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The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials
of the Classic Kerma Period

By

Elizabeth Joanna Minor

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requirements for the degree of

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in

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in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Professor Benjamin Porter

Professor Marian Feldman

Professor Margaret Conkey

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Abstract

The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Studies, Egyptian Art and Archaeology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Carol Redmount, Chair

The ancient Nubian Classic Kerma culture remains understudied despite the excavation of the burials of the main community at the Kingdom's capital at Kerma almost one-hundred years ago. The finds and associated archive from this historical excavation remain as the primary resource for reconstructing the political and social changes of the Classic Kerma Period (1700-1550 BCE). The Kerman king is implicated in military conflicts of the Second Intermediate Period (1700-1550 BCE), as recorded in several ancient Egyptian texts. As the Egyptian pharaoh lost control of northern territory to the Hyksos of Dynasty 15, southern territory appears to have fallen into Kerman control. Both the royal and private mortuary complexes of the Classic Kerma cemetery contain Egyptian imports in increasing concentrations, demonstrating that increased interregional interaction had repercussions for the Nubian community. This dissertation argues that the nature, scope, and larger implications of the interregional interaction between Kermans and Egypt during the Classic Kerma / Second Intermediate Periods can be reconstructed by analyzing the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture contained in Classic Kerma burials.

Chapter 2 argues that previous studies of the Classic Kerma culture have included misguided or incomplete discussions of the evidence for Egyptian "influence" on this Nubian culture. The first publications on the site of Kerma by George Reisner were heavily skewed by his Egypto-centric and colonialist perspectives. The result of his interpretation of the site as an Egyptian colonial outpost was a legacy of reliance on the process of diffusion of Egyptian cultural advances to explain changes in Nubian cultures. Recent scholarship on ancient Nubia instead focuses on continuities over the long history of indigenous cultural developments. This dissertation argues for a nuanced and balanced discussion of Kerman interaction with Egypt, in which it is the relationship between them that creates social changes in the Kerman community.

Chapters 3 and 4 on royal Classic Kerma contexts argue for the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in programs of kingship ideology. Egyptian sculpture was interred in royal tumuli burials in the same loci as sacrificed Kermans, demonstrating the Kerman king's control over symbolic resources and his subjects. These Egyptian imports can be

used to reconstruct the geographic scope and chronological progression of successive Nubian raids into southern Egyptian territory. The motivation for obtaining these imports may have been to stand as material evidence of Kerma military achievements. As conflict with Egypt increased over time, Kerma kings also integrated Egyptian visual elements into their programs of decoration in their monumental mortuary complexes. Wall paintings from the early part of the Classic Kerma Period may have included such Egyptianizing elements as part of a visual presentation of narratives of north - south conflict, speaking to the political events of the time. Faience tile decorations from the close of the Classic Kerma Period demonstrate how Kerma workshops developed previously Egyptian technologies for the design and creation of royal iconography. The use of the Egyptian winged sun disc motif in the form of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture concentrated in the last Classic Kerma king's mortuary complex illustrates how material and visual references to Egypt worked in combination to construct a royal Kerma persona. At the same time, a singular use of the same Egyptian winged sun disc motif in a private Classic Kerma burial argues for the connection of royal and private expressions of status and identity.

Chapters 5 and 6 on private Classic Kerma contexts argue that the political events of the Second Intermediate Period, and the resulting changes in Kerma kingship also affected social relationships within the rest of the Kerma community. The use of Egyptian imports increases over the four generations of private Classic Kerma subsidiary burials, which are constructed directly into the four main Classic Kerma royal tumuli. Control of Egyptian imports is concentrated in private graves with the most complex burial equipment, suggesting there was a link between the acquisition of exotic material culture and the construction of social status. Additionally, closely Egyptianizing object types were produced at Kerma to provide more accessible alternatives to 'authentic' Egyptian imports. The continued use of Nubian burial goods within the same system of social negotiation argues against the use of Egyptian material culture as a process of acculturation. In fact, most Egyptian object types are placed in Kerma burials in ways that diverge significantly from their use in Egyptian funerary practices. The use of Egyptianizing animal motifs in combination with traditional Nubian and fantastical forms in the personalized funerary equipment of the highest-status private Classic Kerma burials also argues against acculturation. Instead, exotic and fantastical motifs were sought out for use in individual distinction in the increasingly restrictive highest-status social faction of the Classic Kerma community. The adaptation of the Egyptian Taweret hippopotamus goddess to represent high-status women demonstrates that they were active participants in the religious - economic exchange of material resources at Kerma.

The use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in Classic Kerma burials demonstrates that this ancient Nubian culture was affected by its changing relationship with Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. The Kerma king grew in his command of local and foreign material resources, as conflict with Egypt increased over time. As the nature of royal power changed, the internal relationships of the Classic Kerma community increased in social stratification, and Egyptian objects and visual references were used in strategies of status negotiation. Overall, the cultural practices and strategies of interaction of the Classic Kermans remained essentially Nubian, as part of a long history of development of this ancient African culture.

Dedicated to Mom and Dad

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
What is Nubian, Egyptian, Egyptianizing?	2
Description of the site of Kerma and the corpus of Classic Kerma burials	4
Sources and methodology	9
Organization of the discussion.....	14
Chapter 2 - Decolonizing Kerma: the historiography of ancient Nubia	17
Was Kush wretched?: Kamose, Kerma, and the legacy of Ancient Egyptian colonization.....	18
The Egyptian view of Kerma: from trade to conflict	19
Can Kerma speak for itself?: archaeological evidence	24
The Evidence.....	24
Culture History: Reisner, objects, and peoples	25
Dissenting opinions, lasting repercussions	29
Nubia emerges: Bonnet and the growth of Nubian studies	30
The Interpretations.....	32
“Down the road towards empire”: Adams, neo-evolutionism, and the incipient state	32
The Afrocentrist Argument: Bernal, and civilization argues back.....	34
Current themes in the understandings of Kerma	36
Egypt’s Rival in Africa: Kerma, World-systems, and other models of interregional interaction.....	37
Conflict and Control: Materiality and Kerma	40
Flying hippopotami: Style and Kerma.....	42
The ancient Kerman: Identity and agency	44
Attention and access	46

Decolonizing Kerma: Returning to the Question of “Egyptianization”	47
Chapter 3: Egyptian Imports in Royal Classic Kerma Contexts: Control and display of Egyptian statuary	50
Statuary in context – sacrifices, control and power	52
Corpus of Egyptian Sculpture deposited in Classic Kerma Royal contexts	53
Generation 2 - KX Egyptian sculpture.....	57
Generation 3 - KIV Egyptian sculpture.....	60
Generation 4 - KIII Egyptian sculpture	62
Sculpture from findspots outside of royal Classic Kerma tumuli.....	65
Egyptian sculpture from Funerary Chapel KXI.....	65
Generation 4 continued - Funerary Chapel KII Egyptian sculpture	65
Egyptian sculpture from outside of the Eastern Cemetery	67
The question of accessibility - Egyptian sculpture possibly from non-royal burials	67
The geographical reconstruction of Kerman military raids	69
Buhen.....	69
Elephantine Island.....	70
El-Kab	72
Assiut	72
Collection and power	74
Intef stela – display and authority of knowledge.....	75
Chapter 4 - Egyptianizing Material Culture in Royal Classic Kerma Contexts: The question of Egyptian artistic influences in funerary chapels	77
Royal Kerman funerary complexes - tumuli and funerary chapels	80
The question of Egyptian influence in the decoration of royal Classic Kerman funerary complexes.....	83
Stylistic analysis of painted wall decoration – Funerary Chapel KXI	85

Files of animals and the Kerman artistic style	88
Hippopotami.....	89
Giraffes.....	90
Cattle and Bulls.....	91
Scene with a variety of animals	94
Summary of the use of animal scenes in Funerary Chapel KXI wall paintings	94
Human figures and scene composition – possible Egyptianizing elements	95
Nilotic Fishing scene.....	96
Sailboat.....	101
Comparison with sailboats from Funerary Chapel KII.....	103
Fleet of rowboats.....	103
Rowboats and a female figure.....	106
Two figures with ladders.....	107
Were Egyptianizing elements used in Kerman wall paintings?	108
Wall paintings at Kerma as indicative of the Kerman world-view	110
Interplay of Egyptian and Egyptianizing, royal and private - The decorative program of royal funerary complex KII & KIII.....	111
Faience tiles and the evolution of an Egyptian technology at Kerma	112
The use of the Egyptian winged sun disc motif in Classic Kerma burials - bridging royal and private contexts	115
Chapter 5 - Egyptian Material Culture in Private Classic Kerma Contexts:	
Negotiation of status through funerary practices	118
The Classic Kerma Funerary Kit.....	128
Burial Equipment.....	129
Funerary Beds	129
Hide Covers	130

Coffins or Boxes	130
Burial Goods	133
Egyptian or closely Egyptianizing object types.....	134
Stone vessels, excluding kohl pots.....	136
Stone Kohl Pots.....	138
Scarabs and Sealings.....	138
‘Amulet beads’	145
Egyptian amulets and amulets of unknown origins	146
Fly amulets.....	146
Bronze mirrors	147
Bronze razors	148
Other bronze toilet implements.....	148
Wooden headrests	149
Egyptian magical wands and clappers (wood and ivory)	150
Ivory Egyptian game sets.....	152
Leather sandals.....	153
Egyptian ceramic vessels	153
Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (W.J. XII).....	154
Summary of the use of Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing material culture.....	155
Nubian object types	159
Distribution of object types by burial type	163
Distribution of Egyptian object types by burial type.....	164
Distribution of Nubian object types by burial type	164
Trends in Classic Kerma elite burials over four generations.....	165

Chapter 6 - Egyptianizing Material Culture in Private Classic Kerma Burials: The use of the local, the exotic, and the fantastic in elite imagination167

The Corpus of Inlaid Beds and Appliquéd Hats in Classic Kerma Burials.....170

Categories of motifs found in inlays and appliqués172

Geometric designs.....172

Quadrupeds172

Birds.....173

Insect.....174

Dangerous animals.....174

Investigating animal motifs in private Kerma funerary equipment174

Generation 1: Tumulus KXVI subsidiary graves - the beginning of a funerary tradition177

Generation 2: Tumulus KX subsidiary graves - expansion of a tradition.....178

Generation 3: Tumulus KIV subsidiary graves - restriction of a tradition.....183

Generation 4: Tumulus KIII subsidiary graves - the culmination of a tradition.....187

Trends in the use of motifs over the course of the Classic Kerma Period191

Elite Female Identity at Kerma: using Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture192

Chapter 7 - Conclusions196

Summary196

Writing the history of the Classic Kerma Period197

Returning to the themes in current research on Kerma.....199

Finding continuities between Kerma and other Nubian cultures200

Questions and suggestions for further research.....201

Figures.....215

Appendix 1.1	366
Appendix 1.2	367
Appendix 3.1	385
Appendix 5.2	408
Appendix 5.3	411
Appendix 5.4	415
Appendix 6.1	429
Appendix 5.1 (presented at end due to length)	445

CHAPTER 1 - FIGURES	215
Figure 1.1 - Map of Egypt and Nubia with key sites during the Second Intermediate Period (line drawing by author)	215
Figure 1.2 - Workmen excavating near the Western Deffufa KI (C4297)	216
Figure 1.3 - Map of Classic Kerma Southern section of Eastern cemetery of Kerma (adapted from Reisner 1923a: plan III).....	217
Figure 1.4a - Plan of royal Classic Kerma Tumulus KXVI (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XXV)	218
Figure 1.5a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Tumulus KX (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XXI).....	219
Figure 1.5b - View of the sacrificial corridor KX Hall B looking west (B2166)	220
Figure 1.5c - Sacrificed individual KX Hall B body PB (upper) and KX Hall B body QB (lower), with scorpion faience appliqué visible (C6130).....	221
Figure 1.6a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Funerary Chapel KXI (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XIX).....	222
Figure 1.6b - View of Funerary Chapel KXI looking north into the sanctuary, some wall paintings are visible (A923)	223
Figure 1.7a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Tumulus KIV (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XVII)	224
Figure 1.7b - Granodiorite model boat from Tumulus KIV room A (13-12-11) (C5797)	225
Figure 1.8a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Tumulus KIII (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XV)	226
Figure 1.8b - View of Tumulus KIII looking north towards Funerary Chapel KII (A2049).....	227
Figure 1.8d - Faience boat model fragments from KIII royal burial, upper right: bench, first two on middle and lower rows: sideboards, bottom right: prow (B2261).....	228
Figure 1.8e - Faience rowers fragments with boat model from KIII royal burial, bottom row first and second fragments: foot and open hand have dark purple skin color from larger steersman figure (B2260)	229
Figure 1.9a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Funerary Chapel KII (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XIII)	230
Figure 1.9b - Façade of Classic Kerma royal Funerary Chapel KII (B2460).....	231
Figure 1.10a - Slate funerary bed headboard or footboard (14-1-520) (A2498)	232
Figure 1.10b - Slate funerary bed, legs (14-1-520) (A2499)	233
Figure 1.11 - Private Classic Kerma subsidiary grave K425, with three bed burials (C5855).....	234
CHAPTER 3 - FIGURES	235
Figure 3.1 - Statue of Lady Sennuwy, found in situ in the sacrificial corridor of tumulus KIII (MFA 14.720 / 13-12-371)	235
Figure 3.2 - Plan of Tumulus KIII and placement of Lady Sennuwy (red) in sacrificial corridor (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XV).....	236
Figure 3.3 - Alabaster basin from K1600 (MFA 20.1181a-b / 14-1-1105, 14-1-1107, 14-1-1122)	237
Figure 3.4 - Royal wooden statue from K1600C (MFA 20.1821 / 14-1-1297)	238
Figure 3.5 - Fragment of seated female statue from KXVI (MFA 20.1195 / 14-1-1171) (C6224).....	239
Figure 3.6 - Royal seated statue of Sekhemra Khutawy, Sobekhotep II, from KX (MFA 14.726 / 14-1-521, 14-3-1465).....	240
Figure 3.7 - Head of a Middle Kingdom king, possibly Amenemhat I, from KX (MFA 13.3968 / Su.814).....	241
Figure 3.8 - Part of reconstructed Heka-ib sanctuary on Elephantine Island (author's photograph)	242

Figure 3.9 - Woman wearing a Hathoric wig, from KX (MFA 20.1189 / Su.814) (C6231).....	243
Figure 3.10 - Horus falcon head fragment, KX (MFA 13.3983 / Su.814).....	244
Figure 3.11 - Female figure holding an ankh, from KX (MFA 14-1-499) (C6254).....	245
Figure 3.12 - Base fragment of seated official Ankhui, from KIV (MFA 20.1187a-b / 13-12-47) (C6218).....	246
Figure 3.13 - Standing official with high-waisted, long kilt (MFA 20.1192 / 13-12-9) (B2213).....	247
Figure 3.14 - Head of a statue of an official with a bald, shaved head (MFA 20.1207 / 14-1-79) (B2143).....	248
Figure 3.15 - Lower fragment of seated female, from KIV (MFA 20.1190a / 13-12-8) (B2210).....	249
Figure 3.16 - Seated statue of Senaa-ib, from KIII (MFA 14.721 / 14-1-1076).....	250
Figure 3.17 - Ken, overseer of sealers (MFA 20.1191a / 13-12-250) (C6220).....	251
Figure 3.18 - Ameny, overseer of the sealer, as found in KIII debris (14-2-1481) (C6172).....	252
Figure 3.19 - Kneeling statue from KIII, fragment rotated 90 degrees (MFA 20.1220 / 13-12-241).....	253
Figure 3.20 - Fragment of seated statue of Hepdjefa, from KIII (MFA 14.724 / 13-12-372).....	254
Figure 3.21a - Stela of Intef (MFA 13.3967).....	255
Figure 3.21b - Stela of Intef placement in front of Funerary Chapel KII (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XIII).....	256
Figure 3.22 - Small royal statuette from KII (MFA 20.1204 / 14-1-1137).....	257
Figure 3.23 - Small statue of Mentuhotep of El-Kab, from KXV (?) (Khartoum 1132 / 14-1-718) (C6417).....	258
CHAPTER 4 - FIGURES.....	259
Figure 4.1 - Stela from Buhen (based on Wildung 1997: cat. 100).....	259
Figure 4.2 - Plan of Funerary Chapel KXI (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XIX).....	260
Figure 4.3 - Plan of the interior of Funerary Chapel KII with locations and orientations of wall paintings marked (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XIX; and descriptions in Bonnet and Valbelle 2000).....	261
Figure 4.4 - Reisner field photo of files of hippopotami in second entrance foyer of KXI (C5173).....	262
Figure 4.5 - Reisner field photo of woman in boat, Bonnet scene 12 (C4417).....	263
Figure 4.6a - Reisner field photo of a file of giraffes in KXI (C5176).....	264
Figure 4.6b - Reisner field photo of a file of giraffes in KXI (C5175).....	265
Figure 4.7 - File of cattle on hull of wooden model boat (MFA 20.1485).....	266
Figure 4.8 - Potsherd with incised bulls (MFA 20.2101, 13-12-357).....	267
Figure 4.9 - Bulls About to Fight, tomb of Sarenput I (author's photograph).....	268
Figure 4.10 - Pigs, tomb of Renni (Tylor 1900: pl. II).....	269
Figure 4.11 - Cattle Crossing Scene, tomb of Kagemni (author's photograph).....	269
Figure 4.12 - Fishing and Fowling in the Marshes, tomb of Sabni (author's photo).....	270
Figure 4.13 - Netting Fish, tomb of Sarenput I (author's photograph).....	271
Figure 4.16 - Boats with Nubian goods, Tomb of Huy, Theban Tomb 40 (photograph courtesy Deanna Kiser-Go).....	274

Figure 4.17a - Fleet of boats from Funerary Chapel KII (B2459).....	275
Figure 4.17b - Fleet of boats from Funerary Chapel KII, severe negative damage (A2027 and Reisner 1923: pl. 4/2).....	276
Figure 4.18 - Author's reconstruction of sailboat scene in KII room A, based on overlap in A2027 and B2459 and Lacovara (1986: Figure 7).....	277
Figure 4.19 - Fighting on Papyrus Skiffs, tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Porter and Moss III.2: 643, author's photograph)	278
Figure 4.20 - Author's reconstruction based on Reisner field photo of woman in boat (based on C4417).....	279
Figure 4.21a - Line drawing of placement of K1053 body D and associated burial goods (based on Reisner 1923a: fig. 111*).....	280
Figure 4.21b - Woman K1053 body D, showing dark stain of long leather skirt, jewelry in situ (C4428).....	281
Figure 4.22 - Examples of silver beads from leather skirt drawstrings, lower left with remains of leather skirt (K318, MFA 14-1223 / 14-2-48), stone ring beads in upper right (C6436).....	282
Figure 4.23 - Field photo of silver cap on skull of woman K1053 body D (MFA 13.4196 / 20.2025 / Su.1090) (A936)	283
Figure 4.24 - Punt Huts, Hatshepsut Temple (author's photograph)	284
Figure 4.25 - Faience tiles from funerary chapel KII, Kerma (Classic Kerma period; MFA 20.1224).....	285
Figure 4.26 - Rosette petal faience tiles from sandstone ceiling panels, Funerary Chapel KXI (15-2-7 and 15-2-17) (B2638)	286
Figure 4.27 - Head of a Nubian man, sectional faience tile from KII (MFA 20.1305a).....	287
Figure 4.28a - Imported Egyptian faience vessels found in Classic Kerma burials (A2023).....	288
Figure 4.28b - Imported Egyptian faience vessels found in Classic Kerma burials (A2174)	289
Figure 4.28c - Some imported Egyptian faience vessels, as well as other unusual forms that are likely Kerma, such as an openwork bird plaque (fifth item from left in second row) (A2175)	290
Figure 4.29a - Wall painting of winged sun disc in Tumulus KIII burial chamber (C5839).....	291
Figure 4.29b - Illustration comparing winged sun disc ivory inlay (MFA 14.1645 / 14-3-1314) and vulture ivory inlay (MFA 20.1354 / 14-1-224) (based on author's photograph)	292
CHAPTER 5 - FIGURES	293
Figure 5.1a - Wooden box or coffin (left) and funerary bed (right) in grave K1050 (C4386)	293
Figure 5.1b - Wooden box or coffin with gesso and painted inscription from K1000B (C6356)	294
Figure 5.2 - Lower row: Ram skulls with horn protectors from K1964 and K1042, upper row: Meroitic pottery (B1809)	295
Figure 5.3a - Egyptian stone vessels, center globular: inscribed for Horheriat of El-Kab (K325, MFA 20.1150a,b / 14-2-785), lower row second from left: inscribed for Sobeknakht of El-Kab (K334, 14-2-678) (B2171)	296
Figure 5.3b - Egyptian stone vessels, left: inscribed for Horheriat of El-Kab (K325, MFA 20.1150a,b / 14-2-785), right: inscribed for Iymer(u) of El-Kab (KIII debris, 13-12-786) (B2271)	297
Figure 5.3c - Egyptian stone vessels, center: inscribed for Sobeknakht of El-Kab (K334, 14-2-678) (B2268)	298
Figure 5.4 - Egyptian stone vessel with oil-based contents (K1038, MFA 13.4266 / Su.756).....	299
Figure 5.5 - Selection of stone kohl pots from Classic Kerma private burials (B2275).....	300
Figure 5.6 - Scarabs demonstrating Egyptian / 'Hyksos' types and geometric Egyptianizing / Nubian examples (A2041)	301

Figure 5.7a - Gold-wrapped scarab held in hand of female burial, K1053 (MFA 13.4111 / Su.1904, Su.1095)	302
Figure 5.7b - Line drawing of seal side of scarab MFA 13.4111 (based on photo by author).....	303
Figure 5.8a - Mud door sealing from the royal burial chamber in tumulus KX (MFA 15-2-31)	304
Figure 5.9b- Line drawing of matching scarab from grave K311 (13-12-855) (based on A2041, scarab is second from right on second to last row)	305
Figure 5.9a - ‘Amulet beads’ from beaded cloth under the primary deceased individual K444 body A(MFA 14-1-344, 14-1-345) (A2109).....	306
Figure 5.9b - Variety of Egyptian and Nubian amulets from Classic Kerma Graves (A2115)	307
Figure 5.10 - Large ivory fly amulets from private Classic Kerma burials, lower row: Egyptian magic wands (B2297).....	308
Figure 5.11 - Preening or resting bustards, from the appliquéd hat worn by body E in K1061 (MFA 13.4281 / Su.980) (B1982).....	309
Figure 5.12 - Leather, note bottom left is braided leather similar to mirror handles, from Tumulus KX Hall B (MFA 20.1426 / 14-3-295) (A2178).....	310
Figure 5.13 - Type II bronze mirrors, braided handles, falcons, schematic Hathor heads, center: KIII Hall A, MFA 20.1791 / 14-2-745) (A2154)	311
Figure 5.14a - Bronze razors from private Classic Kerma graves (A2155)	312
Figure 5.14b - Bronze cosmetic implements from private Classic Kerma graves (A2157)	313
Figure 5.15 - Wooden headrests from private Classic Kerma graves (B2278)	314
Figure 5.16 - Ivory apotropaic wand, no decoration on reverse (KIII debris, MFA 20.1780 / 13-12-783).....	315
Figure 5.17a - Dagger pommel made of ivory magic wand, worn at the hip of a sacrifice in private grave K1096 (MFA 20.1566 / 14-3-704).....	316
Figure 5.17b - Baboon and knife on obverse side of Egyptian magic wand reused as pommel (MFA 20.1566) (based on author’s photograph).....	316
Figure 5.18 - Ivory senet game set (best preserved example from Middle Kerma grave similar to CK examples) (K6002, MFA 15-3-281)	317
Figure 5.19a - Ivory casting box (KXXI, MFA 20.1781 / 14-1-603), found in KXXI next to ivory senet set (MFA 20.1447 / 14-1-601, 14-1-602).....	318
Figure 5.19b - Ivory casting box (KXX, MFA 20.1782 / 14-1-828)	319
Figure 5.20 - Leather sandals from Kerma (B2187).....	320
Figure 5.21a - Painted ceramic vessels from Kerma, left: Nubian hut-shaped pot with chevron pattern, right: vessel with bearded man with red skin (Egyptian?) torn apart by yellow lions (A2025)	321
Figure 5.21b - Black polished and white incised wares from Kerma: Imitation beaker stack, cover, two Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware juglets (B2343).....	322
Figure 5.22 - Classic Kerma Daggers (B2309).....	323
Figure 5.23 - Combs and other wood and ivory items, rightmost: Egyptian Hathor clapper (A2165)	324
Figure 5.24 - Horn protectors, to keep sacrificial rams from goring handlers (B2296)	325
Figure 5.25 - Gold objects from Classic Kerma private graves (A2138)	326
Figure 5.26 - Linen rugs with piling, pleated leather skirts (includes MFA 14-3-365) (B2315).....	327

Figure 5.27 - Beer strainer with wooden straw and giraffe hair bulb, from K1000 (C6472)	328
Figure 5.28 - hair, cloth, leather, includes 14-2-954 (giraffe hair);14-1-475 (feather rug), 13-12-624 (giraffe hair); 13-12-209 (giraffe hair) (A2179)	329
Figure 5.29 - Ostrich feather fan, Su.700 (B1993)	330
Figure 5.30 - Grave K 318, example of pottery in private grave, including stack of 4 Classic Kerma beakers and imitation stack of beakers (C6004).....	331
CHAPTER 6 - FIGURES	332
Figure 6.1 - Locations of finds of inlaid funerary beds and hats with mica appliqués in the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma (based on Reisner 1923a: plan III).....	332
Figure 6.2 - Battleship curve graph illustrating the use of motifs on personalized funerary equipment over	333
the four generations of the Classic Kerma Period	333
Figure 6.3 - Variety of ivory bed inlays: Rosette and triangle, rhino, lion, vultures, animal skins, winged giraffe, winged Tawerets, Tawerets with skirts, animal skins (A2035).....	334
Figure 6.4 - Geometric and bustard mica hat appliqués (A2164).....	335
Figure 6.5 - Elephant, turtle, bustard and lizard inlays from KXVD (B2435)	336
Figure 6.6 - Ivory bed inlays (A931)	337
Figure 6.7 - Mica appliqués of giraffes and gazelles (A2162)	338
Figure 6.8 - Mica appliqués of guinea fowl, gazelles, and double-headed bustards (A2163).....	339
Figure 6.9 - Mica appliqués of rosettes, pelicans, small birds (crows?), and rekhyt / lapwing birds (A2160)	340
Figure 6.10 - Mica appliqués of double headed hawks and gazelles under trees (A2166).....	341
Figure 6.11 - Field photo showing preserved inlaid bed in K1053 (C4378)	342
Figure 6.12a - Gazelle from top row of inlaid bed in K1053 (MFA 13.4219b / Su.1073)	343
Figure 6.12b - Taweret from middle row of inlaid bed in K1053 (MFA 13.4220a-h / Su.1073)	344
Figure 6.12c - Striped hyena from bottom row of inlaid bed in K1053 (MFA 13.4221e / Su.1073)	345
Figure 6.13 - Inlaid funerary bed as found in private Classic Kerma grave K1096: top row of bustards, middle row of ostriches, bottom row of giraffes, braces of ostrich chicks (B2170).....	346
Figure 6.14 - Plan of Tumulus KXVI (Generation 1) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (adapted from Reisner 1923a: plan XXV).....	347
Figure 6.15 - Animal bed inlays from KXVI, upper left: rhinoceros (14-1-1096), upper right: hippopotamus (?) (14-1-1230), lower right: double stylized giraffe (14-1-1172). The lion on lower left is from K407 (MFA 20.2100 / 13-12-94) (C6428)	348
Figure 6.16 - Geometric and rosette ivory inlays from KXVI subsidiary burials (A2182).....	349
Figure 6.17 - Plan of Tumulus KX (Generation 2) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (based on Reisner 1923a: plate XXI).....	350
Figure 6.18 - Kori bustard inlay from inlaid bed in K1096 (MFA 20.2097 / 20.1323, 14-3-708)	351
Figure 6.19 - Ostrich chick inlay from inlaid bed in K1050 (MFA 13.4211 / Su.920)	352

Figure 6.20b - compared to bee hieroglyph from alabaster jar lid from Nefer-Ka-Ra deposit in KI (MFA 13.4269)	353
Figure 6.21 - Plan of tumulus KIV (Generation 3) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XVII)	354
Figure 6.22 - Inlaid beds in K439 in situ (C5909)	355
Figure 6.23 - Bed inlays from K439 - Bed A had two-winged vultures, skirted Tawerets, and pairs of goats with trees, Bed B had two-winged and one-winged vultures, Bed C had gazelle in running gallop (B2148)	356
Figure 6.24 - Lower half: Winged giraffe mica appliqués from hat in K435 (14-1-118). Upper left: leather rhinoceros (14-2-542), upper right: giraffe hair bracelets (14-2-296 to 297) (A2169)	357
Figure 6.25- Giraffe drinking with bent forelegs for comparison (photo by author)	358
Figure 6.26 - Wooden footboard with intact ivory inlays, from K449 (MFA 20.1494) (photo by author).....	359
Figure 6.27 - Plan of Tumulus KIII (Generation 4) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (based on Reisner 1923a: plate XV)	360
Figure 6.28 - Field photo of inlaid bed from K309, vultures, winged Tawerets, and winged giraffes	361
(MFA 13-12-802 to 846, 13-12-1026, 13-12-1027) (A2180)	361
Figure 6.29- Mica appliqués including winged Tawerets from KB15 (A2161)	362
Figure 6.30 - Bronze lion inlays from K334 (14-2-661 to 14-2-674) (A2158)	363
Figure 6.31 - Mica appliquéd hat worn by K1044 body E, with stacks of double headed lions (lionesses?), with green paint remaining (B1986).....	364

See Appendix 1.2 for full information for each Museum of Fine Arts, Boston image (all © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

All Reisner excavation field photos are presented here full frame and with no cropping. The Reisner excavation negative number (A1234, B1234, C1234) is listed with each figure.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

George A. Reisner arrived at the site of Kerma two days too late. The young American Egyptologist had been called to the northern region of the Sudan to excavate the New Kingdom site of Sesi, but on his way south word came to him of an ancient necropolis that would soon be flooded from dam projects (Figure 1.1, Reisner 1923a: 9). He decided to stop briefly to survey this largely unexcavated site, known for two huge mudbrick structures (*defuffas*) and large circular burials. His steamer ran aground on a sandbank, delaying him just long enough for word to spread to the locals that the officials had taken an interest in the nearby ruins. When Reisner arrived, the tracks of a man, a boy and a donkey were still visible, running between robber's pits throughout the site (Reisner 1923a: 281). These and other past robbers had effectively ransacked the burial field of tumulus mound burials, scattering artifacts and leaving Reisner with a massive jigsaw puzzle with no known references. Luckily, although the main burial chambers of the giant tumuli were thoroughly plundered, the hundreds of smaller burials throughout the tumuli and the hundreds of human sacrifices laid within the tumulus corridors were largely intact. Their contents miraculously preserved a wealth of material, including organics like skin, leather, wood, ivory and feathers that are usually lost in archaeological contexts.

