95.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:1: 181.

<sup>95</sup> 95/0:1 (Type GJ1) and 95/0:3 (Type GC2). *Ibid.*, 4:2: 95.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:1: 263. No plans or stratigraphy were published of the site, and only one aerial image was included in publication, presumably of Area A. *Ibid.*, 4:2: Pl 164.

<sup>97</sup> The Middle Nubian pottery was not published in the Nubian Pottery lists in the publication.

cultural affinity, while the presence of Egyptian wheel-made wares of the early New Kingdom suggests that the site “continued to be occupied in the New Kingdom by a totally Egyptianized population group.”<sup>98</sup> Egyptian pottery appears to have only been found in A and B, with the majority found in B. None of the pottery found indicates a date other than 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, with the majority consisting of New Kingdom style ring-based plates/cups, amphorae, and one flower pot.<sup>99</sup> The other habitation site, Site 350A, was located at Debeira with no nearby cemetery or habitation site of similar date. The archaeological remains consisted of a Middle Nubian habitation layer covered by a layer of sand, into which X-Group tombs had been cut.<sup>100</sup> No stratification of the habitation layer was observed, and no architecture, tent rings, or marked fireplaces were identified during the excavation. Only four examples of Nubian pottery are listed in the publication register, and the Egyptian pottery indicates an 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date at least into the middle of the dynasty, as it includes New Kingdom style plates and cups as well as a beer jar.<sup>101</sup> Säve-Söderbergh described the date and cultural affinity of the site thusly:

The Middle Nubian pottery indicates a C-Group (stage II) with Pan Grave admixture, whereas the wheelmade pottery seems to be more or less exclusively 18th dynasty. It was thus probably a habitation site used during a rather long period, or perhaps used during two different periods.<sup>102</sup>

As Säve-Söderbergh maintained fairly strict separation between the Pharaonic and Nubian cultures in his explanations of the results of the SJE excavations, it is not surprising that he interprets the evidence this way. An alternative, and perhaps more likely, explanation would be that this site was inhabited by one of the (presumably nomadic) New Kingdom Nubian groups living in the region. Of course, as no stratigraphy was published and thus we cannot be certain the site was occupied successively by two different populations, this interpretation remains simply a hypothesis. In any case, it is clear that

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<sup>98</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 263.

<sup>99</sup> Plates/cups (Type CU-): 147/B3, 147/B:19, 147/B:20-27, 147:B:A-E. Amphorae: 147/B:3, 147/B:31. Flower pot: 147/B:E. . Ibid., 4:2: 96-97.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 4:1: 269.

<sup>101</sup> Plates (Type PL3): 350/0:18. Cups (Types CU2/CU3): 350/13:1-2, 350/23:1-5, 350/IV:B. Beer jar (Type BB3): 350/20:1. Ibid., 4:2: 107.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 4:1: 269.

traditional Nubian culture continued throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty occupation of Lower Nubia, with the last groups leaving the region around the same time we see the Pharaonic cemeteries fall out of use.

## Conclusions

In this analysis of the Lower Nubian cemetery material, several points have been made that are worth summarizing. First, it appears that “Egyptianization” is evident in the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty at only a few sites – Fadrus, Cemetery VF, Cemetery R, and Cemetery W – and only in fairly small numbers. Only one New Kingdom Nubian site (Site 35) had ceramic evidence indicating contact with Egyptians or Egyptianized Nubians in the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. However, by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty the number of Egyptian-style cemetery sites increases dramatically, along with a significant expansion of the Fadrus and Qustul and Adindan burial grounds. Though there are issues with dating the Nubian sites, it does appear that the use of Egyptian ceramics increases dramatically there as well. Following this apparently prosperous period, it would seem that the entire population of this region vanishes, with only a few confirmed late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty burials identified. Amarna period ceramics are almost entirely lacking, with the exception of New Kingdom Nubian Site 176 and a few tombs at Fadrus and Qustul and Adindan. There is also no evidence for subsequent Ramesside occupation of the region, with the exception of VC 46 at Qustul, which included some later ceramics and two scarabs of Ramesses II.<sup>103</sup> The question of why the region seems to have been abandoned will be discussed in the following chapter.

Second, it is of note that there are some universal trends within the material, both culturally and chronologically. Age, for instance, seems to be a factor in burial practices. Child burials at the Pharaonic sites are in most cases “poorer” in material goods than those of adults, and the effort expenditure on the construction of their tombs is typically lower as well. Among the New Kingdom Nubian sites, which

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<sup>103</sup> V46:30 and V46:36. Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 106. It is also worth noting that the VC cemetery was a cluster of only a few graves with many individuals, and that it also included one of the five tombs with Amarna ceramics, VC48, where 19 of the 54 individuals securely datable to the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty were found.

were not as well preserved, child burials also typically have smaller superstructures than adult burials. Looking at adult burials at both Pharaonic and New Kingdom Nubian sites, sex did not seem to factor much in the size of the burial or in the amount and variety of goods. We do however see a preference for burial with personal decoration amongst women – at the Pharaonic sites, female graves were more likely to include personal decoration like beads or scarabs, and at the New Kingdom Nubian sites there were clear associations between female burials and personal decoration. Also, amongst the Pharaonic sites there does not seem to be clear associations between women and the presentation of Nubian ethnic identity. This has been observed at Askut and Tombos, both sites which included a substantial population of Egyptians, presumably men.<sup>104</sup> Askut and Tombos can be understood as boundary sites between interacting groups, and it has been shown that ethnic identities can take on a heightened role at boundaries.<sup>105</sup> There, the majority of the female population may have been Nubian, maintaining some aspects of their Nubian identity through food, jewelry, and burial rites as an act of resistance or respect for their heritage.<sup>106</sup> This does not seem to be the situation in this more northerly region of Lower Nubia; rather, this is a population comprised mostly – if not entirely – of Nubians. Thus, we see less emphasis on display of ethnic identity amongst the populations adopting Egyptian burial practices, and no differences between males and females in such displays, as women were not marrying into predominantly Egyptian groups.

Third, while there are some unifying trends in the material, there is significant regional variation in burial practices amongst both the “Nubian” and “Pharaonic” populations. This is despite the fact that

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<sup>104</sup> Smith argues from the analysis of foodways and the evidence of personal religion emphasizing fertility magic at Askut that Egyptian men married Nubian women, who maintained some aspects of their Nubian identity. Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 135, 89-93. At Tombos, a site important for the regulation of trade and assembly of tribute, Smith found several females buried in contracted position with evidence of non-Egyptian (e.g. Nubian) ritual. *Ibid.*, 162-66.

<sup>105</sup> Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries." Smith points out that at Tombos, situated directly across from the site of Kerma, displays of ethnic identity would have been particularly important. Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 197.

<sup>106</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, 192, 97.

administratively this region was unified under the rule of the Princes of Tekhet. At Fadrus, the largest and best preserved site, the cemetery is composed almost entirely of single burials, with the exception of a few large tombs which were completely plundered in antiquity.<sup>107</sup> There is a fairly wide variety of tomb types at Fadrus, including shafts, side and end niches, double end niches, built chambers in shafts, and large complex tombs complete with access ramps and multiple chambers. Fadrus also has the highest proportion of child burials in the entire dataset, in numbers approaching what we might expect the child mortality rate to have actually been, while other Pharaonic sites rarely included children. This site also shows significant variation in burial treatment that might indicate that the people using the cemetery had not adopted Egyptian mortuary beliefs in full – in particular we see contracted burials, non-western body orientations, placement of the body in unusual positions, and leather/fur burial shrouds. These occur in only a small proportion of burials, and seem to have had a link to groups of lower socioeconomic status, where adherence to Egyptian customs may not have been as common. The Fadrus burials also included more objects with Nubian manufacturing origins, such as Nubian-style pottery and ostrich shell objects, which might indicate either more affinity for the traditional Nubian culture or stronger links with the populations that had not adopted Egyptian practices.

In contrast with Fadrus, the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries consist primarily of multiple burials in larger tombs, usually in a shaft or end niche style tomb, occasionally with multiple chambers. There is no chronological significance to multiple and single burials, with single burials making up a small proportion of the tombs in each time period.<sup>108</sup> The object and material diversity amongst single burials are on average higher than the burials in the multiple tombs, which is not surprising given the additional resources that would have been necessary to construct one's own tomb as opposed to using a family or

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<sup>107</sup> Williams considered single burials as evidence of Nubian burial customs. Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 4.

<sup>108</sup> It should be noted that the majority (27) were unable to be dated to a time more specific than the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

community tomb.<sup>109</sup> Amongst the large group tombs, each burial episode consists of only a few individuals at a time, though in some of the larger tombs with many burials it is difficult to discern different burial episodes to determine the number interred at the same time.<sup>110</sup> There is no patterning in age or sex amongst individuals interred in the same burial episode – sometimes individuals of the opposite sex are interred together, other times individuals of the same sex are. The exception to this is the very unusual tomb R94, a very plundered grave of entirely disarticulated and mixed females and children, along with one “adult, probably male”.<sup>111</sup> R94 consisted of nineteen adult females, one juvenile female, and three infants, plus the possible adult male. The grave was far too disturbed to be included in the analysis here, but datable materials indicate the tomb was in use at least as early as the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, with burials continuing into the Amarna period.<sup>112</sup> Besides the almost sole use of the tomb by females and children, the tomb was unusual as it was the only tomb found to include headrests<sup>113</sup> and the only example of a shabti in the concession.<sup>114</sup> In general, amongst the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries, there is much less variation in burial treatment than is seen in the SJE concession. Contracted burials are very rare, and there is a clear preference for a western burial orientation, with the majority of the outliers oriented northwest or east.<sup>115</sup> The use of group burial facilities would have

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<sup>109</sup> Effort expenditure as measured by grave volume is of course lower than seen amongst group tombs.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. the burials of at least 33 individuals in R35. The burials in level I (three adult females, an adult male, and an infant) appear to have been interred together, based on the positioning of the skeletons, but it is much more difficult to discern the burials below, which were stacked upon each other and in some cases very jumbled. Williams, Murnane, and Seele, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, 6, 188-91.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>112</sup> Evidence for mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty use includes a flower pot (R94:7, *ibid.*, Fig 90:f.) and a scarab naming Thutmose III found in the fill of the tomb (R94:27, OIM 23518, *ibid.*, 251.). A wavy-sided beaker indicating a mid-to-late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date (R94:18, *ibid.*, Fig 90d.), and a late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty funnel necked jar (R94:21, *ibid.*, Fig 90a.) support the continuing use of the tomb at least into the Amarna period.

<sup>113</sup> At least three were found, broken into many pieces (R94:22-25, 28, *ibid.*, 252.).

<sup>114</sup> The shabti (R94:4), made in wood and painted, was found in two places in the chamber. The face was found in the east chamber, while the chest and left side were found in the shaft fill. *Ibid.* Williams argues that “although this was the only shawabti in the material, others may have been damaged by termites so severely that they were not recognized.” *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>115</sup> The eastern burial orientations in most cases can be explained by space constraints in a group burial oriented west.

naturally constrained burial orientations, which may be a factor in this general uniformity. Leather and fur burial shrouds were not found in the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries, which may have been due to the preservation conditions, nor were any unusual coffins like those seen in the SJE concession (e.g. Site 280, Unit 253 and Fadrus, Unit 402, both discussed above). These cemeteries also lacked objects typically associated with Nubian populations, like Nubian-style ceramics (with the exception of the two discussed above) or ostrich shell objects. These differences from the SJE populations indicates that this Egyptianized group was likely culturally distinct from those further south, perhaps members of a different tribal group.

Alongside the populations burying their dead in methods indicating significant Egyptian influence, we also see the continuation of traditional Nubian burial practices. In particular, we see the continuation of stone circle surface constructions with contracted single burials below at a number of sites. The surface constructions do show variation between the different sites. Some cemeteries indicate a preference for standing sandstone slabs, others for boulders, or even more complex constructions of multiple rings and stone floor layers. Unfortunately, the majority of these sites were completely plundered (likely because the tombs were clearly marked on the surface, unlike the Pharaonic type cemeteries), and thus intra-site and chronological comparison is difficult. The few intact burials indicate that the grave goods provided to the dead were a mix of traditional “Nubian” objects (such as pottery, ostrich shell beads, leather loin cloths with intricate beadwork etc.) and Egyptian items like wheel-made pottery and amulets. Items of presumed Egyptian origin, such as amulets, scarabs, and pendants, predominate personal decoration; however, this is no different than earlier C-Group and Pan Grave sites, where Egyptian scarabs, amulets, and pendants were commonly found.<sup>116</sup>

With such variation in burial practices within a fairly small region of the Nile Valley, it is clear that there were multiple distinct groups living in the area. Some adopted Egyptian practices, but in

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<sup>116</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 102-12.

different ways, which explains the variation in practices between Fadrus and the Qustul and Adindan cemeteries. The general absence of typical funerary equipment like shabtis and stele, along with the significant variation in burial orientation and treatment of the body within sites, shows that in many ways Egyptianization was superficial, at least in this region during the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Acculturation may in fact have been tied to socioeconomic status, as theories regarding the Egyptianization of Nubia generally explain acculturation as a method of the elite to gain – or retain – access to imported goods and the means of production.<sup>117</sup> That said, many groups, who were not necessarily poor in comparison to their Egyptianized neighbors, given the size of many burial constructions, maintained traditional burial practices. The process of Egyptianization was by no means a universal, as each group would have had reasons for the choice to adopt parts of Egyptian culture or not. The following concluding chapter will discuss the possible mechanisms behind such choices, as well as the reasons for the abandonment of the region at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

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<sup>117</sup> E.g. Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 273.

## Chapter 6 : Conclusions

The goal of this dissertation was to investigate the Egyptianization of Lower Nubia by analyzing the cemeteries in the ancient Nubian principedom of Tekhet, a region chosen for study here because of its near-complete survey and excavation during the UNESCO salvage campaigns prior to the construction of the Aswan High Dam. In order to understand the continuity and change in the material culture in the region during the New Kingdom, this dissertation employs the theoretical framework of cultural entanglement alongside statistical mortuary analysis. One of this dissertation's most important contributions is a reevaluation of the dates of the tombs excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (SJE) and the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (OINE). This alters our understanding of the socioeconomic changes brought about by the Egyptian occupation, particularly the time frame under which these changes in material culture and settlement structure took place. The dissertation also brings into the discussion the non-Egyptianized sites in the region, highlighting the diversity of responses to the occupation.

### Summary

Chapter 1 introduced the problematic nature of most interpretations of the "Egyptianization" of Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom. An extensive discussion of the historical background introduced the issue, beginning with Lower Nubia during the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period and the C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma cultures. The stages of the Egyptian conquest were then described, as well as the integration of Lower Nubia into the Egyptian administrative and economic system. The Principedom of Tekhet was introduced, and the history of the ruling family, as is currently known, provided. Lastly, the question of the nature of Egyptianization in Lower Nubia was put forth. The general focus by scholars on elite individuals, as well as the largely unanalyzed burials of non-elite individuals, suggested a need for a reevaluation of Egyptianization as it is evidenced in the burial practices of the Lower Nubian population.

As earlier models of Egyptianization tended to focus on an all-or-nothing approach, a more nuanced model, cultural entanglement, was suggested as a means to describe the presentation of identity in Lower Nubia.

Chapter 2 discussed how people, cultures, and ethnic identity have been understood by archaeologists and historians. Beginning with early culture historians, the chapter then moved on to discuss processual and post processual critiques of culture history and how they further developed the notion of group identity from monolithic entities to something that is actively created, negotiated, and subscribed to through social practices that can take many forms. This led to the current understanding that there are many types of identity – such as ethnicity, gender, or social class, to name a few – and each can be emphasized or deemphasized in a particular context or interaction. Within the context of these theoretical developments, the processes and explanations for Egyptianization were debated. Using the work of W. Paul van Pelt, many of these processes and explanations were tied to colonialist ideological frameworks, emphasizing the need to disentangle the study of ancient Nubia from such lingering biases. Lastly, the model of cultural entanglement was proposed, with two archaeological indicators identified – materially and relationally entangled objects. Materially entangled objects were defined as those objects that combine the familiar with the previously foreign, while relationally entangled objects are objects used in new practices unconnected to their “intended” use – they are unchanged materially, but are used, viewed, and understood differently.

Chapter 3 reviewed recent developments in anthropological and archaeological theory relevant to studying the burial record, particularly the study of inequality. Mortuary analysis was critically discussed, but ultimately upheld as a viable means for accessing inequality, as burial treatment is unavoidably an allocation of time, effort, and resources. Previous mortuary studies of Egypt and Nubia were also evaluated, highlighting the benefits and drawbacks of various types of methodological approaches to issues of identity and social status in burials. Several of these methods were ultimately

applied to this study, most notably effort expenditure and presence-absence analysis as a proxy for socioeconomic status.

Chapter 4 presented the history of excavations in Lower Nubia and their impact on evaluations of the excavated archaeological material. It was put forth that while the archaeological record is incomplete due to earlier looting and early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavation techniques, the concession areas of the SJE and OINE are relatively untouched and of a sufficient size to approximate regional trends. This chapter also presented a new ceramic typology to describe the differing systems of the OINE and SJE, as well as take into account recent developments in the understanding of early New Kingdom ceramics. Due to these developments, a reevaluation of the dates of the tombs was presented. Altering the dates of the tombs, particularly those at Fadrus, does call into question some arguments made by scholars regarding the socioeconomic systems in the region during the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, as well as the date of the abandonment of Lower Nubia. Lastly, this chapter also discussed the importance of studying both Egyptianized and more traditional Nubian-style cemeteries that date to the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, as these cemeteries are unique and suggestive of both entangled peoples and peoples actively holding on to their traditional identities while Egyptianized Nubians lived nearby. These cemeteries should not be considered “Transitional” in nature, as suggested by the excavators; rather, they are in many ways a continuation of previous Nubian cultural practices entangled to varying extents with Egyptian practices, which is termed “New Kingdom Nubian” in this dissertation.