He set to work clearing the enigmatic finds from over 1000 individual burials and never made it to his intended site (Figure 1.2). During the winters of 1913 to 1916 he recovered over 5000 objects, ranging from distinctly Nubian pottery to clear Egyptian imports, and a whole class of artifacts that seemed to come from a mix of artistic traditions. A man known for collecting mystery novels and assigning them grades,¹ he attacked this curious hybridized assemblage with gusto. An early note sent back to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston reads: "Diary of Sudan Expedition. Strictly Confidential. In no case are the frags. of royal statues and inscriptions to be mentioned. Most cordial salâms from everybody. Reisner." The handful of inscribed Egyptian sculptures scattered throughout the burials provided his only textual lynchpin for dating and interpreting this Nubian community. Believing that the inscribed objects were commissioned by the individuals interred in the burials, he reconstructed the site as an Egyptian outpost of the Middle Kingdom, manned by "a few Egyptian officials, bullying the local inhabitants and cursing their place of exile" (Reisner 1923a: 7).

Despite his vivid backstory, other scholars² soon pointed out inconsistencies in his data. For example: Why would the Egyptian official Hepdjefa have a foreign type of burial in Nubia, while he also had a well-known traditional tomb in Assyut? How could Middle Kingdom tombs include quantities of Second Intermediate Period scarabs? Subsequent interpretations and excavations demonstrated the overwhelmingly Nubian character of Kerma's architecture and material culture (see Chapter 2), while still acknowledging the presence of Egyptian material culture and possible Egyptian artistic influences. Currently, Charles Bonnet's systematic excavations of the city of Kerma and the earlier sections of the necropolis have given us a fuller picture of the long history of development of the Kerma culture. The continued pursuit of

¹ Levine, Marlin. "The Reisner Collections: Frivolity in the Stacks," *The Harvard Crimson*. 17 Dec. 1964. Web. 10 Apr. 2012.

² For early critics of Reisner's interpretations of Kerma as an Egyptian outpost, see Junker (1920) and Säve-Soderberg (1941).

understanding Kerma as part of a series of ancient Nubian cultures is absolutely imperative, but the question of its relationship with Egypt must also be re-examined.

It was the presence of Egyptian and Egyptian-marked material culture in the burials he uncovered that confused Reisner to such a degree, framed within his Culture History perspective. With an intense focus on object assemblages as the hallmarks of archaeological cultures, the mixed nature of the Classic Kerma finds were almost inherently unintelligible to Reisner as anything but the remnants of Egyptian inhabitants. Encountering Egyptian elements, physical or visual, in prominent royal contexts and incorporated into private funerary equipment made him make associations with Egypt. But one might also wonder if perhaps this was the intention of the ancient Kermans who self-fashioned themselves with this corpus of material. The political events of the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods put the Kermans and Egyptians into closer contact and competition than in previous periods, both allowing these Nubians to observe and obtain Egyptian material culture, and motivating them to use what they encountered for their own means in their community.

What is Nubian, Egyptian, Egyptianizing?

This study will undertake a comparative analysis of the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture within the context of Nubian burials. In order to achieve this analysis, the nature of Nubian funerary practices at Kerma must first be explored. In many cases, a full description of the complex and unique Classic Kerma funerary practices has not been previously available. The Nubian framework of burial elements at the site can be determined to be the culmination of a long history of development at the site of Kerma, and in general are completely separate from Egyptian funerary practices.

In contrast, some aspects of burials and the material which they contain demonstrate divergent characteristics that mark them as acquired from Egypt. Most prominently, large amounts of inscribed Egyptian stone sculpture were interred in Classic Kerma royal mortuary contexts. Some of these Egyptian sculptures and other inscribed imports can be sourced to the site of their original use in Egypt. Other uninscribed objects have forms with a close adherence to Egyptian object types known from numerous Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period contexts in Egypt, and therefore can be demonstrated to be Egyptian imports. These include some decorated faience vessels, stone vessels and kohl pots, and distinctive Egyptian ceramic vessels.

Many other objects and architectural elements have characteristics that combine both Nubian and Egyptian design elements. Material culture that falls into this area that is not easily attributable to one cultural tradition or another can be considered “Egyptianizing.” The definition of “Egyptianizing” used in this study is: something that is of *Nubian materials and craftsmanship, and incorporates an Egyptian motif or stylistic element*. Determining if material culture from Kerma is Egyptian, Egyptianizing or Nubian is based on a comparison with similar examples known from secure contexts in Egypt or Nubia that are earlier or contemporaneous to the Classic Kerma Period. The criteria for considering an object as Egyptianizing will also be presented in detail as it enters into the discussion.

The term “Egyptianizing” is used in many different ways, but usually to express the idea that there was some sort of visual or technical influence from Egypt on things made by people of another culture. Ultimately this is a problematic term in that it doesn’t resolve what the nature of the influence was, the motivation for using it, nor why that possible influence is present. The use of a present participle adjective also emphasizes an ongoing process, implying that the material culture is trying to achieve a state of “Egyptianess,” instead of having reached that state. So in the case of Egyptianizing material culture in a Nubian context, this refers to something designed with the goal of referencing or recreating an Egyptian model. As the Classic Kerma evidence will demonstrate, the classification of a single object, or of an entire object type as Egyptian, Nubian, or Egyptianizing is not a straight-forward undertaking. This intentionality in replication makes it difficult for modern scholars to place a single object definitively in one etic category or the other. At the same time, the classification of material culture to one of these groups should not be the end goal of a study, instead the repercussions of the process of adoption and adaptation are more informative.

Egyptianizing objects provide a physical and visual representation of the more abstract process of integration of foreign elements into Kerma culture. Motifs take on their own life and meaning within Nubian society, and a resident at Kerma would have chosen to use an Egyptian motif based on its prominence and value in its Kerma context. The intention in designing and using an Egyptianizing object partially plays on its similarity to known Egyptian models, while also pushing or subverting associations into new associations that are more embedded in local traditions.

If what has usually been termed “Egyptianizing” is in fact a process of transforming something which was originally Egyptian into a locally embedded representation, should this not be called “Nubianizing” – the process of becoming more Nubian? As will be argued in the analysis of Egyptianizing material culture in royal and private Classic Kerma contexts, Egyptian visual references were used in synthesis with traditional Nubian materials and practices. Even Egyptian imports, such as statuary, came to be used in ways that differ from their original Egyptian contexts of use. In the process of becoming entangled in a new cultural context, Egyptian objects and motifs were actively transformed by Kermans to serve their own needs. In order to facilitate comparison of this study with previous discussions, I will refer to objects as “Egyptianizing” and not as “Nubianizing,” while my analysis will keep the ambiguity of the term in mind.

Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in Nubian burials of the Classic Kerma Period must be understood within the world-view of its ancient users. From their earliest beginnings, Nubians and Egyptians interacted with each other through both peaceful trade and violent interactions. Each Nubian polity, in its own historical context, negotiated with its northern neighbors using different strategies of cooperation or co-option. The site of Kerma, close to the Third Cataract of the Nile in the agriculturally rich Dongola Reach, was far enough south to keep a large degree of independence during Egyptian colonial activities in Lower Nubia during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (Ancient Kerma and Middle Kerma periods). By the time of the Second Intermediate Period / Classic Kerma Period (1700-1550 BCE), the interregional political balance had shifted in favor of the Nubians. Whether it was Egypt’s decline in resources and control of territory that led to a corresponding increase for Kerma, or if Kermans played a larger role in fostering Egypt’s decline (Morkot 2000), increasingly complex, wealthy

burials and an expanding urban center indicate that the Kerma community was in a state of flux. Increasing social complexity during the Classic Kerma Period is evidenced by the increase in size of burial and magnitude of funerary practices for the Kerma king, and by the increase in wealth and complexity of grave goods in private burials in contrast to the Middle Kerma Period. As the Nubian kings of the Classic Kerma period were engaged in conflicts over territory and resources with Egypt, their command of resources and labor at Kerma also increased, demonstrating that there were resulting changes in social relationships within the Kerma community. There was an overall increase in the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in Classic Kerma burials, but this use of foreign objects and motifs was selectively applied in ways that followed or magnified indigenous Nubian funerary practices.

Description of the site of Kerma and the corpus of Classic Kerma burials

The site of Kerma is a regional population center that represents the long development of an ancient Nubian culture (Figure 1.1). The earliest evidence for settlement at Kerma dates to approximately 3000 BCE and the Pre-Kerma period (Honegger 2004: 64). The urban center at Kerma began close to the Nile during the Ancient Kerma period (2500-2050 BCE), and continued to develop in size and architectural complexity through the Middle and Classic Kerma periods.³ The city of Kerma included a large religious / workshop complex KI centered on the Western Deffufa (large mudbrick temple), where evidence of industrial activity includes bronze, ceramic, and other craft workshops.⁴ Evidence of royal structures includes a large round hut with a conical roof that may have functioned as an audience hall, and a late Classic Kerma palace area with a distinct mix of rounded and rectangular architectural plans (Bonnet 1986, 1990, 2004). At the peak of the Classic Kerma period, the domestic architecture of the city demonstrates some degree of social stratification, as larger houses were set closer to the main religious workshop complex KI, and a range of smaller houses are further removed from the city center (Bonnet 2004: 80). Fortification walls, large ditches and wooden palisades were constructed around the city of Kerma towards the end of its occupation in the Classic Kerma period, possibly in response to Egyptian hostilities (Bonnet 2004: 77). The upper strata of occupation levels contain evidence of fire and other destruction from Egyptian attack(s) on the settlement of Kerma (Bonnet et al 2004: 68-73), and is also described in Egyptian texts lauding their victories.

The Eastern cemetery (Figure 1.3) spans a period of use of approximately 1000 years, as it contains a northern region of Ancient Kerma burials (2500-2050 BCE), a central section of

³ For the settlement of Kerma, see: Bonnet, Charles. 2004. "Kerma" in Welsby, Derek A., and Julie R. Anderson (eds.), *Sudan: ancient treasures : an exhibition of recent discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*. London: British Museum Press, pp. 70-89. 1990. *Kerma, royaume de Nubie: l'antiquité africaine au temps des pharaons : exposition organisée au Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève, 14 juin-25 novembre 1990*. Genève: Mission archéologique de l'Université de Genève au Soudan. 1986. *Kerma, territoire et métropole: quatre leçons au Collège de France*. [Caire]: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Kendall, Timothy. 1997. *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, 2500-1500 B.C.: the archaeological discovery of an ancient Nubian empire*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution;

⁴ For the Western Deffufa temple complex: Bonnet, Valbelle and Privati. 2004. *Le temple principal de la ville de Kerma et son quartier religieux*. Paris: Éd. Errance.

Middle Kerma burials (2050-1700 BCE), and a southern section of Classic Kerma burials (1700-1550 BCE).⁵ The basic characteristics of Kerma funerary practices developed over this long period of cemetery use, especially the form of round tumuli, the placement of the deceased on a funerary bed, the inclusion of sacrificed humans and / or animals, and a funerary feast resulting in a deposit of pottery vessels (Bonnet 2004, 2000). Although most ancient Nubian cultures are distinguished by circular burial forms, Kerma tumuli usually take the form of mounded earth within a border ring of stone, often partially covered with white or black pebbles, and with the remnants of a funerary feast found as bucrania (upper sections of cattle skulls) arranged at the south edge of the perimeter (ibid).

Classic Kerma tumuli follow these funerary traditions but present them in a magnified form. The southern section of the Eastern Cemetery at Kerma contains the latest and largest funerary monuments at the site, and was labeled as “The Egyptian Cemetery” by Reisner. Four successively larger royal tumuli and funerary chapels – Tumulus KXVI (Figure 1.4), Tumulus KX (Figures 1.5a-c) & Funerary Chapel KXI (Figure 1.6), Tumulus KIV (Figure 1.7a), and Tumulus KIII (Figure 1.8) & Funerary Chapel KII (Figure 1.9a,b) – are arranged in a line that runs northeast to southwest. Smaller minor tumuli fill in the cemetery field to the north, and they may have belonged to earlier kings or contemporary royal family members.⁶ The minor tumuli have central burial chambers, while the major tumuli have a more complex internal structure that includes separate subsidiary elite burials. The minor tumuli in general were not well preserved when they were excavated by Reisner between 1913 and 1916, although recent excavations by Bonnet have uncovered further examples. Several finds from these minor tumuli will be included as points of comparison, but a comprehensive discussion of this section of the Classic Kerma cemetery is not within the scope of this study. The northwest section of the Classic Kerma burials excavated by Reisner were designated as KB, and is either composed of more minor tumuli which have completely lost their superstructures, or small graves without a significant tumulus mound (Reisner 1923a: 64).

The Classic Kerma burials that form the corpus of this study are those contained in the four main royal tumuli. Reaching a maximum of 100 meters in diameter, the earthen mounds of the four largest tumuli have an internal reinforcing structure of mudbrick walls. The king’s

⁵ For an updated source on the development of the Kerma cemetery that includes a discussion of the Ancient and Middle Kerma burials, see: Bonnet, Charles and Dominique Valbelle. 2000. *Edifices et rites funéraires à Kerma*. Paris: Errance. Reisner also excavated some Ancient and Middle Kerma graves, but these finds were not published until Dunham’s 1982 volume: Dunham, Dows, Sue D’Auria, George Andrew Reisner, and Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Dept. of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art. 1982. *Excavations at Kerma subsidiary Nubian graves excavated by the late George A. Reisner in 1915-1916, not included in his Excavations at Kerma, I-III and IV-V, published by him in the Harvard African studies, V and VI, 1923*. Boston: Dept. of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art Museum of Fine Arts.

⁶ The later Nubian royal burial fields of El-Kurru, Nuri, and Meroe are arranged with royal pyramid burials surrounded by smaller pyramid burials of royal female relatives. A similar practice may have taken place at Kerma, especially since the burial assemblage of minor tumulus KXX is similar to that of a high-status female burial located in royal tumulus KX (K1053). These similar finds include a silver headdress, jewelry, beer in ceramic vessels, whetstones, scarabs, and alabaster vessels.

burial was located in one or two vaulted mudbrick chambers in the center of the tumulus, but this central location made it easy for looters to plunder each royal burial. Royal burial goods were partially recovered in a scatter pattern in the tumulus debris, and include funerary beds, animal sculptures, and funerary boat models in wood, stone, and faience. The later three royal tumuli have a transverse corridor built in mudbrick, which contained 100 to 400 human sacrifices as well as Egyptian sculptures (Figure 1.10a,b, Reisner 1923a: 81). The inclusion of sacrifices speaks to the power of the Kerman king to dictate his subjects' deaths on a massive scale (Pearson 1999: 18, 166), and Egyptian loot emphasizes his success in military raids in foreign territory (Valbelle 2004: 182; Davies 2003; Bonnet 1997; O'Connor 1974; Wenig 1978).

Tumulus KXVI is 70 meters in diameter and is the fourth largest tumulus at Kerma (Figure 1.3, Reisner 1923a: 81). There is no long sacrificial corridor in Tumulus KXVI, instead at least 25 accompanying human sacrifices were contained in KXVI room C (Reisner 1923a: 394-7). The royal burial of this first generation of the Classic Kerma Period is quite disturbed, but remnants of a wooden funerary bed with animal inlays were found throughout KXVI rooms A and B (Appendix 6.1). The private subsidiary burials are numbered in the K1600 series, and the most elaborate contain wooden funerary beds with geometric and rosette inlays.

Tumulus KX is significantly larger with a diameter of 87 meters (Figure 1.4, Reisner 1923a: 81). The complexity of the internal structure increased from the prior generation as well. The central burial chambers were a vaulted mudbrick construction (Reisner 1923a: fig. 90, 91). The royal burial was plundered, but his funerary equipment included a wooden funerary bed and wooden boat model with depictions of cattle (Figure 4.7). The transverse sacrificial corridor, KX Hall B, contained upward of 322 sacrificed individuals (Figure 1.5b-c, Reisner 1923a: 312). Many of the sacrifices were highly adorned with jewelry, beaded garments, and had their own personal burial equipment. The private subsidiary burials in Tumulus KX are in the K1000 series, and these elite burials contain the most diverse inlaid funerary beds.

Funerary Chapel KXI is set slightly to the northwest of Tumulus KX, and functioned as a locus of funerary cultic activities for this royal burial complex. The plan of Funerary Chapel KXI has two main rooms on an axis, with wall paintings remaining on the lower preserved sections of the walls (Figure 1.6a,b). The chapel was expanded at least once, perhaps to function as part of the Tumulus KIV burial complex (O'Connor 1984).

Tumulus KIV is also 87 meters in diameter (Reisner 1923a: 81), and did not have a vaulted mudbrick burial chamber (Figure 1.7a, Reisner 1923a: 191). The Kerman king buried in Tumulus KIV included a granite boat with his funerary equipment (Figure 1.7b), and may have had a matching slate funerary bed that was found in the KIII and KII debris (Figure 1.10a,b). The sacrificial corridor KIV Hall B contained upward of 95 sacrificed individuals, although the relatively poor preservation of organics in this tumulus indicates there were originally more (Reisner 1923a: 195). The private subsidiary burials in Tumulus KIV are in the K400 series, and include a range of elaborate to simple graves despite the relatively low amounts of organic burial goods preserved.

Tumulus KIII is 90 meters in diameter and the largest of all the tumuli at Kerma (Figure 1.8a,b, Reisner 1923a: 81). The royal burial chambers were again vaulted mudbrick, and traces of painted mud plaster included a winged sun disc on the south wall of KIII room B (Reisner

1923a: 136). Fragments of an enormous blue-glazed quartzite funerary bed were found in the surrounding debris (Figure 1.8c), as well as a faience model boat with a crew of rowers, a steersman with purple skin, and several model cattle (Figure 1.8d,e, Reisner 1923a: 138-9). Upwards of 100 sacrificed individuals were present in KIII Hall A, again with their own burial goods that included Egyptian mirrors, kohl-pots and scarabs. The private subsidiary burials in Tumulus KIII are in the K300 series, and include some of the most elaborately equipped private graves of the Classic Kerma Period. As will be demonstrated in this dissertation, these KIII subsidiary burials had the highest percentages of graves that contained Egyptian imports during this period.

The subsidiary private burials contained within the confines of the royal tumuli were constructed directly into the disc of the tumulus in the form of rectangular pit graves without their own superstructures (Reisner 1923a). This distinct form of Classic Kerma royal tumuli allows for a particularly controlled comparison of four generations of private burials. The non-royal / private individuals who were buried in the subsidiary graves must represent an elite subsection of the Kerman community that had a real or desired relationship to the deceased king (Adams 1977: 211). The inclusion of one's burial in the royal tumulus might have been granted by merit of services performed in office, or by family associations. The private subsidiary burials, however, demonstrate a range in size, complexity, and wealth of burial goods that suggests they represent a cross-section of the Kerman community. Whatever the criteria for access to a grave directly associated with the royal burial, it did not always guarantee that the deceased or their family members were able to equip that grave with the most elaborate furnishings. The three main types of private Classic Kerman burials have the forms of burials on inlaid funerary beds, burials on plain funerary beds, and burials without funerary beds. On average, the wealth of the burial reaches the highest levels with the most elaborate burial types, and the lowest with non-bed burials (see Chapter 5 for further analysis).

Mortuary archaeological evidence always presents a problem with discerning the 'real' status or identity of the deceased, as the burial must occur after the death of the individual (Pearson 1999). As was the practice in Egypt, an individual may have spent significant time and resources during life preparing their burial equipment, and the elaborateness of the Kerman funerary beds and personal adornment suggest that these personalized burial goods were made to order (Chapter 6). In the case of Classic Kerman burials, the burial process may have involved the entire family, as the primary deceased individual also took their own human sacrifices (usually one to five individuals). At least a portion of these sacrifices may have been family members, as some sacrifices were interred on their own beds or with a relatively high degree of personal adornment (K425, Figure 1.11.⁷ The individuals included in the grave may have been partially responsible for the final burial arrangements, selecting the funerary goods that would serve their deceased family member and themselves for the afterlife. The practice of group or corporate interment emphasizes that the burial process involved the family of the deceased and their community. Group associations and social status could continue to be negotiated on the behalf of the deceased by those who had to follow them in death.

⁷ See for example the discussion of the three inlaid bed burials in grave K439 in Chapter 6, in which all three deceased individuals interred on inlaid beds share a grave well-equipped with burial goods.

The placement of private graves inside the disc of the royal tumulus similarly could provide a motivation for the assistance with constructing these monumental funerary complexes. Royal monuments on a massive scale in part represent the labor of the king's subjects, and some manner of coercion must be exercised in order to produce them. The possibility of including their own grave within the prestigious royal burial complexes could have served as a motivation for Kermans to participate in the design and construction of the tumuli. This is not to suggest that the actual physical laborers were then able to create their own subsidiary graves, but rather to suggest a coercive benefit for elite Kermans who cooperated with a royally controlled labor system. As Yoffee has discussed, rulers of early or emerging states were in the process of building their supreme status, rather than working within an established system of legitimation (2005: 33-34). The co-development of royal and elite private burials in the Classic Kerma period might represent a similar negotiation of a developing stratified society, in which the benefits of being the subjects of a strong king must outweigh the costs.

Classic Kerma Period	Absolute Date	Tumulus	Funerary Chapel
Generation 1	1700 BCE	KXVI	none
Generation 2	unknown	KX	KXI
Generation 3	unknown	KIV	none
Generation 4	1550 BCE	KIII	KII

Table 1.1 - Relative and absolute dates of the four Classic Kerma royal mortuary complexes.

The four Classic Kerma royal tumuli provide a chronological framework for the discussion of the development of royal and private Classic Kerman burials. Tumulus KXVI represents the first generation of burials to be discussed, KX the second generation, KIV the third generation, and KIII the fourth and final generation. The development of an increasingly stratified society, and an increasingly powerful kingship will be demonstrated through the analyses presented in this dissertation. The first generation of burials present in tumulus KXVI can be demonstrated to be of a transitional nature, with Middle Kerma burial practices developing into the more intricate forms of the Classic Kerma period. Tumulus KX of the second generation contains evidence of a prospering community elaborating upon existing funerary traditions and incorporating foreign Egyptian elements. The third generation of burials in tumulus KIV either represents a slowed growth in the community or is simply not as well preserved as the other tumuli. The final generation of burials in tumulus KIII demonstrates the peak in size, complexity, and wealth of royal and private burials, while also demonstrating the most restriction in markers of elite status and social stratification. After this generation, Egyptian military actions against the residents of Kerma led to the discontinued use of the Eastern cemetery and the end of an independent Kerman state.⁸

⁸ A tumulus with a significantly different construction technique, but with some similarities in faience tile decoration and other finds was located outside of the Eastern Cemetery, closer to the Nile, and has been dated to the subsequent Kerma Récent period (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 144-152, fig. 110).

The major social changes evident in the mortuary evidence of the Classic Kerma Period can be better understood through an analysis of the use or consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture by the Kerman community. As the major political changes of the Classic Kerma Period revolve around a changing interregional relationship with Egypt, the Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture at Kerma has the potential to have been used in significant ways by different members of the community. Foreign objects, particularly luxury objects, are often implicated in programs of ideology in the ancient world. Whether items of foreign tribute,⁹ loot taken during military actions, or luxury objects designed to be valued by international coalitions,¹⁰ material that provides a visual reference to other polities can be used in key ways by the obtainers to speak about their political power to internal audiences.

A focus on the *use* of foreign objects, motifs, and visual styles provides an insight on members of the Kerman community as actors. The presence of Egyptian objects and motifs is in itself neither surprising nor enlightening, other than it demonstrates that interregional contact (and conflict) was occurring during the Classic Kerma period. Rather, the ways in which foreign material and iconography was adopted and adapted into pre-existing Kerman practices, as determined by Kermans themselves, has the potential to provide insight into their society. Questions about the control of resources, systems of exchange, and the creation of group identities and ideologies can be asked of the material. In order to undertake this analysis, the context of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture must be put to the forefront. In particular, diachronic and synchronic patterns of distribution must be established, which necessitates a detailed reconstruction of the findspots of relevant objects.

Sources and methodology

The burials of the Classic Kerma period in the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma were first excavated by Reisner in 1913-1916, as discussed above. The recent re-excavation of the southern section of the Eastern Cemetery by Bonnet's team did much to clarify the architecture of the burials (2000, 2004), but Reisner's large-scale excavation almost completely removed any associated material culture. Therefore, his historical excavation provides the basic corpus of material for the understanding of the central community of the Classic Kerma period.

Fortunately, although Reisner's interpretations are clouded by his "prodigious flights of imagination" (Adams 1977: 208), he and his team of archaeologists thoroughly recorded their finds from Kerma. Reisner, often referred to as the 'Father of American Egyptology,' was also one of the intellectual fathers of Culture-Historical archaeology. As an early twentieth century archaeologist, Reisner's development of thorough recording practices and attention to contextual information set the standard for subsequent research. First working under the patronage of

⁹ For the significance of foreign tribute and its presentation to the king, see for example Baines, John. 1996. "Contextualizing Egyptian representations of society and ethnicity," in *The study of the ancient Near East in the twenty-first century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*, ed. Jerrold Cooper and Glenn Schwartz, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 339 - 384.

¹⁰ For example, the use of a hybridized 'International style' in the Late Bronze Age to promote diplomacy is discussed by Feldman, Marian H. 2006. *Diplomacy by design: luxury arts and an "international style" in the ancient Near East, 1400-1200 BCE*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Phoebe Apperson Hearst, he pioneered the use of photography for the scientific recording of the excavation process.

This study will undertake an updated analysis of the Reisner Kerma collection and archive housed at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Although this excavation began 99 years ago, the detailed documentation system developed by Reisner allows for the reconstruction of the majority of the archaeological context of the material culture contained in the four main Classic Kerma tumuli. Approximately half of the Classic Kerma finds are present in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA) collection, another 100 objects are held at the British Museum, and the rest of the finds remained in Sudan and are now split between the Khartoum Museum and the Kerma Museum.¹¹ The primary source of information for the Reisner Kerma excavations is the two-volume publication authored by him in 1923, the Harvard African Studies series volumes 5 & 6. The first volume (Parts I-III, Reisner 1923a) presents an overview of the Eastern Cemetery at Kerma, followed by a catalogue of objects by provenance. The second volume (Parts IV-V, Reisner 1923b) groups finds by material and object types, with the goal of presenting cultural developments over time.

The chronological framework presented by Reisner posited a degeneration of Egyptian culture into debased Nubian object types, with the four main tumuli representing this trend starting with tumulus KIII, then KIV, KX, and finally KXVI. This seriation was shown to be incorrect by Gratien (1978), who demonstrated by a comparison with evidence from the Kerman cemetery at Sai that instead it should be reversed, beginning with tumulus KXVI, followed by KX, then KIV, and finally KIII. Rather than demonstrating a purported cultural decline from Egyptian standards, this new seriation demonstrates an increase in the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture over the course of the Classic Kerma Period. As will be argued in this study, this increase in Egyptian objects and motifs does not represent an uncomplicated influence of a center upon a periphery. Rather the patterns of use of foreign-marked material culture suggests an intentional integration into programs of conspicuous consumption.

As Reisner's 1923 site publications were written with the underlying goal of proving his interpretation of the site of Kerma as an Egyptian outpost, researchers must approach the presentation of his archaeological facts with some caution. In particular, bodies that were classified as female or 'negroid' were often not assigned as the primary deceased individual in elite burials, even if their placement or personal adornment suggests they were of high status.¹² The supporting excavation archive provides a less processed resource that can be used in conjunction with the primary publications. Documents associated with the Reisner Kerma excavation are held in the MFA archive and include: an object card catalog (now transferred into The Museum System (TMS) MFA database and partially accessible online), a running object register (lists provenance, material, dimensions and sketches), tomb cards (sketched plan of the grave, list of objects), diary entries (general description of activities and contexts, overview sketches), photography registers, and other notes or lists of finds. In addition, over 2000 black

¹¹ The Peabody Museum at Harvard also holds approximately 25 objects given by the MFA, under accession 15-12-50 / B1251-1275 (<http://140.247.195.10/cofllongDisplay.cfm?ObjectKey=80651>)

¹² For an example of a highly adorned female individual classified as a sacrifice instead of a primary deceased individual, see grave K1053, body D (Reisner 1923a: 342-3, fig. 111) in Chapter 6.

and white 4 x 5 inch glass-plate negatives¹³ provide images of contexts in the process of excavation, objects and bodies *in situ*, and groups of objects by assigned type.

For the purposes of this study, I designed a relational database¹⁴ that linked digitized archival documents, the MFA's object records, and associated media. This database facilitated my analysis of the Classic Kerma finds from the Reisner Kerma collection, and basic information from it is presented in Appendix 5.1.¹⁵ The data contained in Appendix 5.1 is comprised of all the objects found in the private subsidiary burials of Tumuli KXVI, KX, KIV, and KIII.¹⁶ These private burials provide the most secure provenances for an analysis of object distribution, as is discussed in Chapter 5. The Kerma finds from the Reisner collection from other findspots that are currently in the Museum of Fine Arts collection are accessible online (<http://www.mfa.org/search/collections?keyword=kerma>), and their provenance information has been updated to reflect any changes found during my research. A hyperlink to the MFA online database is embedded in each object number included in the digital version of this dissertation. The massive undertaking of compiling *all* the objects¹⁷ from *every* findspot excavated by Reisner at Kerma in digital form must wait for future projects.

Separate tables were made in the Kerma database to contain records for: Object, Graves, Object Media, Archival Documents, and Reisner Media (Archival media) (Figure 1.9). The Object table was populated from the MFA TMS object records and fields were added to capture research data, especially research notes and keywords. The provenance information in the MFA TMS object records was contained in a single text field and the format of the data was not standardized, which did not allow for sorting or comprehensive searching. The provenance information was split into hierarchical data fields: Cemetery, Tumulus, Grave, Body, and Relation to Body. Data clean-up included migrating the provenance text into these structured data fields, and cross-checking the findspot information with both the Object Register (PDF created from photographing the Object Registers in MFA archive) and the Reisner publications (1923a primarily).

¹³ A 4 x 5 inch glass plate negative potentially records the equivalent detail of approximately a 32.4 megapixel digital camera. 102 mm x 127 mm with an estimated 50 line pairs per mm is the equivalent of a 5100 x 6350 pixel image, or 32.4 megapixels. The actual quality of the glass plate negative will vary due to the camera and lens used, as well as preservation conditions.

¹⁴ Filemaker Pro, versions 8 and 11.

¹⁵ Appendix 5.1 presents the objects contained in the private elite burials from the four main Classic Kerma tumuli: Field Number, Museum number, Object Name, Material, Body, Museum, and Reisner Neg. No.

¹⁶ The objects listed in Appendix 5.1 include those presently in the MFA, in the British Museum, and those listed in the Reisner publications that are either in the Khartoum Museum or otherwise unlocated.

¹⁷ That is, a complete database that includes the collections of the MFA, British Museum, Khartoum, and objects now lost or discarded but listed in the Reisner archive.

Then Grave records were created for each grave, room, or sub-set of a tumulus attested in these object records.¹⁸ The Grave record acted as a repository of information, containing portals that listed all related Objects, Archival Documents, and Reisner Media (Archival Media). The Grave field was used as the central field for relating most of the tables, with a relational connection to the Grave field in the Objects table, Reisner Media table, and Kerma Archive table. Using the Grave field to connect these tables automatically generated a list of all objects found in the context of a single grave, as well as all the archival documents and field photos that relate to that grave. Having this resource greatly facilitated the archival research necessary for analyzing the distribution and use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture.¹⁹ All fields are searchable, allowing objects of a certain type or material to be found, and their distribution immediately becomes apparent after sorting by provenance.

The Object records were also linked to current and archival media for use during research. The Object Media table was related to the Object table by current Object Number (MFA 13.1234 for example). The Reisner Media table was related to the Object table by Alternate Number (Reisner field number), as that original number was referred to in the Reisner Photo Register.²⁰ These relationships automatically generated lists of past and current media that included each individual object. Although all of these images cannot be made available through this dissertation, the current Object Media are available online through the MFA collections database (<http://www.mfa.org/search/collections>). The archival Reisner Media may be available through the same resource in the future, and for the moment the Reisner negative number is listed for each object and grave in Appendix 5.1.²¹

¹⁸ As the objects presented in Appendix 5.1 are contained in Graves, this label was chosen for this sub-group of provenance (which has a ‘child’ relationship to Tumulus), although this hierarchical level of provenance data also includes the main rooms and corridors of the tumuli.

¹⁹ This particular relational data model was created to capture the complexity of a historical excavation archive, in which the previously excavated material is combined with decades of related documentation. The basic structure of this relational database can be expanded upon for use in on-going archaeological excavations, and I thank Dr. Carol Redmount for letting me develop a similar data model for her excavations at Tell el-Muqdam and El-Hibeh. I encourage other archaeologists to adapt this relational data model for their own needs, whether for previously or currently excavated material.

²⁰ I would like to thank Peter der Manuelian and the Giza Archives Project for supplying me with an Excel sheet with the transcribed Reisner Kerma photo register. Their work was extremely helpful in completing this project, and I appreciate their effort although the Kerma photo register was not included in the scope of their project.

²¹ Photographic materials, especially these Reisner negative scans, are available by request from the MFA Image Rights department (<http://www.mfa.org/collections/mfa-images>). 85 of the Reisner negative scans are included as figures in this dissertation, and Appendix 1.1 provides a concordance between the Reisner negative numbers and figure numbers used here.

Numbering system	Number format	Number sequence	Uses
Reisner Field Number (early)	Su.1234	First Reisner field numbers assigned in early 1913	Excavation object register, photograph register, tomb cards, 1923 publication.
Reisner Field Number	13-12-1234, 14-1-1234, 15-1-1234, etc.	All subsequent Reisner field numbers, first number is year, second is month, third is find number in that month.	Excavation object register, photograph register, tomb cards, 1923 publication.
			This study uses the field number if the location of the object is unknown.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Accession Number	13.1234, 20.1234*	The additional number given to the Kerma finds when accessioned into the MFA collection in Boston.	Main number used in all later publications and exhibitions, MFA online object database.
Grave numbers	K1600, K1000, K400, K300, etc.	The roman numeral assigned to the tumulus becomes the hundreds prefix, the last two digits are the number in which the grave was found.	Grave numbers do not refer to the object, only its provenance. Some previous studies accidentally present the grave numbers as object numbers.

**in the PDF version of this dissertation all MFA accession numbers in the main text, Appendix 3.1 and Appendix 6.1 are links to the MFA online object database.*

Table 1.2 - Comparison of the Reisner field number and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston accession number systems.

Returning to the excavation archive allows the context of objects to come to the forefront of their discussion. Previous studies of the material culture from Classic Kerma graves have encountered the problem of the disjoint between current museum object numbers and the field numbers referred to in the Reisner publications (Table 1.2). Appendices 3.1 (Egyptian sculptures) and 5.1 (Private Graves) include the concordance between the current and previous numbering systems, which was reconstructed from MFA object cards, the MFA TMS database

records,²² and personal research at the British Museum. Registration discrepancies found in the 1923 publications and / or museum records were resolved by consulting the paper trail contained in the Kerma object register and tomb cards. Object field numbers are referred to in the original excavation documentation, which contain detailed contextual information and plans of objects *in situ*. Having access to this contextual information facilitates the discussion of the distribution and patterns in usage of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in Classic Kerma burials. In addition, a fully detailed archival resource allows for the Classic Kerma corpus to be re-evaluated outside of Reisner's biased presentations (1923a,b), both in the current study and in any future projects.

Organization of the discussion

This study is organized primarily by context, as the preceding sections have demonstrated the need and resources for re-evaluating the Classic Kerma corpus in such a way. Chapters 3 and 4 address the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in royal Kerma mortuary contexts, respectively. The focus on royal Kerma contexts of use has the potential to reconstruct the nature of interregional interactions and the changes in Kerma kingship during the Classic Kerma period. Chapters 5 and 6 address the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in private Kerma mortuary contexts, respectively. The evidence from private burials provides a level of analysis that is internal to the ancient Kerma community, and has the potential to illustrate how major political change affects social stratification and group identities.

Chapter 2 argues for the importance of disentangling the study of ancient Nubia from the early biases of the field, and to integrate the discussion of Nubia into current archaeological and anthropological scholarship. The first section presents the historiography of Kerma, demonstrating the ancient and early 20th-century biases in understandings of Nubia, and the subsequent paradigm shifts that have come to promote the continuities and achievements of ancient Nubian cultures. The goal of this historiography is provide a framework for evaluating previous theories about the nature of interregional contact between Nubia and Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period, which can also be applied to evaluating sources on ancient Nubia for other studies. Along with a chronological approach, Chapter 2 includes a discussion of how previous scholarship on Kerma addresses the themes of materiality, style, agency, and identity. The second goal of this chapter is to present the theoretical approach that will inform the rest of the study – namely that Kermans actively used Egyptian imports, and objects designed to include Egyptian visual elements, to negotiate changing social relationships in their community during the course of the Classic Kerma Period.

Chapter 3 assesses the evidence of Egyptian objects interred in royal burial complexes, primarily Egyptian sculpture, to argue for the conflictual nature and expanding geographic scope of interregional interactions between Kerma and Egypt during the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods. In conjunction with the textual evidence of conflict between the two regions during this time, the presence of large quantities of imported objects that were symbolic in

²² The move from object catalog cards to The Museum System (TMS) database at the MFA Art of the Ancient World department was part of a digital inventory project funded by an NEH grant and headed by Joyce Haynes. I was able to participate in the inventory and data entry for the Reisner Kerma collection during 2001-2003, and am truly grateful for the opportunity to learn about these objects firsthand.

nature, rather than raw resources, strongly suggests that the Egyptian sculptures taken to Kerma were obtained forcibly, perhaps as spoils of war. The identification of Egyptian sources for these Egyptian objects through their inscriptions or stylistic attributes demonstrates points of contact within Egyptian territory. Additionally, the distribution of sourceable Egyptian objects in the four generations of royal tumuli can provide a general chronological outline of where and when contact and conflict took place. The concentration of Egyptian sculpture in royal burial contexts argues for the role of these large-scale Egyptian imports in the creation of programs of Kerma royal ideology, likely as a reference to their successes in expanding Nubian territory.

Chapter 4 argues that the evidence for elements of the royal Kerma burial complexes that may incorporate Egyptian motifs or artistic traditions is limited and constrained, demonstrating that the Kerma king's program of iconography was primarily based in Nubian traditions. Wall decoration in the royal funerary chapels provides the main source of evidence for any potentially Egyptianizing elements used by the Kerma king. Painted scenes on the plastered walls of the earliest royal funerary chapel, KXI, have been previously classified as Egyptianizing (O'Connor 1984, Bonnet and Valbelle 2000). A detailed analysis of the wall paintings in KXI, however, demonstrates that although this medium is better attested in Egypt, any Egyptian influence is quite tenuous. The few instances of Egyptianizing elements in these wall decorations may have been included in the design to speak to the political climate of north-south conflict. The faience tiles used in the last royal funerary chapel, KII, were produced using an originally Egyptian production technology, but also demonstrate an essentially Nubian program of decoration. In particular, the lack of any clearly pharaonic iconography of rulership in Kerma royal burials demonstrates that political ideology was not modeled on that of Egypt at this time. Instead, the growing power of the Kerma king as demonstrated to / negotiated with his community was based in indigenous, Nubian practices and traditions.

Chapter 5 moves to the analysis of private Classic Kerma burials, testing the hypothesis that the use of Egyptian material culture increased over time, and that it was used differentially by different factions of the Kerma community. Although no Egyptian sculptures were found in the subsidiary private burials of the four Classic Kerma tumuli, small but still luxurious Egyptian objects were accessible to these Kerma elite. Some objects are clearly Egyptian imports, especially if they have legible hieroglyphic inscriptions or adhere closely to canonical Egyptian object forms. Other objects were designed with forms that are similar to those found in Egypt, but display enough differences to suggest that they were closely modeled on Egyptian object forms but were created outside of traditional workshops. When the percentages of graves of each generation with Egyptian objects (of most types) are compared, an increase in the use of Egyptian objects over time is apparent. At the same time, traditional Nubian grave goods on the whole remain constant, or also increase. The continued use of Nubian objects in private Classic Kerma graves over time demonstrates that the use of Egyptian items of status is supplementing, rather than replacing, Kerma strategies for expressing status through burial goods. Burials with more complex inlaid funerary beds also have a higher concentration of both Egyptian and Nubian funerary goods, demonstrating that these individuals were more able to acquire goods of any type. The more common burials with a plain funerary bed generally had a lesser concentration of both Egyptian and Nubian burials goods, although some imports and local goods were almost equally distributed between inlaid and plain bed burials. Burials in which the individual was not interred on a bed had the least concentration of goods of all types in almost all

categories. The differential distribution of both Egyptian and Nubian objects between the three main types of private Classic Kerma burials demonstrates that there was a social hierarchy within the Kerman community.

Chapter 6 builds off the evidence for increasing social stratification from the previous chapter to argue that Egyptianizing material culture was also used in creative and continuously changing ways to act in the negotiation of elite identity among private Kermans. The analysis centers on the corpus of funerary bed inlays and mica hat appliqués that include Egyptianizing motifs. The majority of the motifs used on these elite grave goods are animals found in the savannah, and appear to be within the local Kerman artistic tradition and are found in other media at the site. Other inlays and appliqués appear to be based on Egyptian motifs, some more clearly than others. These highly adorned personal items follow consistent rules of arrangement and representation, while at the same time the combinations of motifs used are almost never repeated. The funerary beds and appliquéd hats are associated with a single individual, which suggests that they played a role in signifying one's identity in death (and perhaps in life). As suggested by the analysis in the previous chapter, burials with inlaid funerary beds seem to have been constructed by individuals or families with the most access to resources and to control of local and foreign goods. After an explosion in the repertoire of motifs in the second generation of the Classic Kerma Period (KX), which were mostly based on locally observable animals, the corpus used only expanded into foreign or fantastical animal motifs. The use of Egyptianizing and fantastical animal motifs may represent a search for representing difference and distinction among this elite-most group within the Classic Kerman community. In particular, the use of the Egyptianizing Taweret motif on the beds of women demonstrates how a formerly Egyptian motif evolves into a locally-embedded symbol of status for a powerful faction of the Kerman elite.

This study concludes by addressing changes in the Kerman community over the course of the Classic Kerma Period. The larger themes introduced in Chapter 2 (materiality, style, agency, and identity) are summarized in light of the evidence presented in the main body of the discussion. Finally, ideas for future research using the Kerma excavation archive are suggested, along with how to apply themes discussed here to future studies of ancient Nubia.

CHAPTER 2 - DECOLONIZING KERMA: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT NUBIA

ih p3y.i nht / wr m hwt w^rrt / ky m kši / hms.kw sm3.kw m 3mw nhsy / si hr fdk.f m t3 kmt, "I should like to know what purpose serves my strength, when one prince is in Avaris and another is in Kush, and I sit united with [an Asiatic] and a [Nubian], each man holding his slice of Egypt."

-King Kamose, 1550 BCE

I take my picture of the time largely from Lower Nubia as it is to-day, living its isolated, primitive, agricultural life in political security, relying...on its income from servitors in the employment of Europeans. The population is now, I imagine, much the same in numbers, and much the same culture, as it was then. The largest centers of population had then, as now, a few Egyptian officials, bullying the local inhabitants and cursing their place of exile.

-G.A. Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, 1923

The grand scale of the city indicates the power and wealth of what is now known as the Kerma Culture. Finely crafted pottery, jewelry, and furniture reflect its elegance and refinement. By 1700 BC, this southern state, called Kush in ancient times, had grown so rich and powerful through trade with Egypt that its kings were able to gain control over Northern Nubia and parts of Egypt as well.

-Museum Label, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1992

The history of Kerma, and ancient Nubia, has been written in many different ways. In almost all cases, the actual writing has been done by outsiders, beginning with the ancient Egyptians and then proceeding to Western writers, as the Kermans had no writing system of their own. These outside perspectives reflect on the thoughts and values of the authors and demonstrate changes in attitudes toward Nubians in particular and Africa in general. The main source of information from the ancient Nubians themselves is their material remains. The archaeological record, of course, must be excavated and interpreted in order to be used to gain knowledge, and this process has also been controlled by Westerners largely. The material evidence stays the same, but over time its interpretation changes.

From the beginning, the historiography of ancient Nubia has been affected by the authors' thoughts and relationship to colonization. If ancient North Africa as a whole has been subject to biased, colonialist interpretations (Colla 2007, Trigger 1989, Fagan 1975), Nubia has been doubly so (Smith 2003). The Middle Nile not only has been colonized by Westerners, but also in ancient times by Egypt. This situation has left a lasting imprint in the telling of the region's history, which this chapter will try to chronicle. Changes in archaeological and colonial theory can be traced over time. The earliest writings demonstrate the racist theories inherent in early twentieth century colonial thought, but their severely flawed interpretations were soon challenged. It was not until the 1970s, however, that dissenting views about ancient Nubia

became established. This was also a period in which archaeological investigation in Sudan increased, allowing for synthesis and a continuous history of ancient Nubia to be written. Challenges from modern political movements, such as Afrocentrism, also influenced the move to stressing ancient Nubian cultural achievements and political power. As it stands now, a more nuanced view of ancient Nubia can be developed, which both recognizes ancient Nubia as an indigenous power and as a culture strongly influenced by its *relationship* with Egypt.

The historiography of the site of Kerma is a prime example of changing perspectives on ancient Nubia. The material culture at the site is a mix of distinctively Nubian objects and architecture, with definite uses of Egyptian luxury goods and adopted motifs. The first extensive excavation were carried out by the joint Harvard & Museum of Fine Arts Boston expedition by George Andrew Reisner in 1913. The next systematic excavation at Kerma began in the 1970s, led by Charles Bonnet for the University of Geneva. These excavations provide the evidence for extensive scholarly debates as to the nature of the site. As the overarching trends in Nubian studies changed, so did the interpretation of the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in the Classic Kerma Period. Tracing this changing discussion is imperative for the analysis of this material, as it both provides a basis for evaluating former studies and provides an insight to the nature of the material itself. Trends in current scholarship on Kerma, and in archaeology in general, open up the discussion of how Egyptian objects and visual references were integrated into Kerman society and practices in subtle but prominent ways.

This chapter argues for the importance of disentangling the study of ancient Nubia from the early biases of the field, and to integrate the discussion of Nubia into current archaeological and anthropological scholarship. Outlining the changing interpretations of the relationship of Kerma and Egypt has three goals: 1) to establish the history of the subject and to contextualize former scholarship, 2) to serve as an outline for assessing prior studies of Nubian archaeological material for other studies of Kerma and of other Nubian cultures, and 3) to incorporate relevant archaeological and anthropological theorists into the discussion of ancient Nubia, thereby introducing the Kerma culture to a larger scholarly discussion.

Was Kush wretched?: Kamose, Kerma, and the legacy of Ancient Egyptian colonization

The textual record left by Egyptians poses the late Second Intermediate Period and beginning of the New Kingdom as a time of the Pharaoh's great military achievements against northern and southern foes. In particular, the stela of Kamose describe a weakened Egypt saved by the military valor of this last king of Dynasty 17. Pharaonic propaganda is embedded in a long history of interaction between Egyptians and Nubians, however, and cannot be taken at face value as an accurate portrayal of the historical reality. In the Egyptian world-view Nubians were posed as Wretched Kush, craven encroachers on Egyptian territory who must be controlled and exploited for their luxurious resources. This *topos*, or idealized view, bolstered Egyptian aims of ancient colonialism (Smith 2003: 24, Loprieno 1988). After unpacking the implications of this ancient bias, the Egyptian texts of the Second Intermediate Period can still offer contextual information about interregional interactions between Kerma and Egypt.

The ancient Egyptians used the Nubians as an example of barbarianism in contrast to the civilization of Egypt (Smith 2003, Adams 1977). The name of the geographical region of Nubia

was always paired with a derogative epithet: *k3š hzi*, “wretched Kush” (Smith 2003: 1). It is widely accepted now that this Egyptian animosity towards Nubia was not racial prejudice, but rather was primarily a prejudice toward non-Egyptians (Smith 2003: 22). In other words, neither the skin color of the Nubians nor other different racial characteristics were the factors on which Egyptians constructed their attitude; rather the concern was that they were not Egyptianized (Smith 2003: 22). During periods in which Nubians were acculturated to Egyptian norms to a higher degree, they were accepted by the Egyptians to the point of achieving main roles in administration,²³ of being granted burial in the Valley of the Kings,²⁴ and being recognized as legitimate pharaohs in Dynasty 25. However, the ideas of acculturation and Egyptianization become problematic in light of the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in the Classic Kerma Period. The assumption should not be made that the use of Egyptian objects and motifs always implies acculturation through the adoption of Egyptian cultural practices.

Instead, the use of foreign material and visual elements could have also played a significant role in ceremonies of legitimation as was found in Egypt and throughout the Near East. The Egyptian construction of the *topos* of the wretched Nubian was embedded in a dialogue of conquest and control. In the Egyptian world-view, Nubians were meant to be subjugated to Egypt and provide an everlasting flow of luxurious raw materials, especially animal skins, ivory, ebony, gold, ostrich eggs and feathers. Scenes of the presentation of tribute (*inw*) to the pharaoh were particularly prominent in the New Kingdom (Smith 2003: 70), but the idea of control of Nubian resources is also a central theme in Middle Kingdom pharaonic texts. Senusret III’s stern declaration of setting Egypt’s border against the Nubians at Semna (Smith 1991: 126; Lichtheim 1973: 118), which mixes specific instructions for admission of Nubians for economic exchange with bombastic statements of Egypt’s triumph over craven foreigners, demonstrates the entanglement of mutually beneficial trade with programs of imperialism. The Nubians involved in trade and tribute with Egypt probably included the many ancient population groups throughout Lower Nubia, as well as the Kermans.

The Egyptian view of Kerma: from trade to conflict

Beginning in the Old Kingdom, equivalent to the Ancient Kerma Period, Egyptian textual sources describe commercial contacts between the regions. Harkhuf’s trade expedition to Yam, for example, may have reached the Third Cataract or even farther south (O’Connor 1986, 1987). A sandstone stela with a hieratic inscription was found as part of a Middle Kerma chapel foundation, and it names two Egyptian boat captains who memorialized their voyage to Kerma, probably during the Old Kingdom (Bonnet 1990: 95-7). While Egyptian military action was the likely cause of the end of the A-Group (Morkot 2000), there is no evidence for conflict with Ancient Kerma.

During the Middle Kingdom, Egyptians and Nubians seem to have entered into a conflicted relationship of both hostility and cooperative exchange. Hostilities between Egypt and Nubia came to be established in the Middle Kingdom, as Egyptian expansion in Lower Nubia led to increased contact with Middle Kerma peoples. At the beginning of Dynasty 12, Senusret I

²³ New Kingdom princes of Tekhet and Miam (Morris 2005: 93; Smith 2003: 205).

²⁴ Maiherpri in Dynasty 18 (Smith 2003: 22).

records coming into conflict with the northern Kerma settlement at Sai Island (Morris 2005: 100; Vercoutter 1956). During the Middle Kingdom, Egyptians included Nubians in their list of primary enemies. The possible name of a Kerman ruler from the end of Dynasty 12 may be embedded in an Egyptian magical text meant to bring him to ruin: *ḥk3 n k3š wttrrs (?) ms n tty ms n 3w33 skriw nbw nt3 ḥn^c.f*, “the prince of Kush Weteterereses, born of Tety, born of Awa’wa, strike all of those who are with him” (Posener 1940: 34, 48, no. A1). In this case, an Egyptians’ dislike of Kerman rulers provides the only hints of Kerman kings names in their own language. Another Middle Kingdom execration text also names Awa’wa, born of his mother Kouna, demonstrating that Kerman kingship was likely inherited, passed from father to son (Gratien 1978: 295; Kendall 1997: 28-29).²⁵

Egyptian colonization of Lower Nubia in the Middle Kingdom demonstrates both sides of an uneasy relationship with Nubia. The massive fortification building program throughout the Second Cataract region during Dynasty 12 was almost certainly not just a symbolic Egyptian show of force or ‘hypertrophy’ (contra Adams 1977: 183). Rather, the consolidation of wealth and political power in the Middle Kerma kingdom must have been one of the motivations for the construction of the Second Cataract fort system, along with economic concerns (cf. Smith 1991: 126; Trigger 1982).

Records from the Semna forts record the diligence with which the Egyptian soldiers watched the river and desert routes (Smither 1945). In these preserved documents, only relatively sporadic and small groups of Medjay traders were encountered, which suggests that the massive scale of the forts was designed to confront a more direct threat from the south. The increase in Egyptian activity in Lower Nubia, especially if it facilitated trade in exotic goods, would have also had an effect on the Middle Kerma community (Edwards 2004: 90). This is correspondingly the period that fortifications begin to be erected around the Kerma settlement (ibid; Bonnet 1992, 1990). Therefore, building activities on the part of both polities suggest that the Egyptian - Kerman relationship of the Middle Kingdom was always tempered by the possibility of conflict.

Evidence from the Second Cataract forts during the Second Intermediate Period demonstrates that the Kermans moved into the power vacuum left, since only Egyptian “expatriots” remained in Lower Nubia. Smith’s re-evaluation of the archaeological remains from Askut and other Second Cataract forts also demonstrate a co-operative relationship between Kermans and Egyptians. Cooking pots at Askut were produced in both Kerman and Egyptian forms (Smith 2003), and a small Kerman cemetery was located at Mirgissa (Smith 1995: 135). Lower Nubia was a meeting point between population groups, especially with the Kerman settlement at Sai Island as a Nubian outpost. Two inscribed stelae from Buhen describe Egyptian residents serving the ruler (*ḥk3*) of Kush, who is most likely the king of Kerma. These Egyptian officials can be placed in their family lineage, and lived during the latter part of the Second Intermediate Period (Säve-Söderberg 1949: 56). The stele of Iahwoser (Khartoum 18) states: “He says: I was a valiant servant of the ruler of Kush, I washed [my] feet in the waters of Kush in the suite of the ruler *Ndh*, and I returned safe and sound [to my] family” (ibid: 52). The stele

²⁵ In comparison, the larger textual corpus relating to royal succession in the Napatan and Meroitic periods demonstrates that kingship could be passed from father to son, or alternately from one brother to another, or from husband to wife (Welsby 1996: 25-27).

of Sepedhor (Philadelphia 10984) states: “He says: I was a valiant commandant of Buhen, and never did any commandant do what I did; I built the temple of Horus, Lord of Buhen, to the satisfaction of the ruler of Kush” (ibid: 55). These two residents of Buhen commemorated their allegiances to the ruler of Kush, rather than to a geographically removed Egyptian king. Iahwoser records his voyage south, most likely to the city of Kerma itself, while Sepedhor may have been contracted by the Kerman king to rebuild the Egyptian temple of Horus at Buhen. These textual hints provide a precedence for the employment of Egyptian ‘ex-pats’ by the Kerman king, although this should not be used as a free license to posit all Egyptianizing material culture found at Kerma as the handiwork of ethnic Egyptians.

This evidence of Egyptian - Nubian cooperation during the Second Intermediate Period illustrates that both groups adapted to a changed political situation and formed mutually beneficial relationships. Interaction and ‘entanglement’ between groups along territorial boundaries is to be expected. What is more important to concentrate on are questions of how this interaction was structured, and how it affected the parties involved. Kerma was set into a multi-faceted relationship with Egyptians, as those who had been resident in Lower Nubia for many generations lost their ties to the pharaonic political system, in contrast to those encountered as the Nubians voyaged north into Egypt proper.