Lastly, Chapter 5 showed through statistical analysis that there was significantly more variation in burial practices – both intra and inter cemetery – than previous literature has generally considered. Comparing the two largest datasets, Fadrus and Qustul/Adindan, it would seem that Egyptian customs were adopted in different ways by different populations. At Fadrus, there was an emphasis on single burials, while at Qustul/Adindan, multiple burials over time were the norm. Other, smaller cemeteries showed even more variation, including relationally and materially entangled objects. In general, the sites

excavated by the SJE showed more evidence of a continuation of Nubian traditions, including contracted burials, non-western orientations of the body, and leather and fur clothing or burial shrouds. The OINE sites appeared more consistently Egyptian in burial treatment, and generally included few Nubian objects, such as C-Group pottery or ostrich shell girdles. The continued existence of cemeteries with traditional Nubian-style superstructures and offerings alongside these more Egyptianized cemeteries further emphasizes the fact that Egyptianization of the region was not total. While most of these cemeteries were heavily plundered, the superstructure sizes and the objects found in the graves not plundered indicated that these were not necessarily the poor remnants of Nubian culture that one might expect. Across all datasets, age appeared to be a factor in the size of the burial and the contents, with child burials typically being in smaller tombs and with fewer objects. Sex, on the other hand, did not appear to have an effect on burials, with adult female burials exhibiting no statistically significant difference in tomb size or contents from their adult male counterparts.

Chapter 5 also involved determining the chronological progression of the burials using the revised ceramic typology. Using the revised typology, it would seem that, while many of the cemeteries came into use during the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the vast majority of burials dated to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Thutmose III – Amenhotep III). Contrary to the SJE and OINE's analysis of their own material, late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ceramics are rare. Some ceramic types are only dateable as mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, which does leave open the possibility that sites continued into the Amarna period or later; however, the fact that Amarna period ceramics do occur at Site 176 in relatively high numbers but very rarely elsewhere suggests that most of the Egyptianized cemeteries had fallen out of use by that time. In fact, with the exception of one tomb at Qustul/Adindan, there is no ceramic evidence of any occupation of the region after the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. This sudden appearance of Egyptianized cemeteries followed relatively quickly by their disappearance is addressed below.

## The Process of Egyptianization

The theories put forth by various scholars to explain Egyptianization are an important topic for further discussion. Egyptology has gradually moved away from conceptualizing the process as a unidirectional transfer of Egyptian culture to Nubia on the basis of superiority and towards models inclusive of individual agency. In particular, trade and the desire for wealth acquisition are frequently cited as prime motivators. Stuart Tyson Smith's model is perhaps the most well-known, but Carolyn Higginbotham's elite emulation strategy too has its roots in economic motivations.<sup>1</sup> Though cultural entanglement as a theoretical framework to describe cultural change places no emphasis on causes, as it is a means to describe only what is happening, W. Paul van Pelt has suggested that the cultural entanglement evident in Lower Nubia was driven by economic motivations. How then does the evidence from the Tekhet burials fit into these theories? The evidence presented in this dissertation indicates that Egyptianized cemeteries appeared almost immediately after the conquest of Lower Nubia, as at Fadrus and at Qustul and Adindan we see Egyptianized Nubians already in the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. As late Second Intermediate Period and early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty ceramics are not understood well enough to create fine-grained typologies as we have for earlier and later periods, it is unfortunately impossible to more precisely specify when these cemeteries were founded. However, a sudden and complete cultural shift immediately upon the beginning of Egyptian control would seem unlikely.

A far more likely proposition is that the processes of Egyptianization began earlier, during the Second Intermediate Period. The SJE excavations include evidence of some Egyptian burial traits prior to the conquest. For example, Site 170, located at Debeira East, had 46 graves, most of which were intact (37 out of 46). Superstructures were lacking for the majority (25, some of which may have been

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, "A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia; Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C*; Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery*.

destroyed in antiquity and left no traces), while the others consisted of a ring of stone boulders (8), sometimes with a stone covering, or a stone quadrangle (5).<sup>2</sup> Of the preserved burials, 12 were in a contracted position and 27 in an extended position.<sup>3</sup> Säve-Söderbergh describes the site as follows (see also Figure 6.1):

The burial customs show the general characteristics of Pan Grave but with some exceptions, probably due to external influence in a rather late stage. The distribution of the different types of graves may indicate that a “classical” Pan Grave cemetery with shallow round to oval graves and the burial in “hocker”<sup>4</sup> developed into a group of oblong graves with the burials in extended positions. The variations of the orientation occur also on other Pan Grave cemeteries [...] That the typical groove with animal skulls occurs only near two units (Nos 31, 33) and that Nerita shells were found in only one unit (No 24), whereas the typical spacers are lacking, are other abnormal traits, in so far as this is not due to the hazards of the plundering.<sup>5</sup>

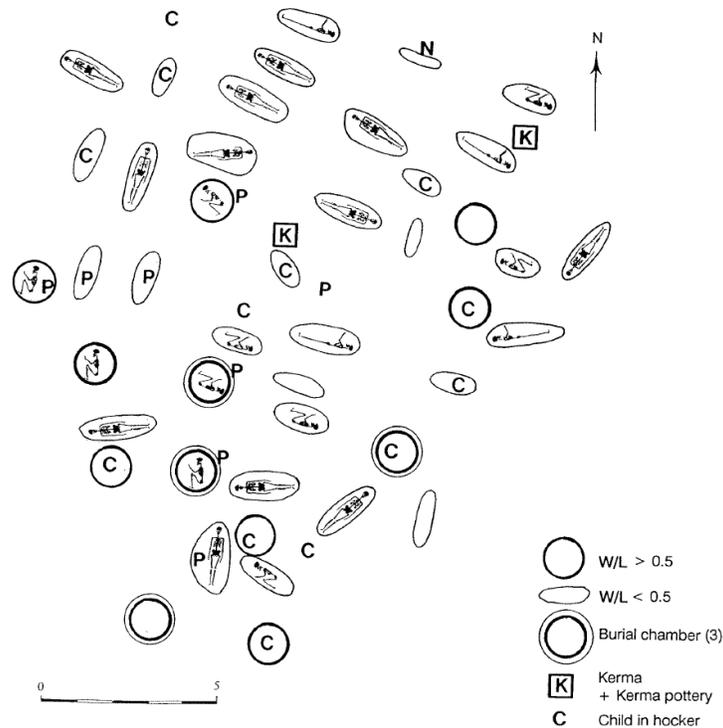


Figure 6.1: Plan of Pan Grave Site 170, part of the SJE's excavations. SOURCE: Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, Vol. 4:1, 193, Fig. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 192-93.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. contracted positions, with the body on the side.

<sup>5</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 194.

Säve-Söderbergh does not assign a date to Site 170 in his publication; however, he dates the majority of the Egyptian ceramics to the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>6</sup> A few vessels, such as an ovoid jar (170/33:4), possibly indicate an early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty date, but the majority seems to be types typical of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>7</sup> Nubian pottery is more numerous than Egyptian, making up roughly two-thirds of the corpus, which is common for the Middle Nubian sites in the SJE concession. Most interestingly, a large number of scarabs were found amongst the bodies – 28 in total were excavated, associated with 6 intact burials.<sup>8</sup> Of those 6 burials, 5 were in an extended position.<sup>9</sup> Presumably, Säve-Söderbergh considered this site to be Pan Grave – rather than “Transitional” – on the basis of the date of the Egyptian ceramics. I would suggest that the “mixed” burial customs of this site argue instead for this cemetery to be the burial ground of an early culturally entangled population. Throughout the Second Intermediate Period, Kerma traded with Upper Egypt, which is attested by finds in Kerma.<sup>10</sup> As the Kerman state was particularly interested in Egyptian imports,<sup>11</sup> it can be expected that Egyptian objects desirable to the Kerman population – stone vessels, scarabs, amulets, etc. – would be passing through Lower Nubia. Kerma also traded with the Hyksos rulers in Lower Egypt, which is attested by

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 4:2: 97.

<sup>7</sup> Very few of the Site 170 ceramics were drawn or photographed for the publication, however, Holthoer’s Type GJ1 (globular jars) is most commonly represented (170/1:2, 170/7:1, 170/30:2, 170/37:5, and 170/70:1). This type is similar to Seiler’s zirs dating to the Second Intermediate Period. Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, Abb. 30-31. That the site lacks entirely the carinated vessels and ring-based plates commonly found on 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty sites in Nubia and includes Hyksos-type scarabs suggests that Site 170 is primarily dates to the Second Intermediate Period.

<sup>8</sup> Units 17 (child), 20 (adult), 23 (adult male), 24 (age/sex unknown), 25 (child), and 37 (age/sex unknown). Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 195-97; *ibid.*, 4:2: 35. Unit 37 has been argued by Brigitte Gratien to be a Classic Kerma burial on the basis of the richness of the grave vis-à-vis the other units of Site 170, as well as the presence of an Egyptian-style razor also found at the site of Kerma. Gratien, *Les cultures Kerma: essai de classification*, 96. I would argue, however, that the richness of the grave and one object (notably, one of likely Egyptian origin) are not enough evidence to suggest a Kerman origin for the individual.

<sup>9</sup> The adult male in Unit 23 was buried in a contracted position, on his right. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:2, 35.

<sup>10</sup> See Brigitte Gratien, "Empreintes de sceaux et administration à Kerma (Kerma Classique)," *Genava: Revue des Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève* 39(1991).

<sup>11</sup> C.f. Minor, "The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period."

sealings, scarabs, and pottery.<sup>12</sup> The caravans between Avaris and Kerma bypassed Middle and Upper Egypt by using routes through the desert to Tomas in Lower Nubia to continue onward via the Nile.<sup>13</sup> Local groups may have benefited from their connections to trade with Thebes and the Hyksos, a fact which has been used to explain the increasing social and economic differentiation within the C-Group communities of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the peoples of Site 170 began to adopt some Egyptian customs, in order that some of the prestige of Egypt (or perhaps Kerma) would be transferred to them or to facilitate their control of the trade in the region, which as they became culturally entangled with Egypt and Kerma eventually translated to changing burial customs.

Thus, the Egyptianization of Lower Nubia can be partially explained in economic – rather than cultural – terms. It would seem likely that some groups became culturally entangled with Egypt (and Kerma) during the Second Intermediate Period, as they benefited from the Kerman interest in Egyptian trade goods.<sup>15</sup> Already having some shared cultural language, these groups might have been natural liaisons between the Egyptian conquerors and the other Nubian tribes. A desire to maintain control over trade as well as retain some independence would have further encouraged “Egyptianization”, though perhaps superficially at least in terms of burial practices, as seen at Fadrus and other SJE sites. The elites, such as the Princes of Tekhet, adopted a great deal of Egyptian culture in their burials as they had the most to gain by appearing more Egyptian in that avenue of display. The lower socioeconomic strata of such groups, benefiting from increased trade and contact with Egypt, would also have acculturated in some aspects in order to further their own economic prospects. This would explain the “superficial” Egyptianization of the Pharaonic cemeteries – these were culturally entangled individuals whose identities were complex and situational, and perhaps partially tied to the prestige of association with the

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<sup>12</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 107.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>15</sup> Also articulated by Bruce Trigger. Trigger, *Nubia Under the Pharaohs*, 98.

Egyptians. The higher rates of Nubian burial traits, such as fur wraps and contracted burials, amongst the lower socioeconomic spectrum of Fadrus also makes sense in this context. Modern sociological and ethnographic studies generally suggest that higher socioeconomic status correlates with acculturation in colonial or immigration settings.<sup>16</sup> The issue does, however, present a “chicken and egg” problem: Does being more acculturated facilitate penetration into the colonial power – which results in higher socioeconomic status – or, does higher socioeconomic status in and of itself facilitate becoming more acculturated? These may, in fact, be inexorably entangled and given the limited data available for Lower Nubia, impossible to determine.

As more and more people began to adopt Egyptian burial traits, at the same time there was also a massive increase in Egyptian pottery in the region. This would have been due to the proximity of large Egyptian settlements like Buhen and Sesebi, which would have been able to support specialized craftspeople, who would have been more efficient than less specialized local producers, thus producing goods more cheaply.<sup>17</sup> This would have would have begun to flood the market with Egyptian-style pottery.<sup>18</sup> As wheel-made pottery would have been cheaper<sup>19</sup> and more easily mass-produced, over time more traditional Nubian pottery became less and less desirable as a funeral good for the masses. It

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<sup>16</sup> See for example Negy and Woods, "A Note on the Relationship Between Acculturation and Socioeconomic Status."

<sup>17</sup> During the early and mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, Buhen had a substantial population and a large number of workshops. According to Emery, between the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty and the Amarna period, the proportion of workshops to housing increases, possibly in relation to the transition of the site into a staging and supply post for those on the way to the new temple towns in Upper Nubia. Walter B. Emery, H. S. Smith, and A. Millard, *The Fortress of Buhen : the Archeological Report*, Excavation Memoirs (Egypt Exploration Society) 49 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979), 99.

<sup>18</sup> As seen in the abrupt flip in the relative Nubian to Egyptian pottery percentages between the Second Intermediate Period and the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the SJE concession area (see Chapter 5). Presumably some Nubian potters learned to use the potter's wheel, as the amount of Egyptian pottery in the cemetery sites would seem too high to only have been produced by Egyptian craftspeople operating at Buhen and Faras.

<sup>19</sup> This would, of course, assume that the clays or tempering materials were not imported. Mineralogical analyses comparing the ceramic fabrics to the clay of the surrounding areas were not done at the time of the excavations as those analysis techniques were not yet technologically possible. Such an analysis would, however, be a very interesting avenue for future study. That said, the vast amount of Egyptian-style pottery found in Lower Nubia would suggest local production.

also may have been less desirable for Egyptianized individuals in general, as Egyptian pottery may have also played a role as a prestige object and thus preferred in burials. In turn, as the demand decreased, potters making more traditional Nubian pottery amongst those Egyptianized populations might have switched to producing Egyptian-style pottery. Local Nubian producers may have even been eliminated entirely, as large settlements like Buhen or perhaps Faras may have been producing enough goods for the region. Even the populations practicing more traditional Nubian-style burials interred their dead with more Egyptian pottery than traditional Nubian forms, suggesting that the influx of cheaper Egyptian pottery was affecting their own ceramic economy. However, it is clear that at least one group – those buried at Site 176 – maintained their traditional practices, which included burials with traditional Nubian ceramics<sup>20</sup>, until the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, later in fact than many of the Pharaonic cemeteries were used.<sup>21</sup> It would seem that economic motivations – the desire for trade and wealth, accessible at this time only through the Egyptians – were an important driving force behind Egyptianization. This is not to say there weren't other cultural forces at work, however. For example, the prestige associated with the Egyptians and their wealth may have also played a part, along with the choices of local rulers like Amenemhat and Djhuty-hotep to adopt Egyptian customs. The spread of Egyptian religion via earlier material culture, like amulets and scarabs, as well as the temple towns would have played a part too. While some groups deliberately maintained their traditional practices, the economic and cultural forces at work were arrayed against them, and ultimately, we see the disappearance of not only Nubian-style burials in the region, but the disappearance of cemeteries entirely.

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<sup>20</sup> Of course, the possibility of the Nubian ceramics being heirlooms cannot be discounted.

<sup>21</sup> Another New Kingdom Nubian site, not included in this study due to near-complete plundering and a lack of datable material published due to recording issues, may have continued this late or even later as well. A faience jar imitating a Myc. IIIc form and decoration was found in unit 12. Holthoer dates the form to between 1190 and 1180 BC. However, the remaining ceramics recorded for the site are securely 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (including ovoid jars, ring-based plates, and a beer jar). Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, 4:1, 222.

## The Depopulation of Lower Nubia

This then brings us to the issue of what happened to the populations burying their dead in this region. The ceramic evidence presented in Chapters 4 and 5 clearly indicate that the region of Tekhet, or at least its cemeteries, experienced a hiatus of occupation after the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>22</sup> The lack of later New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period material in the Second Cataract region has been discussed by several scholars. Cecil Mallaby Firth, one of the earliest excavators in the region, suggested that there was a radical decline in the average Nile level from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty that resulted in a depopulated Lower Nubia.<sup>23</sup> William Y. Adams later supported this explanation as well, based on inferred lower Nile floods compared to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>24</sup> Adams even stated that, by the early Ramesside period, only “small numbers of Egyptians remained on frontier duty for another two centuries, building monuments to proclaim the glory and sovereignty of their pharaoh over a deserted land.”<sup>25</sup> However, the low flood levels theory is directly contradicted by flood level records from Egypt.<sup>26</sup> Thus, we must look outside of environmental causes for the sudden depopulation of the region.

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<sup>22</sup> As discussed in Chapter 4, no settlements were excavated in the region under study here as they were either located beneath modern villages and thus excluded from the excavation concession or they were located close to the Nile and inundated by rising waters after the earlier Aswan dams. Thus, we are restricted to basing the depopulation of the region on the hiatus in cemetery material.

<sup>23</sup> Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1909-1910*, 21; Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1910-1911*, 25,28.

<sup>24</sup> William Y. Adams, "Meroitic North and South: A Study in Cultural Contrasts," in *Meroitica: Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie*, ed. William Y. Adams (1976), 12-14; Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, 242.

<sup>25</sup> Adams, "Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology. I," 108.

<sup>26</sup> R. W. Fairbridge, "Nile Sedimentation Above Wadi Halfa During the Last 20,000 Years," *Kush* 11(1963); Bruce G. Trigger, "The Cultural Ecology of Christian Nubia," in *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit: Ergebnisse und Probleme auf Grund der jungsten Ausgrabungen*, ed. Erich Dinkler (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1970), 355; Helen Jacquet-Gordon, "Review of Adams, William Y.: Meroitic North and South," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 79(1982). More recent scientific study of Nile Flood levels in the region suggest that in the 2,000 years after 2,000 B.C. there was a gradual decline in flood levels, but nothing of the drastic nature hypothesized by Firth and Adams. M. A. J. Williams et al., "Late Quaternary Floods and Droughts in the Nile Valley, Sudan: New Evidence from Optically Stimulated Luminescence and AMS Radiocarbon Dating," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 29, no. 9–10 (2010).