During the Second Intermediate Period, key pieces of evidence in Egyptian texts provide evidence of hostilities and at least one major Nubian military campaign, although textual records became scarce as royal records lapsed in general. The primary Egyptian reference to military conflict with Kermans on Egyptian territory is found in a private tomb in El-Kab (Davies 2003). A section of the biographical inscription from the tomb of Sobeknakht II, nomarch of El-Kab, incorporates a reference to a battle in his list of achievements:

[Vile?] Kush came, aroused along his length, he having stirred up the tribes of Wawat (Lower Nubia), the island-[dwellers?] of Khenthennefer (Upper Nubia), Pwnt and the Medjaw...[entering even] into the neighbourhood of the Asiatics...unprecedented since the time of the god...the enclosure wall of Nekheb being destroyed...[the Egyptians went] to fight the Nubians [and continued south]...[the] might of the Great One, Nekhbet...strong of heart against the Nubians, they being burnt through fire...[the chiefs (?)] of the nomads fall(s) through the blast (?) of her flame...[the Egyptian king praises Sobeknakht] on account of the coming of his Person...to repel the looters...[whose] bodies become swollen...love of [the goddess] coursed through his (the king’s) body.
(Davies 2003: 52-53)²⁶

The relatively recent discovery of this text provided corroborating evidence for what scholars had suggested based on the Egyptian material at Kerma—the Kermans had gone on the aggressive against a weakened Egypt and taken war booty of their own (Davies 2003: 54). Egyptian hostilities against Kerma at the end of the Second Intermediate Period were then be in part undertaken as retaliation against the Nubians. The Sobeknakht II text is especially

²⁶ This translation of the text of Sobeknakht II is given by Davies (2003), while the original inscription is not fully published here. The text is often referred to but not often replicated, so the entire extent available is included here.

remarkable in regards to the strong material evidence of a Kerman campaign reaching El-Kab, which will be discussed in detail later in Chapter 3. Sobeknakht II boasts of triumphing over a strong Nubian force, specifically describing them as *ꜥwꜣꜣw*, “looters” (Davies 2003: 54). This private text provides the most direct evidence for Kerman military incursions far into Egyptian territory, while royal texts hedge their description of Nubia as part of a program of propaganda.

Pharaohs, especially those with the limited regional control of the Second Intermediate Period, would only have motivation to include references to their successful campaigns against Nubians in the south. This is the case at the end of the Second Intermediate Period, during the series of Egyptian campaigns against the Hyksos and Kermans that resulted in the reunification and consolidation of Egypt’s borders and the beginning of the New Kingdom. In the texts of kings Kamose and Ahmose, there is evidence of violent military campaigns reaching Kerman settlements. At the same time, caution must be used when evaluating the historical veracity of these pharaonic accounts. The role of the creation of these texts was not an impartial record, but was instead an integral practice in the symbolic propaganda of the pharaoh as the vanquisher of chaotic elements (Baines 1996).

The three stelae of Kamose address conflict with rulers of Kush at the end of the Second Intermediate Period. In the first Kamose stela (regnal year 3), the king argues with his nobles that the current restricted territory of Egypt is unacceptable: “I should like to know what purpose serves my strength, when one prince is in Avaris and another is in Kush, and I sit united with [an Asiatic] and a [Nubian], each man holding his slice of Egypt, who share the land with me” (Gardiner 1916: 99). The second stela of Kamose contains a reference to prior Egyptian campaigns against Kerma, alluded to in the text of a letter from the Hyksos ruler to the new ruler of Kush (Bonnet and Valbelle 2010: 363; Habachi 1972). This piece of evidence for a Hyksos - Kerma alliance is purported to have been carried by a Hyksos agent, who was captured by Kamose’s soldiers in the desert. The Hyksos ruler Apophis invites the Kerman king to coordinate a pincer move against Upper Egypt (Morris 2005: 68; Habachi 1972; Smith 1976: 61). Material evidence supporting this often cited Hyksos - Kerman alliance is lacking in Classic Kerma burials, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, based on the distribution of imports in private burial contexts. Although the details of Kamose’s battles in these best preserved texts center on his conflict with the Hyksos, remnants of a third stela from Karnak contain several references to Nubians (*Nḥsiw*) and may have contained further information on his Nubian campaigns (Van Siclen 2010). Kamose emphasizes Elephantine as the southern point of Egyptian control in the first stela (Gardiner 1916).²⁷ Fragments of another possible Kamose text states “Behold, he is in Elephantine” (Van Siclen 2010: 358), although it is also too fragmentary to determine if this refers to the king, Egyptians, or an enemy force. The analysis of statuary fragments from Classic Kerma royal burials will confirm that Elephantine was a major point of contact between Egypt and Nubia in the Second Intermediate Period (Chapter 3).

King Ahmose continued military campaigns against the Hyksos in the north and Kermans in the south. Two Egyptian soldiers provide their own accounts of the Nubian campaigns,

²⁷ Of noticeably better workmanship than his predecessors Tao I and Tao II, see Jacquet-Gordon 1999.

Ahmose son of Ibana and Ahmose Pennekhbet.²⁸ Ahmose son of Ibana gives the most detailed account of Nubian campaigns under king Ahmose, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I (Morris 2005: 70-71). The campaigns progressed further south over time, with the Egyptian base set at the retaken Second Cataract Forts.²⁹ Ahmose went to the region of Khenthennefer first, which may refer to the region directly south of the Second Cataract and could be the Kerma settlement at Sai in this case (ibid; O'Connor 1987: 115; Goedicke 1965; Vandersleyen 1971). The subsequent two campaigns are only specified to have taken place in the south (Morris 2005: 71). Amenhotep I reached 'The Upper Well' according to Ahmose son of Ibana, which may be Selima Oasis (ibid; Berg 1987: 7). The settlement of Kerma may not have been breached until the reign of Thutmose I, when he records defeating the Kushite ruler in a stela at the nearby site of Tombos (Morris 2005: 72; Bradbury 1986; Urk. IV, 83: 17-84: 5).

The razing of Kerma by the Egyptians is confirmed by destruction levels found in the city and religious areas of Kerma (Bonnet and Valbelle 2004: 68-73). The date of the destruction levels have been suggested to be from the close of the 'Hyksos Period' (Bonnet 1979: 8; Morris 2005: 68), to as late as the reign of Thutmose II (Bonnet 2001: 228; Morris 2005: 69). On a political level, the Kerma kingdom seems to have been neutralized by the reign of Thutmose I. Thutmose I was the first pharaoh to ensure control of the Third Cataract region by enlisting the loyalty of several local Nubian leaders, who would function to control the region under his pharaonic authority (Morris 2005: 92-93).³⁰ Remnants of the Kerman population have been

²⁸ For Ahmose son of Ibana: Sethe, Urk. IV, 5: 4 to 8: 2; for Ahmose Pen-nekhbet: Sethe, Urk. IV, 36: 1-4).

²⁹ The soldier Ahmose of Buhen fortress boasts of taking 46 prisoners during campaigns with Kamose (Morris 2005: 68; MacIver and Woolley 1911: 90-91; Vandersleyen 1971: 62-64). Another private inscription, of a steward named Emhab, suggests that the Nubian region of Miu was reached by the third year of possibly Kamose's reign (Morris 2005: 68; Cerny 1969: 91; Baines 1986: 41-53; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: 1-2; Goedicke 1995: 3-29). Kamose had definitely reached Buhen fortress by year three of his reign, as another private inscription refers to his restoration campaign at the fortress (Morris 2005: 69; H. S. Smith 1976: pl. 2, fig. 1).

³⁰ See Thutmose I Tombos stele (Urk. IV, 86:1) and coronation (Urk. IV, 80: 17) (Morris 2005: 93). This incorporation of local Nubian princes/chiefs into Egyptian administration became a key controlling tactic in the New Kingdom, especially with the princes of Tekhet and Miam (Morris 2005: 93; Smith 2003: 205). The ensuing Egyptianization or acculturation of the Nubian princes as seen in their burials, as opposed to their depiction as marked Nubians in Egyptian contexts, demonstrates this particular political relationship (see Smith 2003).

found in early Dynasty 18 contexts in Egypt,³¹ while Egyptian settlements in the Third Cataract region preserve evidence of intermarriage and some continuation of Kerma religious practices.³²

Can Kerma speak for itself?: archaeological evidence

The Egyptian evidence presented above speaks to their side of the relationship between Egypt and Kerma in the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods. The ancient Kermans have no textual records of their own, so any understanding of their experience of this period must come from the archaeological evidence preserved at the site of Kerma. As outlined in Chapter 1, the burials of the kings and the rest of the Classic Kerma community provide extensive material that potentially opens the understanding of Nubian side of this interregional interaction. The corpus of finds from the burials of the Classic Kerma Period is especially rich in evidence, and deserves to be used more prominently in the larger scholarly discussion of the Second Intermediate Period. Several factors have hindered the study of the evidence, including the difficulty of utilizing the published and unpublished excavation records, and the underlying misinterpretation of the finds on the part of the original excavator, George Reisner.

The following section will address the evidence available for the discussion of Classic Kerma, beginning with the early excavation of the Eastern Cemetery by Reisner and now with the additional information found by the on-going excavation by Charles Bonnet. The material uncovered by Bonnet's team has been of primary importance for contextualizing the earlier Eastern Cemetery finds, both in the context of the Classic Kerma Period, and the cultural developments that led up to it.

The Evidence

The evidence for the Classic Kerma Period that forms the basis of this study was contained in the royal and private burials situated in the Eastern Cemetery at the site of Kerma. The majority of the finds were collected and recorded during the turn-of-the-last-century excavation by Reisner, and his presentation and interpretation was undertaken through the lenses of Culture Historical archaeology, assumptions based in the ancient Egyptian presentation of "Wretched Kush," and the colonialist systems of Northern Africa.

³¹ Archaeological finds offer other evidence for Kermans living and producing material culture throughout Egypt in the period directly after the destruction of their Nubian capital. Bourriau has collected much evidence of Kermans living and dying in Egypt, with distinctive Kerma beakers and other pottery found in early New Kingdom funerary contexts at Thebes, and domestic contexts at Kahun, Hierakonpolis, Edfu, and Memphis (Bourriau 1991). While at Deir el-Ballas, Lacovara's excavations uncovered a significant amount of Nubian cookware sherds, fragments of leather kilts, and bone awls like those found at Kerma (1990: 4, 7, 16-18). This evidence shows that Kermans were actively engaged with Egyptians during the Kerma Récent period/early Dynasty 18, continuing some of their own cultural practices despite the Egyptian conquest of their capital and dissolution of their independent Nubian kingdom.

³² Smith's excavations at Tombos, close to Kerma, have shown that the Nubian and Egyptian residents intermarried during New Kingdom occupation (Smith 2003).

Other evidence from the site of Kerma, especially burials from the earlier Pre-, Ancient and Middle Kerma Periods, has been the product of nearly 40 years of excavation by Bonnet. Renewed excavations at Kerma were the result of the growth of Nubian archaeology during the salvage campaigns at the time of the construction of the Aswan High Dam in the 1960s. As scholars raced to document as much of Lower Nubia as possible before it was submerged under Lake Nasser, the body of evidence for all periods of ancient Nubia increased. Continuities over time became more clear, and the emphasis shifted towards the understanding of ancient Nubian cultures as powerful and independent. Bonnet's work at Kerma has provided the backbone for reinterpreting the Classic Kerma culture.

Culture History: Reisner, objects, and peoples

The first official excavation at the site of Kerma was led by the American Egyptologist George Andrew Reisner from 1913-1916. Reisner had his beginnings in Egyptology in 1899 under the patronage of Phoebe Apperson Hearst, excavating in Egypt to provide artifacts for the Anthropological Museum at the University of California, Berkeley. When Hearst's funding ended, he became the head of the joint Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston expedition and he spent the rest of his career based at Giza. Reisner is often credited as the 'Father of American Egyptology' and is known for his pioneering excavation techniques which included detailed photographic recording (Reid 2002: 199-201). He first explored Nubia in 1907 as part of the First Nubian Survey, sponsored by the Egyptian Antiquities Service to perform salvage archaeology before the first Aswan dam was built (Lacovara 1996: 141). His return to Nubia in 1913 was originally meant to be an excavation at the site of Sesi, but after he arrived in the Sudan he was asked to work at the more southern site of Kerma as planned agricultural projects threatened to flood the archaeological remains (ibid: 143), although this flooding ultimately did not occur.

Reisner concentrated his excavations on the most obvious architectural remains at Kerma, namely the two large Deffufa mud brick structures, the large tumuli which included subsidiary burials, and surrounding minor tumuli. The city, now known to surround the Western or Lower Deffufa KI close to the Nile, was not excavated because his initial survey found no buried structures (Kendall 1997: 21, Reisner 1923a: 34-7). Reisner accurately recorded the particulars of the site, as published in his 1923 excavation reports, but he also indulged in speculation as to who had inhabited Kerma. He concluded that the site was an Egyptian trading outpost, overseen by Egyptian officials who were later buried in Nubian type tombs due to intermarriage with the local population (Reisner 1915: 71-2).

Reisner's interpretations of his finds at Kerma were strongly influenced by several prevalent epistemologies circulating at the turn of the twentieth century. Working as a culture historian, determining and seriating object types was of prime importance in his study. With this goal of categorization, Reisner focused on assigning a cultural designation to each type of object found. The inclusion of Egyptian object types with other object types that displayed both Egyptian and Nubian elements provided room for speculation about the ancient inhabitants of the site. If cultural practices and identities are taken as static and essentialized, then the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture at Kerma could lead to the conclusions that Egyptians must have been present at the site as well. Also working with the model of diffusion, or the passive influence of a stronger culture on another, Reisner determined that the more

concentrated Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in the southern area of the Eastern cemetery represented the first contact of the Egyptians with the Nubians. The lower concentration of Egyptian imports and the distinctly Kerma nature of other burials in the middle and northern sections of the Eastern cemetery was thought to represent a gradual decline of the local cultural practices into “debased” Nubian forms (1923a: 98).

The value judgements inherent in Reisner’s interpretations of the Kerma material were also influenced by the common preconceptions of colonialist archaeology at the time. As defined by Trigger, this is a practice of archaeology that concentrates on the primitive characteristics of a culture as part of a justification of the modern mistreatment and colonization of the area in question (1984: 360). The lack of development of a culture over time is also present, in part to deny the group a legitimizing history as well as to emphasize the primitiveness of the culture (ibid). This ahistorical approach is also found in Reisner’s final characterization of the site of Kerma:

I take my picture of the time largely from Lower Nubia as it is to-day, living its isolated, primitive, agricultural life in political security, relying...on its income from servitors in the employment of Europeans. The population is now, I imagine, much the same in numbers, and much the same culture, as it was then. The largest centers of population had then, as now, a few Egyptian officials, bullying the local inhabitants and cursing their place of exile. (Reisner 1923b: 7)

This quote, in addition, demonstrates the doubly biased interpretation of Kerma. Reisner is not only placing the ancient Nubians in the role of the modern colonized people, but also in their ancient colonized role as discussed above. European colonists are conflated with Egyptians, and the result is a picture of the area under a constant, unchanged state of subjugation, never making any cultural achievements of its own. This interpretation is not only colonialist, it is also Egyptocentric (Kendall 1997: 26).

It is important to note that Reisner was not necessarily as influenced by modern colonialist attitudes as by ancient ones. As an American, he was not directly involved in the British or French colonial administration of North Africa. Reisner has been hailed as remarkably forward-thinking in his relationship with his Egyptian workers, training them as archaeologists and sometimes leaving them in charge of excavations (Dunham 1972: 16). He was even known to have supported Egyptian control of the Antiquities service, and Egyptian nationalism on the whole (Reid 1985: 238). Egyptian control of the Sudan was still a political issue in modern times; the most recent period of colonization was 1820-1881 under Ismail Pasha (Adams 1993: 616-7). In addition, his writings on Egyptian finds do not seem to have the same racial biases as those on Nubia (Reisner 1911). These facts point to a more nuanced interpretation of Reisner’s perspective. Perhaps his archaeology was colonialist more in sympathy with Egyptian colonists, rather than European ones.

The ancient Egyptians’ attitude towards “Wretched Nubia,” as discussed above, was mirrored by early Egyptologists like Reisner. First exposed to Egyptian culture, these archaeologists took this already formed prejudice with them while making forays into Nubian archaeology. The ancient Egyptian attitude, as well, meshed easily with modern racial

prejudices. This conflated the biases and resulted in severely skewed scholarship such as Reisner's. Also, the fact that Nubia was first explored archaeologically only by Egyptologists has led to the study of Nubia today being grouped as a subfield of Egyptology. Although the regions have many ancient interconnections, this disciplinary grouping perhaps helps to propagate Egyptian primacy over Nubia (Adams 1993: 18). In the case of Kerma, the ancient Egyptian colonialist bias was so strong, the Egyptians did not even have to colonize Kerma for it to be considered a colony by early Egyptologists.

During the first season of excavating the site, Reisner was confused by what he found, but eager to determine who have lived and been buried at Kerma. He asked the readers of the semi-popular museum bulletin: "If they are Egyptian, whence comes the strange pottery and the awful burial custom [of human sacrifice]?" (1914: 24). The obviously distinct material culture and funerary practices at Kerma did not logically mesh with what to him was the most obvious explanation, that of Kerma as an Egyptian outpost. Kendall characterizes his reaction as "overwhelmed by the material wealth of the site," leaving him unable to believe that Nubians were able to produce such accomplishments (1997: 4-5). Unable to fit the archaeological evidence into his preferred model, he found alternate explanations. These explanations center around the biased racial and gender theories of the early 20th century which assign both African races and women as significantly inferior to both Europeans and ancient Egyptians.

Reisner's interpretation of Kerma was ultimately based on the textual evidence he found at the site, namely one stela, several inscribed statues, inscribed vessels and mud seal impressions (Reisner 1923b: 505-531). No native inscriptions were found, as the ancient Nubians had no writing system until the Meroitic period (ca. 270 B.C.), although later Nubians authored texts in Egyptian (Haynes 1992: 45). The prioritizing of written sources over archaeological evidence resulted in the severe misinterpretation of the site of Kerma, in combination with Reisner's preconceived perspectives. One main textual source was an inscribed stela which described the delivery of mud bricks to the 'Walls of Amenemhat' (Reisner 1923b: 511). Reisner interpreted this as commemorating Egyptian construction of the Eastern Deffufa, and therefore thought the name of the site was the 'Walls of Amenemhat,' a title which could be interpreted as an Egyptian fort (ibid). He was able to find the names of his supposed Egyptian rulers of Kerma in the largest tumuli, KIII. In it he found the large and well made statue of Lady Sennuwy and a fragmentary statue of her husband, Hepdjefa. They are both inscribed, naming the individuals and giving Hepdjefa's title of nomarch of Assiut (ibid: 513).

Although Hedjefa and Sennuwy had a known tomb in Assiut, Reisner argued that their true burial was at Kerma and the un-Egyptian nature of the tomb was due to the influence of Hepdjefa's Nubian wives.

The position of the female in primitive polygamous communities is easily misunderstood by modern Europeans...Her functions approach more nearly to those of an animal, and she clings with ignorant and uncomprehending obstinacy to the practices of her neolithic ancestors...these customs (in the case of Kerma) agree in every essential with the beliefs of the Egyptians, of the Nubians, and the negroes, in regard to the life after death...The influence of one old negress from Central Africa in a hareem of such females might have started the *sati*-custom

[human sacrifice] in the Egyptian colony; the influence of half a dozen such women would have made it epidemic. (ibid: 557-8)

Reisner's opinion clearly illustrates both the source and result of his early 20th century Western prejudices. When confronted with archaeological evidence suggesting a Nubian civilization, he relied on textual evidence for his final interpretation, employing both prejudiced racial and gender theories to explain away the discrepancy. As will be demonstrated in this study, high-status Kerma women in fact seem to have played a key role in the community. Reisner's misogynistic model precluded any consideration of this possibility.

This supposed recalcitrance of 'primitive women' is found again when Reisner analyzes the distinct crafts found at Kerma, which include pottery, metalwork and faience. The black-top red-ware found at the site is of especially fine quality and has strikingly beautiful iridescent bands (Kendall 1997: 84). Reisner mistakenly believed it to have been manufactured on the potters wheel which was previously unknown in Nubia but had been used in Egypt, thus showing Egyptian influence on local manufacture (1923b: 326). Faience production as well was thought to have been controlled by the Egyptian population (ibid: 135). He provided an explanation for the mixed nature of material culture at the site, with purely Egyptian artifacts, those that seemed to be made locally but resembled Egyptian products, and the purely Nubian objects.

The examination of the arts and crafts has shown that the characteristic Egyptian products have suffered no alternation other than the one due to new materials and new environment; that the unusual development of new crafts is the result of the application of Egyptian skill to local crafts; and that the local crafts which persisted unmodified were what may be called the women's crafts. (1923b: 557)

The local crafts mentioned include intricate leather-working, ivory bed inlays with distinctive animal motifs (winged giraffes, vultures, goats, ostriches, and Taweret figures), mica clothing or cap ornaments with similar motifs, and unique jewelry such as glazed quartz beads that make up the majority of the distinctively Nubian material culture. Here Reisner proposes his model of Egyptians bringing technology to the African site, with resistance to change and hence primitiveness once again due to the doubly hindered African women.

Reisner's misinterpretation of Kerma had lasting influences. In his original excavation reports published in 1923, he only published the finds from the southern cemetery. This is the Classic Kerma cemetery, with the most complex and wealthy burials, which Reisner saw as the "Egyptian Cemetery" (1923b: 61). He thought that the middle and northern cemeteries were Nubian, built after Egyptians had left the area, and that the smaller tombs with lesser funerary goods demonstrated a decline in civilization after the loss of Egyptian influence (ibid: 556-8). It is now accepted that the north and middle cemeteries are actually the earlier burials, showing increasing complexity over time rather than degradation, but the excavation reports for these cemeteries were not published until 1982 by Reisner's successor, Dows Dunham. Dunham diplomatically states in the introduction of the publication that "this material [was] regarded by

Reisner as of secondary interest” (1982: vii) and that “[m]y more recent study...has convinced me that Reisner’s view of Kerma as governed and controlled by Egypt in the Middle Kingdom was in error” (ibid: ix).

Other lasting influences stem from that fact that Kerma is not the only Nubian site for which Reisner founded the archaeological interpretation. His work on the First Nubian Survey set the basis for all later Nubian archaeology by determining the chronology of successive Nubian cultures, from A-Group to X-Group (Lacovara 1996: 141). This scholarship exhibits the same types of thoughts about race, as well as a colonialist perspective. For example, when defining the Nubian B-group culture, he describes it as a “manifestly degenerated form” of a earlier Egyptian period (Reisner 1909: 5-6). Thus Reisner, as a biased early 20th century scholar, produced the framework for all later studies of Nubia.

Dissenting opinions, lasting repercussions

Reisner’s conclusions about Kerma were challenged early, but until the 1940s they stood as the majority opinion, and only by the 1960s were they finally overturned. As early as 1920, in response to Reisner’s first publications in the Museum of Fine Arts museum bulletins, Hermann Junker challenged Reisner’s interpretation. Junker had also excavated in Nubia in the early 20th century, and believed that Reisner’s theory that Egyptian officials were willingly buried outside of Egypt by foreign customs was not credible. Junker noted that Egyptians abhorred the idea of a burial in foreign territory, and argued that even in a colonial situation Hepdjefa would have returned his body to Egypt for interment in his known tomb at Assiut (Kendall 1997: 26). He also argued that the Western Deffufa could not be an Egyptian fort because it was not defensible due to its small size and distance from the nearest Egyptian garrison at Semna (Kendall 1997: 26, referring to Junker 1920: 18-26).

Another key argument against Reisner was put forth by Torgny Säve-Söderbergh in 1941. His close analysis of the inscribed objects from Kerma found several instances of statues, seals and scarabs in the supposed tomb of Hepdjefa that dated to Dynasty 13 and up to two centuries later than Hepdjefa’s known death (Kendall 1997: 26-7; Säve-Söderbergh 1941: 103-16). Therefore, it is chronologically impossible for these later-dating objects to have been included in a Dynasty 12 burial of Hepdjefa, proving that although this Egyptian’s sculpture was present, the man named on it was not interred in tumulus KIII.

It was not until 1964 that Kerma’s significance as a capital city was established and the true significance of Kerma became widely accepted. Fritz Hintze made the connection between the site and textual references to the kingdom of Kush in his article, “Das Kerma-Problem.” He argued that the textual sources showed the heyday of Kush to be in the Second Intermediate Period and that Kerma also seemed to reach its peak at that same period. In addition, he stated that the Kamose stelae described an alliance between the Hyksos and the Kushites, and trade material at the Kerma proved a close relationship between the northern rulers and the Nubians (Kendall 1997: 30, Hintze 1964: 82-3).³³ His conclusion was that Kerma must be the capital of

³³ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware and why this material does not support a close relationship between the Hyksos and Kerma.

Kush, the large tumuli were royal burials, and therefore the wealth at the site demonstrated the Kushite civilization's power during its zenith (Hintze 1964: 83).

A careful regional survey by Gratien in 1978 put the problems in Reisner's chronology to rest. Comparing the finds at Kerma with material from smaller Kerma occupation centers, especially pottery types, Gratien argued that Reisner's chronology must be reversed. Instead of a degenerating Egyptian culture descending into more Nubian forms, the long sequence of development and social stratification of the Kerma culture ended with the Classic Kerma evidence, which included a significant amount of Egyptian imports. Her study has remained as the key resource for the reconstruction of the chronology of the Classic Kerma Period, especially of the sequence of royal Kerma tumuli as: Tumulus KXVI, KX, KIV, and finally KIII. At this point the problem with Reisner's basic interpretations was solved and scholarship on Kerma changed drastically. The entire perspective on ancient Nubia was changing as well, helped along by new information furnished by yet another salvage campaign.

Nubia emerges: Bonnet and the growth of Nubian studies

A new wave of Nubian archaeologists was created by the construction of the Aswan High Dam beginning in the 1960s. As with the salvage campaign Reisner headed in 1907, massive excavations and rescue operations were undertaken before almost all of Lower Nubia was flooded by Lake Nasser (Kendall 1997: 31-2). Many of these archaeologists who came to work in Nubia had no previous background in Egypt, giving them a unique perspective on the Nubian sites. The benefit of no Egyptological background was that they had no preconceptions about ancient Nubia, namely the ancient Egyptian's view of Nubians as barbarians (Adams 1993: 19). Yet they were not without their own biases, now favoring the Nubian material. This has been characterized as a "certain cultural nationalism" by one of the biggest proponents of Nubiology, William Adams (1993: 19). This perspective involves the desire to raise the esteem of the Nubians in both the public and scholarly eye.

Charles Bonnet began his work in Nubia in the 1960s during the massive salvage campaigns to document ancient Nubian sites before they were submerged under Lake Nasser. Bonnet has excavated at the site of Kerma continuously since 1973, and was the first archaeologist to return there since Reisner in 1916. His expedition has continued work in the necropolis, but more importantly has excavated the town of Kerma as well (Kendall 1997: 33-4). Bonnet has also actively trained the local residents of Kerma in the practice of archaeology, taking them in Switzerland to work at medieval sites. He has pursued a relationship with the local community, working with them and teaching them about the site and Nubian history (Kendall 1997: 35). The new material found by Bonnet has helped to finally answer some of the questions about Kerma, opening the understanding of the Kingdom of Kerma as a powerful polity. At the same time, the discussion of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture at the site has decreased in prevalence.

The settlement of Kerma developed around the Western Deffufa, starting around 3500 BCE. Bonnet argued against designating this structure as a fort or trading post, but rather as a temple due to its similarity to the more obvious mortuary temple, the Eastern Deffufa KII. The

economic and manufacturing activity noted at the Western Deffufa seems to be directly associated with the religious functions of the temple, with the temple staff also running an economic institution as is found in Egypt (Bonnet 1992: 614). Another distinguishing feature of the town is a large circular building, which was a hut constructed out of wood and mud brick (ibid: 614). Bonnet thinks this may have been a royal audience hall, especially in comparison to similar historical Sub-Saharan structures, which was eventually replaced by a palace complex (1997: 94). These large structures demonstrate that Kerma was an important political center, functioning as the capital of Kush.

Bonnet's exploration of the cemetery at Kerma emphasizes continuity of burial practices over time, while also tracing the increase in complexity and material wealth in the burials (1992: 620-1). An understanding of the chronological outline is assisted by the fact that the necropolis grew to the south, leaving previous burials undisturbed (ibid: 620-1; 1986: 40-1). As the culmination of 1000 years or more of internal development, Bonnet describes the Classic Kerma Period as "the flowering of the civilization of Kerma" (ibid: 623). As discussed above, emphasizing continuity at the site acts to establish indigenous Nubian cultural developments, instead of relying on Egyptian influence as the driving force of change. Bonnet's work provides unequivocal evidence for this type of interpretation.

Ethnographic sources are used by Bonnet to draw parallels with ancient practices, thus emphasizing continuity with modern Nubians as well. The large hut in the center of the town is thought to only be known otherwise from modern structures in the region, such as at Darfur with audience halls of the sultan or in the southern Sudan with royal reception rooms (ibid: 616). The practice of placing cattle skulls in rows around the perimeter of the ancient tumuli may also be mirrored in the modern Nubian practice of prolonged funerary ceremonies, repeated for months after interment (ibid: 622). Other scholars have suggested that the placement of pebbles covering the surface of the tomb is still practiced in the region today, as well as the manufacture of strikingly similar wooden beds (Haynes 1992: 50, 55). Reisner, of course, had suggested modern continuity to the extreme of no cultural change over 4,000 years, but that argument centers more on idea of primitive stagnation. Again, the emphasis on continuity by Bonnet seems to have a different goal of stressing the indigenous development of Nubian culture, but in this case it also connects the ancient and modern Sudanese population.

Bonnet's decades of work at Kerma have brought to light the long history of development of this ancient culture. The presence of Egyptian imports and visual references are discussed in his work, but indigenous achievements are rightly his focus. The importance of Bonnet's contribution to defining Kerma as a kingdom in its own right cannot be understated. Bonnet presents the Egyptian objects found at the site as trade goods or booty taken from the Second Cataract Forts (1997: 89). Egyptian artistic influences, especially in the wall paintings of the royal funerary chapels, are explained by Kerma encounters with Egyptian models, perhaps at Thebes (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000). On the whole, Bonnet is much more engaged with the description and history of the rich Nubian culture he has uncovered at the site, not with its larger implications on Nubian relations with Egypt. That task has been picked up by others, using the evidence from both Bonnet's and Reisner's excavations to suggest interpretations.

The Interpretations

The primary information about Kerma comes from the excavations of Reisner and Bonnet, and has been interpreted through widely different perspectives since its discovery. After the evidence mounted against Reisner's interpretation of Kerma as an Egyptian outpost, Kerma finally gained the status of a Kingdom sixty-four years after its discovery. Social developments in the modern world have since further pushed the discussion of ancient Nubia into discussions about identity and the implications of the ancient world. Current themes in the study of Kerma link both indirectly and directly with anthropological theories surrounding issues of interregional interaction, materiality, style, agency and identity, as well as the larger issues of attention and access to the study of the past.

“Down the road towards empire”: Adams, neo-evolutionism, and the incipient state

Adams' encyclopedic work, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, was unfortunately published before data from Bonnet's excavations could be brought into the discussion.³⁴ The astute analysis of Adams therefore only covers the material published by Reisner, which most likely resulted in a bias in the favor for strong Egyptian influence at the site. Adams worked during the renaissance of neo-evolutionism (Yoffee 2005), and his analysis focuses on continuities in Nubian cultures with a basic goal of categorizing them along a scale of development. The primary argument that Adams makes, however, is that Nubian cultures were more advanced than previously recognized. Kerma, in particular, was determined to be a Kingdom within the neo-evolutionary schema, as the mortuary evidence demonstrates a large social divide between the ruler and his subjects, and the wealth of material and human sacrifices that accompanied the ruler in death speak to his control of resources, labor and human lives.

Kerma is assessed on the neo-evolutionist scale of cultural development, and becomes classified as a Kingdom. Adams states that the “presumably divine king and its state-organized trade represent a first, long step down the road towards empire. Had the culture been left to develop unmolested, stratified society, peasant economy, bureaucratic government, and the other ‘blessings’ of imperial civilization must inevitably have followed in time” (Adams 1977: 216). As for the tumuli, Adams finds them as evidence for a Nubian royal ruling elite who controlled Kerma. However, he suggests that the difference between the largest tumuli and the smaller tumuli does not necessarily speak of a stratified society, as the smaller tumuli could simply be less powerful kings. Although this is a possibility, further research is necessary to establish the chronological relationship between the major and minor tumuli, and the possibility that the minor tumuli could be the burials of royal family members, as in later Nubian cultures, is an alternate scenario. Adams notes that the subsidiary burials dug later into the tumuli demonstrate that some of the elite were not interred with the king at his death, but still wanted to have the honor of being buried near to him, showing that a close relationship to the king was potentially a route to elite status (ibid: 211).

³⁴ *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* was published in 1977, although Bonnet had began work at Kerma in 1975 the evidence was not able to be included in Adam's study.

Adams' emphasis on the long history of cultural development of ancient Nubia, and continuities between separate Nubian groups was a key step in breaking the study of ancient Nubia out of the constraints of an Egypto-centric perspective, into a field of study on its own terms. Adams sets out to provide a chronological overview of ancient Nubia, assigning each period to a cultural developmental stage. He directly addresses his perspective as a Nubiologist, not an Egyptologist by stating:

If I am able to paint Nubia in fuller and brighter colours than has usually been done, it is partly...at the expense of reducing events and personalities in Egypt to the compass of a kind of two-dimensional backdrop. Perhaps someday a wholly impartial appraisal of Egyptian-Nubian relations may be offered by someone equally sympathetic and equally knowledgeable of both peoples...in the meantime I believe that a 'Nubiocentric' outlook, if not more accurate, is at least more appropriate to the Nubians whose story I propose to tell. (1977: 6)

Here, Adams sets out the main influences on Nubian interpretations—sympathy and knowledge. Reisner's sympathy lay with the Egyptians, but from Adams on the predominant view falls on the side of the Nubians instead.

The Egyptian presence at Kerma is analyzed by Adams in detail. Adams finds no evidence of Egyptians living at Kerma in a trade enclave (1977: 202). The signs of Egyptian influence on the brickwork in the Deffufa and Tumulus KIII, paintings in the Egyptian style in the mortuary temples, the commerce at the Lower Deffufa, and Egyptian grave goods in the cemetery lead Adams to conclude that Egyptians were physically present at the site, but only as employees of the Nubian rulers, managing Nubian workmen (ibid: 210). Adams states that "the inscribed statues, as well as a good deal of other Egyptian-made material found at Kerma, were the discarded status symbols of a bygone age in Egypt, which enterprising merchants had unloaded on the gullible and status-conscious Nubian kings" (1977: 209).

Adams describes Reisner as the founder of both the study of ancient Nubia, and for setting migration theory as the basis for explaining cultural change. Reisner did not account for cultural change over time by internal developments, but rather as driven by successive waves of migration from Egypt. This theory was backed up by physical anthropologists working with him, such as Derry and Smith, who were using the now outdated methods of craniology to classify Kerman human remains as negroid or Egyptian colonists.³⁵ Adams rejected migration theory completely, stating that as archaeology stands now enough evidence has been found to fill in gaps between recognized Nubian cultures, and instead of emphasizing changes between them, continuities should be sought instead (Adams 1977: 666-7). This emphasis on producing histories of continuity instead of discord is one of the main changes of Nubian studies at the time he was writing. As will be demonstrated in the more recent works on Kerma, continuity

³⁵ Recent osteological studies have shown that there is a consistent Nubian population represented in Classic Kerma burials (Judd and Irish 2009), unlike the Nubian and Egyptian cohabitation of Tombos in the New Kingdom (Smith 2003).

emphasizes indigenous Nubian cultural achievements, rather than sudden cultural changes brought about by Egyptian invasion. It shifts the view of Nubia from that of a subjugated land that was brought civilization from Egyptian colonizers to that of autochthonous cultural identity and complexity. Acknowledging a continual, distinct cultural Nubian core can lead to a model that still discusses Egyptian impact through contact and colonization without detracting from Nubian identity.

Adams' final interpretation of Kerma is that of a strong monarchy, dependent on its power with "an economic symbiosis with Egypt," with Egyptians in the employment of the king to help run the trade activities (1977: 215-6). Yet he takes a cultural-evolutionary stance, classifying Kerma on the scale as "a transitional step between the Tribal and Dynastic stages of Nubian cultural development," while stating that if the inhabitants of Kerma had been left alone they would have developed into an "imperial civilization," but instead during the colonization directly after the end of the Classic Kerma period, "the full complex of civilization...arrived in Nubia...as a transplant from Egypt" (Adams 1977: 216). This conclusion seems to try to account both for the indigenous cultural achievements found at Kerma, as well as Egyptian New Kingdom colonial influence driving further cultural change. He finds that "the overall pattern of Nubian history is best understood from an evolutionary perspective," but does not find evidence supporting "any narrowly determinist view of evolution" (1977: 668). In other words, he feels he has successfully used an evolutionary model to partition and describe sequential periods of Nubian culture, but finds no factor such as environment or technology that determined this trajectory. He points instead to the external influence of Egypt, stating that:

nearly all of the major cultural developments of the last 4,000 years have come to Nubia by way of Egypt...it is no longer necessary to explain the transformations in Nubian history on the basis of invasions, it is nevertheless impossible to do so without continual reference to foreign influence. (Adams 1977: 669)

He likens this cultural diffusion to what is seen today in the process of colonialism, arguing that civilized centers exerted their influence on the less-civilized, both taking advantage of them and bringing about cultural change (Adams 1977: 670-1). The implications of this proto-world-systems approach will be discussed further below along with other current themes in research. This emphasis on indigenous cultural continuities balanced with foreign contact affecting change has the potential to provide a nuanced understanding of the Classic Kerma Period.

Adams' perspective on Kerma as a kingdom "on the road to empire" introduced this ancient polity as a full participant in the world-system of the Second Intermediate Period. As a kingdom, Kerma should be considered in the same terms as, and interacting with, Egypt's Dynasty 17 and the Hyksos Dynasty 15. Acting independently, Kerma kings likewise would have faced issues of maintaining and extending territory, building legitimacy within their community, and amassing and distributing resources.

The Afrocentrist Argument: Bernal, and civilization argues back

After Kerma came to be presented as a kingdom in academic scholarship, the larger implications of the study of ancient Africa for the modern world also came to the forefront. A heated debate about the possible African roots of Western civilization first centered on Egypt,

argued to be a black African civilization (Bernal 1987). The debate then grew to include Nubia as an example of ancient African cultural achievements that provided a less controversial alternative to Egypt.

An Afrocentrist perspective on the negative cultural implications of the denial of “civilization” in ancient Africa had begun much earlier. In the period of the first rebuttals against Reisner’s interpretations of Kerma, it was not only Egyptologists who were engaged or implicated in the discussion. The effects of colonialist archaeology were pointed out by African-American writers, such as W.E.B. Du Bois who added his voice to the protest against the process of African colonization:

Religion sighed with relief when it could base its denial of the ethics of Christ and the brotherhood of men upon the science of Darwin, Gobineau, and Reisner. (Du Bois 1946: 312-313)

Today, the anthropology that is being taught, and the expeditions financed for archaeological and ethnographical explorations, are for the most part straining every nerve to erase the history of black folk from the record. (Du Bois 1935: 333-4)

These comments put into perspective who is engaged in and affected by the debate about ancient Nubia. The history of Nubia is not only claimed by the modern Sudanese, it also plays into the identity of African-Americans or other groups who claim an African history. This is perhaps a wider audience than is found in other areas affected by colonialist archaeology, and it is also not a silent audience.

Although Afrocentrist scholars had been arguing for Africa’s important role in the creation and dissemination of civilization since the 1940s, the major work which affected scholars of ancient Egypt and Nubia was Martin Bernal’s *Black Athena*, published in 1987. Bernal’s basic argument is that Western civilization as it is popularly understood began in Egypt, and was then distributed to the Classical world, with the key distinction of Egypt as a black African civilization. The classification of ancient Egyptians as black African spurred a widespread debate.³⁶ As discussed above, ancient Egyptians saw themselves as very separate from Nubians and other groups in more southern African regions, and this fact seems to be ignored by Bernal to support his thesis (Vermeule 1996: 274). Although this book’s thesis is primarily concerned with Egypt’s relationship to the Greco-Roman world rather than relating to Nubia directly, this work seems to have sparked a reaction among those writing about Nubia.

As reflected in modern understandings about Kerma, and Nubia in general, these indigenous African cultures provide ample evidence of indisputable high levels and developments of civilization (Bard 1996: 111). In reaction to the legacy of biased historiography, as demonstrated in Reisner’s writings above, Afrocentrists such as Bernal argue for an opposing interpretation, arguing that Egypt’s cultural achievements are based in an essential “African-ness.” Bernal’s main impact on the established scholarly community was to instigate a larger discussion of ancient ethnicity, of underlying assumptions about a unified or

³⁶ It is not my intention to enter into the debate of the race of ancient Egyptians in this dissertation, but rather my goal is to add to the understandings about the ancient African culture of Kerma.

essentialized “African-ness” to culture, and of the importance of promoting knowledge about ancient Nubia.

Adams, for example, addresses the pre-Bernal Afrocentrist issue with strong feelings. He directly states that “it is not my place or intention to make propaganda for nationalist or racist movements,” and that his scholarship is meant to view Nubians on their own terms as an important culture, without bringing in modern debates about race (1977: 8). More recent scholarship about ancient Nubia and Kerma in particular also seems to always, at least indirectly, be addressing the Afrocentrist argument. The dominant approach seems to be to emphasize the ancient Nubian cultural achievements, with the result of partly proving an advanced level of African civilization, while also providing the counter-argument that Egypt need not be problematically classified as African just to promote African achievements.

Some have called for the use of narratives of ancient Sudan in the help of overcoming deep political divides in modern Sudan and South Sudan (Elamin 1999). Kohl, in his discussion of archaeology and nationalism, has suggested that the ancient past has the potential to be used positively in the construction of new national narratives (1996). In the case of ancient Nubia, a focus on the African nature of ancient Nubia was needed to counterbalance former Egypto-centric studies. But this trend in of itself needs to be balanced, and the effects of ancient Nubia’s relationship(s) with Egypt must be discussed in a nuanced way.

Current themes in the understandings of Kerma

In the past 30 years since the debates about the status of Kerma as a Nubian kingdom and the larger cultural implications of this classification, the shift in focus on ancient Nubia as an area of study on its own has increased along with a push to bring Nubia into public view. Outside of the academic dialogue of specialists (i.e., Bonnet, Gratien, Lacovara, O’Connor, Smith, Török, Welsby, Valbelle), much progress in the development of a wider understanding of Nubia has been undertaken, especially in the context of museum exhibits. Beginning in 1978 with the exhibition “Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan,” at the Brooklyn Museum, and culminating in the mid 1990s, several temporary exhibitions were devoted to Nubian artifacts. These include the exhibitions “Kerma, royaume de Nubie: l’antiquité africaine au temps des pharaons” at the Geneva Museum in 1990, “Ancient Nubia: Egypt’s Rival in Africa” at the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1993, and “Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, 2500-1500 BC: the archaeological discovery of an ancient Nubian empire” at the Smithsonian Museum in 1997. The first permanent exhibition of Nubian material also opened around this time, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1992. This exhibit was originally suggested by Dunham in 1935, displayed only a small fraction of the objects brought back to Boston by Reisner (Lacovara 1996: 147), and is currently closed during major renovations though it was briefly brought to the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, NYU in 2011. These exhibits helped to expose the public to ancient Nubia, their catalogues remain as main resources for research on ancient Nubia, and the exhibitions have also served as platforms for the institutions behind them to promote updated perspectives on Nubian archaeology.

Now consistently posed as a powerful “Kingdom,” which stands as “Egypt’s Rival in Africa,” Kerma can be investigated on its own terms. Some approaches that fit within larger

themes in anthropological and archaeological theories have the most potential for investigating the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in the Classic Kerma Period. Posing Kerma as its own political entity, not as a passive periphery to Egypt's core, can demonstrate how foreign material culture can be embedded in systems of political capital and prestige in the Kerman community. The focus on the materiality of the Egyptian imports can further demonstrate the active role these objects played as they changed their "regimes of value" along the trajectory of their social biography. The styles used for Kerma-made objects with Egyptian motifs can be posed as the active design choices of Kermans (individuals or groups) who were searching for new expressions of their elite identities. The integration of the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture into the social negotiations of the Kerman community opens new lines of investigation into the identities within it. Foremost in all of these approaches, the active choices made by the Kermans in the use of foreign objects and visual elements emphasizes their agency, allowing for an understanding of a Nubia that is both independent and entangled with its northern neighbor, Egypt.

Egypt's Rival in Africa: Kerma, World-systems, and other models of interregional interaction

The current model of Kerma and Egypt as independent, but interacting polities has its basis in ancient world-systems theory. The world-system focus on systems of exchange and economic interdependence provides a model for how Egyptian imports can act as the material traces and as the integral players in these systems of interaction. Previously, the ideas of cultural diffusion and misplaced colonialism of Reisner and Culture History did not allow for an understanding of Kerma as an independent polity. Egyptian culture, understood as superior to that of the Nubians, was seen to force itself upon the Kermans. The Kermans, in turn, were seen to accept these influences without protest. The only exception in Reisner's interpretation of Kerma is the "ignorant and uncomprehending obstinacy" of the Nubian women who held to their native funerary practices, but in this case their ascribed self-determination is set in a negative light.

With the advent of World-Systems theory (Wallerstein 1979), and its application to the ancient world,³⁷ the potential for describing a somewhat more active Nubian relationship with Egypt emerged. After its reassessment under the neo-evolutionist schema of the 1970s (Adams 1977), Kerma was granted Kingdom status and entered the Bronze Age World System. As a "Corridor to Africa" (ibid), the exchange of raw luxury materials with Egypt was modeled on a core-periphery relationship and the development of the Middle Kerma Culture was posed as the result of Secondary State formation (cf. Smith 1998, Trigger 1976). This exchange relationship between Kerma and Egypt allows for an understanding of a mutually beneficial interregional interaction, in which the Nubians became exposed to Egyptian cultural practices. Within these

³⁷ For the application of World Systems theory to the ancient world, see: Frank, Andre Gunder. 1993. *The world system: 500 or 5000 years?* London: Routledge. Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, Cambridge University Press, Curtin, P.D. 1984. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press., Earle, Timothy and Johnathon Erickson (eds). 1977. *Exchange Systems in Prehistory*. Academic Press, New York.

previous world-systems models, however, the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture at Kerma teeters on the edge of passive adoption and active adaptation.

Kohl has argued against a strict classification of core and periphery in the Bronze Age. His critique of the use of World-Systems theory in studies of the ancient world argues that “the development of underdevelopment in the Bronze Age was ... itself underdeveloped” (1987: 23). The easily transferable technologies of the Bronze Age were actively adopted for use in regions in the periphery, and their uses and significance were transformed in their new contexts of use (ibid). Contact and growing interdependency, therefore, lessens the potential gap in technology that would keep a periphery subject to the power of a core, and allowing it to develop into its own politically autonomous polity (ibid). The result of this shift in power relations was that the former periphery grew “sometimes even to the extent of conquering their civilized neighbors” (Kohl 1992: 118). Kohl’s model of an evolving core-periphery relationship is applicable to that of Kerma and Egypt, in that it establishes a framework for modeling an economic interdependency that has the potential to change its participants drastically over its course of development.

As “Egypt’s Rival in Africa” (O’Connor 1993), Kerma was posed as an interregional player in the larger Bronze Age World System. O’Connor suggested that the Kerman kings sought the ability to express their growing prestige and status, and “in those relatively few areas of culture in which the Kushites had developed a new need for the satisfaction of which there was no indigenous tradition available, Egyptian models were taken over with comparatively little change or adaptation” (1984: 107, see also 1993: 57). This interpretation was based primarily on the comparison of the architecture of the royal Funerary Chapels KXI and KII with Egyptian examples, which will be discussed further in Chapter 3. O’Connor’s argument about Kerman royal architecture is in accordance with Kohl’s model of an evolving core-periphery relationship, where in this case both building technology and the builders themselves may have been co-opted by the Nubians.

A wider picture of Kerma and the process of Secondary State formation has been described by Smith (2003, 1998, 1996, 1995, 1991). In Smith’s discussion of the interregional interaction between Kerma and Egypt, the emergence of ruling Nubian elites was driven by exchange with Egypt. Control of exchange on the part of the Kerman “dependency elites” led to control of capital, production, military and ideology power (Smith 1998: 263). Foreign goods had the potential to act as prestige items to trickle-down along paths of social relationships, “and presumably figured prominently in ceremonies of legitimization” (Smith 2003: 82). The example of the adoption of scarabs for use in the Kerman economic tracking system further demonstrates a link of exchange and the need to manage the results of it (Smith 2003: 83; 1996). Smith stresses the importance of the “role of imported sumptuary goods in the political economy and to the symbolic importance of Egyptian objects and ideology in the legitimization of Nubian rulers,” placing Kerman royal legitimacy on a more elaborate ideological footing” (1998: 269). Smith was the first to directly engage the discussion of Kerma with world-systems theories, but further detailed analysis is necessary to test if these scenarios can be supported by the wealth of data from Kerma, as will be undertaken in Chapters 3 and 5.

The current model of interregional interaction between Egypt and Kerma is closely related to Shortman and Urban’s model of coevolution: “To the extent that the Kerman rulers

would control these socially critical resources, they could monopolize political power...the rest of society would depend on them for the objects and symbolism that define and create social status (cf. Schortman and Urban 1992: 153)” (Smith 2003: 82). The general model of coevolution posits that exotic imported items are used as objects of political power to cement vertical and horizontal sociopolitical relationships (Schortman and Urban 1992: 153-154). The highest strata of the society controls the importation of foreign objects, therefore owning such objects comes to symbolize their status. Only the members of the group who cooperate with the elite then gain access to these status symbols (ibid).

Schortman and Urban’s generalized model, combined with the model of the mutable Bronze Age World System relationships, and as applied by Smith and others can be taken as a *starting point* for the further investigation of internal social relationships at the site. The ultimate usefulness of such models of interaction is the interregional scale of investigation, and the idea that far-ranging systems of exchange can have significant impacts on their participants. A more detailed analysis of the use of Egyptian material culture can demonstrate a complex negotiation of royal and elite identity (Chapters 3 and 5). The differential distribution of Egyptian imports over time and across burial types will be shown to support the model of exotic goods as a form of social capital, but at the same time this offers a window into the internal complexities of the Kerma community, and how social relationships change over the course of the four generations of the Classic Kerma Period.

Alternately, the analysis of Egyptianizing material culture during the Classic Kerma Period can also benefit from the application of a more overarching paradigm described by Stein (2002, 2005), as will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. The presence of foreign material culture should not be assumed to be the result of acculturation, or the process of discarding one’s own culture for another (Stein 2002: 907). Instead, the focus should be on the use of foreign objects by people:

The simple presence or absence of foreign styles of material culture does not really tell us much about the organization of interaction. Instead, we need to focus on comparing the social contexts in which the foreign material culture, knowledge, or symbols were or were not used as a way to understand its symbolic importance and its relation to broader-scale aspects of political economy. (Stein 2002: 908)

This type of research can also benefit from the search for internal social factions and their social relationships. Internal group dynamics both effect and are affected by interregional political relationships (ibid), and this will be demonstrated to be the case at Kerma, especially in the differential use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture by different private Kerma groups (Chapters 5 and 6). This model for approaching interregional interaction puts an emphasis on the agency of participants and the incorporation of internally divided cultural groups. Power relations between groups and inside of groups should not be assumed, but rather demonstrated through archaeological sources.

Similarly, the model of entanglement described by Dietler (2010) provides a framework for the active role of those who consume across cultural boundaries. He argues that there is “a continual process of selective appropriation and creative assimilation according to local logics

that is also a way of continually reconstructing culture” (2010: 60). The presence of foreign material culture cannot be assumed to be part of a process of acculturation, but rather “imported objects or practices can become salient symbolic markers of the boundaries of identity between consumers and the society of origin” (2010: 63). The idea of entanglement of the Egyptian in the Nubian can go far to explain how what has been perceived as Egyptian influence at Kerma can both seem superficial and deeply significant.

The above discussion of models of interregional interaction as applied to Kerma and Egypt has stressed the importance of the material culture in the negotiation of social relationships. In the case of ancient Nubia in general, these issues of exchange and materiality offer a way to break out of the colonialist perspective (ancient and modern). A focus on the objects of exchange, their use, and the regimes of value built through their obtainment highlights the actions of the ancient Nubians, even during periods of direct Egyptian colonization (cf. Smith 2003).

Conflict and Control: Materiality and Kerma

The idea that foreign material culture could be used as social capital, and that its means of obtainment added to its value, was not unknown to the ancient Egyptians, albeit not in those terms. As discussed above, the presentation of foreign tribute (*inw*) to the pharaoh was highly symbolic in royal contexts, as well as to the elite officials who facilitated it (Figure 6.32).³⁸ The raw luxury materials from Nubia were then incorporated into Egyptian contexts of use where they took on their own significance. For example, leopard pelts acquired from Nubia were essential for the garb of Egyptian priests, and gold was necessary for the proper manufacture of cultic statues of deities. Smith’s discussion of how emergent Kerman kings used exotic Egyptian resources as status markers and as “political currency” to reward participation in the Nubian state sets a framework similar to the use of foreign tribute by Egyptian kings (Smith 2003: 82-3, 1995: 266-9).

The interdependence of foreign material culture exchanged between Egypt and Nubia had the potential to take on new meanings during the Classic Kerma Period, when the Nubians may have obtained Egyptian goods through forceful looting. The significant presence of Egyptian imports in royal and private Kerman funerary contexts must therefore be set into the larger context of collection / obtainment and its role in networks of power. Reisner’s focus on Egyptian imports, especially inscribed statuary, is not surprising due to the large amount of material in the Classic Kerma burials. The (largest) fallacy in his argument was that he assumed that an inscribed Egyptian statue had the same value or meaning in a burial in Nubia as in one in Egypt. If instead the social history of the Egyptian statues—or cultural biography of one in particular—is investigated, the changing values of the imports can be traced (Appadurai 1986).

As addressed in Chapter 3, the history of ownership of a looted Egyptian statue demonstrates the multiple meanings one object can have throughout its lifetime. At first, the

³⁸ Huy and Rekhmire (Dynasty 18) in the New Kingdom featured scenes of foreign tribute to the king prominently in the decoration of their funerary monuments (Figure 6.32, Davies and Gardiner 1926). Their official roles in the process of facilitating the obtainment of tribute stressed their close association with the pharaoh and status in Egyptian society (Smith 2003: 184).

statue was produced to act in a specifically Egyptian funerary context and held value due to its superior craftsmanship and costly raw materials. In the next stage of the statue's life, its 'regime of value,' or socially situated value (Appadurai 1986: 4), became defined by the process the next owner used to obtain it. The Kerman ruler procured it in Egypt, perhaps by force, and then transported it south to be included in his own burial. This act of long-distance movement is both a product and agent of the political relationship between Nubia and Egypt in this historical context. It is a product in that the Nubian military forces were able to travel to Egypt for the statues' acquisition, and it is an agent of the political relationship in that the act of raiding Egyptian religious sites and removing their sacred items was surely demoralizing to the Egyptians. There is a reciprocal relationship between the way in which the object was used to create a situation of Egyptian subjugation, and the tracing of the path of the object to allow one to understand that political situation (Appadurai 1986: 5).

In an Egyptian statue's context at Kerma, the change in locality and ownership shifts the meaning and value of the piece. This understanding of the additional value of Egyptian sculptures at Nubia, in the context of obtaining them by force, has been addressed by some Egyptologists (Valbelle 2004, Davies 2003, Kendall 1997). Re-situated among the Kerman ruler's sacrifices, an Egyptian statue was used to make a strong statement about his power, both within Kerman society and relative to Egypt. The statue was marked as Egyptian by its unmistakable stylistic characteristics and prominent hieroglyphic inscription. Its ownership and display by the Kerman ruler acted as a physical reference to his successful military campaign against the Egyptians (comparable to British ownership of Rosetta stone, cf. Colla 2007; Karp 1991). The inclusion of Egyptian statuary is also limited to royal burials in Classic Kerma,³⁹ demonstrating that this particular statement of dominance over Egypt was the rulers' prerogative.

The inclusion of an Egyptian statue in the Kerma ruler's burial is an act that speaks on an internal and external level. The external level, as outlined above, situates it as a physical emblem of the Nubian political / military domination of parts of Egypt at the time. The internal perspective gives value to the object because it was only the Kerman king who was able to own and control an object with such references to the external political situation. The internal hierarchy is spoken to in tandem with external political references. The example of an Egyptian sculpture in a Kerman king's burial illustrates the complex context, or "variety of social arenas" (Appadurai 1986: 15), in which a single object is given value. This value is not passively inherent in the piece, but rather put into it by far-ranging actions of the individual who owns and controls it. Collection and subsequent authority of knowledge constructed by those who control the objects is much discussed in the context of modern museums (cf. Edwards, Gosden and Phillips 2006, Weschler 1995).⁴⁰ As Bonnet has suggested somewhat jokingly, the Kermans may have been the world's first art collectors (Bonnet 1997: 115). Yet the analogy should be considered, as the Kerman kings controlled the obtainment and use of monumental

³⁹ Three possible exceptions of minor tumuli with Egyptian statuary in their debris will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴⁰ Compare for instance early 19th-century collecting of ancient Egyptian artifacts. The foundations of major Egyptological collections in Europe and Britain were managed as part of military / colonial occupations of Egypt (cf. Hoock 2007; also Colla 2007 and Fagan 1975).

Egyptian imports, they also thereby controlled the means of presenting them and their new meanings to the rest of the community.

Egyptian objects were not only used in burials by the Kerman king, but by private individuals as well, as discussed in Chapter 5. These smaller Egyptian imports have the equal potential to have been used in equally significant negotiations of social relationships among non-royals. Sculpture seems to have been restricted to use of the king, but the variety of Egyptian object types, and other funerary goods that seem to be based on Egyptian models to varying degrees, suggests that the larger dialogue of royal prestige based on interregional conflict affected the rest of the community. In fact, more incidences of Egyptianizing material culture are found in the close and imaginative adaptations in private Kerman contexts than in royal contexts.