A likely solution is that the population naturally coalesced into urban environments due to changing cultural, religious, and economic patterns. It has been well documented that over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty land-holding and production was Egyptianized, a fact particularly evident in the foundation of temple-towns dedicated to the Egyptian gods, usually Amun.<sup>27</sup> The first of these towns were founded in the reign of Thutmose III, both as old fortified towns inherited from the Middle Kingdom, such as Buhen and Aniba, and as completely new settlements. The temples themselves took the form of a rectangular area enclosed by a mudbrick wall with external towers.<sup>28</sup> Within the enclosures stood temples and ancillary buildings, as well as houses and residences for the civil governor. Settlements outside of the temple walls were known to have existed, but their extent is not generally known – such towns would have largely been constructed in mudbrick and thus may not have survived as well as the stone temples.<sup>29</sup> Barry Kemp has argued that, given our knowledge of the role of temples in New Kingdom society, it is reasonable to assume that wherever a stone temple stood on flattish ground not far from the river it was built to be the center of a brick town.<sup>30</sup> These towns with their respective temples including large storerooms would not only have had a religious function, but an economic one as well, as centers of redistribution and collecting taxes. Temples also possessed endowments of land, people, cattle, and other sources of revenue, which were redistributed to priests, craftsmen, and other personnel as rations, sometimes after having been offered to the gods.<sup>31</sup> At least by the later New Kingdom the textual evidence and the size of temple storage facilities strongly suggest that temples, rather than royal institutions, carried out a large share of the redistributive operations on

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<sup>27</sup> Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 23-43; Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism; Robert Morkot, "The Economy of Nubia in the New Kingdom," *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille: Société Urbaines en Égypte et au Soudan* 17, no. 1 (1995): 176; Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 189.

<sup>28</sup> The fortifications themselves were largely for symbolic reasons. See Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 23.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Brian Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000-30 BCE* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 123.

a local level.<sup>32</sup> An important point in this regard is the size of the storeroom blocks at some temples. As revealed by the example of Sesebi, they were much larger than necessary for the presumed temple population.<sup>33</sup> Temples also employed a large number of individuals, from priests to fowlers.<sup>34</sup> Establishment of the Egyptian redistributive system would have naturally coalesced the population into these larger centers, as the economic benefits would have drawn more and more people into the towns.<sup>35</sup> However, in most cases cemeteries surrounding these towns were destroyed by later settlements and later Meroitic cemeteries which made use of the already constructed tombs to bury their dead, leaving us with very little cemetery data to qualify assertions about changes in settlement patterns.

In Tekhet, at least one temple town of this sort was founded at Faras in the reign of Tutankhamun.<sup>36</sup> This site then became the seat of the Deputy of Wawat, indicating increased importance during the late New Kingdom.<sup>37</sup> Török argues that with this development the settlement hierarchy shifted from the Serra region to the Faras region, leading to a depopulation of the area around Serra.<sup>38</sup> However, the revised chronology of the cemetery data presented in this dissertation indicates little support for extensive use of the cemeteries in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. It would seem, rather, that the movement into the temple towns began before the foundation of the Tutankhamun temple town at

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<sup>32</sup> Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 31.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>34</sup> See Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000-30 BCE*, 123-25. for a discussion of the workers in temples and the related redistributive network.

<sup>35</sup> Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt," 39.

<sup>36</sup> Janusz Karkowski, *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et Centre Polonai d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne dans la République Arabe d'Égypte au Caire 5. (Warszawa, 1981), 71, 115-29.

<sup>37</sup> This suggestion is presumably based on the walled town of Tutankhamun's identification with the toponym Sehetep-netjeru. *Ibid.*, 71, 115. However, Karkowski does not explicitly state in his publication that Faras became the administrative center of Wawat, though he is cited by later scholars as having said so (e.g. Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 277.) Säve-Söderbergh also accepts the conclusion that Faras became the center of administration of Wawat under Tutankhamun, but gives no citations or support. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 250-51.

<sup>38</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 277.

Faras. Though the archaeology of Faras prior to the Tutankhamun temple town is poorly understood due to early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations and poor preservation conditions, there may have been an earlier town located there which could have been where the people of Tekhet moved to.<sup>39</sup> In 1910, Griffith partially excavated a fortress he presumed to be a Middle Kingdom fortress.<sup>40</sup> It was badly preserved and without any reported inscriptions, and later excavations by the Polish expedition could not more precisely date the remains, leaving open the possibility for a later date.<sup>41</sup> The Polish expedition also identified a temple to Hathor, badly preserved due to a later church built above it, which dated to the New Kingdom. Janusz Karkowski argues that the inscriptions were restored after the Amarna desecrations, suggesting that a temple must have been located at the site prior to the Tutankhamun temple.<sup>42</sup> The expedition also found inscribed objects with the names of Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut, probably left as offerings at the temple.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, the town and temple itself were not very well preserved due to the area's later conversion into a Meroitic cemetery; otherwise, more definite statements about population changes during that time would be possible.<sup>44</sup> It is also worth noting that settlements other than Faras may have existed that are unknown to us today, as very few settlement sites for the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom were excavated or published, and the west bank of Tekhet was left almost entirely unexcavated.

The other commonly cited reason for the depopulation of this region of Lower Nubia alongside the rise of temple towns is the end of the line of the Princes of Tekhet. Djhuty-hotep and Amenemhat had no known children when they died during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, as

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<sup>39</sup> Karkowski, *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, 8-9.

<sup>40</sup> Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia," 80-82.

<sup>41</sup> Karkowski, *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, 67.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

discussed in Chapter 1, which according to Säve-Söderbergh and Troy would have led to a decline of the region:

The decline of this native representation during the sole reign of Tuthmosis III can, it may be conjectured, have had two effects. Initially the vacuum may have been filled through a build-up of the local hierarchy, perhaps evidenced by e.g. the large chamber with ramp unit 185/511 (Fadrus IIb). The final outcome however appears to have been the dissolution of local wealth as the community represented by this cemetery is increasingly confined to local production and evidence of access to imported goods declines.<sup>45</sup>

Török supports the decline of the Princes of Tekhet as a contributing factor in the changing settlement structure.<sup>46</sup> However, the revised dating in this dissertation places the majority of the large ramp-style tombs in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty or earlier on the basis of ceramic styles, without any way at this time to more specifically date the tombs.<sup>47</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy's theory also rests upon a designation of Phase III (late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty) tombs that are poor in goods, while in fact many of these tombs are representative of a poorer section of society during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Lastly, the revised dating also places the majority of the Fadrus tombs in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Hatshepsut/Thutmose III – Thutmose IV), or after the end of the line of Princes of Tekhet. This is not to say that the decline of the Princes did not have an effect; rather, a correlation is difficult to make given the evidence at hand.

This leaves us with a bit of a conundrum, as the archaeological evidence from the cemeteries excavated by the SJE and the OINE suggests an abandonment that began sometime between the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III and was in essence completed by the Amarna period, as very few Amarna period ceramics were found in the cemeteries. Of course, some of the ceramic forms prevalent

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<sup>45</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and the Sites*, 250-51. Their assertion does rest particularly on Unit 511. Revaluation of the dates during the course of this analysis places the original occupants of 511 in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty on the basis of numerous flower pots and a few isolated occurrences of bichrome pottery. This dating is concurrent with, but less specific than, the date of Fadrus IIb (Thutmose III sole rule) determined by Säve-Söderbergh and Troy. It is also worth noting that an economic decline does not necessarily equate with a lack of settlement; individuals and families for many reasons may choose to remain in an economically disadvantaged region.

<sup>46</sup> Török, *Between Two Worlds: the Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 B.C.-A.D. 500*, 277.

<sup>47</sup> On the basis of the ceramics, the dates of the ramp tombs are as follows: 4 are confirmed early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, 9 probable early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, 26 confirmed mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, 4 mid or late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and one unknown.

at the cemeteries sites, such as beer jars and bichrome pottery, do continue into the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, which could allow for the continuation of the cemeteries until the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty when those forms disappear from the ceramic repertoire. However, the fact that Amarna period pottery is prevalent at Site 176 suggests that it was available for inclusion in burials in the region at that time, so if Amarna pottery is not found at the Egyptianized sites, it would seem likely that those sites were for the most part out of use by the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Thus, the shift to the larger town sites likely began earlier than previously thought. It is likely that Faras, the nearest (later) temple town, had an earlier settlement, given how spotty the archaeological record is due to later activity and the nature of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations. The Tutankhamun foundation could simply have been taking advantage of an already undergoing change in the region's settlement structure. This change would have come about as larger towns, with their attached specialized craftsmen/women, would have been more economically attractive locales, much in the same way the population of the United States urbanized in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. That the least Egyptianized population – those buried in traditional methods at Site 176 – was the last to leave the region is not surprising. One can only imagine that moving into one of the temple towns, which were of course dominated by Egyptian religion and culture, would have gradually led to the abandonment of their cultural traditions, which they had chosen to maintain longer than any of the other populations in the region.

### Further Questions and Avenues for Research

This dissertation investigated the question of ethnic identity in Lower Nubia, making use of the recent development of the framework of cultural entanglement to describe the identities of the people buried in the region of Tekhet. As there have been significant changes to the understanding of ceramic chronology since the excavation, analysis, and publication of the Tekhet cemeteries, one of the contributions of this dissertation to the field is a reevaluation of the dates of each tomb excavated by the SJE and OINE. Combined with the new dating, the statistical analysis, making use of methods used by

various previous scholars, resulted in a rethinking of the nature of the Egyptian occupation of Lower Nubia, as well as the processes of Egyptianization and the subsequent depopulation of the region. While this project looked at a significant amount of material comprehensively, the conclusions presented here, as well as the new methodologies used, also pose novel questions that may lead to further research.

Four significant projects come to mind:

- 1) New computing tools and analytic software, combined with the revised dating presented here, could make attempting a new correspondence analysis of the Fadrus material possible. Such a project could conceivably lead to a more nuanced chronology of that site.
- 2) The Egyptianization of earlier population groups in Lower Nubia could be explored using a similar methodology. The Egyptianization of the C-Group and Pan Grave populations in Egypt have been studied;<sup>48</sup> however, the underlying processes of the acculturation of a population in a foreign country may be significantly different than for a population in their own land in a colonial setting. Due to the limited scope of this dissertation, cemeteries excavated by the SJE and OINE that dated to the Second Intermediate Period were not included in the database phase or analysis, though there is a very large corpus of material available. The SJE alone excavated 17 sites with a minimum of 1,469 graves with Second Intermediate Period material. This includes very large C-Group and Pan Grave cemeteries like Site 179 (237 units, in use from the First Intermediate Period until the early Second Intermediate Period) and Site 47 (159 units, dated from the Second Intermediate Period to possibly the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty). However, it should be noted that the majority of these sites were heavily plundered and as Second Intermediate Period ceramics are not as well understood as the earlier and later periods, precisely dating individual graves may be an issue.

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<sup>48</sup> Eric Scott Cohen, "Egyptianisation and the Acculturation Hypothesis: An investigation of the Pan-Grave, Kerma, and C-Group material cultures in Egypt and the Sudan during the Second Intermediate Period and the Eighteenth Dynasty," (New Haven: Yale University, 1992).

- 3) Investigation of other previously published New Kingdom cemeteries in other regions of Lower Nubia would be an interesting comparison to Tekhet. Many were excavated earlier in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, so some forms of analysis used here may not be possible, but they could provide an alternative picture of Egyptianization, as different groups may have responded in different ways to the occupation.
- 4) Understanding the manufacturing locales of the Egyptian pottery found at the cemetery sites would be helpful in specifying the role which economic specialization at the Egyptian centers played in the changes we see in the material of Lower Nubia. An in-depth study of the pottery excavated by the OINE and SJE may be able to determine how much was locally made and how much was imported, and whether the proportions changed over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

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## Appendix I : Middle Nubian and Pharaonic Cemeteries Excavated by the SJE

List of Middle Nubian and Pharaonic cemetery sites excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition. Dates follow Egyptian chronology. Parentheses after the date indicate the C-Group phase (after Bietak 1968) if known.

Table I.1: List of Middle Nubian and Pharaonic cemetery sites excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition.

Site	Cultural Attribution	Date	No. of Graves	Included	Remarks
Site 24	C-Group	Second Intermediate Period (IIa-b)	20	No	
Site 33	C-Group, Pharaonic	Second Intermediate Period (IIa-b) - Early 18th Dynasty	3	No	C-Group units (2), Pharaonic (1). Plundered.
Site 35	Transitional	Early 18th dynasty	74	Yes	
Site 37	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	2	No	Completely plundered.
Site 46	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	5	No	
Site 47	Pan Grave	Second Intermediate Period - early New Kingdom	159	No	Too heavily plundered to accurately date individual graves to the 18th dynasty, majority of the cemetery is presumably earlier
Site 64	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	5	Yes	
Site 65	C-Group, Pan Grave, Pharaonic	First Intermediate - late Second Intermediate Periods (Ia-IIb), Early 18th Dynasty	215	No	Middle Nubian units (208), Pharaonic (7). Pharaonic tombs heavily plundered, finds mixed.
Site 68	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	6	No	
Site 86	Transitional or Middle Nubian	Unknown	9	No	Possibly Transitional or Pan Grave, but too plundered for definite analysis
Site 95	C-Group, Pan Grave	Second Intermediate Period (IIb-III)	169	No	A-Group, Pan Grave, and C-Group units
Site 96	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	6	No	
Site 97	C-Group	Middle Kingdom - Early Second Intermediate Period (Ib-IIa)	132	No	
Site 98	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	2	No	

Table I.1: List of Middle Nubian and Pharaonic cemetery sites excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, continued.

Site	Cultural Attribution	Date	No. of Graves	Included	Remarks
Site 99	Pan Grave	Second Intermediate Period	33	No	
Site 146	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	4	Yes	
Site 164	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	6	No	All plundered, three mostly destroyed by seabakhin
Site 170	Pan Grave	Unknown	48	No	Ceramics date to Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, but variation in body position and orientation, as well as the inclusion of significant amounts of Egyptian-style scarabs and kohl pots indicate a possible early example of Egyptianization.
Site 172	Pan Grave, Pharaonic	Second Intermediate Period - Early New Kingdom	46	Some	Half Pan Grave (23), half Pharaonic New Kingdom types (23). Pan Grave units lacked datable finds due to plundering, only Pharaonic graves included.
Site 174	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	1	Yes	
Site 176	Transitional	Early 18th dynasty	100	Yes	
Site 177	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	10	No	Entirely plundered and no human remains found
Site 179	C-Group	First Intermediate - Second Intermediate Periods (I-IIb)	237	No	
Site 183	C-Group, Pharaonic	Second Intermediate Period (IIa-b)	58	Some	Partial C-Group (34) and Pharaonic New Kingdom (24). C-Group units lacked securely datable ceramics and were not included.
Site 184	C-Group	Second Intermediate Period (IIa-b) - Early 18th Dynasty	46	No	46 units excavated, more suspected under modern housing. At least one unit is Pharaonic in date (includes a Thutmose III scarab), but otherwise very little datable ceramics were found. Nubian ceramics date to the Second Intermediate Period.
Site 185	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	680	Yes	

Table I.1: List of Middle Nubian and Pharaonic cemetery sites excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, continued.

Site	Cultural Attribution	Date	No. of Graves	Included	Remarks
Site 190	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	5	No	
Site 193	Pan Grave	Unknown	4	No	
Site 197	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	19	No	
Site 201	Transitional	Early 18th dynasty	30	Yes	
Site 202	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	4	No	
Site 203	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	3	No	
Site 204	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	3	No	
Site 207	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	12	No	
Site 218	Transitional	18th and 19th Dynasty	14	No	Too heavily plundered for useful analysis, but ceramics indicate use in the 18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty and a faience stirrup vase with typical Myc. IIIC form and decoration indicates use as late as the 19th dynasty according to Holthoer (SJE 4:1, 222).
Site 220	Transitional, Pharaonic	Early 18th dynasty	68	Yes	Transitional units (67), Pharaonic (1)
Site 229	Transitional	Early 18th dynasty	77	Yes	Some graves were plundered and so disturbed that no measurements could be taken.
Site 235	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	1	No	
Site 246	C-Group	Middle Kingdom - late Second Intermediate Period (Ib-IIb)	32	No	110 total graves, only 32 excavated

Table I.1: List of Middle Nubian and Pharaonic cemetery sites excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, continued.

Site	Cultural Attribution	Date	No. of Graves	Included	Remarks
Site 251	Transitional	18th dynasty	3	No	Located at Gamai, at the other end of the concession, where very few 18th dynasty graves were located and where it would be difficult to determine the extent of cultural connection with the peoples further north.
Site 252	Pan Grave	Unknown	20	No	
Site 262	C-Group	Second Intermediate Period (IIa-b)	68	No	
Site 266	C-Group	Ib-BIIa	111	No	
Site 266B	Kerma	Classic Kerma	1	No	
Site 270	C-Group	Early Second Intermediate Period (IIa)	78	No	
Site 280	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	6	Yes	Separated from large C-Group Cemetery 179 by a 2-meter-deep depression
Site 293	Transitional	Early 18th dynasty	13	Yes	All child/infant burials, mostly in storage pots of Egyptian type.
Site 309	"Middle Nubian", Pharaonic	Unknown	30	Some	Middle Nubia units (29), Pharaonic (1). Only Pharaonic unit included.
Site 310	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	13	No	
Site 311	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	5	No	Possibly Pan Grave or Transitional, only partly excavated
Site 315	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	1	No	Trial excavations did not find other remains in the area, though heavy cultivation may have impacted preservation and the ability to fully excavate
Site 318	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	8	Yes	All but 2 plundered
Site 332	C-Group	Unknown	11	No	
Site 334	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	2	No	

Table I.1: List of Middle Nubian and Pharaonic cemetery sites excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition, continued.

Site	Cultural Attribution	Date	No. of Graves	Included	Remarks
Site 338	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	1	No	
Site 346	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	7	No	
Site 364	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	15	No	
Site 393	Kerma	New Kingdom	8	No	Located at Gamai, where very few 18th dynasty graves were located and where it would be difficult to determine the extent of cultural connection with the peoples' further north.
Site 400	Pharaonic	18th dynasty	11	Yes	Several graves had multiple interments and mixed finds due to plundering
Site 401	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	2	No	
Site 410	Pan Grave, Kerma	Middle Kingdom - Second Intermediate Period	30	No	
Site 426	C-Group	Middle Kingdom - Early Second Intermediate Period (Ib-IIa)	32	No	
Site 434	C-Group	Middle Kingdom (Ib)	18	No	Gamai
Site 436	Pangrave, Transitional	Unknown	11	No	Gamai, likely more units unexcavated
Site 438	"Middle Nubian"	Middle Kingdom	16	No	Gamai, likely more units unexcavated
Site 441	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	1	No	Gamai
Site 446	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	2	No	Gamai
Site 447	"Middle Nubian", Pharaonic	Unknown	10	No	Middle Nubian units (7), Pharaonic units (3). Heavily disturbed.
Site 451	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	13	No	Possibly Pan Grave or Transitional
Site 454	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	?	No	Unexcavated
Site 455	"Middle Nubian"	Unknown	3	No	Many more identified but not excavated

## Appendix II : Categorization System Used for Finds

Categorization system used for finds within the SJE and OINE excavations. As the OINE did not use find codes but relied on object descriptions entirely, no correspondence is listed here for OINE sites.