Flying hippopotami: Style and Kerma

The complexities of issues of style and the use of foreign visual elements come into focus in the analysis of the development of Egyptian motifs within the Kerman artistic canon, as will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. For example, the anthropomorphic hippopotamus deity Taweret enters into use at Kerma first in an unmodified form. Her form is then changed over time to become more embedded in local associations, first with the addition of a skirt such as those worn by the high-status women who implement the motif, and then the final evolution into the fantastical winged Taweret figure. This trajectory from Egyptian to Kerman raises questions about the motivations those who designed and used such “Egyptianizing” material culture.

The tension between an Egyptian and Nubian “style” observable in material culture designed at Kerma was strongly implicated in Reisner’s interpretation of Kerma as an Egyptian outpost. The description of archaeological cultures based on essential object types is the basic tenet of Culture Historical archaeology. Observing material culture other than direct Egyptian imports that displayed elements of Egyptian artistic traditions, whether general formal characteristics or Egyptian motifs, the ethnicity of the artist was presumed to be Egyptian. As outlined above, later studies have shown that there is no direct evidence of Egyptians living or being buried at Kerma. The question remains, however, of how much “culture” is embedded in a given Egyptian object. Even if the presence of an object with characteristics known to be created by people of a certain geographical region does not prove that a person from that group was also present, how much association with that group remains? Consequently, when an object is created that shares visual characteristics or motifs with those of another group, is that reference significant?

Moving away from Reisner’s Culture historical approach, the neo-evolutionist perspective of Adams posited that style is often in flux, but is independent of evolutionary systemic change and “unrelated to external goals” (1977: 677). Yet Adams also states that stylistic changes mark the major evolutionary stages of development of Nubian cultures, and are often linked with ideology (1997: 675). Even with the idea that style does not have to be bound by a culture, Adams ultimately decided that any Egyptianizing elements in the material culture of Kerma must be the result of direct Egyptian presence at the site.

Recent scholars, especially Lacovara, have concentrated on Kerma material culture as the result of creative design that could include indirect Egyptian influences through processes of adaptation, without any direct presence of Egyptian artisans. Lacovara's studies of architecture, wall paintings, and faience technology have also spearheaded the detailed level of analysis that is necessary for the Kerma material. Faience, in particular, is an important and highly creative medium in the Classic Kerma Period, and Lacovara (1998) has presented the manner in which this Egyptian technology was embraced and adapted by Kerma craftsmen. The archaeological record of Kerma is diverse and not fully published, so any discussion must incorporate a significant amount of background presentation and cannot gloss over any relevant examples. His work also is internally referential, finding cohesion and similarities within Kerma contexts along with external connections. This focus on detail and an emphasis on Kerma cultural coherence strongly informs the methodological framework of this study.

Moving the discussion of Egyptianizing material culture at Kerma into the model of active design choices, instead of a diffused or imposed artistic influence, opens new avenues of inquiry. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, royal and private Kerma graves include a variety of locally made objects with stylistic or symbolic Egyptian references. This presents a more complex situation of an internal (and external) social dialogue communicated through material culture. Wobst (1999) offers a wide-ranging approach to the active use of style in social dialogue. Style is viewed as "material interference," the arena in which individuals create physical objects to produce or stymie change within their social relationships, whether inclusive or exclusive. Objects are not created to reflect statuses or relationships, rather they are designed to interact with other participants (Wobst 1999: 120). Messages created through material interference are in a constant state of flux and revision as people engage and negotiate their relationships (ibid: 128). Part of this negotiation is a competition for a perceived group membership, and the most activity will take place where there is the most struggle over social relationships (ibid). The rapidly increasing political power of the Classic Kerma polity is a prime arena for changing social statuses.

A variety of Kerma funerary equipment, such as inlaid funerary beds, show a level of integration of Egyptian models into objects designed locally (Chapter 6). This Egyptianizing material culture is of Nubian materials and craftsmanship, and incorporates an Egyptian motif or stylistic element. Such objects provide a physical and visual representation of the more abstract process of integration of foreign elements into Kerma culture. Motifs take on their own life and meaning within Nubian society, and a resident at Kerma would have chosen to use an Egyptian motif based on its prominence and value at the site. This internally relevant meaning has the potential to be informed by the meta-narrative of inter-regional contact and conflict, especially when used in royal contexts (Chapter 4). The precise meanings of Egyptian symbols used at Kerma often must remain ambiguous, and it is unclear how much of the original Egyptian significance of the symbols remained. Information about other aspects of Kerma society can still be obtained by looking at the motifs use by Kermans in their own cultural context. The goal of the designer and user could have been to make a statement about group membership, likening themselves to others who used the same motif, or alternately to differentiate themselves from others who did not have access to it (Wobst 1999). Although the nature of the Egyptianizing material culture in Classic Kerma burials must still be outlined, this use of it will remain as the primary focus of this dissertation.

Changes in the nature of Egyptianizing material culture designed at Kerma can also provide insights on the motivations or mechanics of their use. Urban has worked to describe how styles and motifs change in different contexts, finding a functionality along lines that processualists like Adams searched for, but in a more nuanced way. Foreign motifs can move along ‘social pathways’ (Urban 1991: 1), from Egyptian contexts to Nubian ones. As Urban discusses, the immaterial aspects of culture⁴¹ must be transferred through material manifestations (ibid: 2-3). Taking this model, Egyptian imports that contain adopted motifs would be Urbans’ α , the first introduction of those motif in a material form. Subsequently, the Kerman funerary equipment that includes Egyptian motifs would be his β (or $\alpha+1$), the modified version of the original that is embedded in a new cultural context. This acceleration of material culture goes on, with further modifications that come to be more and more transformed within the Kerman context, as will be seen with the transformation of the Egyptian hippopotamus Taweret motif into a fully Kerman form of a winged, skirted hippopotamus figure (Chapter 6). By this point in transformation, new Kerman forms perhaps become ω , Urban’s “new production [that] makes reference to a range of prior and seemingly disparate cultural elements” (ibid: 6). Aside from his rather mechanical description of how ‘outside’ becomes ‘inside’ and ‘Other’ becomes ‘Ours,’ Urban argues that a leader’s achievement of hegemony can often rely on the creation of new expressions, or on new ω s. In the political climate of conflict in the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods, visual references to Egypt have the potential to have particular relevance to the iconography of kingship at Kerma (Chapter 4).

The ancient Kerman: Identity and agency

Overall, the major changes in the approaches to understanding the ancient Kermans stem from the move from seeing Nubians as passive subjects with an essentialized ethnic identity, to

⁴¹ Cf. Richard Dawkins’ “meme,” or gene-like unit of culture. Dawkins, Richard. 1970. *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford University Press.

active agents who sought to construct their own identities on many levels.⁴² The ancient Egyptians set Nubians within their own colonialist world-view, desiring their southern neighbors to be passive and complicit in the export of their natural resources. In Reisner's interpretation, agency is removed from "uncivilized" actors, and instead is ascribed to Egyptians in absentia. Ironically, the most active players in the Kerma culture in Reisner's model are the obstinate women who "cling" to their traditions. Although they are granted a degree of self-determination, its roots are in a misogynistic presentation of an unmutable ethnic identity. Adam's discussion of Kerma as a kingdom introduces the assertion of a Nubian identity, but oddly the only individual actors discussed are theoretical Egyptian "managers" and the Kerma king. In the rest of his discussion, Kerma is posed as a unilateral, homogenous cultural entity. Afrocentrist scholars provided an important counterpoint, arguing for the primacy of including ancient Africans in the larger discussions of the development of civilization on a world-wide scale.

In current scholarship on ancient Nubia, and Kerma in particular, the focus has shifted to include discussions of more complex Nubian identities and their active construction. Bonnet's work at Kerma has been of primary importance in this shift, as his excavations have uncovered the long history of the development of the Kerma Culture, most of which was fully independent of any perceived Egyptian influences (1986, 1990, 2000, 2004). Trigger first suggested that material culture found at Kerma that had foreign characteristics could have been made by Nubian artists, with an intention of design (1976). O'Connor's work on Kerma poses Kermans as political actors on an international stage, adopting and adapting Egyptian models for use in the case of royal architecture (1984, 1993). Kendall's comprehensive study on Kerma also emphasized the Kerma king as a major actor on both the interregional and inter-community scales, and also presented the material culture from private burials in terms of the Kerma elite cultivating their own status (1997). Lacovara's studies on Nubian faience and other material culture has set Kermans as creative artists, designing within their indigenous world-view (1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1997, 1998). Smith has also been a strong voice for the agency of Kermans in the Egyptian colonial system of the New Kingdom (2003, 1998, 1995). Kerma

⁴² The idea of agency and actors centers on the idea of the ability or capacity of a person or people to choose actions of their own, rather than simply acting under the will of others. The discussion of agency and actors in the context of archaeology has ranged from the agency of ancient individuals (Dobres, Marcia-Anne, and John E. Robb. 2000. *Agency in archaeology*. London: Routledge), to ability of objects to act on their users (Knappet 2005, Gell 1998, and Urban 1991). The concept of agency has taken on particular significance in situations of colonization, arguing for a focus on the actions and intentions of the colonized outside of a simple, passive acceptance of the will of the colonizers. See for example: Dietler's concept of entanglement (2010), Silliman and the interplay of daily practice and social relations in culture contact (Silliman, Stephen. 2001. "Agency, practical politics and the archaeology of culture contact," in *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 1, pg. 190), and Stein's emphasis on the falsity of assuming passive peripheries undergoing acculturation (2002). In the case of Nubia generally, also relevant is the Postcolonial emphasis on the agency of the colonized in contrast to assumptions of acculturation (Smith 2003). Current archaeological discussions are strongly informed by modern Postcolonial scholars, for example: Bhaba, Homi. 1994. *The location of culture*, London: Routledge; hooks, bell. 1990. "Marginality as a site of resistance," in *Out there: Marginalization and contemporary cultures*, Ferguson et al (eds.), New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art; Spivak, Gayatri. 1988. "Can the subaltern speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds.), Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

women in particular, are re-ascribed their personal agency and choice of Nubian-style burials, but through positive terms that could not be further from Reisner's misogynistic perspective (Smith 2003: 189).

Bringing the theoretical models discussed above to bear on the Classic Kerma corpus will continue this trajectory to study Kermans in their own right. The Kerman king is afforded agency by posing Kerma as an independent polity that was set into the complex Bronze Age World-System of northern Africa. Focusing on Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in active use by the Kermans breaks away from the assumptions of passive acculturation, and instead allows for the retainment of Nubian identity alongside strategies of social negotiation that incorporate the exotic. It is those choices in design and adaptation of Egyptian objects and visual elements on the part of the Kermans that have the potential to inform about the social changes of the Classic Kerma Period—both the changes in the nature of Kerman kingship and the social relations of the rest of the community.

Ultimately, the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in burials of the Classic Kerma Period has demonstrated that objects do act on their human observers (cf. Knappett 2005, Gosden 2004, Gell 1998). Reisner's observation of recognizable Egyptian elements among the finds from Kerma acted upon him, within his world-view, to conclude the presence of an Egyptian outpost. The trajectory of subsequent studies on Kerma has remediated this misunderstanding, but that basic intentionality of referencing Egypt may have been consciously designed by the ancient Kermans who used foreign-marked material culture in their burials. The following chapters will analyze the distribution of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in royal and private burial contexts in order to determine if its usage demonstrates social relations, and their changes, in the Classic Kerman community.

Attention and access

The most important theme in current scholarship on Kerma, and ancient Nubia in general, are issues of attention and access. Museum exhibits that include Kerman objects have been the primary platform for introducing this ancient culture to the modern world. For example, the exhibit at the Smithsonian Museum, "Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, 2500-1500 BC: the archaeological discovery of an ancient Nubian empire," introduced Kerma to the American audience. Kendall's 1997 catalogue of the same name had the goals of reaching the public, but approaches his readership in a slightly different way. The focus of the exhibition on just one site, Kerma, is meant to assist this goal of educating the public not only about the realities of ancient Nubia, but also of how colonialist archaeology has impacted our knowledge of the region.

Kendall sets up the flow of his museum catalog very carefully, starting with an introduction to the site, then detailing the relationship between Egypt and Nubia in order to put Kerma in its ancient historical setting and context. Next, he details the history of the discovery of Kerma, and is the first scholar to do so in such great detail. Here, he sets Kerma in its modern historical context. Then the body of his book is devoted to the phases of the site, the town itself, and the necropolis as interpreted by Bonnet today. He acknowledges as well that one of his goals in this book is to make the excellent work of Bonnet accessible to a non-French speaking audience (1997: 4). Then he finishes the book with a brief outline of Egyptian conquest, Nubia's influence on Egyptian culture, the Kushite pharaohs of Dynasty 25, and the preservation of

Egyptian civilization in the states of Napata and Meroë into the first millennium A.D. (ibid: 75-81). He makes the choice of using the term ‘conquest’ instead of ‘colonization,’ and describes the end of Kerma as an ‘eradication’ (ibid: 75). His strong negative wording shows a bias against the Egyptians, and sympathy on the part of the Nubians. He also only briefly addresses issues of colonization, unlike O’Connor. The most important contribution that Kendall makes, however, is his presentation of the historiography of Kerma to a general audience. He addresses the issue of why the analysis of how Kerma and Nubia in general is important, “the history of Kerma’s discovery and the early interpretation and final recognition of what it was offers fascinating insight into the scholarly process and the development of American and European attitudes toward Africa, its peoples, and its cultures” (ibid: 4-5).

The basic goal of this study is similar, to provide updated access to the finds from Reisner’s historical excavation of the Classic Kerma section of the Eastern cemetery of Kerma. The above discussion of theoretical approaches sets the interpretive framework used in the following analysis, but ultimately the underlying goal of this dissertation is to present a detailed resource that opens Reisner’s excavation archive to future studies. The accompanying appendices are intended to overcome the previous shortcomings in publication of Classic Kerma objects in their archaeological context, to link the data available from the excavation archive that only refers to objects by their field numbers with current resources that use their subsequent museum accession numbers, and particularly to take “dead text” and transform it into a searchable and sortable digital resource. The most important way to bring the ancient Kerman perspective into scholarly dialogue is to allow them to speak for themselves.

Decolonizing Kerma: Returning to the Question of “Egyptianization”

Current discussions of Egyptianization in the Kerma culture must be understood within this development of perspectives on ancient Nubia. There must be a balance between emphasizing indigenous Nubian practices and continuity, and finding evidence of physical and/or cultural connections with Egypt. Successful approaches, especially those of Bonnet, Kendall, Lacovara, O’Connor and Smith have incorporated a detailed focus on the contextual use of Egyptian elements and references within Kerman society.

Themes in current scholarship on Kerma, and archaeology in general, include a focus on the materiality of foreign objects, the use of style in negotiations of social relationships, and on Kermans as actors in constructing their own identities. These themes will come to bear on the discussion of the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in different Kerman contexts. The use of Egyptian material culture will be set in the context of the interregional relations of the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods in Chapters 3 and 5. In these discussions, the focus will be on how the use and distribution of Egyptian material culture can be used to understand particulars and implications of that political relationship, on interregional and inter-community scales. Alternately, ideas of style as the active design of “material interference” will come to bear on the evidence of Egyptianizing material culture in Chapters 4 and 6. The subdivision of Chapters 3 and 4 into royal contexts, and Chapters 5 and 6 into private contexts, will put a focus on the construction of these two main types of Kerman identity.

This discussion of the history of scholarship on Kerma has shown how interpretations of the site of Kerma have changed over time and how these developments relate to changing modes of thought about ancient Nubia as a whole. The concentration has been on how the specifics of the site have been presented, and how this illustrates the author's approach to issues of cultural identity, internationalism and colonialism, both ancient and modern. Acknowledging the ways the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in Classic Kerma contexts has been used in modern discussions of identity and power opens the way to ancient possibilities. Collection, display, obtainment and interpretation were also practiced by the ancient Nubians with their own agendas and motivations.

In contemporary times, scholarship on Kerma first included Egyptocentric, racial-, and gender-biased paradigms in Reisner's archaeology, along with a bias to the textual record. Then scholarship began to reject his unfounded explanations and provide logical conclusions. Resurgence in attention to Nubia, brought about by necessity of salvage work, resulted in synthesis and emphasis on Nubia in its own right. Questions of colonization were addressed, but were put in terms of diffusionism with the view that ultimately it was the more civilized Egyptians who brought about cultural progress in Nubia. Modern political agendas, like Bernal's Afrocentrist argument, sparked a reaction among Nubiologists, namely to promote the awareness of Nubia as an ancient black African civilization, and as not solely beholden to Egypt for cultural achievements. In the process of de-colonizing ancient Nubia, on both modern and ancient levels, indigenous Nubian achievements and traditions were prioritized over the significance of interactions with Egypt. Recent scholarship, informed by post-colonial themes, has begun to re-embrace the complex "entanglement" of Nubia and Egypt, in both positive and negative ways.

Kerma is an ideal site to illustrate these changes in the approach to ancient Nubia, with the same archaeological evidence being argued from widely different perspectives with widely different results. Kendall addresses the use of Kerma in such a study, stating that: "The beauty of the objects speaks to each of us...[w]hen these objects are placed within their cultural context, however, they open a window on an ancient African world that few of us could ever have imagined" (Kendall 1997: 4-5). Indeed, when working with the artifacts from Kerma one gets a strong impression as to the character of the Kerman people. The aesthetic beauty of the objects and the care in their construction speak of talented artisans. Their unique beauty and distinct personality is fascinating. Yet the reality of the royal burials, which contain huge amounts of material wealth and loyal subjects who seem to have gone willingly to be sacrificed, instills a sense of awe about the power of the rulers. These feelings of fascination and awe are present in all the writings about Kerma, it is just the perspectives behind them that change.

This survey of the historiography of Kerma has shown how the same body of material evidence has been used to promote differing perspectives on ancient relationships. In this same way, the ancient collectors and displayers would have used these Egyptian objects and visual references to promote their own agendas and understandings of relationships. Each of the following chapters will address the use of Egyptian objects or locally designed objects with Egyptian visual elements within royal or private Kerman burial contexts. The royal use of Egyptian imports will start the discussion (Chapter 3), as it provides the best evidence for

building a historical framework of interregional contact, as well as how this contact plays into the Kerman king's program of legitimization. This discussion of royal legitimization will continue as the use of Egyptian visual references in royal Kerman burial complexes is explored (Chapter 4). Then my focus will move to internal social hierarchies, with an analysis of private access and use of Egyptian imports (Chapter 5). The Kerman community's negotiation of status and group/individual identity will continue to be the focus in my analysis of Egyptianizing material culture in private burial contexts (Chapter 6). Each of these discussions will benefit from a slightly different approach, but all will be informed by the theoretical position that material culture is actively used and involved in processes of social negotiation.

CHAPTER 3: EGYPTIAN IMPORTS IN ROYAL CLASSIC KERMA CONTEXTS: CONTROL AND DISPLAY OF EGYPTIAN STATUARY

“Diary of Sudan Expedition. Strictly Confidential. In no case are the frags. of royal statues and inscriptions to be mentioned. Most cordial salâms from everybody. Reisner.” -note, 1913

As a proper archaeologist, George Reisner started his interpretation of Kerma from the known, working to the unknown. The massive amounts of fragmentary Egyptian sculpture he unearthed in his excavations of the major tumulus complexes were by far the most familiar material he encountered. These Egyptian sculptures, primarily limited to royal funerary complexes when *in situ*, also provide the majority of the textual evidence contained at the site of Kerma. Logically, Reisner used the Egyptian material culture he discovered as the link between the otherwise unknown Nubian material culture, and the more widely understood sequence of Egyptian history. As discussed in Chapter 2, the preconceptions of the early twentieth-century and of the ancient Egyptian *topos* of “wretched” foreigners led Reisner to take his conclusions too far into the familiar and to describe Kerma as a Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period Egyptian outpost. The same Egyptian sculptures that so confused Reisner can be used to reconstruct the collection and control of symbolic resources on the part of the Kerman kings.⁴³

The significant presence of Egyptian material culture in royal contexts remains as a resource for understanding the links between Kerma and Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. On a historical level, the inscribed Egyptian material still provides the best hope for determining the relative chronological relationship of Kerma and Egypt. Most datable inscriptions fall into the late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period range, and can help establish secure *termini post quem* for the major Classic Kerma tumuli. On a geo-political level, Egyptian sculpture that can be sourced through inscriptions or stylistically allows for a reconstruction of the geographic extent of Kerman penetration into Egyptian territory. The provenance of these sourceable sculptures in turn enables a general chronological outline of interregional interaction.

This chapter argues that the corpus of Egyptian sculptures used in royal Kerman contexts can be used to reconstruct the nature and scope of Nubian - Egyptian conflict in the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods. The Egyptian material culture at Kerma confirms Egyptian textual sources which state that Nubian “looters” entered into Upper Egyptian territory. Additionally, sculptures from each royal Kerman tumulus can be sourced to their places of origin in Egypt, which allows for a geographical and chronological reconstruction of Kerman military incursions during this period. Investigating the use of Egyptian sculptures once they entered into the Kerman community will also argue for the key role these foreign monuments played in the construction of Kerman royal ideology and legitimacy. The restriction of Egyptian sculptures to the royal sacrificial corridors emphasizes that it was the Kerman king’s prerogative to implement these symbolic resources, which likely stood as material evidence of his successful military undertakings.

⁴³ There is also a significant number of faience vessels found in and around the royal burial chambers of the Classic Kerma tumuli. Some faience vessels are more obviously Egyptian than others, but they are extremely fragmentary and dispersed and since their contexts are so problematic they will not be discussed here in detail. See Figures 4.38a-c.

The transport of Egyptian sculpture to Kerma could fall into a wide range of theoretical contact situations. These include the possibility of Egyptians at the site commissioning the sculpture (Reisner 1923a,b), to Egyptians bringing them as votive offerings (Valbelle 2004: 183), to trade of sculptures sealing diplomatic negotiations (Valbelle 2004: 178), to forceful obtainment of the sculptures by the Nubians (Valbelle 2004: 182; Davies 2003; Bonnet 1997; O'Connor 1974; Wenig 1978). The current consensus is of the latter, as the textual evidence discussed above suggests Nubian military campaigns into Egyptian territory.

The context of how these Egyptian sculptures were obtained can be partially reconstructed by Egyptian textual sources of the Second Intermediate Period, which suggest that this was a period of conflict between Egypt and Nubia. As the Egyptian texts focus on the propaganda of power and conquest (see Chapter 2), the presence of large quantities of Egyptian sculpture at Kerma provides dissenting evidence. The Kerman kings had, or wanted, no recourse to aggrandizing texts of their own. Instead, the wealth of material culture interred in their burials speaks to their achievements. The obtainment of Egyptian sculptures would have necessitated either the coercion or cooperation of the Egyptians who controlled them, and transporting the stone monuments to Kerma would have taken great physical effort. The Egyptian sculptures were not put to practical purposes at Kerma; they were not recycled as resources of raw material. The interment of the Egyptian sculptures in royal burial contexts instead demonstrates that they were intended to be used as symbolic commodities.

The uses of Egyptian sculpture by the Kerman rulers can provide more evidence of the political motivations and cultural contexts of this interregional interaction. Egyptian sculpture was found *in situ* in the transverse corridors of the royal tumuli,⁴⁴ and many fragments dispersed in the immediately surrounding debris. The transverse corridors also contained numerous individuals who were sacrificed upon the occasion of the king's burial. The tradition of including sacrificed humans or animals with the deceased originated in the Early Kerma Period, but in the Classic Kerma this practice reaches its peak with the approximately 400 sacrificed individuals in KX Hall B (Reisner 1923a: 312). The magnification of this Kerman funerary practice on the part of the Classic Kerman kings is highly significant in the development of their growing political power within their community. Found during the development of several early states, human sacrifice demonstrates supreme subjugation (Pearson 1999: 18). The sacrificed individuals at Kerma were often highly adorned with personal items, and they were part of the same population as the individuals found in the private Classic Kerma burials (Judd and Irish 2009). That is, the sacrificed individuals were not prisoners of war, and instead some may have been high-status and / or religious personages (Figure 1.5c).⁴⁵

The inclusion of Egyptian statuary, foreign-marked human figures in stone, with the substantial numbers of sacrificed Kerman individuals suggests a common motivation of the

⁴⁴ Egyptian sculptures were found *in situ* in the transverse corridors of royal tumuli: KX Hall B, KIV Hall B, and KIII Hall A.

⁴⁵ For example, KX Hall B body PB is a juvenile female (Judd, personal communication), who wore a tunic heavily beaded with glazed crystal ball beads, with two faience scorpion plaques (MFA 20.1731) placed over her breasts (Reisner 1923a: 289, although Reisner describes the plaques as “over the stomach” due to the effects of dessication).

demonstration of power (Valbelle 2004). The process of obtaining Egyptian sculpture, transporting it south to Kerma, and controlling its distribution and eventual burial outlines the Kerman king's trajectory of building and wielding political power and prestige (Valbelle 2004: 181; cf. Appadurai 1986). Rooted in the interregional conflict between Nubia and Egypt, the Kerman king's role as military leader would have risen in significance. Strategies for his legitimation will be demonstrated to include (though not entirely rely on) references to Kerma's changed dominant relationship with Egypt. Exotic spoils of war provided material manifestations of that political relationship, which could be controlled and displayed to take on new significance in the Kerman community. Nubia was no stranger to this process, as seen in the Egyptian (and wider Near Eastern) tradition of scenes of the presentation of foreign tribute (*inw*). Kerman kings, however, adapted this political strategy for their own cultural practices.

First, the example of the statue of Lady Sennuwy, the only complete statue found at Kerma, will be discussed to illustrate the implications of her inclusion in a royal Classic Kerma burial complex. Then the corpus of Egyptian sculpture from royal Kerma funerary contexts will be analyzed to provide a more detailed chronological and geographic outline of contact. Finally, the cultural context of the obtainment of the Egyptian sculptures and their use in the Kerman king's program of legitimization will be explored further, building an ideological framework in which to understand the Kerman community's use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in their burials.

Statuary in context – sacrifices, control and power

The example of a single statue, Lady Sennuwy (Figure 3.1, MFA 14.720), can illustrate the implications of obtainment, transport, and interment of Egyptian loot in royal contexts. Lady Sennuwy weighs about 1000 kilograms,⁴⁶ highlighting the enormous effort it took to transport these sculptures from Egypt to Kerma. The total volume of sculpture moved is impressive, but even the movement of a single statue would not have been a simple undertaking. As with the 19th century explorer Belzoni, whose claim to fame came from his ability to facilitate the removal of huge pieces of sculpture, the physicality of these antiquities added to their symbolic value. The political machinations that went into finding and claiming ownership also would be linked in the eyes of a viewer.

Whether the Egyptian sculpture obtained by the Kermans was taken by physical force, coercion, or a combination thereof is difficult to determine. The exact nature of the interaction between Nubians and Egyptians that came to lead them to be described as "looters" (Davies 2003) could have ranged from a violent raid to a negotiated siege that included some recompense to the Egyptians (i.e., not destroying their settlement). Either within a context of trade or looting, the Kerman king would have needed to act on the international stage to obtain the statue of Lady Sennuwy. Lady Sennuwy's statue (and her husband's statue) has been thought to have originated from her tomb at Assiut, which is significantly further north than any other sourceable Egyptian material at Kerma. Assiut was at the border between Egyptian and Hyksos territory during this period, leading some scholars to posit that her statue was used by the Hyksos to seal a trade or

⁴⁶ *Lady Sennuwy*, Collections and Conservation Management-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2011. Web. April 21, 2011. <<http://www.mfa.org/collections/conservation-and-collections-care/lady-sennuwy>>.

political alliance between Egypt's enemies.⁴⁷ In the discussion of statuary from Tumulus KIII below, the case for her original location at Elephantine will be made.

As described in Chapter 2, the textual evidence from Sobekhotep II's tomb at El-Kab suggests that the Nubians he encountered were a raiding force because they are described specifically as "looters" (Davies 2003). The question of the nature of the Kerma acquirement of Egyptian material may be partially answered by the material evidence itself. The geographical distribution of points of contact can be reconstructed to a degree, and what will be demonstrated is that the penetration of Nubians into Egyptian territory seems to have increased over time, with El-Kab being the northernmost site definitely reached by Kermans. Sobekhotep II does seem to have described a historical event, although it is couched in terms of his personal biography and stresses his success, although material found at Kerma suggests otherwise. In contrast, the Egyptian ex-pats who resided in the Second Cataract forts seem to have had a mutually beneficial relationship with the Kermans. Contemporaneous Egyptian stelae at Buhen, in particular, demonstrate that some of these ex-patriots performed work for the Nubian king. These few texts hint at a range of relationships between Kermans and Egyptians during the Classic Kerma / Second Intermediate Period.

Lady Sennuwy was set in the corridor of tumulus KIII, among 100 sacrificed individuals (Figure 3.2, Reisner 1923a: pl. 7/1). These were not foreign prisoners of war, but rather a subsection of the Kerma community which included men, women and children (Judd and Irish 2009). The combination of sacrificed Kermans and Egyptian statuary in this royal funerary context would have made a strong statement of power and authority over the ruler's own community and over Egypt as well. The Egyptian statuary in this context would not have been on display in the same open way as in a museum, but it would still have been a player in the public spectacle of royal burial (Smith 2003: 82; Pearson 1999: 18) and remained in the community's memory along with their interred community members. In this most literal violent archive, the Kerma sacrifices were perhaps as objectified as the statues were personified. It is noteworthy that in the corridors, primarily figural Egyptian sculptures were used. Kerma art had a limited use of human figures, so perhaps in this case the Egyptian sculptures acted on many levels of representation: as exotic spoils of war, and embodying the Other.

The Kerma king seems to have used the collection, control, and interment of Egyptian sculptures as a symbolic resource available only to himself, creating a commemorative statement of his military victories in foreign territory. These themes will be discussed further at the close of this chapter, as the history of this interregional conflict of the Classic Kerma period must first be reconstructed using the archaeological evidence available.

Corpus of Egyptian Sculpture deposited in Classic Kerma Royal contexts

The Egyptian sculpture found in royal Classic Kerma burial complexes is primarily in the form of anthropoid statues of types found in Dynasties 11 to 17. The remnants of two stelae provide exceptions, and may have been valued for their exotic hieroglyphic texts. The

⁴⁷ O'Connor suggested this in early scholarship (O'Connor 1974: 32), as well as Wenig (1978b: 31). Chapter 5 will address the purported alliance between the Hyksos and the Kermans and the lack of material evidence supporting it during the majority of the Classic Kerma Period.

fragmented anthropoid statues include only two inscribed royal statues, along with many uninscribed statues that can be identified as royal, numerous inscribed and uninscribed male funerary statues, inscribed and uninscribed female funerary statues, cultic statues, and other miscellaneous stone objects. The following analysis will assess the available evidence in the order set out above, and special attention will be paid to royal statues as they have the potential to provide the most secure *termini post quem*. Appendix 3.1 lists all of the identifiable Egyptian sculpture fragments from secure royal Classic Kerma contexts.⁴⁸ The minimum number of individuals (i.e., sculptures) represented was calculated based on the types of fragments found in each type of stone. The identifiable fragments that provide the clearest evidence for their source of origin, or date of creation will be discussed in the following sections. The variety of Egyptian sculpture from each royal tumulus, representing the collecting activities of that Kerma king, will be analyzed with the goal of reconstructing the nature of interregional interaction during that generation.

A detailed analysis of the Egyptian sculpture found in Classic Kerma contexts has been lacking in previous discussions. In particular, separating the corpus by tumulus / generation has the potential to provide a more fine-grained history of interaction between Kerma and Egypt. Although previously collected sculpture could be included in later burials, new Egyptian sites represented in a single tumulus would represent further Nubian campaigns into Egyptian territory.

The majority of the sculpture is not inscribed, but can be assigned general dates and possible provenances using stylistic analysis. A handful of inscribed statues provide a chronological and geographical framework for military activities.⁴⁹ This study finds that the royal tumulus of the first generation of the Classic Kerma period must have been constructed during or after late Dynasty 13, and that the royal tumulus of the last generation must date to after mid-Dynasty 16. These *termini ante quem* are most likely much earlier than the actual dates of the royal Kerma burials, due to the nature of the evidence.

A significant problem with determining the dates of the Classic Kerma royal tumuli from the datable objects contained within them is the question of access to contemporary Egyptian sculpture. Royal workshops produced smaller quantities of royal sculpture in the Second Intermediate Period (Quirke 2010: 62), especially after the middle of Dynasty 13 (ibid: 60), which makes it less likely that the contemporaneous pharaohs would be represented in the Kerma collections. Secondly, building activity at Elephantine ceased by the end of Dynasty 13 (Figure 3.8, Habachi 1985), cutting off access to newer sculpture. The cause of the decline of building activity at the Elephantine may have its origins in the Nubian raids upon the site. If this is so, it

⁴⁸ It should be noted that Reisner did not carefully register the statue fragments found in the disturbed debris in the area, or small fragments that were included with the identifiable ones. These Egyptian sculpture fragments that are now in the MFA collection were assigned Eg.Inv.#s during the major inventory project and cannot be discussed here because they have lost their provenance.

⁴⁹ As Quirke rightly states: “An inscribed royal statue of the period [Dynasty 13] has more chance of survival at Kerma in Sudan than at either Memphis or Heliopolis, two dominant centres of kingship ideology” (2010: 59).

effectively sets the date of the beginning of Kerman collecting activities to the end of Dynasty 13, and thereby also denies evidence of the dates of the following generations of raids.

The evidence provided by the datable objects from the Classic Kerma royal tumuli supports this possibility, as examples of late Dynasty 13 sculpture are found in all four burials. The inclusion of Dynasty 12 sculpture in tumuli KX and KIII demonstrates that the Nubians were not seeking the most current sculptures, and that the date of an Egyptian sculpture's interment could be hundreds of years after its date of creation.⁵⁰ This adds the possibility that although the *terminus ante quem* for a given context can be set through datable sculpture, the time range before burial must remain long and uncertain.

Generation 1 - KXVI Egyptian sculpture

There is a minimum number of only four Egyptian sculptures from Tumulus KXVI, although Reisner implies that more were found but not registered (1923b: 26). As the first of the four major Classic Kerma royal tumuli, sculpture from KXVI has the potential to set the first *terminus post quem* for the burial sequence. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the evidence preserved at Kerma, compounded with the fragmentary evidence from the Turin Papyrus king list leaves a wide date range for the beginning of the Classic Kerma Period. The evidence suggests that tumulus KXVI was constructed sometime after the middle of Dynasty 13 or the beginning of Dynasty 16, although this depends on the placement of poorly attested pharaohs in the sequence of Second Intermediate Period kings. Overall, the Egyptian sculpture interred in Tumulus KXVI demonstrates the starting point of Kerman encroachment into Egyptian territory, and its use by the Kerman king in his demonstration of political power.

The base of a cartouche is preserved on a fragment of a large alabaster basin (Figure 3.3), found dispersed throughout the K1600 rooms A, B and C debris (MFA 20.1181a-b). The last hieroglyph in the cartouche is an *s* (Gardiner S29), and the small rounded end of a sign can be seen next to it. This is most likely part of a *ms* (Gardiner S15), which significantly narrows the possible pharaohs who could be named (Reisner 1923b: 517). Prior to Kamose, the only attested Egyptian king with a name ending in *-ms* is the ephemeral king *Ddw-ms* I of Dynasty 13 or 16 (Reisner 1923a: 391, Reisner 1923b: 517, no. 34, fig. 343; Valbelle 2004).⁵¹ The placement of the reign of *Ddw-ms* in the sequence of Second Intermediate Period kings is unclear, as this section of the Turin Papyrus king list is quite damaged (Allen 2010: 10). The forty-sixth (?) king of Dynasty 13 had a name ending in *-ms* (ibid, Turin Papyrus line 8.21), and in this case even if the vessel names an otherwise unknown Second Intermediate Period king it could be the same as this fragmentary listing. Therefore, the earliest this fragment could be placed is the middle of Dynasty 13.

⁵⁰ Although Bonnet has suggested that the Kermans were the first 'antiquities collectors' (Bonnet 1997: 115), the presence of 'heirloom' pieces of sculpture is more likely a factor of what corpus was the most available geographically.

⁵¹ *Ddw-ms* II ends his name with *msw*, which would not fit in this cartouche (Reisner 1923b: 518). *dd-nfr-r^c Ddw-ms* I is attested on a stela from Gebelein (Cairo no. 20533), an inscribed block from Deir el-Bahari, a stone fragment and private stela from El-Kab, and another private stela from Edfu (see *ibid* for references).

A half-life-sized wooden royal statue (Figure 3.4, MFA 20.1821) was found in the upper debris of the sacrificial room K1600C, which is comparable to the better preserved royal wooden statue of Auihre Hor from Dynasty 13.⁵² The king wears a nemes headdress with a hole for attaching a uraeus cobra. His facial features are similar to King Hor, as he has rounded cheeks with minimally suggested cheek bones, rounded ears pushed forward by his headdress, a short distance between his brows and hairline, and upturned corners of his lips. His eyes were inlaid, but are now missing.⁵³ The torso of the statue from Kerma also follows the same proportions as Hor's statue, with rounded chest muscles and a sharply cinched 'wasp-waist,' defined by a low slung kilt band. The statue from Kerma has the kilt integrated into the statue, while Hor's kilt was a separate piece which is now lost.

The similarities in size, body proportions, and material between these two royal statues makes it extremely likely that the statue from Kerma also could have come from a Second Intermediate Period royal burial. The earliest possible date for this statue is mid-Dynasty 13, based on its similarities with King Hor I, and his reign is slightly earlier than the earliest possible date for *Ddw-ms*, as discussed above. The exact placement of this statue in the Second Intermediate Period is unclear and could be further into Dynasty 13 or 16. Reisner and Vandier thought this wooden royal statue should be identified as Neferhotep I, but this is based on two hard-stone sculptures on quite different scales.⁵⁴ The form of the nemes on the Kerma statue, with a very domed top and pointed, flared folds is closest to examples worn by Sobekemsaf I of Dynasty 16 (British Museum 871, Karnak) or Sobekhotep IV of Dynasty 13 (Louvre A16, Tanis). Of course, the chronological relationship between these two kings is not known, as the overlap between the end of Dynasty 13 and beginning of Dynasty 16 can only be conjectured (Allen 2010: 10). Therefore this exceptional piece of Second Intermediate Period royal statuary found in KXVI must remain chronologically ambiguous.

Another royal statue fragment was found in KXVI, and it also may have been originally placed in the sacrificial room K1600C, as it was found in the upper debris of a subsidiary tomb directly next to it. This fragment of a small statue preserves the left shoulder of a king wearing a heb sed robe and holding a heka scepter (MFA 14.1259). The only remaining identifiable statue fragment from KXVI is the lower fragment of a half life-size seated statue of a woman (Figure 3.5, MFA 20.1195). This statue lacks an inscription, but the stiff placement of the hands on the lap and dark granodiorite suggests a Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period date. Due

⁵² King Auihre Hor was the 13th king of Dynasty 13 (Allen 2010: 7), and he was interred in a shaft burial at Dashur, near the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III (Smith 1958: no. 172).

⁵³ Note that MFA Eg.Inv.416 from Kerma is a limestone eye inlay with missing pupil, although there is no record of an eye found with this statue or in K1600C in the object register this inlay should be tested to see if it fits.

⁵⁴ Valbelle agrees with Reisner and Vandier that the wooden statue from KXVI is Neferhotep (father of Sobekhotep VI), which would put KXVI very late in the sequence of the Second Intermediate Period (2004: 179). See Vandier Manuel III p. 220 and Reisner HAS VI, p. 31. This stylistic dating is based on a small stone seated statue in Bologna, while in contrast a Neferhotep dyad from Karnak has much sharper lips and cheekbones. As the Kerma statue is made of wood, this attribution based on harder stone sculptures which often display markedly different facial characteristics is problematic. Unfortunately, this means that this wooden royal statue from Kerma must remain anonymous.

to this female statue's similarity in pose, material, and workmanship to the Heka-ib corpus, it might have been originally produced in the Elephantine workshops.

The two royal statue fragments suggest that even at the outset of the Classic Kerma period, Kerman military raids had commenced and a site of pharaonic building activity was breached. These statues are either small in size or made of light wood, and do not represent the same scale or volume of movement of Egyptian items as will be seen in the next three generations at Kerma. The mix of female and male statues will continue, suggesting that the Kermans were not selecting them solely on a gendered basis, and not as representatives of 'captured' Egyptian male soldiers. Tumulus KXVI does not yet have the long sacrificial corridors of the later three royal tumuli, but these Egyptian statues were likely interred in K1600 room C, which contained the royal human sacrifices (Valbelle 2004: 180). From the beginning of the practice of interring Egyptian statuary in royal burials, these human images were set into the same context as the Kerman human sacrifices.

Generation 2 - KX Egyptian sculpture

The Egyptian sculpture found in the sacrificial corridor of tumulus KX presents a dramatic increase in the scope of this practice of interring foreign material culture with the Kerman king. There is a minimum number of 25 Egyptian sculptures found in tumulus KX, although Reisner counted the total of Egyptian sculpture from tumulus KX at 119 fragments (1923b: 26). The stones used for the Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KX are mostly hard, igneous or metamorphic stones.⁵⁵ The scale of the sculpture increased, and these large statues in hard stones represent a greater physical effort in transportation. Three inscribed royal statue fragments are present, and date to Dynasty 12 and Dynasty 13, with the latest attested king being Sobekhotep VI (Valbelle 2004: 180). A number of sculpture fragments have elements that are typical of cultic, rather than funerary, statues. These include two Horus falcon fragments, which could have been obtained from the Middle Kingdom temple of Horus of Buhen, farther north at Nekhen, or from another Horus temple in Upper Egypt.

A terminus post quem of mid-Dynasty 13 is set by two Egyptian sculpture fragments found in the context of Tumulus KX. A fragment of a Dynasty 13 royal statue (Figure 3.6, MFA 14.726), inscribed for Sekhemra Khutawy, was located in the debris around the sacrificial corridor (see also Quirke 2010: 63). Another inscribed base fragment of a statue of an Egyptian king (MFA 13.3985), preserves the cartouche of king Khahotep Sobekhotep VI of Dynasty 13 and states that this sculpture was dedicated to Satet of Elephantine⁵⁶ (Bonnet 1997: no. 128; Valbelle 2004: 179). Sekhemra Khutawy Sobekhotep II is listed as the 15th king of Dynasty 13 on the Turin Papyrus (Allen 2010: 7, line 7.19), and Khahotep Sobekhotep VI is the 25th (ibid,

⁵⁵ Out of 72 sculpture fragments from tumulus KX in the MFA, 41 are granodiorite (57%), 15 are graywacke (21%), eight are anorthosite gneiss (11%), two are basalt (<3%), two are sandstone (<3%), two are serpentine (<3%), and two are travertine/Egyptian alabaster (<3%).

⁵⁶ The complete statue is now in Berlin, as the fragments from Kerma fit with one of a sculpture fragment purchased in Luxor in 1889. It has been suggested that the fragment purchased in Luxor was transported during modern times (Bonnet 1997: no. 128).

line 8.01).⁵⁷ The only other inscribed fragment from Tumulus KX with a royal name is a chip of an alabaster vessel with the upper half of the cartouche of Merenra (MFA 20.1173). This fragment was found in the upper debris of the tumulus and is likely intrusive, perhaps from the deposit of other Dynasty 6 stone vessels from KI. These are the only clearly identifiable royal names from tumulus KX, and in fact the Khahotep Sobekhotep VI sculpture is latest datable inscribed royal statue found in the Classic Kerma royal tumuli. As his reign was only in the mid to late Dynasty 13, this shows that Kerman raids did not reach the active areas of late Second Intermediate Period Egyptian central control in the Theban area.

Evidence for other royal statuary interred in Tumulus KX can be found among the many fragments of Egyptian sculpture. The head of an Egyptian king wearing the nemes headdress (Figure 3.7) was located in the upper debris near grave K1043 (MFA 13.3968). The king depicted may be Amenemhat I, due to the slightly overlarge ears, downturned mouth with a slightly pouting lower lip, and distinctive bag amulet worn around the neck. This small-scale and rather early piece of royal Middle Kingdom sculpture could have originated from the Heka-ib complex at Elephantine, or perhaps another royal cultic installation from the Second Cataract forts.

Several other examples of royal sculpture are too fragmentary to reconstruct completely, but as they are made of greywacke and in a similar scale some may be part of the same royal statue. A small royal foot tramples the nine bows, representing foreign enemies (MFA 20.1202; Reisner 1923b: 521, fig. 344, no. 40). The *sm3 t3wy* insignia is visible in sunk relief on the fragment of a throne base (MFA 20.1208). A fragment of a right hand holding a *hk3* scepter, with the edge of a cloak, may be from a king wearing Heb Sed garb (MFA 14.1039). The tip of a white crown in graywacke (MFA 14.1081) is large enough to suggest a lifesize royal statue, and perhaps is part of the same statue as the lower part of a white crown (MFA 14.1633).

Two other lower body fragments may be royal, although they may simply be high-quality private male sculptures. A quite large and well executed striding statue is represented by fitting knee (MFA 14.1060) and lower leg (MFA 14.1035) fragments.⁵⁸ Another male statue is represented by a thigh and shendyt kilt fragment (MFA 14-1-453). These royal statue fragments demonstrate that the Nubians had access to sites of Egyptian royal cultic practices, and had an interest in obtaining royal sculpture as well as private. Most are of a small scale, which suggests that they did not have access to Egyptian royal funerary monuments, such as Lisht or Lahun for the Dynasty 12 kings or the Theban region for Dynasty 13 on. Combined with the sculptures of mid-Dynasty 13 kings discussed above, it is most likely that these royal sculptures were originally located in the Heka-ib sanctuary at Elephantine, and the Kerman ruler buried in tumulus KX selectively obtained royal sculpture during his campaigns.

⁵⁷ Allen 2010 presents a further refinement of his reconstruction of the Second Intermediate Period section of the Turin King List, based on Ryholt's 1997 study and numbering (*The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press).

⁵⁸ The upper fragment is 8.8 cm, the lower fragment is 11.5 cm, for a total of 20.3 cm. This suggests that the finished striding statue would be roughly life-sized. The corner of the royal shendyt kilt is preserved on the upper knee fragment.

Sculptures of women are also present in Tumulus KX, including several which may be from queen's statues. Part of a queen's vulture crown may be found on a wig fragment (MFA 14.1043). Another woman wears an intricate Hathoric wig with feathers at the forehead, suggesting another queen's vulture crown (MFA Eg.Inv.1418). The damaged head and shoulders of a woman wearing a Hathoric wig (Figure 3.9, MFA 20.1189) may depict a queen or female deity, but definitely belong to a high-quality, half life-size statue. As from the start of collecting activities, images of females were specifically chosen for inclusion in the Kerman king's burial.

Two fragments of sculpture preserve toponyms from outlying sites of the Theban region, but they may not have originated at those sites and instead be represented as parts of divine epithets. A fragment of a royal foot steps on the nine bows in a small base fragment that includes an inscription: *...nb m3dw mry...* "...beloved of [Montu], lord of Maduw" (Figure 3.8, MFA 20.1202; Reisner 1923b: 521, fig. 344, no. 40). This is the only mention of Medamud within the Kerma sculpture corpus, and this piece could include this toponym due to the god named, rather than having been obtained from the site. Five fragments of the corner of an alabaster base or throne join together and contain an inscription mentioning Min of Koptos: *...btiw ir.f n.f nḥ dt...dt mi...* "[Min]... of Koptos, may he make for him eternal life..like [Re] forever" (MFA 20.1176a-e) (Reisner 1923b: 521, fig. 344, no. 39a & b; Reisner 1923a: 277). As these toponyms are always associated with these gods, it is not necessary to assume that these sculptures were obtained from the named locations. Additionally, they are singular examples of these toponyms, unlike the clusters of evidence from Elephantine and El-Kab. However, as will be discussed further below, textual evidence in and from El-Kab does suggest that the Kerman military almost breached the outlying Theban region in this generation, so these fragments may have in fact been dispersed in their general area of origin.

The religious nature of the sources of Egyptian sculpture for Tumulus KX is suggested by many fragments of cultic statues. The complete head of a Horus falcon (Figure 3.10, MFA 13.3983), and an eye fragment of another falcon were found (MFA 14-1-454.2), and it is possible that these falcon fragments originated in either the Buhen or El-Kab temples of Horus. Other statues of deities include the right side of a standing female deity holding an ankh (Figure 3.11, MFA 14-1-499), a portion of a dyad with a striding male figure wearing a shendyt kilt (MFA 13.3981). Cultic activity is also represented in a fragment of an offering bearer statue, consisting of a bowl with part the hand that held it (MFA 14-2-1136). The female deity in particular could be from the Satet temple at Elephantine, as was the inscribed royal statue mentioned above (MFA 13.3985).

The second generation of Classic Kerma royal burials contained a significantly larger amount of Egyptian sculpture, which also represented a wider variety of sculpture types. This demonstrates that Nubian military activity in Egyptian territory intensified, and the Kermans may have reached the outlying Theban area. This first evidence for a major Nubian campaign could provide a chronological match with the Nubian skirmish recorded in the tomb of Sobeknakht II at El-Kab, in which the Egyptians claim to have repulsed an attempted raid (Davies 2003). If so, the two fragments of falcon statues in Tumulus KX may have come from the temple to Horus of Nekhen. This intensification in military activity occurs alongside an increase in the magnitude of all aspects of the royal Kerman burial. The size of the tumulus increases to 100 meters in diameter, the number of human sacrifices in the main corridor rises to over 300 individuals, and a

monumental funerary chapel, KXI, is built for the first time. As the Kerman king acted to increase his political clout on an interregional scale, he also sought to redefine his status in his own community. The Egyptian statues placed within his burial would have acted as references to his ability to obtain war booty, set within an expanding program of royal legitimization.

Generation 3 - KIV Egyptian sculpture

There are significantly fewer Egyptian sculpture fragments interred in Tumulus KIV, suggesting that collecting activities in Egypt were not as intensive during this third generation of the Classic Kerma Period. The minimum number of Egyptian sculptures contained in Tumulus KIV is 14, and Reisner found a total 35 fragments (1923b: 25). No sculptures with royal titles were found in Tumulus KIV, and only inscriptions for private Egyptian individuals are present (Valbelle 2004: 181). As with Tumulus KX, most of the Egyptian sculpture fragments are made of hard stones.⁵⁹ They tend to be on a smaller scale, mostly half life-sized, and range in date from mid-Dynasty 12 to late-Dynasty 13 based on stylistic comparisons to the Elephantine sculpture corpus.

Several inscribed fragments of private Egyptian sculpture are present in Tumulus KIV, but none of the names or titles provide a definite link to Elephantine Island or any other Egyptian site. A fragment which preserves the base of a statue up to the waist is inscribed for the official Ankhu (Figure 3.12) with a standard offering formula: (1) *h̄tp di nswt pth-[skr-wsr], [di.f] prt-r-hrw...nb..., n k3 n whmw ḥnhw, iry n h̄wyt m3̄t hrw* (2) *[di].f prt-r-hrw wḥb n k3 n / whmw ḥnhw iry n / h̄wyt m3̄t hrw*, “(1) A boon which the kings gives, Ptah-[Sokar-Osiris]; [May he give] funerary offerings...for the *ka* of the herald, Ankhu, son of Khuwyt, true of voice (2)...[may] he [give] pure funerary offerings, for the *ka* of the herald, Ankhu, son of Khuwyt, true of voice” (MFA 20.1187a-b; Reisner 1923b: 33, no. 26 and 526, fig. 344, no. 50 a & b). The torso of another Egyptian statuette lacks a name but preserves the titles: *iri p̄t, h̄ti-ḥ*, “...the hereditary prince, the nomarch...” (MFA 20.1188; Reisner 1923b: 35, no. 37, pl. 34, 1). This standing official wears a short kilt and has a very muscular chest, so he does not fall into the Second Intermediate Period portrayal type of a fat, middle aged official. The points of his typical Middle Kingdom bag-wig (nemes-like) suggest a Dynasty 12 date.

Other fragments of Egyptian male official statues fall into typical Dynasty 13 types. Four torso fragments belong to standing male figures with high-waisted, long kilts worn by men with a middle-aged paunch (Figure 3.13, MFA 20.1192; MFA 20.1193; MFA 20.1194; MFA 20.1196a-c).⁶⁰ Another torso fragment may also be of this type, or a more youthful standing male (MFA 13.5696; Reisner 1923b: 42, no. 76). Two right hand fragments also probably come from this type of statue (MFA 13.5689 and MFA 13.5710; Reisner 1923b: 42, no. 77 & 78). Statues of

⁵⁹ Out of 31 Egyptian sculpture fragments from tumulus KIV in the MFA, 21 are granodiorite (68%), four are graywacke (13%), 4 are travertine/Egyptian alabaster (13%), one is anorthosite gneiss (3%), and one is serpentine (3%).

⁶⁰ Another torso fragment of a male standing statuette with a high-waisted kilt is listed with a KIV surface provenance in Reisner 1923b: 37, no. 45. This provenance does not match the archival records, however. The fragment pictured in field photos C4479, C4480, and C4481 is listed as Su.194 (now MFA 13.3982), and the object register has the findspot as “Tell II further up on surface of first ring of stone E of Tell, Feb. 17, KIII”.

officials with similar middle-aged paunches and wearing long kilts are numerous at the Heka-ib complex.⁶¹

Two complete heads and a fragment of another depict men with bald or clean-shaven heads (Figure 3.14 , MFA 20.1206; MFA 20.1207 / 14-1-79; possibly MFA 13-12-117b.4 and MFA 14.1490). Small scale bald (-shaven?) male heads (MFA 20.1206) are comparable those found on small-scale statues like that of Ankhu from Elephantine (Habachi 1985b: pl. 166-167, no. 71). Larger/life-sized bald male heads, such as the skillfully carved example found between KIII and KIV (MFA 20.1207), could have come from a variety of mid- to late- Dynasty 13 statue types. A parallel can be seen in the scribal statue of Senpu from Elephantine (Habachi 1985b: pl. 168-169, no. 72), which also has a protruding skull. The stylistic similarities of these private Egyptian sculptures from KIV with those from the Heka-ib Dynasty 13 shrines makes this Elephantine religious complex the most likely source of this group of five to seven statues.

Other sculpture types from Tumulus KIV, such as seated women, are also consistent with the Elephantine corpus. The lower body fragment of a half life-sized female seated statue (Figure 3.15) was found in the main burial chamber of the tumulus, KIV Room A (MFA 20.1190a; Reisner 1923a: 192; 1923b: 35, no. 33, pl. 35, 3). The detailed workmanship of this female statue is comparable to Lady Sennuwy from tumulus KIII, discussed below, although she lacks an inscription and her granodiorite has degraded differently and has lost its polish. This fragmentary female seated statue is almost identical to the fragmentary statue of queen Weret (Amenemhat II-Senusret III) from the Heka-ib complex (Habachi 1985b: pl. 193, no. 101). In fact, the female statue fragment in KXVI (MFA 20.1195) was also quite similar, although the Kerma fragments are unfortunately not inscribed. These three female statue fragments were of a comparable scale (~20 cm for the Kerma base fragments lacking feet, 35 cm for the Weret with feet). Again, the most likely point of origin of this Egyptian statue is the Elephantine sanctuary, and there is a continued use of female Egyptian sculptures at primary locations in the royal Kerma burial.

The Egyptian sculpture found in tumulus KIV is stylistically similar to that available in the Heka-ib complex on Elephantine Island. None of the inscribed sculpture in this tumulus offers a direct connection to an Egyptian locality, however. The KIV sculpture corpus is lacking the royal and cultic statues which composed the majority of the sculpture found in the previous generation, in Tumulus KX. Either a different source of Egyptian sculpture was exploited during this generation of the Classic Kerma period, or the favored royal and divine sculptures were removed from the Egyptian source during the previous generation. On the whole, the ruler interred in tumulus KIV seems to not have had the same success in amassing politically significant social resources as his predecessor and successor. Although the tumulus is of roughly the same dimensions as the preceding one, there were only approximately 100 human sacrifices in the transverse corridor (vs. 300+ in the previous) (Reisner 1923a: 195). This is also the tumulus which lacks an adjoining funerary chapel, and instead this ruler may have only been able to rebuilt funerary chapel KXI for his needs (O'Connor 1984). The third generation of the Classic Kerma period may have seen a lull in military conflict between Nubia and Egypt, and the

⁶¹ Heka-ib statues of officials with middle-age paunch and long kilt: Heqibankh (Habachi 1985: no. 26 & pl. 71), Ib-ia (ibid: no. 41 & pl. 114-5), Senebtifi (ibid: no. 4 & pl. 151-3), Ankhu (ibid: no. 71 & pl. 166-7), unnamed (ibid: no. 76 & pl. 174-5).

Kerman king was correspondingly less effective in promoting his legitimacy within his own community.

Generation 4 - KIII Egyptian sculpture

The significant increase in the number of Egyptian sculptures interred in Tumulus KIII represents a marked increase in Kerman collecting activities. There is a minimum number of 37 sculptures contained in Tumulus KIII, and they include several life size and over life size examples. Reisner counted 199 fragments of Egyptian sculpture from Tumulus KIII, with 32 listed and 167 unlisted in his publication (1923b: 25). However, there are now 284 stone sculpture fragments from tumulus KIII in the MFA collection.⁶² There is also an increase in the diversity of stones, sculpture types, and probable provenances of Egyptian sculptures contained in Tumulus KIII. As the final generation of the Classic Kerma period, the hostilities between Nubia and Egypt culminated, with the eventual Egyptian conquest of the city of Kerma at the close of the Second Intermediate Period.⁶³ The evidence contained in this burial complex demonstrates a peak in power afforded to the king at Kerma.