Table II.1: Categorization system used for finds.

Category	New Code	SJE Pharaonic Object Code	SJE Middle Nubian Code	Description
Other	A1	A1	n/a	Stone used in construction
Burial outfit	A2-a	A2	n/a	Coffin or coffin stand
Burial outfit	A2-b	A4	n/a	Mask
Burial outfit	A2-c	A2	n/a	Planks
Burial outfit	A3	A3	n/a	Matting, wrapping, binding, shroud
Burial outfit	A4	A5	n/a	Canopic jars
Decorative	B1	B1	A1	Beads
Decorative	B2-a	B2	A2	Scarab/Scaraboid
Decorative	B2-b	B2	A2	Plaquette
Decorative	B2-c	B3, B4, B5	A3	Pendant/Amulet
Decorative	B3-a	B6	n/a	Bracelet
Decorative	B3-b	n/a	A4	Spacers
Decorative	B4-a	B7	n/a	Spiral earrings and rings
Decorative	B4-b	B8	n/a	Pennanular earrings
Decorative	B4-c	B9	n/a	Earrings of other types
Decorative	B5-a	B10	A9	Rings (finger)
Decorative	B5-b	B11	n/a	Rings, unusual
Decorative	B6	B12	n/a	Pins
Decorative	B7	B13	D7	Shells
Decorative	B8	n/a	A5	Hairclasps
Funerary	C1	C1	n/a	Stelae
Funerary	C2	C3	n/a	Heart scarab
Funerary	C3	C5	n/a	Hes-jars
Funerary	C4	C8, H1	n/a	Boxes/chests
Funerary	C5	C9	n/a	Chair/bed
Funerary	C6	C10	n/a	Statuette
Funerary	C7	C11	n/a	Faience "fruit"
Funerary	C8	H2	n/a	Staffs
Cosmetic	D1	D1	C1	Mirror
Cosmetic	D2	D2	B1	Kohl pot/ointment jars
Cosmetic	D3	D3	n/a	Kohl tubes
Cosmetic	D4	D4	C4	Cosmetic sticks
Cosmetic	D5	D5	n/a	Kohl

Table II.1: Categorization system used for finds, continued.

Category	New Code	SJE Pharaonic Object Code	SJE Middle Nubian Code	Description
Cosmetic	D6	D6	B2, B3	Cosmetic saucer/palettes/cups
Cosmetic	D7	D7	C2	Razor
Cosmetic	D8	D8	C3	Tweezers
Cosmetic	D9	D9	n/a	Hair curler
Cosmetic	D10	D10	n/a	Hairpin
Cosmetic	D11	D11	n/a	Toilet boxes
Containers (Other)	E1	E1	n/a	Stone bowls
Containers (Other)	E2	E2	C9	Metal vessels
Containers (Other)	E3	E3	E2	Faience vessels
Containers (Other)	E4	E4	n/a	Eggshell vessels
Containers (Other)	E5	n/a	n/a	Basketry
Weapons	F1	F1	C6	Axes
Weapons	F2	F2	C5	Daggers/knives
Weapons	F3	F3	n/a	Arrowheads
Tools	G1	G1	C7, D1	Awls/needles
Tools	G2	G2	B4	Grindstone
Tools	G3	G3	B4	Hammerstones/Pestles
Tools	G4	G4	n/a	Fishing hooks
Tools	G5	G5	B6	Flint/lithics
Tools	G6	G6	n/a	Polishing stones
Tools	G7	G7	n/a	Palettes
Unknown	H1	H3	n/a	Metal plates
Organic remains	I1	I1	D8	Animal remains
Organic remains	I2	I2	D9	Vessel contents
Organic remains	I3	I3	n/a	Other organic
Unknown	J1	J	B7	Other/miscellaneous
Unknown	J2	n/a	n/a	Wood fragments, unknown use
Unknown	J3	n/a	H4	Rivets
Unknown	J4	n/a	H5	Metal objects of uncertain use
Textiles	K1-a	n/a	D2	Leather, uncertain use
Textiles	K1-b	n/a	D2	Leather, clothing
Textiles	K2	n/a	D3	Textiles

## Appendix III : List of Burials Excluded from Data Set

Burials were generally excluded for the following reasons: 1) the tomb was completely plundered and no remains were found, 2) the burials themselves were disarticulated remains or too mixed to determine the number and location of original occupants, 3) dates of the burials were uncertain due to later reuse of the tomb.

Table III.1: Burials excluded from data set.

Site	Grave	No. of Burials	Reason
Qustul	R38	None	No burial recorded- plundered
Qustul	R39	None	No burial recorded- plundered
Qustul	R44	None	No burial recorded- plundered
Qustul	R57	None	Possible later grave, no finds
Qustul	R61		No burial recorded- plundered
Qustul	R75 (Burials E-M)	9	Disarticulated remains in shaft and chamber.
Qustul	R84 (Burials B-G)	6	Disarticulated remains in shaft and chamber.
Qustul	R91	3	Intersecting shafts, no drawing.
Qustul	R94	25	All remains disarticulated and mixed remains (at least 25 individuals, nearly all female, along with two infants)
Qustul	R99		Possible later grave, no finds other than a few sherds.
Qustul	VB25	5	Tomb reused in later periods, date of these burials uncertain.
Qustul	VC46	41	Majority of interments are 19th Dynasty or later (based on Ramesses II scarab in lowest level of shaft burials). Burials in the chamber may be 18th dynasty or later (ceramics include a flower pot but also a Ramesside amphora).
Qustul	VC47 (Burials B-H)	7	Burials B-H are only represented by skulls, chamber completely plundered perhaps during the interment of Burial A.
Qustul	VD53	None	No burial recorded- plundered
Qustul	VF60 (Burials I-M)	5	Bones mixed with sand in west chamber.
Qustul	VF61	Unknown	Described as "thoroughly disturbed", no finds and uncertain number of burials.
Qustul	VF72B (Burial B)	1	Burial B fragmentary and shares coffin with C. Not certain how they determined there were two bodies in this.
Qustul	VF76 (Burials A-H)	8	Disarticulated remains, mixed. Shaft burials possibly late 18th dynasty, based on a pilgrim flask. West chamber burials have no datable ceramics.
Qustul	VG84	1	Possibly Christian
Qustul	VG85	1	Possibly Christian

Table III.1: Burials excluded from data set, continued.

Site	Grave	No. of Burials	Reason
Qustul	VG92 (Burials A-F)	5	Remains very plundered and mixed.
Qustul	VG93 (Burials D-E)	2	Disarticulated remains, plundered.
Qustul	VG97	6	Poorly recorded, with X-Group intrusions. Possibly plundered.
Qustul	VH112	1	Reused by X-group
Qustul	VH113 (Burials K-R)	8	Disarticulated remains, plundered. Mostly skulls.
Adindan	K2	4	Jumbled bones.
Adindan	K7	1	No drawing, records lack any detail.
Adindan	K18		Record sheet was lost.
Adindan -	K65	4	Only four skulls remained, plundered.
Qustul	S7		Chamber burials were of skulls and scattered bones (plundered).
Qustul	S8 (Burials I-P)	8	Disarticulated, mixed and plundered remains.
Qustul	S9	2	Basket burials but no description, and of uncertain date.
Qustul	W2-68	4	Clearly disturbed, lacks drawings and description of burials. Possible date is mid-18th dynasty based on a sherd with swallows-on-a-wire decoration.
Site 64	1	"At least 2"	Mixed, mostly disarticulated remains. Severely disturbed.
Site 64	2	"Minimum 5"	Severely disturbed, unknown number of original burials.
Site 64	3 (Burials C-G)	5	Mixed disarticulated remains in chambers, plundered.
Site 64	4	Unknown	Fragmentary and mixed burials, plundered.
Site 64	5	1	Significantly plundered. A set of mixed bones were found in the shaft fill.
Site 146	3	1	"Remains of one burial", completely plundered, save sherds and beads.
Site 147	4	1	"Remains of one burial", completely plundered, save sherds and beads.
Site 172	6	Unknown	Objects found but no record of burial.
Site 172	10	Unknown	Objects found but no record of burial.
Site 172	11	Unknown	Objects found but no record of burial.
Site 172	12	Unknown	Objects found but no record of burial.
Serra East	G1	None	Reused by X-group
Serra East	G2	None	Reused by X-group
Serra East	G3	None	Reused by X-group

Table III.1: Burials excluded from data set, continued.

Site	Grave	No. of Burials	Reason
Serra East	G5	3	Mixed and note indicates that the records may have confused the bodies and the objects that were found with each.
Serra East	G6	None	Questionable NK attribution by excavator (no objects)
Serra East	G7	1	Questionable NK attribution by excavator (no objects)
Serra East	G8	None	No body
Serra East	G9	None	No body
Serra East	G11	Unknown	Scattered bones, only a few fragmentary objects.
Serra East	G12	7	Mixed and fragmentary burials, most objects with "uncertain location".
Serra East	G13	Unknown	"Few bones", very few objects, mostly sherds.
Serra East	G17	None	No burial
Serra East	G18	Unknown	Only Meroitic items found, original construction is likely New Kingdom
Serra East	G20	1	Uncertain date

## Appendix IV : SJE Correspondence Analysis Traits

List of traits included in the correspondence analysis used by the SJE to determine the dates of the burials at Fadrus. Based upon the information provided in SJE 5:2, Fig. 58. The number of occurrences in some cases are listed as unknown, for one of the following reasons: 1) the criteria for the trait was not detailed, 2) the trait was not explicitly described in the tomb description in the final publication, 3) the criteria was not cataloged in the course of this study because the correct number was difficult to determine from the information provided in the publication (such as the color of faience beads).

Table IV.1: SJE correspondence analysis non-ceramic traits.

Trait	No. of Occurrences in a Fadrus Tomb
<b>Body Position</b>	
– Extended on side	259
– Extended	635
– Contracted	50
– Extended back	328
– Extended face	46
<b>Tomb Construction</b>	
– Chamber with ramp	58
– Chamber with ramp, clay floor	20
– Chamber with ramp, vaulted roof	33
– Chamber with ramp, trench construction	Unknown
– Chamber in shaft	15
– Chamber in shaft, flat roof	2
– Chamber in shaft, vaulted roof	2
– Chamber in shaft, pointed roof	6
– Shaft	259
– Side niche	128
– End niche	245
– Double end niche	23
– Niche, no sealing	
– Niche, mudbrick sealing	233
– Niche, sealing built on raised ledge	Unknown
– Niche, niche cut lower than shaft	Unknown
– Niche, use of clay mortar	Unknown
<b>Funerary Accessories</b>	
– Masks	27
– Coffins	131
<b>Personal Adornments</b>	
– Beads, precious metal	Unknown
– Beads, ostrich egg shell	Unknown
– Beads, faience	Unknown
– Beads, carnelian scaraboid	Unknown
– Beads, carnelian	Unknown

Table IV.1: SJE correspondence analysis non-ceramic traits, continued.

Trait	No. of Occurrences in a Fadrus Tomb
– Beads, white faience	Unknown
– Beads, yellow faience	Unknown
– Beads, red faience	Unknown
<b>Seals</b>	
– Seals, scarab	84
– Seals, scaraboid	25
– Seals, plaquette	8
– Seals, Amenhotep	6
– Seals, Djserkare	2
– Seals, Menkheperre	9
– Seals, Nebmaatre	5
– Seals, placed on neck	Unknown
– Seals, placed on pelvis	Unknown
– Seals, placed on hand	Unknown
– Seals, placed on feet	Unknown
<b>Figurative pendants</b>	43
– Figurative pendants, flies	5
– Figurative pendants, scarab	84
– Figurative pendants, taueret	9
– Figurative pendants, hand	3
– Figurative pendants, fish	8
– Figurative pendants, poppyhead	4
– Figurative pendants, lily	5
– Figurative pendants, ducks	7
– Figurative pendants, heart	7
– Figurative pendants, hippopotamus head	2
– Figurative pendants, glass birds	2
– Gold mounting	4
<b>Spiral earrings</b>	16
<b>Penannular earrings</b>	12
<b>Toilette Equipment</b>	
– Kohl pots and ointment jars	56
– Kohl pots, tall	2
– Kohl pots, angular	4
– Kohl pots, squat	10
– Kohl pots, necked	11
– Kohl pots on base	3
– Kohl pots, NK type	26
– Beakers	6
– Cylindrical jars	3
– Tweezers	9

Table IV.1: SJE correspondence analysis non-ceramic traits, continued.

Trait	No. of Occurrences in a Fadrus Tomb
– Ivory box inlay	3
<b>Non-ceramic vessels</b>	
– “Bronze” bowls	9
– “Bronze” composite cups	Unknown
<b>Weapons</b>	
– Swords, daggers	4
– Axes	5
<b>Metal Fittings</b>	
<b>Two-headed rivets</b>	7

Table IV.2: Ceramic traits used in the SJE’s correspondence analysis.

Type of Pottery, Holthoer’s Classification System	No. of Occurrences
<b>Amphora AH1</b>	5
<b>Amphora AH1/0 (undecorated)</b>	2
<b>Amphora AH1/3P (black and red decoration)</b>	2
<b>Amphora AO2</b>	3
<b>Amphora AT1/IR/3D/f-h (three handled vessels with black decoration)</b>	2
<b>Beer bottles BB1-4</b>	200
<b>Beer bottles BB1</b>	14
<b>Beer bottles BB2</b>	30
<b>Beer bottles BB3</b>	37
<b>Beer bottles BB4</b>	137
<b>Biconical stand TB2</b>	7
<b>Biconical stand TB3</b>	10
<b>Bottle BO1</b>	26
<b>Bottle BO1/IIR (uncompacted brown ware)</b>	9
<b>Bottle BO1/IR (compacted brown ware)</b>	13
<b>Broad-necked carinated vessels CV1</b>	83
<b>Broad-necked carinated vessels CV1/0 (undecorated)</b>	33
<b>Broad-necked carinated vessels CV1/3D-P (black or red/black decoration)</b>	30
<b>Carinated vessel CV2</b>	5
<b>Carinated vessels CW1</b>	4
<b>Composite cup CC5</b>	6
<b>Composite cups CC3</b>	3
<b>Cups and bowls CU1</b>	5
<b>Cups and bowls CU2</b>	33
<b>Cups and bowls CU2/IIR (compacted brown ware)</b>	12
<b>Cups and bowls CU2/IR (uncompacted brown ware)</b>	22
<b>Cups and bowls CU3</b>	97

Table IV.2: Ceramic traits used in the SJE's correspondence analysis, continued.

Type of Pottery, Holthoer's Classification System	No. of Occurrences
Cups and bowls CU3/IIR (compacted brown ware)	68
Cups and bowls CU3/IR (uncompacted brown ware)	33
Cups and bowls CU4	83
Cups and bowls CU6	3
Cups and bowls CU7	2
Flower pots FP2	166
Flowerpot FP1	9
Footed beakers FO2	3
Footed beakers FU2	4
Funnel-necked jars FU1	2
Globular jar GJ1	31
Globular jar GW1	4
Jugs and juglets JU1	42
Ledged bottle BL1	5
Lids LL1/3D (black decoration)	2
Miniature vessels MI3	6
Miniature vessels MI7	4
Necked jars NJ1	3
Necked jars NJ2	5
Ovoid jar JO3	None in burials
Ovoid jars JO1	197
Ovoid jars JO1/0-1 (undecorated)	Unknown
Ovoid jars JO1/D-P (black or red/black decoration)	Unknown
Ovoid jars JO2	None in burials
Ovoid jars JW1	4
Plate PL4	16
Plates PL1	3
Plates PL3	135
Plates PL8	5
Short-necked carinated vessel, CS1	19
Short-necked carinated vessel, CS1/0 (undecorated)	11
Short-necked carinated vessel, CS1/3D-P (black or black/red decoration)	5
Short-necked carinated vessel, CS1/7R (red painted neck)	4
Simple jars SJ1	3
Spouted vessels SV1	1
Storage jar ST1	43
Storage jar ST2	3
Storage jar ST4/VP (marl)	2
Storage jars ST3	8

Table IV.2: Ceramic traits used in the SJE's correspondence analysis, continued.

Type of Pottery, Holthoer's Classification System	No. of Occurrences
Storage jars ST4/IR (uncompacted brown ware)	2
Tubular stands TU4	6
Wine decanters WD1	28
Wine decanters WD2	2

## Appendix V : Ceramic Correspondences

Appendix 5 is composed of charts related to the ceramics found in the OINE and SJE excavations. The typology created here is a modified form of Holthoer's ceramic typology presented in SJE 5:1.

Major additions include designating chronologically limited decoration and separating some shape categories into new, distinct types. Because the descriptors for the OINE typology were not as specific as those used by the SJE, many types will appear multiple times in the OINE column. Individual pots were sorted into their new types by evaluating the drawing and, if possible, photographic imagery in the Oriental Institute Integrated Database. However, some pots were not drawn or photographed and were not given a new type designation for this reason.

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>AH1-a</b>	Amphora with horizontal handles	Amphora	Nile	AH1 wares IP/IR	n/a
<b>AH1-b</b>	Amphora with horizontal handles	Amphora	Marl	AH1/IIIP	PJ-4 (II-PJ-4)
<b>AO1-a</b>	Slender, tall necked amphora	Amphora	Nile	AO1 wares IP/IR	AM-1
<b>AO1-b</b>	Slender, tall necked amphora	Amphora	Marl	AO1 wares IIIP/IVG	AM-2, AM-3a
<b>AO2</b>	Slender, short necked amphora	Amphora	Nile	AO2	n/a
<b>AO4</b>	Broad, short necked amphora	Amphora	Marl	AO4	n/a
<b>AO5</b>	Tall tapered amphora	Amphora	Marl	n/a	AM-3b
<b>AP1</b>	Pilgrim flask	Imports	n/a	AP1	IM-7a, IM-7b
<b>AT1-a</b>	Three handled vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Amphora	Nile	AT1/IR	n/a
<b>AT1-b</b>	Three handled vessel, bichrome decoration	Amphora	Marl	AT1/VP	n/a
<b>BA1</b>	Basin	Restricted Bowls	Nile	BA1	n/a
<b>BB1</b>	Cylindrical beer jar	Beer Bottles	Nile	BB1	UJ-1a
<b>BB2</b>	Transitional beer jar	Beer Bottles	Nile	BB2	
<b>BB3</b>	Simple beer jar	Beer Bottles	Nile	BB3	UJ-3ai
<b>BB4</b>	Ordinary beer jar	Beer Bottles	Nile	BB4	UJ-2a, UJ-2b, UJ-2c, UJ-3a, UJ-3ai, UJ-3b, UJ-3c

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>BC1</b>	Composite burner	Burners	Nile	BC1	PS*
<b>BF1</b>	Slender, flat based bottles	Bottles	Nile	BF1	n/a
<b>BL1</b>	Slender, ledged bottles with round bases	Bottles	Nile	BL1	n/a
<b>BO1</b>	Broad based bottle with tall modeled rim	Bottles	Nile	XO6	CJ-10biv alpha
<b>BO1-a1</b>	Slender, round based bottle	Bottles	Nile	BO1/IIR/0/e-f, BO1/IIR/0/c-d	CJ-10biii
<b>BO1-a2</b>	Slender, round based bottle with thin neck	Bottles	Nile	BO1/IR/0/e-f, BO1/IR/1/e-f, BO1/IR/1/g-h, BO1/IIR/0/g-h	IM-1, CJ-10biv beta, CJ-10bii
<b>BO1-b1</b>	Small bottle	Bottles	Marl	n/a	CJ-10bi
<b>BO1-b2</b>	Large slender bottle	Bottles	Marl	BO1/VP/0/g-h	
<b>BR1</b>	Broad bottle	Bottles	Nile	BR1	PJ-5
<b>BU1</b>	Simple very short foot burner	Burners	Nile	BU1	PS*
<b>BU2</b>	Simple short foot burner	Burners	Nile	BU2	PS*
<b>BU3</b>	Simple tall foot burner	Burners	Nile	BU3	PS*
<b>BU4</b>	Simple very tall foot burner	Burners	Nile	Bu4	PS*
<b>CA1</b>	Canopic jar	Special Purpose Vessels	n/a	CA1	SP-2
<b>CC2-a1</b>	Shallow composite cup with flat or ring base	Restricted Bowls	Nile	CC2 wares IR/IIR	CB-7a, CB-7c
<b>CC2-a2</b>	Shallow composite cup with flat or ring base, with splashware decoration	Restricted Bowls	Nile	CC2 wares IR/IIR & decoration 3R	CB-7a, CB-7c
<b>CC2-b</b>	Shallow composite cup with flat or ring base	Restricted Bowls	Marl	CC2 ware VP	n/a
<b>CC3-a</b>	Deep composite cup with flat or ring base	Restricted Bowls	Nile	CC3 wares IP/IR/IIR	n/a
<b>CC3-b</b>	Deep composite cup with flat or ring base	Restricted Bowls	Marl	CC3 ware IIP	n/a

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>CC5-a1</b>	Composite cup with flat or ring base and modeled rim	Restricted Bowls	Nile	CC5, CC6	CB-7b
<b>CC5-a2</b>	Composite cup with flat or ring base, modeled rim, and splashware decoration	Restricted Bowls	Nile	CC5, CC6 with 3D decoration	n/a
<b>CP1</b>	Cypriote Flask	Imports	n/a	"Cypriote flask"	IM-6
<b>CP2</b>	Spindle Bottle	Imports	n/a	"Spindle bottle"	IM-5
<b>CP3</b>	Cypriote Juglet	Imports	n/a	"Cypriote juglet"	IM-3
<b>CS1-a1</b>	Short necked carinated vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration and rounded/string cut base	Carinated Vessels	Nile	CS1 wares IP/IR/IW/IIR & decorations 0/3D/4R/5D/7R, GJ3	PJ-2a, PJ-2bi, PJ-2bii, PJ-2ci, PJ-2cii, PJ-2cv, PJ-2diii alpha (Form Group I)
<b>CS1-b1</b>	Short necked carinated vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration and rounded/string cut base	Carinated Vessels	Marl	CS1 wares IIIP/IIIR/VP/VR & decorations 0/3D/4R/5D/7R	PJ-2a, PJ-2bi, PJ-2bii, PJ-2ci, PJ-2cii, PJ-2cv, PJ-2diii alpha (Form Group II)
<b>CS1-b2</b>	Short necked carinated vessel, bichrome decoration	Carinated Vessels	Marl	CS1 wares IIIP/IIIR/VP/VR & decoration 3P	PJ-2a, PJ-2bi, PJ-2bii, PJ-2ci, PJ-2cii, PJ-2cv, PJ-2diii alpha (Form Group II + bichrome)
<b>CU1-a1</b>	Rounded or pointed base cup	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU1 without decoration 3R	CB-5a, CB-5b
<b>CU1-a2</b>	Rounded or pointed base cup, with splashware decoration	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU1 with decoration 3R	CB-5a, CB-5b
<b>CU2-a1</b>	Flat or ring based cup	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU2, CU3 without decoration 3R	CB-4bi, CB-4bii, CB-4biii, CB-4biv, CB-3bi, CB-3bii, CB-3biii, CB-6
<b>CU2-a2</b>	Flat or ring based cup, splashware decoration	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU2, CU3 with decoration 3R	CB-4bi, CB-4bii, CB-4biii, CB-4biv, CB-3bi, CB-3bii, CB-3biii, CB-7
<b>CU4-a1</b>	Deep or broad based cup	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU4 without decoration 3R	CB-4aii, CB-4aiii, CB-4aiv, CB-3ai, CB-3aii

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>CU4-a2</b>	Deep or broad based cup, splashware decoration	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU4 with decoration 3R	CB-4aii, CB-4aiii, CB-4aiv, CB-3ai, CB-3aii
<b>CU5</b>	Large bowl with modeled rim and round or pointed base	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU5	n/a
<b>CU6</b>	Bowl with shallow/flat base and modeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU6	n/a
<b>CU7</b>	Bowl with deep/narrow base and modeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU7	n/a
<b>CU8</b>	Bowl with deep and broad base and modeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	CU8	n/a
<b>CV1-a1</b>	Broad necked carinated vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Carinated Vessels	Nile	CV1 wares IP/IR/IIR	PJ-2biii, PJ-2biv, PJ-2ciii, PJ-2civ, PJ-2cvi, PJ-2cvii, PJ-2di, PJ-2diii beta, PJ-2diii gamma, PJ-2div alpha, PJ-2div beta, PJ-2div gamma, PJ-2dv, PJ-2dvi (Form Group I)
<b>CV1-a2</b>	Broad necked carinated vessel with rim ticks	Carinated Vessels	Nile	CV1 wares IP/IR/IIR & decoration 3D/4D/5D	
<b>CV1-b1</b>	Broad necked carinated vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Carinated Vessels	Marl	CV1 wares IIIB/IIIP/IIIR/VP	PJ-2biii, PJ-2biv, PJ-2ciii, PJ-2civ, PJ-2cvi, PJ-2cvii, PJ-2di, PJ-2diii beta, PJ-2diii gamma, PJ-2div alpha, PJ-2div beta, PJ-2div gamma, PJ-2dv, PJ-2dvi (Form Group II)
<b>CV1-b2</b>	Broad necked carinated vessel with rim ticks	Carinated Vessels	Marl	CV1 wares IIIB/IIIP/IIIR/VP & decoration 3D/4D/5D	PJ-2biii, PJ-2biv, PJ-2ciii, PJ-2civ, PJ-2cvi, PJ-2cvii, PJ-2di, PJ-2diii beta, PJ-2diii gamma, PJ-2div alpha, PJ-2div beta, PJ-2div gamma, PJ-2dv, PJ-2dvi (Form Group II)

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>CV2-a1</b>	Narrow necked carinated vessels, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Carinated Vessels	Nile	CV2 wares IR/IR/IIR	PJ-2dviii, PJ-2dix (Form Group I)
<b>CV2-b1</b>	Narrow necked carinated vessels, bichrome decoration	Carinated Vessels	Marl	CV2 wares IIIB/IIIP/IIIR/VP without decoration 4P	PJ-2dviii, PJ-2dix (Form Group II)
<b>CV2-b2</b>	Narrow necked carinated vessels, bichrome decoration	Carinated Vessels	Marl	CV2 wares IIIB/IIIP/IIIR/VP & decoration 4P	PJ-2dviii, PJ-2dix (Form Group II with bichrome decoration)
<b>CW1</b>	Widemouthed carinated jars	Carinated Vessels	Nile	CW1	n/a
<b>CW1-a2</b>	Widemouthed carinated jars with rim ticks	Carinated Vessels	Nile	CW1 & decoration 4D	n/a
<b>CW2</b>	Very wide mouthed, short carinated vessel	Carinated Vessels	n/a	n/a	PJ-2dvii
<b>DV1</b>	Double vessel	Special Purpose Vessels	n/a	DV1	PJ-6a, PJ-6b
<b>FB1-a</b>	Baggy flask	Flasks	Nile	FB1/IP	
<b>FB1-b</b>	Baggy flask	Flasks	Marl	FB1/IIIP	PJ-1 (b, c, di, dii)
<b>FF1</b>	Flat-based slender flask	Flasks	Marl	FF1	n/a
<b>FJ1</b>	Assymmetric foreign juglet	Imports	n/a	"Assymmetric foreign juglet"	IM-8
<b>FJ2</b>	Symmetric foreign juglet	Imports	n/a	"Symmetric foreign juglet"	
<b>FJ3</b>	Foreign handled juglet	Imports	n/a	n/a	IM-4a
<b>FL1</b>	Round based slender flask	Flasks	Nile	FL1	n/a
<b>FL2</b>	Inflected beaker	Flasks	Nile	FL2	
<b>FL3</b>	Round based flask or bottle	Flasks	Marl	FL2/VP/0/d-e	PJ-1a
<b>FO1</b>	Footed beaker, tall necked	Footed Beakers	Nile	FO1	n/a
<b>FO2</b>	Footed beaker, short necked	Footed Beakers	Nile	FO2	n/a
<b>FP1</b>	Flower pot, unmodeled rim	Flower Pots	Nile	FP1	UA-1a
<b>FP2</b>	Flower pot, modeled rim	Flower Pots	Nile	FP2	UA-1b, UA-2, UA-3
<b>FU1</b>	Tall funnel necked jar	Necked jars	Nile	FU1	CJ-8bi, CJ-8bii, CJ-8biii, CJ-8biv

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>FU2</b>	Short funnel necked jar	Necked jars	Nile	FU2	CJ-8a
<b>GJ1-a1</b>	Broad necked, globular jar, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Globular Jars	Nile	GJ1 wares IP/IR/IIR & decoration 0/1/6D/7R	n/a
<b>GJ1-a2</b>	Broad necked, globular jar with bichrome decoration	Globular Jars	Nile	GJ1 wares IP/IR/IIR & decoration 3P/4P	n/a
<b>GJ1-b1</b>	Broad necked, globular jar, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Globular Jars	Marl	GJ1 wares IIIP/VP & decoration 0/1/6D/7R	CJ-7b
<b>GJ2</b>	Narrow necked, globular jars	Globular Jars	Marl	GJ2	n/a
<b>GJ3</b>	Broad necked globular jar with carination	Globular Jars	Nile	n/a	CJ-7a
<b>GW1</b>	Widemouthed globular storage jar	Globular Jars	Nile	GW1	n/a
<b>HS1</b>	Hes-jar	Special Purpose Vessels	n/a	HS1	SP-4
<b>JB1</b>	Bulged storage jar	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile	JB1, SJ2	n/a
<b>JO1-a1</b>	Ovoid jar with swallows on a wire decoration	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile & Marl	ST3, JO1, JO2, JO3 & decoration 3P/4P	CJ-5c, CJ-11c
<b>JO1-a2</b>	Ovoid jar with bichrome decoration	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile & Marl	ST3, JO1, JO2, JO3 & decoration 4D	
<b>JU1-a1</b>	Juglet, undecorated or monochrome decoration	Juglets	Nile	JU1 wares IP/IR & decorations 0/3D/5D	PJ-3 (Form Group I)
<b>JU1-a2</b>	Juglet, bichrome decoration	Juglets	Nile	JU1 wares IP/IR & decorations 5P/6P	PJ-3 (Form Group I)
<b>JU1-a3</b>	Juglet, swallows on a wire decoration	Juglets	Nile	JU1 wares IP/IR & decoration 6D	PJ-3 (Form Group I)
<b>JU1-a4</b>	Juglet with rim ticks	Juglets	Nile	JU1 wares IP/IR & decoration 5D & rim ticks	PJ-3 (Form Group I)
<b>JU1-b1</b>	Juglet, undecorated or monochrome decoration	Juglets	Marl	JU1 wares IIIP/IIR & decorations 0/3D/5D	PJ-3 (Form Group II)

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>JU1-b2</b>	Juglet, bichrome decoration	Juglets	Marl	JU1 wares IIIP/IIIR & decorations 5P/6P	PJ-3 (Form Group II)
<b>JU1-b3</b>	Juglet, swallows on a wire decoration	Juglets	Marl	JU1 wares IIIP/IIIR & decoration 6D	PJ-3 (Form Group II)
<b>JU1-b4</b>	Juglet with rim ticks	Juglets	Marl	JU1 wares IIIP/IIIR & decoration 5D & rim ticks	PJ-3 (Form Group II)
<b>JU2</b>	Squat juglet (mug)	Juglets	Marl	JU2	n/a
<b>JW1</b>	Widemouthed ovoid storage jar	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile	JW1	CJ-6bi, CJ-6biv beta
<b>JW2</b>	Widemouthed ovoid storage jar with wide body	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile	n/a	CJ-6biv alpha
<b>LL1</b>	Conical lid	Lids & Stoppers	Nile	LL1	LI-1, LI-3
<b>LL2</b>	Disk-shaped lid	Lids & Stoppers	Nile	LL2	n/a
<b>LS1</b>	Conical stopper	Lids & Stoppers	Nile	LS1	n/a
<b>NF1</b>	Flat-based medium-broad tall necked jar	Necked jars	Nile	NF1	CJ-11a
<b>NF1-a2</b>	Flat-based medium-broad tall necked jar with rim ticks	Necked jars	Marl	n/a	CJ-8ci
<b>NJ1-a1</b>	Round based medium-broad short necked jar, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Necked jars	Nile	NJ1 wares IP/IR & decoration other than 4D	n/a
<b>NJ1-a2</b>	Round based medium-broad short necked jar, swallows on a wire decoration	Necked jars	Nile	NJ1 wares IP/IR & decoration 4D	n/a
<b>NJ2-a1</b>	Round based medium-broad tall necked jar, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Necked jars	Nile	NJ2/NJ3 & decoration other than 4D, ST4/IR/O/I-m	n/a
<b>NJ2-a2</b>	Round based medium-broad tall necked jar, swallows on a wire decoration	Necked jars	Nile	NJ2/NJ3 & decoration 4D	n/a

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>NJ4</b>	Round based slender necked jar with short neck	Necked jars	Nile	NJ4	n/a
<b>NJ5</b>	Slender, round based tall necked jar with modeled rim	Necked jars	Marl	NJ5	n/a
<b>NJ6</b>	Slender necked jar with tall neck and direct rim, with swallows on a wire decoration	Necked jars	Marl	NJ6	n/a
<b>OM1</b>	Ointment jar	Special Purpose Vessels	n/a	n/a	LI-3
<b>PL1</b>	Plate with shallow, rounded, or pointed base and an unmodeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	PL1	n/a
<b>PL2</b>	Plate with deep rounded or pointed base and unmodeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	PL2	n/a
<b>PL3-a1</b>	Plate with shallow or flat base and unmodeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	PL3 without decoration 3R	CB-1a, CB-1b, CB-1c, CB-1d, CB-1e, CB-1f, CB-1g, CB-1h, CB-2a, CB-2b, CB-2c
<b>PL3-a2</b>	Plate with shallow or flat base and unmodeled rim, splashware decoration	Plates/Cups	Nile	PL3 & decoration 3R	CB-1a, CB-1b, CB-1c, CB-1d, CB-1e, CB-1f, CB-1g, CB-1h, CB-2a, CB-2b, CB-2c
<b>PL4</b>	Plate, medium-deep, with flat or ring base	Plates/Cups	Nile	PL4	CB-4 (av, avi)
<b>PL7</b>	Plate with shallow/flat base and modeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	PL7	n/a
<b>PL8</b>	Plate with deep/flat base and modeled rim	Plates/Cups	Nile	PL8	n/a
<b>RB1</b>	Restricted bowl, round base	Restricted Bowls	Marl	RB1	n/a
<b>RB2</b>	Restricted bowl, flat base	Restricted Bowls	Nile	RB2	n/a
<b>RH1</b>	Rhyton	Special Purpose Vessels	n/a	RH1	

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>SJ1</b>	Simple storage jar	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile	SJ1 ware IR & decoration other than 1	n/a
<b>ST1-a</b>	Short necked and slender storage jar	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile	ST1 wares IP/IR	CJ-6ai, bii
<b>ST1-b</b>	Short necked and slender storage jar	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Marl	ST1 ware VP	CJ-6bi (K50-12)
<b>ST2</b>	Short necked storage jar with medium-broad body	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile	ST2	CJ-7c
<b>ST3/JO1</b>	Tall necked storage jar	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Nile & Marl	ST3, JO1, JO2, JO3	CJ-5ai, CJ-5aaii, CJ-5aaiii, CJ-5aiv, CJ-5bi, CJ-5bii, CJ-5biii, CJ-5av, CJ-5avi, CJ-5avii, CJ-5aviii, CJ-5aviii, CJ-5aix, CJ-5ax, CJ-5axi, CJ-5axii, CJ-6aaii, CJ-6bii, CJ-6biii, CJ-6bv, CJ-10c
<b>ST4</b>	Tall necked, slender storage jar	Ovoid/Storage Jars	Marl	ST4	CJ-9
<b>SV1</b>	Ordinary spouted vessel	Juglets	Nile	SV1	n/a
<b>TB1</b>	Low biconical stand	Stands	Nile	TB1, TR1	n/a
<b>TB2</b>	Medium/tall biconical stand	Stands	Nile	TB2, TR2	ST-2
<b>TB3</b>	Tall biconical stand	Stands	Nile	TB3	ST-3a, ST-3b
<b>TU1</b>	Low tubular stand	Stands	Nile	TU1	ST-1
<b>TU2</b>	Tall tubular stand	Stands	Nile	TU2, TU3	n/a
<b>WD1-a</b>	Tall slim beakers with pointed base	Wine Goblets	Nile	WD1 ware IR and sizes a-f	CJ-1a, CJ-1b, CJ-1c
<b>WD1-b</b>	Tall slim beakers with flattened base	Wine Goblets	Marl	WD1 ware IIIP	CJ-1a, CJ-1b, CJ-1c (Form Group II)
<b>WD1-c</b>	Very large beaker-like jars	Wine Goblets	Nile	WD1 ware IR and sizes g-h	CJ-1a, CJ-1b, CJ-1c
<b>WD2</b>	Broad beaker-like jar	Wine Goblets	Nile	WD2	CJ-1a, CJ-1b, CJ-1c
<b>WD3</b>	Direct rim cups with incised lines	Wine Goblets	Nile	WD3, SJ1/IR/1/h-i	CJ-1d
<b>WG1</b>	Wavy sided beakers	Wine Goblets	Nile	WG1	CJ-2a

Table V.1: Ceramic typology with corresponding designations in the SJE and OINE ceramic typologies, continued.

Type	Description	Class	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type
<b>ZO1</b>	Zoomorphic vessel	Special Purpose Vessels	n/a	ZO1	n/a

Table V.2: Dated ceramics in the typology with corresponding SJE and OINE typology codes.

Type	Description	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type	Date	Date Citations
<b>AH1-a</b>	Amphora with horizontal handles	Nile	AH1 wares IP/IR	n/a	Mid-late 18th dynasty	Allen 2005: 228
<b>AH1-b</b>	Amphora with horizontal handles	Marl	AH1/IIIP	PJ-4 (II-PJ-4)	Mid-late 18th dynasty	Allen 2005: 228
<b>AO2</b>	Slender, short necked amphora	Nile	AO2	n/a	Late 18th dynasty	Aston 2004: 184
<b>AO5</b>	Tall tapered amphora	Marl	n/a	AM-3b	Ramesside	Aston 2004: 196
<b>AP1</b>	Pilgrim flask	n/a	AP1	IM-7a, IM-7b	Late 18th dynasty	Aston 2003: 145; Holthoer 1977: 99; Rose 2007: 137-138 (Type MH1.1)
<b>AT1-a</b>	Three handled vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration	Nile	AT1/IR	n/a	Mid-late 18th dynasty	Holthoer 1977: 101; Rose 2007: 133 (Type MF7)
<b>AT1-b</b>	Three handled vessel, bichrome decoration	Marl	AT1/VP	n/a	Mid-late 18th dynasty	Holthoer 1977: 101; Rose 2007: 133 (Type MF7); Aston 1998: 55; Bourriau 1981: 134, no. 162; Bourriau 1982: 78-79, no. 55; Rose 2007: 26
<b>BB1</b>	Cylindrical beer jar	Nile	BB1	UJ-1a	Mid-late 18th Dynasty	Fadrus geospatial analysis (see Chapter 4)
<b>BB2</b>	Transitional beer jar	Nile	BB2		Mid-late 18th Dynasty	Fadrus geospatial analysis (see Chapter 4)
<b>BB3</b>	Simple beer jar	Nile	BB3	UJ-3ai	Mid-late 18th Dynasty	Fadrus geospatial analysis (see Chapter 4)

Table V.2: Dated ceramics in the typology with corresponding SJE and OINE typology codes, continued.

Type	Description	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type	Date	Date Citations
<b>BB4</b>	Ordinary beer jar	Nile	BB4	UJ-2a, UJ-2b, UJ-2c, UJ-3a, UJ-3ai, UJ-3b, UJ-3c	Mid-late 18th Dynasty	Fadrus geospatial analysis (see Chapter 4)
<b>BC1</b>	Composite burner	Nile	BC1	PS*	SIP	Holthoer 1977:105
<b>BO1-a1</b>	Slender, round based bottle	Nile	BO1/IIR/0/e-f, BO1/IIR/0/c-d	CJ-10biii	Early 18th dynasty	Seiler 2005: 90, folding plate 8
<b>CC2-a1</b>	Shallow composite cup with flat or ring base	Nile	CC2 wares IR/IIR	CB-7a, CB-7c	Early 18th dynasty	Seiler 2005: 144; Lilyquist 2003: 93
<b>CC2-a2</b>	Shallow composite cup with flat or ring base, with splashware decoration	Nile	CC2 wares IR/IIR & decoration 3R	CB-7a, CB-7c	Early 18th dynasty	Aston 2006
<b>CC2-b</b>	Shallow composite cup with flat or ring base	Marl	CC2 ware VP	n/a	Early 18th dynasty	Seiler 2005: 144; Lilyquist 2003: 93
<b>CC3-a</b>	Deep composite cup with flat or ring base	Nile	CC3 wares IP/IR/IIR	n/a	Early 18th dynasty	Seiler 2005: 144; Lilyquist 2003: 93
<b>CC3-b</b>	Deep composite cup with flat or ring base	Marl	CC3 ware IIP	n/a	Early 18th dynasty	Seiler 2005: 144; Lilyquist 2003: 93
<b>CC5-a2</b>	Composite cup with flat or ring base, modeled rim, and splashware decoration	Nile	CC5, CC6 with 3D decoration	n/a	Mid-18th dynasty	Aston 2006
<b>CP1</b>	Cypriote Flask	n/a	"Cypriote flask"	IM-6	Early-mid 18th dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 129, fig 255; Bourriau 1991: 135, fig. 4.10; Bourriau 2005:114; Eriksson 1993: 68
<b>CP2</b>	Spindle Bottle	n/a	"Spindle bottle"	IM-5	Early-mid 18th dynasty	Bourriau 2005
<b>CP3</b>	Cypriote Juglet	n/a	"Cypriote juglet"	IM-3	Early 18th dynasty	Williams 1992: 45

Table V.2: Dated ceramics in the typology with corresponding SJE and OINE typology codes, continued.

Type	Description	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type	Date	Date Citations
<b>CS1-a1</b>	Short necked carinated vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration and rounded/string cut base	Nile	CS1 wares IP/IR/IW/IIR & decorations 0/3D/4R/5D/7R, GJ3	PJ-2a, PJ-2bi, PJ- 2bii, PJ-2ci, PJ- 2cii, PJ-2cv, PJ- 2diii alpha (Form Group I)	Early 18th dynasty	Bourriau 1991: 139, fig. 6.10; Bourriau et al: 2005, 122; Seiler 2005: folding plate 4
<b>CS1-b1</b>	Short necked carinated vessel, undecorated or with monochrome decoration and rounded/string cut base	Marl	CS1 wares IIIP/IIIR/VP/VR & decorations 0/3D/4R/5D/7R	PJ-2a, PJ-2bi, PJ- 2bii, PJ-2ci, PJ- 2cii, PJ-2cv, PJ- 2diii alpha (Form Group II)	Early 18th dynasty	Bourriau 1991: 139, fig. 6.10; Bourriau et al: 2005, 122; Seiler 2005: folding plate 4
<b>CS1-b2</b>	Short necked carinated vessel, bichrome decoration	Marl	CS1 wares IIIP/IIIR/VP/VR & decoration 3P	PJ-2a, PJ-2bi, PJ- 2bii, PJ-2ci, PJ- 2cii, PJ-2cv, PJ- 2diii alpha (Form Group II + bichrome)	Mid-18th dynasty and later	Aston 1998: 55; Bourriau 1981: 134, no. 162; Bourriau 1982: 78-79, no. 55; Rose 2007: 26
<b>CU1-a2</b>	Rounded or pointed base cup, with splashware decoration	Nile	CU1 with decoration 3R	CB-5a, CB-5b	Mid-18th Dynasty	Aston 2006
<b>CU2-a2</b>	Flat or ring based cup, splashware decoration	Nile	CU2, CU3 with decoration 3R	CB-4bi, CB-4bii, CB-4biii, CB-4biv, CB-3bi, CB-3bii, CB-3biii, CB-7	Mid-18th Dynasty	Aston 2006
<b>CU4-a2</b>	Deep or broad based cup, splashware decoration	Nile	CU4 with decoration 3R	CB-4aai, CB-4aiii, CB-4aiv, CB-3ai, CB-3aai	Mid-18th Dynasty	Aston 2006
<b>CV2-b2</b>	Narrow necked carinated vessels, bichrome decoration	Marl	CV2 wares IIIB/IIIP/IIIR/VP & decoration 4P	PJ-2dviii, PJ-2dix (Form Group II with bichrome decoration)	Mid- 18th dynasty and later	Aston 1998: 55; Bourriau 1981: 134, no. 162; Bourriau 1982: 78-79, no. 55; Rose 2007: 26

Table V.2: Dated ceramics in the typology with corresponding SJE and OINE typology codes, continued.

Type	Description	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type	Date	Date Citations
<b>CW1-a2</b>	Widemouthed carinated jars with rim ticks	Nile	CW1 & decoration 4D	n/a	Mid-18th dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 135, fig. 264, Bourriau 1997: fig. 6.8; Bourriau et al 2005: 122
<b>DV1</b>	Double vessel	n/a	DV1	PJ-6a, PJ-6b	Late 18th dynasty (A III and later)	Aston 2003: 151; Holthoer 1977: 103
<b>FP1</b>	Flower pot, unmodeled rim	Nile	FP1	UA-1a	Mid-18th Dynasty	Aston 2003: 145; Martin 2009: 215-216; Pierce 2013: 494
<b>FP2</b>	Flower pot, modeled rim	Nile	FP2	UA-1b, UA-2, UA-3	Mid-18th Dynasty	Aston 2003: 145; Martin 2009: 215-216; Pierce 2013: 494
<b>FU1</b>	Tall funnel necked jar	Nile	FU1	CJ-8bi, CJ-8bii, CJ-8biii, CJ-8biv	Late 18th Dynasty	Holthoer 1977: 103; Rose 2007: 101 (Types SH9.4, SH 9.5)
<b>FU2</b>	Short funnel necked jar	Nile	FU2	CJ-8a	Late 18th Dynasty	Holthoer 1977: 103; Rose 2007: 101 (Types SH9.3)
<b>GJ1-a2</b>	Broad necked, globular jar with bichrome decoration	Nile	GJ1 wares IP/IR/IIR & decoration 3P/4P	n/a	Mid-late 18th Dynasty	Aston 1998: 55; Bourriau 1981: 134, no. 162; Bourriau 1982: 78-79, no. 55; Rose 2007: 26
<b>GJ3</b>	Broad necked globular jar with carination	Nile	n/a	CJ-7a	Early 18th Dynasty	
<b>JO1-a1</b>	Ovoid jar with swallows on a wire decoration	Nile & Marl	ST3, JO1, JO2, JO3 & decoration 3P/4P	CJ-5c, CJ-11c	Mid-late 18th Dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 78-79, n.150; Bourriau et al 2005: 120
<b>JO1-a2</b>	Ovoid jar with bichrome decoration	Nile & Marl	ST3, JO1, JO2, JO3 & decoration 4D		Mid-18th dynasty and later	Aston 1998: 55; Bourriau 1981: 134, no. 162; Bourriau 1982: 78-79, no. 55; Rose 2007: 26

Table V.2: Dated ceramics in the typology with corresponding SJE and OINE typology codes, continued.

Type	Description	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type	Date	Date Citations
<b>JU1-a2</b>	Juglet, bichrome decoration	Nile	JU1 wares IP/IR & decorations 5P/6P	PJ-3 (Form Group I)	Mid-late 18th dynasty	Aston 1998: 55; Bourriau 1981: 134, no. 162; Bourriau 1982: 78-79, no. 55; Rose 2007: 26
<b>JU1-a3</b>	Juglet, swallows on a wire decoration	Nile	JU1 wares IP/IR & decoration 6D	PJ-3 (Form Group I)	Mid-18th dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 78-79, n.150; Bourriau et al 2005: 120
<b>JU1-a4</b>	Juglet with rim ticks	Nile	JU1 wares IP/IR & decoration 5D & rim ticks	PJ-3 (Form Group I)	Mid-18th dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 135, fig. 264, Bourriau 1997: fig. 6.8; Bourriau et al 2005: 122
<b>JU1-b2</b>	Juglet, bichrome decoration	Marl	JU1 wares IIIIP/IIIR & decorations 5P/6P	PJ-3 (Form Group II)	Mid-late 18th	Aston 1998: 55; Bourriau 1981: 134, no. 162; Bourriau 1982: 78-79, no. 55; Rose 2007: 26
<b>JU1-b3</b>	Juglet, swallows on a wire decoration	Marl	JU1 wares IIIIP/IIIR & decoration 6D	PJ-3 (Form Group II)	Mid-18th	Bourriau 1981: 78-79, n.150; Bourriau et al 2005: 120
<b>JU1-b4</b>	Juglet with rim ticks	Marl	JU1 wares IIIIP/IIIR & decoration 5D & rim ticks	PJ-3 (Form Group II)	Mid-18th dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 135, fig. 264, Bourriau 1997: fig. 6.8; Bourriau et al 2005: 122
<b>JU2</b>	Squat juglet (mug)	Marl	JU2	n/a	Late 18th	Rose 2007:123 (Types MD1.2, MD1.3)
<b>NF1-a2</b>	Flat-based medium-broad tall necked jar with rim ticks	Marl	n/a	CJ-8ci	Mid-18th dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 135, fig. 264, Bourriau 1997: fig. 6.8; Bourriau et al 2005: 122
<b>NJ1-a2</b>	Round based medium-broad short necked jar, swallows on a wire decoration	Nile	NJ1 wares IP/IR & decoration 4D	n/a	Mid-18th dynasty and later	Bourriau 1981: 78-79, n.150; Bourriau et al 2005: 120

Table V.2: Dated ceramics in the typology with corresponding SJE and OINE typology codes, continued.

Type	Description	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type	Date	Date Citations
<b>NJ2-a2</b>	Round based medium-broad tall necked jar, swallows on a wire decoration	Nile	NJ2/NJ3 & decoration 4D	n/a	Mid-18th dynasty and later	Bourriau 1981: 78-79, n.150; Bourriau et al 2005: 120
<b>NJ5</b>	Slender, round based tall necked jar with modeled rim	Marl	NJ5	n/a	Early 18th dynasty	Bourriau & Millard 1971: 37, fig 6:96; Bourriau 1990: 62-63; Bourriau et al 2005: 112-113, fig. 16
<b>NJ6</b>	Slender necked jar with tall neck and direct rim, with swallows on a wire decoration	Marl	NJ6	n/a	Mid-18th Dynasty	Bourriau 1981: 78-79, n.150; Bourriau et al 2005: 120
<b>OM1</b>	Ointment jar	n/a	n/a	LI-3	Early 18th dynasty	Assasif tombs (pers. Correspondence, Natasha Ayers)
<b>PL3-a2</b>	Plate with shallow or flat base and unmodeled rim, splashware decoration	Nile	PL3 & decoration 3R	CB-1a, CB-1b, CB-1c, CB-1d, CB-1e, CB-1f, CB-1g, CB-1h, CB-2a, CB-2b, CB-2c	Mid-18th Dynasty	Aston 2006
<b>TB1</b>	Low biconical stand	Nile	TB1, TR1	n/a	Early 18th dynasty	Save-Soderbergh 1991: 48
<b>WD1-a</b>	Tall slim beakers with pointed base	Nile	WD1 ware IR and sizes a-f	CJ-1a, CJ-1b, CJ-1c	Early 18th Dynasty	Bourriau 1997: figs. 6.11, 6.17, 6.19; Bourriau et al 2005:, 109; Seiler 2005: folding plate 6
<b>WD1-b</b>	Tall slim beakers with flattened base	Marl	WD1 ware IIIP	CJ-1a, CJ-1b, CJ-1c (Form Group II)	Early 18th Dynasty	Bourriau 1997: figs. 6.11, 6.17, 6.19; Bourriau et al 2005:, 109; Seiler 2005: folding plate 6
<b>WD3</b>	Direct rim cups with incised lines	Nile	WD3, SJ1/IR/1/h-i	CJ-1d	Early 18th Dynasty	Seiler 2005: 90, fig. 41

Table V.2: Dated ceramics in the typology with corresponding SJE and OINE typology codes, continued.

Type	Description	Fabric	SJE Type	OINE Type	Date	Date Citations
<b>WG1</b>	Wavy sided beakers	Nile	WG1	CJ-2a	Mid-late 18th Dynasty	Rose 2007: 90 (Type SH2.1)
<b>ZO1</b>	Zoomorphic vessel	n/a	ZO1	n/a	Early 18th dynasty	Holthoer 1977: 105

## Appendix VI : Data of Cataloged Graves

The following is a list of all graves catalogued during this study, their date assigned by the excavator, the revised date, and the reason for the revised date (“dateable features”). Occupant designations for multiple graves match the publication, while single graves were assigned the designation “SI” for the purposes of this dissertation. Abbreviations for dateable features use the ceramic typology abbreviations listed in Appendix V. As the SJE did not assign dates to individual graves in the Middle Nubian Sites publication, an excavator date is not given in that table. Grave type is also not listed as all were shaft graves, and the superstructures types as described by the SJE did not seem to have a chronological component.

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185).

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
1:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
2:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
3:A	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	NJ5-c
3:B	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	NJ5-c
3:C	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	NJ5-c
4:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
5:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Early 18th	location
6:AF	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	BO1-a1
7:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location
8:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	Hyksos scarab, location, CS1
9:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	BO1-a1
10:A	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
10:B	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
10:C	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
11:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
12:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	Hyksos scarab, location
13:SI	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	WD1
15:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
16:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
17:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
18:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location
19:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
20:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	CC2
21:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
22:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
23:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
24:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
25:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1, bottle
26:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
27:AF	Shaft	Plundered	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
28:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
29:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
30:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1
31:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1
32:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	TPQ Amenhotep I scarab
34:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	TPQ Amenhotep I scarab, grave type
35:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
37:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
38:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
39:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	TPQ Amenhotep I scarab, CS1
40:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1, location, BO1-a2
40A:SI-A	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location
41:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
42:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
43:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
44:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
45:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Early 18th	WD1-a
47:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	Location, side niche, possible Ahmose scarab (TPQ)
48:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	CC3
52:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
53:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
54:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Early 18th	BO1-a1
55:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
56:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
57:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
59:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Early 18th	WD1-a, grave type
60:A	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
60:B	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
61:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Early 18th	WD1-a
62:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
63:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Sherd joins with sherd from 185/82 (early 18th)
64:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Early 18th	CS1, location
65:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, ledged bottle
66:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
67:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	BO1-a1, location
68:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	WD1-a, location
69:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	TB3, grave type, location
70:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
72:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>73:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1, location
<b>74:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>75:SI</b>	Side Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>76:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>77:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>78:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>79:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Early 18th	WD1-a
<b>81:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>82:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CC2/5, side niche, location
<b>83:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, BO1
<b>84:A</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	WD1-b, BO1-a1
<b>84:B</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	WD1-b, BO1-a1
<b>85:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>86:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>87:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>89:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Early 18th	BO1-a1, side niche
<b>90:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>91:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Early 18th	WD1-a
<b>92:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>93:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>95:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>96:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>97:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Mid-18th	FP
<b>98:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Mid-18th	FP
<b>99:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	Location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
100:AF	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	BO1-a1, location
101:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location
102:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location
103:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location
104:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	location, CC, SIP jar
105:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	WD1-a
106:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
107:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Location, FP
108:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
109:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	CU4
110:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
111:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Mid-18th	FP
112:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
113:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
114:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
115:B	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	FP, TB3, location
115:A	Side Niche	Intact	Unknown	Mid-18th	Date of burial A
116:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
117:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
118:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
119:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
120:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
121:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
122:SI	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Mid-18th	location, CS1-a2

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>123:SI</b>	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
<b>125:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>126:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>127:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>128:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>129:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>130:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>131:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>132:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	location, grave type
<b>133:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>135:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>136:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>137:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP, BB, burial type, CP1
<b>138:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>139:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Early 18th	ZO1, grave type
<b>140:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	AH1, AT1
<b>141:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	JO1-a2, AT1-a
<b>142:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>143:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, location
<b>144B:B</b>	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Early 18th	Cut by mid-18th dynasty grave
<b>144A:SI- A</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB, FP, grave type
<b>145:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>146:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>147:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	TPQ Amenhotep I scarab, location
<b>148:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>149:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
<b>150:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, location
<b>151:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	location, FP
<b>152:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Splashware
<b>153:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>154:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB, location, type
<b>155:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	CS1, FP2
<b>156:AF</b>	Complex Chamber Tomb	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Mid-18th	FP2, location
<b>157:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>158:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Splashware
<b>159:SI</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>160:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>161:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>162:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Location, coffin
<b>163:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>164:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Mid-18th	Location, type, FP
<b>165:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>166:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
167:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
169:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
170:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Unknown	No datable features
171:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
172:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
173:A	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-II	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
173:B	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
174:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
175:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB
176:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
177:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB, FP
178:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
179:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
180:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
181:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
182:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
183:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Mid-18th	Bichrome decoration
184:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
185:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
186:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	BB, FP, burial type
187:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-b2, location, burial type
188:SI	Side Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	FP
189:AF	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	Spindle jar, ledged bottle
190:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
191:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator	Date	Dateable Features
192:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
193:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
194:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
195:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	WD1-a, location
196:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	BO1-a1, CP3
197:AF	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	location, WD3
198:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
199:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
200:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
201:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB, location
202:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB, location
203:SI	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	BB, spindle bottle, grave type
204:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
205:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	End niche
206:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP, end niche
207:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
208:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
209:AF	Chamber in Shaft	Plundered	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	Location
210:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	WD1-a, PL3-a2 (splashware)
212:AF	Shaft	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
213:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
214:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Type, location, FP
215:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
216:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	GJ1

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>216:B</b>	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Mid-late 18th	Cuts an earlier grave
<b>217:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
<b>218:AF</b>	Side Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CC
<b>219:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-b2, location
<b>220:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB
<b>221:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP, location, side niche
<b>222:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	Location, BO1
<b>223:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	BB, location
<b>224:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP, location, side niche
<b>225:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>226:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP, BB
<b>227:AF</b>	Complex Chamber Tomb	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	grave type, location
<b>228:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia-Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>229:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Unknown	No datable features
<b>230:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Unknown	No datable features
<b>231:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Unknown	No datable features
<b>232:A</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Burial type
<b>232:B</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	end niche
<b>232:C</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	Later burial, after others
<b>233A:SI-A</b>	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
<b>233B:SI-B</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	BB, cuts into mid-18th burial
<b>234:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>235:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	BB, location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
236:SI	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, end niche
238:AF	Complex Chamber Tomb	Plundered	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Amarna polychrome sherds (likely intrusive), Hyksos scarabs, FP
238A:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	Cuts a mid-18th tomb
239:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
240:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	BB, grave type
241:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
242:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
243:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIa	Unknown	No datable features
244:A	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	location
244:B	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location, intrusive burial
245:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Late 18th	AO2
246:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	location, no later ceramics
247:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	Bichrome decoration, location
248:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	Hyksos type scarab (TPQ), location
249:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB
250:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
251:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	NJ1-a2
252:AF	Side Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Early 18th	WD1-a
253:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
254:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
255:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
256:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
257:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
258:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location
259:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
260:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location
261:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
262:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	CS1
263:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
264:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
265:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
266:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Splashware
267:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1
268:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
269:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
270:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
271:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
272:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
273:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ia	Early 18th	CS1
274:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
275:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
276:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
277:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
278:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
279:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
280:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
281:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
282:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
283:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type, CV1-b2

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>284:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>285:AF</b>	Chamber in Shaft	Plundered	Fadrus Ia	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>286:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>287:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>288:SI</b>	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, BB
<b>289:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>290:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>291:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	location, BB
<b>292:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>293:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>294:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Splashware
<b>295:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	BB, location
<b>296:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>297:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>298:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>299:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab), FP
<b>300:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>301:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>302-3:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>304:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>305:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Location, BB
<b>306:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>307:A</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>307:B</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>308:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>309:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>310:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
<b>311B:SI- Int</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>311A:SI</b>	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	End niche, BB
<b>312:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>313:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB, end niche
<b>314:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>315:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>316:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	GJ1-a2, CC3, grave type
<b>317:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>318:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>319:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-b2 (bichrome), location, grave type
<b>320:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>321:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
<b>322:A</b>	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	Other grave has bichrome
<b>322:B</b>	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	JO1-a2 (bichrome)
<b>323:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	location, grave type, WD1
<b>324:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
<b>325:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type
<b>326:SI</b>	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	Bichrome sherd, FP, grave type
<b>327:SI</b>	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>328:SI</b>	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>329A:SI- A</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	BB, grave type

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>329B:SI-B</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>330:SI</b>	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>331:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, location, BB
<b>332:SI</b>	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, BB
<b>333:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Late 18th	TPQ Amenhotep III (scarab ring)
<b>334:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	Location indicates not early
<b>335:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>336:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>337:SI</b>	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
<b>338:A</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Mid-18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab), location
<b>338:B</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Mid-18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab), location
<b>339:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>340:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	GJ1-a2 (bichrome), grave type, FP
<b>341:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
<b>342:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
<b>343:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
<b>344:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
<b>345A:SI-A</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, BB
<b>345B:SI-B</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	Constructed over a mid-late tomb (345A)
<b>346:A</b>	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>346:B</b>	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>347:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type
<b>348:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP, end niche
<b>349:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
350:A	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
350:B	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
351:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
352:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	AO2, FP, grave type
353:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP
354:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP in other chamber
354:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
355:SI	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	Possible Thutmose I scarab (TPQ), location, grave type
356:A	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Late 18th	Amenhotep III scaraboid (TPQ)
356:B	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	A III scaraboid in the intrusive burial, FP, grave type
357:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
358:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
359:A	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, grave type, location
359:B	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	location, grave type
359:C	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	location, grave type
360:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
361:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
362:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus II-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
363:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
364:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
365:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
366:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
367:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
368:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
369:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
370:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
371:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	JU1-a/b3
372:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP
373:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	JU1-a/b3
374:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
375:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
376:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
377:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, grave type, location
378:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
379:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type
380:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
381:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
382:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
383:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
383:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
383:C	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
384:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
385:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
386:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
387:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
388:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type
389:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
390:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	FP
391:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Early 18th	Black banded decorated pot. Not included in typology because only example in corpus.
392:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
393:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location, BB

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
394:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
395:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
396:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
397:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
398:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
399:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
400:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
401:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Late 18th	JU2, FU
402:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Late 18th	DV1
403:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
404:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	JO1-a1 (swallows on a wire)
405:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
406:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
407:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	AH1
408:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
409:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
410:A	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
410:B	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
411:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Unknown	No datable features
412:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
413:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
414:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Unknown	No datable features
415:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
416:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Unknown	No datable features
417:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Unknown	No datable features
418:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
419:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, BB

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
420:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	Splashware
421:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
422:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
423:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
424:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Unknown	No datable features
425:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	end niche, FP, BB
426:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Unknown	No datable features
427:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	WD1-a, location, grave type
428:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
429:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
430:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Late 18th	FU
431:A	End Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type
431:B	End Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type
432:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
433:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type
434:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
436:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Late 18th	FU
437A:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
438:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
439:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
440:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
441:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
442:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
443:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
444:A	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Unknown	No datable features
444:B	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Unknown	No datable features
445:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Early 18th	WD1-a, location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
446:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
447:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
448:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
449:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
450:SI	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
451:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
452:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
453:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
454:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
455:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
456:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, end niche
457:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Late 18th	JU2
458:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, end niche
459:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
460:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Late 18th	FU
461:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
462:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
463A:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
463B:SI-B	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIb	Unknown	No datable features
464:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
465:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIb	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
466:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
467A:SI- A	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
467B:SI-B	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	Constructed over a mid-18th burial
468:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
469:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
470:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
471:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib-IIc	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
472:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
473:A	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
473:B	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
474:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
475:AF	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	NJ6 (swallows on a wire)
476:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
477:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type
478:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-b2 (bichrome), location
479:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
480:AF	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	FP
481:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
482:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
483:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	location
484:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
485:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
486:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
487:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
488:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
489:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Bichrome/swallows on a wire
490:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
491:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
492:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	location, FP, BB, CV1-a2

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
<b>493:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab)
<b>494A:SI-A</b>	End Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
<b>494B:SI-B</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb or later	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
<b>495:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
<b>496:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
<b>497:SI</b>	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
<b>498:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type
<b>499:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	location, FP, BB
<b>500:SI</b>	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Late 18th	Location, FU
<b>501:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB, CV1-b2, CW1-a2
<b>502:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
<b>503:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
<b>504:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB, location
<b>505:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
<b>506:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
<b>507:A</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-a2 (bichrome), location
<b>507:B</b>	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-a2 (bichrome), location, Splashware
<b>508:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
<b>509:SI</b>	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
<b>510:SI</b>	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
<b>511:AF</b>	Complex Chamber Tomb	Plundered	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-a2 (bichrome), location
<b>511:B</b>	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, location, date of E, F, G, H

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator	Date	Dateable Features
511:C	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, location, date of E, F, G, H
511:D	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, location, date of E, F, G, H
511:E	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JO1-a1 (swallows on a wire)
511:F	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	AH1
511:G	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, location, FP, BB
511:H	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, location, FP, BB
511:A	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	Intrusive to a mid-18th burial
512:A	Complex Chamber Tomb	Plundered	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Burial type, location
512:B	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Burial type, location
512:C	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Burial type, location
513:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP, BB, JU1-a4
514:A	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	Intrusive
514:B	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
515:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	Splashware
516:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
517:SI	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-b2 (bichrome), location, CU2-a2 (splashware)
519:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
520:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	AT1-b
521:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
522:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus Ib	Mid-late 18th	location
523:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
524:A	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Objects in B
524:B	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-b3 (swallows on a wire)
525:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
526:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
527:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
528:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
529:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
530:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
531:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
532:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
533:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, BB
534:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location
535:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	JU1-b2 (bichrome), location
536:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
537:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	location
538:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
539:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
540:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
541:B	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	JU1-a/b3 (swallows on a wire)
541:A	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	Primary for 541:A dates mid-18th

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
542:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	location, grave type
543:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	location
544:Si	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	location, grave type
545:Si	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Mid-18th	location, grave type, FP
546B:Si	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus I or later	Possible Early 18th	location, grave type
546A:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	location, FP
547:Si	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
548:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus Ib	Possible Early 18th	Cemetery center
549:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
550:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
551:Si	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
552:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
553:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
554:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
554:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
554:C	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
555:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
556:Si	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
557:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
558:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
559:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
560A:SI-A	End Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
560B:SI-B	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc or later	Mid-late 18th	location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
561:AF	Chamber in Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	JU1-a/b3 (swallows on a wire), JO1-a2 (bichrome)
562:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
563:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type
563:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type
564:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
564:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type
567:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
568:SI	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Plundered	None given	Mid-18th	location, grave type
569:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
570:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
571:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
572:Si	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
573:SI	End Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
574:Si	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
575:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
576:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
577:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Splashware
578:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
579:A	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
579:B	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
580:AF	Chamber in Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Location, grave type
581:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
582:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
583:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab), grave type
584:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
586:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
587:AF	Chamber in Shaft- Elaborate	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Location and type
588:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
590:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	Location indicates not early
591:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
592:AF	Chamber in Shaft	Plundered	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Mid-late 18th	Location indicates not early
593:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
594:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
595:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
596:SI	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP
597:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
598:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	Splashware
599A:AF	Complex Chamber Tomb	Disturbed	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	AH1
599C:SI-C	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	Date of primary burial
599D:SI- D	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	Date of primary burial
599B:SI-B	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	Date of primary burial
600:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
601:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
602:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
603:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
604:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
605:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
606:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
607:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
608:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	location, grave type
609:Si	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
610:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
611:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
612:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
613:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
614:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
615:AF	Chamber in Shaft-Elaborate	Plundered	Fadrus IIb-IIc	Mid-18th	Location and type
616:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	Amenhotep III TPQ (scarab)
617:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
618:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
619:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
621:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
622:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
623:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
624:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	AT1-a, FP, grave type
625:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
626:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
626:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
626:C	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
627:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
628:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP
629:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
630:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab), FP

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
631:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	FP
632:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
633:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP
634:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
635:Si	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location, BB
636:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
637:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Late 18th	Scarab with name of Amenhotep III (TPQ)
638:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	BB, grave type
639:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	grave type, FP, BB
640:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
641:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	location
643:Si	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, BB, grave type
644:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type
645:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	BB, grave type
646:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Late 18th	AO2
647:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
648B:SI	Side Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	BB
649:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	BB, grave type
650:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP
651:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab)
652:SI	Side Niche	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
653:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
654:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
655:A	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus	Mid-late 18th	location
655:B	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus	Mid-late 18th	location
656:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type
657:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, grave type

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
658:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-18th	FP
659:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	location, grave type
659:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-18th	location, FP, grave type
660:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, BB, grave type
661:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	BB, grave type
662:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP, grave
663:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	BB, grave type
664:AF	Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
665:SI	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-18th	TPQ Thutmose III (scarab), grave type, location
666:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
667:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
668:Si	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
669:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
672:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
673:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIa	Mid-late 18th	location
674:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location
675:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIc	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
677:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
678:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location, BB
679:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb	Mid-late 18th	location
680:SI	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-late 18th	BB, location
681:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
682:A	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
682:B	Double End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
683:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location
684:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	grave type, location

Table VI.1: Cataloged graves at Fadrus (Site 185), continued.

Grave/ Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Excavator Date	Date	Dateable Features
685:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
686:Si	Side Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	BB, location
687A:SI-A	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, location, type
687B:SI-B	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa or earlier	Mid-18th	Type, cut by mid-18th
688:SI	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIb	Mid-late 18th	location
690B:SI-B	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-18th	FP, grave type
690A:SI-A	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIb-IIIa	Mid-late 18th	Cuts a mid-18th tomb
691:SI	End Niche	Intact	Fadrus IIIa	Mid-late 18th	location, type
692:SI	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIa-IIIb	Late 18th	Amenhotep III TPQ (scarab)
585A:SI-A	Shaft	Intact	Fadrus IIIb or later	Mid-late 18th	location
585B:SI-B	End Niche- Shallow Shaft	Disturbed	Fadrus IIIb	Mid-18th	FP, BB, grave type

Table VI.2: Cataloged graves at SJE Egyptianized sites other than Fadrus.

Site	Grave Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Date	Excavator Date	Dating Notes
Site 64	3:A	Multichamber	Intact	Mid-Late 18th	Hatshepsut - Thutmose III (Fadrus IIa-IIb)	grave type
Site 64	3:B	Multichamber	Intact	Mid-18th	Hatshepsut - Thutmose III (Fadrus IIa-IIb)	Plundered main burial includes FP, BB
Site 146	1:SI	End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Early-mid 18th dynasty	grave type
Site 146	2:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	Early-mid 18th Dynasty	No datable features

Table VI.2: Cataloged graves at SJE Egyptianized sites other than Fadrus, continued.

Site	Grave Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Date	Excavator Date	Dating Notes
Site 172	1:A	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	1:B	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	13:SI		Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	14:SI	End Niche	Intact	Mid-18th	None given	grave type, FP
Site 172	15:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	FP, BB
Site 172	16:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	17:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	2:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	22:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	29:SI	Shaft	No Finds	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 172	3:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	BB, FP
Site 172	31:SI	Shaft	Intact	Mid-18th	None given	AH1
Site 172	5:SI	Shaft w/recess	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	grave type
Site 172	7:SI	End Niche	No Finds	Mid-Late 18th	None given	grave type
Site 172	9:AF	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features

Table VI.2: Cataloged graves at SJE Egyptianized sites other than Fadrus, continued.

Site	Grave Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Date	Excavator Date	Dating Notes
Site 174	1:A	Combined Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	FP, grave type
Site 174	1:B	Combined Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	FP, grave type
Site 183	30:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	31:A	Double End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	grave type, JU1-b2 (bichrome)
Site 183	31:B	Double End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	Date of A
Site 183	33:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	37:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	42:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	43:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	45:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	46:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	50:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	51:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	52:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 183	56:SI	Shaft	No Finds	Unknown	None given	No datable features

Table VI.2: Cataloged graves at SJE Egyptianized sites other than Fadrus, continued.

Site	Grave Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Date	Excavator Date	Dating Notes
Site 229	11:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	Fadrus Ib-IIa	No datable features
Site 280	242:A	End Niche-Shallow Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 280	242:B	End Niche-Shallow Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 280	243:SI	End Niche	Disturbed	Unknown	Fadrus Ib-IIa	No datable features
Site 280	244:SI	End Niche	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 280	245:A	End Niche	Intact	Mid-Late 18th	Fadrus Ia-IIa	BB, grave type
Site 280	245:B	End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Fadrus Ia-IIa	JO1-a1 (swallows on a wire)
Site 280	247:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	Fadrus Ia-IIa	No datable features
Site 280	253:SI	End Niche	Intact	Mid-Late 18th	Fadrus IIb-IIc	BB, grave type
Site 309	1:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 318	3:SI	Chamber in Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	Fadrus Ia-IIa	No datable features
Site 318	5:A	Surface Chamber	Disturbed	Unknown	Fadrus Ib-IIa	No datable features
Site 318	5:B	Surface Chamber	Disturbed	Unknown	Fadrus Ib-IIa	No datable features
Site 318	7:A	Surface Burial Chamber	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Fadrus IIa-IIb	JU1-b2 (bichrome)
Site 318	7:B	Surface Burial Chamber	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Date of A

Table VI.2: Cataloged graves at SJE Egyptianized sites other than Fadrus, continued.

Site	Grave Occupant	Grave Type	Status	Date	Excavator Date	Dating Notes
Site 318	8:SI	Surface Burial Chamber	Intact	Unknown	Fadrus IIa-IIb	No datable features
Site 400	11:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 400	12:SI	Side Niche	Disturbed	Unknown	None given	No datable features
Site 400	13:SI	End Niche	Intact	Unknown	Fadrus IIa-IIb	No datable features
Site 400	15:SI	Shaft	Disturbed	Mid-18th	None given	FP
Site 400	16:SI	End Niche	Intact	Mid-18th	Fadrus IIa-IIb	Splashware
Site 400	17:A	End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Fadrus IIb	grave type, BO1-a
Site 400	17:B	End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Fadrus IIb	grave type, BO1-a
Site 400	17:C	End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Fadrus IIb	grave type, BO1-a
Site 400	7:SI	End Niche	Disturbed	Mid-18th	Fadrus IIb	grave type, FP
Site 400	9:SI	Shaft	Intact	Unknown	None given	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 35	2:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	3:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	4:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	5:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	6:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	7:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	8:SI	Plundered	Unknown	TPQ Amenhotep I scarab
Site 35	10:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	11:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	13:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	14:SI	Plundered	Early 18th	CS1
Site 35	15:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	17:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	18:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	19:SI	Plundered	Early 18th	Includes jar of SIP date
Site 35	22:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	23:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	24:SI	Plundered	Mid 18th	AH1
Site 35	25:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	26:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	27:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	28:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	30:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	31:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	32:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	34:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	35:SI	Plundered	Early 18th	CC
Site 35	36:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	37:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	38:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	39:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 35	40:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	41:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	43:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	44:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	45:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	46:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	48:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	49:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	50:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	51:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	52:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	53:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	54:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	57:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	58:SI	Intact	Early 18th	CC
Site 35	59:SI	Plundered	Uncertain Early 18th	CC
Site 35	61:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	62:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	63:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	64:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	65:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	66:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	67:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	68:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	70:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	75:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	78:SI	Intact	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	TPQ Thutmose III scarab
Site 35	80:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	1:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	12:SI	Plundered	Uncertain Early 18th	Spindle bottle
Site 35	16:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 35	20:SI	Plundered	Early 18th	SIP jar
Site 35	21:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	29:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	33:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	42:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	47:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	55:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	56:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	60:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	69:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 35	77:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	1:SI	No Finds	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	2:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	3:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	4:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	5:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	6:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	7:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	8:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	9:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	10:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	12:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	13:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	14:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	15:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	16:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	18:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	19:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	20:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	21:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	22:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 201	23:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	24:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	25:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	26:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	27:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	28:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 201	30:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	1:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	2:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	5:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	6:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	7:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	8:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	10:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	11:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	12:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	13:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	15:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	16:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	17:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	18:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	19:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	20:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	21:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	22:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	23:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	25:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	26:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	27:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	28:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	29:SI	Plundered	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	BB

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 220	30:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	31:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	32:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	33:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	34:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	35:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	36:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	37:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	39:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	41:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	42:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	43:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	44:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	45:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	46:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	48:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	50:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	51:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	52:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	53:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	54:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	55:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	56:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	57:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	58:SI	Intact	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	59:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	62:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	63:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	64:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	65:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 220	66:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 220	67:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 229	I:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 229	29:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 229	32:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 229	33:SI	Disturbed	Mid 18th	CV1-b1
Site 176	1:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	2:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	4:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	8:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	5:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	9:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	10:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	11:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	12:SI	Plundered	Mid 18th	Mid-late 18th
Site 176	23:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	27:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	31:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	36:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	39:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	46:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	48:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	3:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	6:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	13:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	14:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	16:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	17:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	18:SI	Plundered	Mid 18th	WG1
Site 176	19:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	20:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	21:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 176	22:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	24:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	25:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	26:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	28:SI-A	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	28:SI-B	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	28:SI-C	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	28:SI-D	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	28:SI-E	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	28:SI-F	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	28:SI-G	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	29:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	30:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	32:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	33:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	34:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	35:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	37:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	38:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	40:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	41:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	42:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	43:SI	Plundered	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	TPQ Thutmose III
Site 176	44:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	45:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	47:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	49:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	50:SI-W	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	50:SI-E	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	51:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	52:SI-A	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 176	52:SI-B	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	53:SI-A	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	53:SI-B	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	54:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	55:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	56:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	57:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	58:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	59:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	60:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	62:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	61:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	63:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	64:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	65:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	66:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	67:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	68:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	69:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	70:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	71:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	72:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	73:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	74:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	75:SI	Plundered	Late 18th	AP
Site 176	76:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	77:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	78:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	79:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	80:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	81:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.3: Cataloged graves from the New Kingdom Nubian ("Transitional") sites excavated by the SJE, continued.

Site	Occupant	Status	Date	Dating Notes
Site 176	82:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	83:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	84:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	85:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	86:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	87:SI	Disturbed	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	88:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	89:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	90:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	91:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	92:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	93:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	94:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	95:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	96:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features
Site 176	97:SI	Plundered	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations. Occupant column provides information on cemetery, grave, and individual (e.g. "R4B:A" indicates Cemetery R, Tomb 4B, Individual A).

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
R4B:A	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
R4B:B	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
R4B:C	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
R4B:D	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Composite cup
R4B:E	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Composite cup
R4B:F	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Composite cup
R9:SI	Intact	SIP - Thutmose III	Unknown	No datable features
R13:SI	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
R17:SI	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
R19:A	Mixed	Post-Amarna	Uncertain Early 18th	See B

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
R19:B	Mixed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Early 18th	Ointment jar with parallels at Assasif tombs
R20:A	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
R20:B	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type, BB
R20:C	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	WD1-a, grave type
R20:D	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
R20:E	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
R20:F	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	WD1-a, burial type
R20:G	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	WD1-a, burial type
R20:H	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	WD1-a, burial type
R25:SI	Intact	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Early 18th	Composite cup
R29:A	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Late 18th	Secondary to mid-18th burials
R29:B	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Late 18th	Secondary to mid-18th burials
R29:C	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Late 18th	Secondary to mid-18th burials
R29:D	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Late 18th	Secondary to mid-18th burials
R29:E	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Late 18th	Secondary to mid-18th burials
R29:F	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Late 18th	Secondary to mid-18th burials
R29:G	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Late 18th	Secondary to mid-18th burials
R29:H	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type, CP3, CV1-b2
R29:I	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type, WD1-a, CS1-b2, WD1-a
R29:J	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type
R29:K	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type
R29:L	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type
R32:SI	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Early 18th	Composite cup, CS1
R33:A	Disturbed	SIP - Thutmose III	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
R33:B	Disturbed	SIP - Thutmose III	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
R33:C	Disturbed	SIP - Thutmose III	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
R33:D-E	Disturbed	SIP - Thutmose III	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
R33:F	Disturbed	SIP - Thutmose III	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
R34:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R40:A	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:B	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	TPQ T III scarab in this level

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
R40:C	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:D	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:E	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type, FP
R40:F	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:G	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type, CS1-a1
R40:H	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:I	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:J	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	Burial type, WD1-a
R40:K	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:L	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R40:M	Mixed	Thutmose III	Mid 18th	grave type
R41:SI	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
R42:A	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R42:B	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R42:C	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R43:A	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	Splashware
R43:B	Mixed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type
R43:C	Mixed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type
R43:D	Mixed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type
R45:A-H	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
R45:I	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
R45:J	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	No clearly datable objects in this level
R45:K	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	CS
R45:L	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Uncertain Early 18th	Based on dating of other chamber
R45:M	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	CS
R45:N	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	CS
R46:A	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	CS
R46:B	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	CS in other chamber
R47:A	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	Date of primary burial
R47:B	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	Date of primary burial
R47:C	Mixed	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV	Early 18th	WD1-a, burial type

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
R47:D	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Early 18th	WD1-a, burial type
R56:SI	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Early 18th	CS
R58:A	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	grave type
R58:B	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	WD3 may indicate early
R58:C	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	CS
R58:D	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	CS and WD3 types with other bodies
R63:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R75:A	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	NJ6 with C
R75:B	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	NJ6 with C
R75:C	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	NJ6 (swallows on a wire)
R75:D	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	NJ6 with C
R76:A	Intact	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type, BB
R76:B	Intact	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
R76:C	Intact	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
R76:D	Intact	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type, BB
R79:A	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	end niche
R79:B	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	end niche
R79:C	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	end niche
R79:D	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	No datable features
R81:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R83:SI	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
R84:A	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
R85:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R86:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
R88:SI	Intact	Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	BB
R120:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
VC48:A	Intact	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
VC48:B	Intact	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
VC48:E	Intact	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
VC48:F	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
VC48:G	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
<b>VC48:C</b>	Intact	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
<b>VC48:D</b>	Intact	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
<b>VC48:H</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
<b>VC48:I</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
<b>VC48:J</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
<b>VC48:K</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
<b>VC48:M</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar
<b>VC48:L</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Earlier burials are securely A III - Amarna period
<b>VC48:N</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar
<b>VC48:O</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar
<b>VC48:U</b>	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	DV1 in coffin with V
<b>VC48:V</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	DV1
<b>VC48:W</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	DV1 in coffin with V
<b>VC48:X</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	DV1 in coffin with V
<b>VC49:SI</b>	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>VC50:SI</b>	Intact	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	BB, FP
<b>VD54:SI</b>	Intact	Thutmose III - Amarna Period	Mid 18th	grave type, FP
<b>VD55:A</b>	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Late 18th	TPQ of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III based on the stelae fragments used to cover shaft
<b>VD55:B</b>	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Late 18th	TPQ of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III based on the stelae fragments used to cover shaft
<b>VD55:C</b>	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Late 18th	TPQ of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III based on the stelae fragments used to cover shaft
<b>VD55:D</b>	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Late 18th	TPQ of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III based on the stelae fragments used to cover shaft
<b>VD55:E</b>	Intact	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Late 18th	TPQ of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III based on the stelae fragments used to cover shaft
<b>VD55:F</b>	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	FP in chamber
<b>VD55:G</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	FP in chamber
<b>VD55:H</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	FP in chamber
<b>VD55:I</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV	Mid 18th	grave type, FP

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
VD56:B	Intact	Post-Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
VD56:A	Intact	Post-Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
VF63:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
VF64:SI	Intact	Post-Amarna (?)	Early 18th	WD1-a
V66:SI	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
VF69:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
VB71:A	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
VB71:B	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche
VF72B:A	Disturbed	Dynasty 18 - Thutmose IV	Early 18th	CS1 in chamber B
VF72B:C	Disturbed	Dynasty 18 - Thutmose IV	Early 18th	WD1-a indicates early, CS1 in chamber B
VF72B:D	Disturbed	Dynasty 18 - Thutmose IV	Early 18th	CS1 in chamber B
VF72B:F	Disturbed	Dynasty 18 - Thutmose IV	Early 18th	CS1
VF72B:E	Disturbed	Dynasty 18 - Thutmose IV	Early 18th	CS1
VF73:A	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Must be post- Thutmose III
VF73:B	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Must be post- Thutmose III
VF73:C	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Must be post- Thutmose III
VF73:D	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Swallows on a wire
VF73:E	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Early 18th	Must be before T III because of swallows on a wire decoration in shaft burial
VF73:F	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Early 18th	Must be before T III because of swallows on a wire decoration in shaft burial
VF74:SI	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
VF75:SI	Intact	Thutmose III - Thutmose IV	Unknown	CS1
VF76:I	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	JU1-b2 (bichrome + swallows on a wire), AH1
VF76:J	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	AH1
VF76:K	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
VF77:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
VF79:SI	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
VF81:A	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
VF81:B	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
VF81:C	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
<b>VF81:D</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>VF82:A</b>	Intact	Thutmose III	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar
<b>VF82:B</b>	Intact	Thutmose III	Late 18th	Based on FU2 with other burial
<b>VF83:A</b>	Intact	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Buried after earlier burials, pottery is more consistent with mid than early
<b>VF83:B</b>	Intact	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Buried after earlier burials, pottery is more consistent with mid than early
<b>VF83:C</b>	Intact	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	CS1
<b>VF83:D</b>	Intact	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	CS1
<b>VG92:G</b>	Mixed	SIP - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	FP2
<b>VG92:H</b>	Mixed	SIP - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	FP2 with other burial
<b>VG93:A</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type, BB
<b>VG93:B</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>VG93:C</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type, FP
<b>VG94:SI</b>	Intact	SIP - Thutmose III	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type, BB
<b>VH113:A</b>	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in lower levels
<b>VH113:B</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in lower levels
<b>VH113:C</b>	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in lower levels
<b>VH113:D</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in lower levels
<b>VH113:E</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in lower levels
<b>VH113:F</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in lower levels
<b>VH113:G</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in lower levels
<b>VH113:H</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in level below
<b>VH113:I</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer bottles found in level below
<b>VH113:J</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type, BB
<b>VH120:A</b>	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer jar found location not given
<b>VH120:B</b>	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer jar found location not given
<b>VH120:C</b>	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer jar found location not given
<b>VH120:D</b>	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Beer jar found location not given
<b>K1:SI</b>	Intact	Thutmose III	Unknown	No datable features
<b>K5:SI</b>	Intact	Thutmose III	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	End niche

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
<b>K6:SI</b>	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>K10:A</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III	Unknown	No datable features
<b>K10:B</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III	Unknown	No datable features
<b>K10:C</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III	Unknown	No datable features
<b>K21:SI</b>	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>K31:SI</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III	Unknown	TPQ scarab of Amenhotep I, ceramics unhelpful
<b>K50:A</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III	Early 18th	CS1
<b>K50:B</b>	Disturbed	Thutmose III	Early 18th	CS1 with A
<b>K50:C</b>	Intact	Thutmose III	Early 18th	CS1
<b>K50:D</b>	Intact	Thutmose III	Early 18th	Based on CS1 in other chambers
<b>S5:A</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S5:B</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S5:C</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S5:D</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S5:E</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S5:F</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S6:A</b>	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S6:B</b>	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S6:C</b>	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	grave type
<b>S8:F</b>	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Based on BB types in levels below
<b>S8:G</b>	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Based on BB types in levels below
<b>S8:H</b>	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Based on BB types in levels below
<b>S8:I</b>	Disturbed	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Based on BB types in levels below
<b>S10:SI</b>	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>W2-52:SI</b>	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>W2-53:SI</b>	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>W2-55:SI</b>	Intact	Thutmose III - Post Amarna	Early 18th	WD1-a
<b>W2-56:SI</b>	Intact	Thutmose III - Post Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
<b>W2-77:A</b>	Disturbed	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>W2-77:B</b>	Disturbed	None given	Unknown	No datable features
<b>W2-78:SI</b>	Intact	None given	Unknown	No datable features

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
<b>W2-81:SI</b>	Intact	Thutmose III - Post-Amarna	Unknown	No datable features
<b>R35:A</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:B</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:C</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:D</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:F</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:E</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:G</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:H</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:I</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:J</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:K</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:L</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:M</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:N</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:O</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:P</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:Q</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:R</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:S</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:T</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:U</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Late 18th	Funnel necked jar
<b>R35:V</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:W</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:X</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:Y</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:Z</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Funnel necked jar (FU1) in level IV burial
<b>R35:AB</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
<b>R35:AC</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
<b>R35:AD</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type
<b>R35:AE</b>	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	grave type

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
R35:AF	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	Date of other burials
VC 45:A	Intact	Amenhotep II - Amarna Period	Unknown	No datable features
VC 45:B	Intact	Amenhotep II - Amarna Period	Unknown	No datable features
VC 45:C	Intact	Amenhotep II - Amarna Period	Unknown	No datable features
VC 47:A	Disturbed	Post-Amarna	Mid 18th	BB
S7:A	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Date of earlier burials
S7:B	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Date of earlier burials
S7:C	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Date of earlier burials
S7:D	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	Date of earlier burials
S7:E	Intact	Amenhotep III - Amarna Period	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	W chamber has bichrome pottery
VC48:P	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, AP, BB
VC48:Q	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, AP, BB
VC48:R	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, AP, BB
VC48:S	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, AP, BB
VC48:T	Mixed	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, AP, BB
VF60:A	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:B	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:C	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:D	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:E	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:F	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:G	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:N	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:O	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:P	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:Q	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:R	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:S	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:T	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:U	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
VF60:V	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB

Table VI.4: Cataloged graves from the OINE excavations, continued.

Occupant	Status	Excavator Date	Revised Date	Dating Notes
<b>VF60:W</b>	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB
<b>VF60:X</b>	Plundered	Amenhotep II - Post-Amarna	Uncertain Mid-Late 18th	FP, BB