There are no inscribed royal Egyptian sculpture fragments contained in KIII, but several inscribed private sculptures can be attributed to the late Dynasty 13 Elephantine sculpture workshops. In fact, the bulk of the sculptures contained in KIII appear to have the Heka-ib sanctuary as their original site of use, as in the previous generations. For the first time, sites further north in Egyptian territory are securely represented in the corpus of Egyptian imports. Two sculptures from a private tomb in Assiut are present, and have the northern-most point of origin for all Egyptian sculpture found at Kerma. Inscribed stone vessels from El-Kab corroborate the Egyptian text that records a Nubian incursion to this site just south of the Egyptian capital of Thebes.⁶⁴ The increased geographic range of Egyptian sculpture contained in tumulus KIII, along with the increased volume of sculpture, indicates an intensification of Nubian military campaigns against Egypt. This would fit with the culmination of hostilities at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.

Egyptian sculpture types common to late Dynasty 12 to Dynasty 13 compose the majority of the sculpture found in Tumulus KIII, and most of these private statues were likely obtained from Elephantine Island. Sculpture types include seated officials wearing long kilts, such as Senaa-ib (MFA 14.721), and cross-legged scribal statues, such as Ameny (14-2-1481). The

⁶² Out of 284 Egyptian sculpture fragments from tumulus KIII in the MFA, 147 greywacke (51%), 101 granodiorite (35%), 9 serpentine (3%), 8 travertine/Egyptian alabaster (<3%), 8 limestone (<3%), 1 sandstone (<1%), 10 assorted other stones (3%).

⁶³ It should be noted that the death and burial of the Kerman king in Tumulus KIII would predate this Egyptian conquest, as it is fully completed and equipped, while his successor would be the king that engaged in the final fight with the Egyptians and his perhaps the ruler buried in the Kerma Récent tumulus located closer to the Nile (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 144-152).

⁶⁴ Although these stone vessels are from private graves in Tumulus KIII, they provide important supporting evidence and will also be discussed in this chapter. Stone vessels from El-Kab (Figure 5.3a-c): Vessel of Horheriat of El-Kab from K325, MFA 20.1150a-b / 14-2-785 (Bonnet 1990: no. 267); vessel for Sobeknakht of El-Kab from K334, 14-2-678 (Reisner 1923a: 171, 1923b: 524).

sculpture of Senaa-ib (Figure 3.16) found at Kerma provides direct evidence of its original use at the Heka-ib sanctuary (Habachi 1985: 81). In the example from Kerma, Senaa-ib takes the form of a typical Dynasty 13 official, with a high-waisted long kilt, seated on a chair (Reisner 1923b: pl. 32/2). Stylistically, this Senaa-ib statue closely resembles the statue of Amenemhet, son of Sattjenj (Amenemhat IV) from the Heka-ib complex (Habachi 1985b: pl. 93, no. 31), who also sits in a long, high-waisted kilt and wears a smooth headcloth, suggesting a similar late Dynasty 12 date.⁶⁵ Another statue inscribed for a Senaa-ib, with the same title of Chief of the Southern Tens, was found in the Heqa-ib sanctuary. This example portrays him as a scribe, sitting cross-legged in the same type of kilt (Habachi 1985: No. 55 pl. 137-8). This fortunate preservation of a direct link with the Elephantine corpus strengthens the possibility of other statuary coming from this Egyptian source.

Scribal statues are also found in Tumulus KIII, including other inscribed examples.⁶⁶ The scribal statue of Ken, overseer of sealers, has the inscription along the top surface of the kilt, and his toes emerge from under the kilt (Figure 3.17, MFA 20.1191a, Reisner 1923b: 25). The scribal statue of chancellor Ameny, son of Yay and Aket, has a similar inscription across the lap (Figure 3.18, MFA 14-2-1481, Reisner 1923b: 39, no. 55). No record of an official named Ken was found at the Heqa-ib sanctuary, and no Ameny with the title of chancellor was found, although Ameny seems to have been a very popular name at Elephantine and five Amenys with no known title are attested at the Heqa-ib sanctuary (ibid: 183-5). Stylistically, the scribal statues from Tumulus KIII are consistent with the Heka-ib corpus.

Cultic statue types are represented in tumulus KIII, including a votive figure that kneels and offers a *nw* pot (MFA 14.1184; Reisner 1923b: 33, no. 19), and another kneeling fragment (Figure 3.19, MFA 20.1220; Reisner 1923b: 37, no. 50). Cultic statues were also present in tumulus KX, but absent in KIV, which suggests a return to the previous source. As before, no fragments contain identifying characteristics or inscriptions, but the Satet and Khnum temples at Elephantine are possible sources which would be located close to the known collecting activities in the Heka-ib sanctuary. The kneeling cultic statues from KIII are both similar in pose to the kneeling statue of Heqaib, son of Sattjenj (Amenemhat III), who also holds *nw* pots and is from the Heka-ib complex (Habachi 1985b: pl. 88-89, no. 30).

The statues of Lady Sennuwy (Figure 3.1) and her husband Hepdjefa⁶⁷ (Figure 3.20) are the most widely discussed Egyptian statues from Kerma, and were interred in tumulus KIII.

⁶⁵ Another well executed statue of a seated official with a high waisted kilt was found in KIII, but is unnamed as the inscription that breaks off before his name and titles: (1) *ḥtp di nswt n r^c nb w3ḥ nswtut(?) di.f prt-r-ḥrw n k3 n...* (2) *ḥtp di nswt inpw ḥnty šḥ-ntr di.f prt-r-ḥrw...* “(1) A boon which the king gives, Ra establisher of kingship (?), may he give funerary offerings for the soul of... (2) A boon which the king gives, Anubis foremost of the divine hall, may he give funerary offerings...” (Reisner 1923b: 528, no. 62a in fig. 345).

⁶⁶ Other scribal statues from tumulus KIII without inscriptions preserved: knee fragment (KIII, MFA 14.1086 / 14-2-557b), and knee fragment (KIII, MFA 20.1218 / 14-2-593g).

⁶⁷ Sennuwy: MFA 14.720 / 13-12-371; Hepdjefa: the base and his lap (MFA 14.724 / 13-12-372), and joining kilt fragments (13-12-514, 13-12-687, Eg.Inv.1110).

Hepdjefa's seated statue is quite fragmentary and was found in disturbed debris, although the inscribed base is mostly intact. Lady Sennuwy's statue was intact and still *in situ* in the sacrificial corridor of Tumulus KIII, and was the only statue found undisturbed. Hepdjefa and Sennuwy were already known to Egyptologists at the time of the discovery of these statues, as their tomb in Assiut contains an especially descriptive funerary contract (Reisner 1918). It was the discovery of these statues in particular that convinced Reisner that Kerma must have been a Middle Kingdom Egyptian trading outpost, with the displaced Egyptians buried in exotic Nubian manners. In his site publication, Tumulus KIII is referred to as the burial of Hepdjefa (Reisner 1923a: 135).

The statues of Hepdjefa and Sennuwy could likely have been obtained from their tomb in Assiut, although their stylistic similarities with the Elephantine sculpture may suggest that they were installed much farther south. The argument for the placement of the statues of Hepdjefa and Sennuwy at Elephantine will be further explored below in the discussion of the geographic sources of Egyptian sculpture found at Kerma. As comparable finds from the Assiut region from the Middle Kingdom are lacking, this makes it difficult to reassign their place of manufacture to Elephantine. There is no definitive inscribed Egyptian material found at Kerma that demonstrates collecting activity in the region between El-Kab and Assiut. If the Nubian king did obtain these statues from Assiut, it would represent a calculated mission into enemy-controlled territory. The desert route which bypassed the Egyptian political center of Thebes may have been used to transport the two large statues, but this would represent a huge amount of physical effort to move them without the use of river transport.

Tumulus KIII provides other evidence for Kerman military raids farther north into Egypt than the Aswan border. Although they were not found in the royal burial chambers, three inscribed stone vessels from El-Kab interred in tumulus KIII elite burials will be discussed here. These three stone vessel fragments are inscribed for Egyptian officials and include the toponym of El-Kab.⁶⁸ Two of these named governors are known through Egyptian administrative records. Iymeru was the father of the first Sobeknakht attested as governor of El-Kab, and their transfer of the title occurred in the first year of the reign of king Sewadjenre Nebiryau I, of Dynasty 16⁶⁹ (Davies 2010: fig. 10; Bennett 2002: 125-6). The son of Sobeknakht I is Sobeknakht II, and his tomb at El-Kab (no. 10) records the purported Egyptian military victory against Nubian raiders (Davies 2010, 2003). The next son in the family was Sobeknakht III, and was also governor of El-Kab (Davies 2010: fig. 10; Bennett 2002: 125-6). Due to the continued use of family names among the governors of El-Kab, the Sobeknakht named on the stone vessel fragment found in tumulus KIII could be from any of three generations known at the site, which occurred during the transition from Dynasty 16 to 17. If the governor named is Sobeknakht I, then this occurred after the reign of Nebiryau I (mid-Dynasty 16), if Sobeknakht II then after the reign of Bebiankh (mid-Dynasty 16), or if Sobeknakht III then during the unknown sequence of late Dynasty 16-early Dynasty 17 kings leading up to Tao I (Bennett 2002: fig. 7). As tumulus KIII is the last of

⁶⁸ Stone vessels from El-Kab in Tumulus KIII elite burials (Figure 5.3a-c): Sobeknakht of El-Kab in K334 (14-2-678; Reisner 1923a: 171, 1923b: 524), Horheriat of El-Kab in K325 (MFA 20.1150a,b / 14-2-785; Bonnet 1990: no. 267), Iymeru of El-Kab (13-12-786, Reisner 1923b: 59). No record of a Horheriat is known from El-Kab.

⁶⁹ Nebiryau I is listed in Dynasty 16, Turin Papyrus line 11.05 (Allen 2010: 10).

the Classic Kerma royal tumuli, I would argue that this successful Nubian raid on El-Kab should fall at the later end of that possible range.

The Egyptian sculpture contained in Tumulus KIII provides definitive evidence of the northernmost penetration of Nubians into Egyptian territory during the Second Intermediate Period. Kerman troops breached El-Kab, and may have also reached Assiut through the desert trade routes, as there is no evidence present from the region in between these sites. The life-sized statue of Lady Sennuwy, the only Egyptian sculpture found complete and *in situ* at Kerma, illustrates the physical effort needed to transport this loot back to Nubia. She was buried along with over 100 sacrificed Kermans in the ruler's tumulus,⁷⁰ setting this objectified human image among physical human remains. The lavishly decorated funerary chapel KII that accompanies this tumulus featured large lions on the façade, as well as two prominent pieces of Egyptian sculpture. In this final generation of the Classic Kerma period, the Kerman king magnified the now traditional program of iconography that emphasized his military victories as portrayed through his monuments meant for a Kerman audience.

Sculpture from findspots outside of royal Classic Kerma tumuli

Several pieces of Egyptian sculpture were found outside of the secure contexts of the royal Classic Kerma tumuli but add important elements to the analysis of Egyptian sources of sculpture, or the uses thereof. The examples of Egyptian sculpture from the two royal Funerary Chapels will first be presented, as they provide clear evidence of collecting activity at Elephantine and the key role Egyptian sculpture may have played in programs of Kerman royal ideology. Then the possibility of Egyptian sculptures interred in burials other than those of the kings will be discussed, through three equivocal examples.

Egyptian sculpture from Funerary Chapel KXI

Two sculpture fragments that were recovered from unsealed contexts in royal burials at Kerma provide further evidence confirming the collection of sculpture from the Aswan region. A small fragment of a scribal statue which was found in the debris of funerary chapel KXI can also be sourced to Elephantine, although its original placement at Kerma cannot be determined. The dedicatory inscription on the statue is for Intef the scribe of the prison, not the same Intef discussed above (MFA 15-2-8; Reisner 1923b: 44, no. 98). A Dynasty 13 stela from the Heka-ib complex lists an Intef with the same titles among family members (Habachi 1985: no. 80). Intef the prison scribe seems to have commissioned his own monument for the Elephantine sanctuary as well, which was then taken by Nubians.

Generation 4 continued - Funerary Chapel KII Egyptian sculpture

Fragments of Egyptian sculpture were also found throughout the debris in and around the royal funerary chapels KXI and KII. The original placement of these statues at the site is not clear, as most of the fragments at the front of the chapel were found in debris, and those inside of

⁷⁰ The sacrifices in the transverse corridor of tumulus KIII were poorly preserved, compared to the previous tumuli, leading Reisner to suggest that there were significantly more individuals than the ~100 that could be identified (Reisner 1923a: 141).

the chapel could have been deposited during plundering or while the structure remained open. There were two Egyptian sculptures that seem to have been directly incorporated into the front façade of Funerary Chapel II, which accompanies Tumulus KIII. As these sculptures have secure contexts of use, they will also be discussed here.

Two pieces of Egyptian sculpture were set up in the front of royal Funerary Chapel KII, standing as continually visible, curated markers of the king's control of symbolic resources. The inscribed granite stela of Intef was found by Reisner in the eastern corner of the facade, where it was likely set up along with other typically Nubian standing stone stelae (MFA 13.3967, Figure 3.21a,b, Reisner 1923a: 127-8).⁷¹ The inscription describes the construction of the Walls of Amenemhat III in year 33, led by Intef and his builders from Elephantine (Reisner 1923b: 511; Leprohon 1982). Valbelle questioned if the stela of Intef was made at Kerma during Dynasty 12 and refers to the town, or if it is imported (2004: 177). It is assuredly imported, as Habachi showed through a close comparison of Intef's titles and family names with evidence remaining at the Heka-ib sanctuary in Elephantine (1985: no. 56).

The prominent winged sun disc on the lunette of the stela could have been the most valued decorative element. This motif would have been relevant to the Nubian viewers, especially in conjunction with the sun disc lintel that was built into the façade of the funerary chapel (Reisner 1923a: 124). The lintel had fallen down from its emplacement over the entrance to the chapel (Reisner 1923a: 124).⁷² The carved granite lintel has a canonical winged sun disc, with a raised and rounded disk, flanked by two uraei and feathered wings. The only remarkable aspect of the lintel is its location at Kerma. Due to its lack of inscription, the origin of the lintel must remain debatable. Although it is slightly under three meters in length, it could have been imported from an Egyptian site along with other hard-stone sculpture, perhaps from a cult or funerary temple. The complete correlation of the form and style of the motif with Egyptian models strongly suggests that it was produced by Egyptian artisans. The repetition of this Egyptian motif on the highly visible façade of this royal funerary monument highlights the deliberate display of exotic war booty as part of the royal Kerman program of iconography.

Found among the debris of funerary chapel KII, the small-scale alabaster statue of a king (Figure 3.22) does not fit with the majority of the other sculpture found at Kerma (MFA 20.1204). The attenuated lappets of the nemes headdress are similar to those of the kneeling slate statue of Pepi I (Brooklyn 39.121), and pair statue of Pepi II and his mother (Brooklyn 39.119). Although much abraded, the statue from Kerma has a thick, protruding, long cosmetic line which is also typical in these 'Second Style' depictions of Dynasty 6 pharaohs. The fine

⁷¹ The Stela of Intef was found at the intersection of a retaining wall (Reisner 1923a: 99, 127) [Figure 9]. The stela was broken in three pieces but complete, buried under mudbrick debris that had eroded from the chapel (*ibid*: 131). These conditions, when compared with the typical fragmentary and scattered sculpture throughout the site, suggest that the stela was found *in situ* (*ibid*: 127-8).

⁷² The architecture and plan of Funerary Chapel KII center on Nubian cultic activities, especially the need for vertical movement to the roof of the structure, so this is not a simple copying of Egyptian temple design or religious activities.

grained alabaster lacks noticeable banding, takes a yellowish cast and smooth polish, similar to the alabaster favored by the Dynasty 6 kings Pepi I and Pepi II (Valbelle 2004: 178)⁷³.

These small scale royal statues are thought to be part of a program of ka-chapels built throughout Egypt at the end of the Old Kingdom (Russmann 1995: 277). Several Dynasty 6 ka-chapels are known to be in Upper Egypt, including El-Kab (Fischer 1958: 331) and Hierakonpolis (Russmann 1995: 277). The royal alabaster statue found at Kerma could have been obtained from a regional ka-chapel. The presence of an alabaster falcon (MFA 20.1203) in the KII debris is intriguing, as it brings to mind the royal statues of the Old Kingdom in which Horus hovers over the figure of the king (cf. seated Pepi II, Brooklyn 39.120). This falcon is probably not part of the same alabaster royal sculpture, as its scale would make it the same height as the king.

There is other ample evidence of Old Kingdom Egyptian imports in alabaster at Kerma, namely the hundreds of fragments of vessels inscribed for Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II found in the religious sector KI (Lacovara 1991; Reisner 1923a: 30-31), one of which was also found in the funerary chapel KII debris (MFA 20.1170). In all, these alabaster Egyptian objects suggest that a Dynasty 6 royal ka-chapel was accessed by the Kermans during the Second Intermediate Period, rather than an exchange through trade in the Early Kerma period (contra. Valbelle 2004: 178). The contexts of the finds do not allow for a close dating of that raid, as both sets were in disturbed debris. The location of the ka-chapel can only be surmised to be somewhere in Upper Egypt.

Egyptian sculpture from outside of the Eastern Cemetery

The Western Deffufa KI contained a few sculpture fragments, but as this religious center was in use for all of the Classic Kerma period and significantly earlier, it is difficult to pinpoint the time of their inclusion. The fragment of a small family dyad (MFA 13.3979 / Su.314) is of a type common from Dynasty 12 to the end of the Second Intermediate Period.⁷⁴ The KI Egyptian sculptures do not substantially differ from those found in royal Kerman mortuary contexts.

The question of accessibility - Egyptian sculpture possibly from non-royal burials

Several sculpture deposits found in the debris near the rather severely looted minor tumuli of the Eastern Cemetery at Kerma may provide evidence that the use of Egyptian sculpture was not completely restricted to royal burials. This evidence must be approached with caution, as the date and relationship of these minor tumuli to the major royal tumuli is unclear, but in all cases the disturbed finds suggest that the primary deceased within them were of high status. If these Egyptian statues were originally contained in these minor tumuli, then this

⁷³ Valbelle lists this statue from KIIB and 20.1208 from KIIA, although the latter is actually from KX. She may be referring to the alabaster hawk 20.1203.

⁷⁴ For other small scale family groups from the Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period: Group statue of Ukhhotep II and his family, Dynasty 12 r. Senusret I, Meir, MFA Boston (MFA 1973.87); a man between two women, late Dynasty 13, Royal Museum of Scotland (1965.6, Bourriau 1989: no. 56); family group of four, Middle Kingdom, Walters Art Museum (22.311); family group of three, Middle Kingdom, Walters Art Museum (22.349).

provides evidence that this type of independent burial was used by Kermans of particularly high status or with social connections to the king. Additionally, one small but complete statue provides supporting evidence for the date of the Kerman raid(s) of El-Kab.

The debris around tumulus KXIV, tumulus KXV, and their associated small chapels, held a small and complete standing statue of Mentuhotep of El-Kab (Figure 3.23, Khartoum 1132) (Valbelle 2004: 179; Reisner 1923a: 477, 481). This temple elder Mentuhotep had a father named Sobekhotep, but these names were quite popular in the Second Intermediate Period after the relatively powerful Dynasty 13 kings Sobekhotep IV and Mentuhotep III (Bennett 2002: 126). This Mentuhotep may belong to the extended family chronicled in the tomb of Renni/Reneny that included several generations of Sobekhoteps (Tylor 1900), setting a possible date range from after the reign of Bebi-ankh (mid-Dynasty 16) to the reign of Ahmose (Dynasty 18) (Bennett 2002: fig. 10).⁷⁵ The debris in the main chamber of KXV contained another sculpture fragment of a standing man with hands to his kilt (MFA 14.1329). A small slate falcon was also found in this area of disturbed debris (MFA 20.1216). During his re-excavation of this area, Bonnet determined that these smaller tumuli with associated small square chapels should be assigned to the Classic Kerma period (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 45, 50). The finds from KXV, although disturbed during plunder, point to a high status burial. There are remains of an inlaid funerary bed with turtles, crocodiles, bustards and elephants, mica appliqués, and a garment covered with over 500 silver sequins (Reisner 1923a: 484). This suggests that these few statues may have been included in this elite burial, rather than been displaced from the royal tumulus KX. If any elite/private Kermans were to be afforded the use of Egyptian sculpture for their grave, the unique opulence of this burial would suggest that this individual had attained that honor.

The only other inscribed material from El-Kab found at Kerma are the two stone vessels found in subsidiary tombs in the last royal tumulus, KIII, which is far removed from this area and makes it unlikely that this inscribed statue is displaced from there. This brings into question the date of the small tumulus KXV, as it is in closest proximity to royal tumulus KX which is devoid of textual evidence from El-Kab. The rather late range of possible dates for this statue of Mentuhotep suggests that the small tumulus KXV is closer in date to royal Tumulus KIII.

Two other small tumuli contained small Egyptian statue fragments in their debris. A standing male statue fragment was found in the upper debris of tumulus KXXI (MFA 14.1089). This statue was of a scale comparable to the Mentuhotep example, but it is too fragmentary to determine its exact type and origin in Egypt. This statue may have originally been placed in this plundered burial, as there are also indications that the deceased individual had access to elite

⁷⁵ The full inscription on the Mentuhotep statue names his mother, but the two hieroglyphic signs of her name are abraded. The Reisner publication reconstructs this inscription incorrectly, the Object Register and Tomb Card leave room for two vertical signs, which could accommodate the name Ahmose, which would make this Mentuhotep the brother of the well-known Renni/Reneny of El-Kab tomb no. 7 (for the family tree, see Davies 2010: 235-237). However, this family had at least three generations with multiple Sobekhoteps (Tylor 1900: 3), so without a definite reading of the mother's name his chronological placement must remain uncertain.

burial equipment.⁷⁶ One sculpture fragment of a pleated kilt and several unidentifiable sculpture fragments in slate and granite were found in the debris of K3901 (MFA 14-3-964 to 14-3-967), in a sacrificial chamber that contained a primary burial on an inlaid bed and eighteen sacrifices (Reisner 1923a: 502-5). The concentration of unrelated sculpture fragments in this tumulus debris makes it more likely that they were original contents. Both of these small tumuli have characteristics that suggest that the primary individuals buried within them were of a high status in the Kerma community, as with the individual in KXV. Yet the poor preservation of the outlying tumuli in the Classic Kerma Eastern Cemetery makes it difficult to make definitive statements about the original placement of these statues, and these sculptures could have been displaced from the larger tumuli during modern looting activities. If the Kermans buried in these minor tumuli were afforded the use of Egyptian sculptures among their funerary equipment, unlike the elite buried in subsidiary graves in the royal tumuli, this would demonstrate that the Kerman king granted access to certain members of the Kerman elite, and a less-rigid control of this symbolic resource.

The geographical reconstruction of Kerman military raids

An analysis of the Egyptian sculpture contained in each generation of Classic Kerma royal burials has provided a closer understanding of the progression of conflict during the Second Intermediate Period. As hinted in Egyptian textual sources, the material evidence argues that Kermans did aggressively penetrate Egyptian borders in successive military incursions over four generations. The first generation had limited success, while the second generation amassed significantly more war booty. The third generation had a lull in activity, followed by the most intensive and successful campaign in the fourth generation.

A geographical consideration of the evidence demonstrates that contact between Nubians and Egyptians was more intense closer to the capital of Kerma. In fact, the closest sites came to have positive, cooperative interaction with Egyptians, as seen at the forts in Lower Nubia. The Aswan region experienced the heaviest collection activity, with a concentrated destruction of the Heka-ib religious sanctuary. El-Kab may have provided the heaviest resistance to Kerman soldiers, but was probably reached twice during the Second Intermediate Period.

Buhen

The Egyptian sculpture found in Classic Kerma contexts does not provide secure evidence of Kerman military raids at Buhen, instead there is strong evidence for cooperation between the Egyptian residents and Kerman kings. Textual evidence from Buhen instead demonstrates direct contact and cooperation between ethnic groups, with the families of

⁷⁶ The plundered burial in KXXI contained several objects which are similar to the neighboring tumulus KXX, which may have contained a high-status female burial. These include a matching ivory game set with a casting box also inlaid with *djed* pillars (MFA 20.1522/ 14-1-601; 14-1-602; MFA 20.1781 / 14-1-603), and fragments of six alabaster vessels (14-1-609) (Reisner 1923a: 494-5).

Sepedhor (Khartoum 18)⁷⁷ and Ka (Penn 10984)⁷⁸ working for the Nubian ruler. With the demonstrated relationship between Kerman rulers and Egyptians living at the Second Cataract forts during this time period, it could be possible that these Egyptians were responsible for creating or obtaining the sculptures found in Kerman contexts (Valbelle 2004: 182). Yet the Egyptian residents of the Second Cataract forts had their own sculpture workshops, and there is no clear identification of any sculpture fragments found at Kerma with this regional style.⁷⁹ Several fragments of falcons recovered at Kerma belong to statues of Horus, or statues that included a Horus figure. There is a possibility that these Horus statues were located in the early Horus cult temple at Buhen, later replaced by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Török 2009: 221), although the possibility that they were obtained from the El-Kab region should be considered.

Evidence of Egyptian - Nubian cooperation during the Second Intermediate Period was discussed in Chapter 2. Mutually beneficial interaction between Kermans and Egyptian ‘ex-pats’ living at the Second Cataract illustrates that both groups adapted to a changed political situation and formed mutually beneficial relationships. Interaction and ‘entanglement’ between groups along territorial boundaries is to be expected. What is more important to concentrate on are questions of how this interaction was structured, and how it affected the parties involved. Kerma was set into a multi-faceted relationship with Egyptians, as those who had been resident in Lower Nubia for many generations lost their ties to the pharaonic political system, in contrast to those encountered as the Nubians voyaged north into Egypt proper.

Elephantine Island

The majority of the Egyptian statue types found in all four of the Classic Kerma royal tumuli have parallels known from the Heka-ib sanctuary on Elephantine Island. The wide variety of late Middle Kingdom statuary found at Kerma is mirrored at the Heqa-ib complex, with both private and royal statuary. Elephantine is thought to be the northern border of Kerma’s political influence at this time, making this location particularly accessible to the Nubians for obtaining sculpture as loot (Wildung 1997: 115).

The Heka-ib complex of Egyptian cenotaphs and family memorials was in use through early Dynasty 12 through late Dynasty 13, and contained a variety of hard-stone sculptures. As discussed above, Senaa-ib and two Intefs are individuals with named sculpture found at Kerma, who also have remaining monuments at Elephantine. Other sculptures from Kerma are consistent with the style, workmanship, and materials found with the Heka-ib workshops. These include the statues of Hepdjefa and Sennuwy, and although their burial is located further north at Assiut the possibility that their statues were obtained from Elephantine Island must be

⁷⁷ For more information on the Stele of Sepedhor, see Randall-McIver and Wooley 1911, Save-Soderbergh 1949: 55, Smith 1976: 41; S.T. Smith 1995: 110; Valbelle 2004: 177.

⁷⁸ For more information on the Stele of Ka, see Randall-McIver and Wooley 1911, Save-Soderbergh 1949; Smith 1976: 55; Redford 1997: no. 15; Valbelle 2004: 177; Davies 2004: no. 73.

⁷⁹ A quartzite head fragment of a male statue from Buhen demonstrates the simple but competent style of the region, with late Dynasty 12 facial features that blend those of Senusret III and Amenemhat III (Bourriau and Quirke 1988: 46).

considered. The majority of the royal statues from the Heka-ib sanctuary were of a small scale, although the private sculpture is generally half to full life-size in scale (Habachi 1985a: 109). Habachi suggests that the officials who made their own additions to the sanctuary commissioned these royal monuments, rather than the kings themselves (1985a: 109).

This matter of scale supports the possibility that the few royal sculptures found in Kerman contexts were also originally from Elephantine, as they are also of a relatively small scale. A comparison of the royal heads recovered at Kerma with the royal statue bases remaining at Elephantine actually suggests that the heads may have been forcibly removed as prizes for the Kerman kings. The greywacke head attributed to Amenemhat III from Kerma has a measurement of 4.5 cm from chin to eye (MFA 20.1213). The dark granodiorite royal head from Kerma that has been attributed to Amenemhat III or Senusret III (Figure 3.5, MFA 13.3968), is 3.1 cm from chin to eye. A statue of Senusret III from the Heka-ib complex is made of fine-grained grey granite and the preserved height from just above the elbow to throne base is 33 cm (Habachi 1985a: 113, no. 102; 1985b: pl. 196, no. 102). This base fragment would comprise roughly 9 squares of the typical seated male grid of the Middle Kingdom (Robins 1994: 77), so chin to eye (=1 grid square) would measure approximately 3.7 cm. The dark granite/granodiorite statue royal statue that may depict Amenemhat III (Figure 3.24), from the Heka-ib complex, measures 28 cm for the base fragment of 9 squares (Habachi 1985: 113, no. 103; 1985b: pl. 197, no. 103), making the chin to eye (=1 grid square) measurement 3.1 cm. The grid square measurements for the royal Kerma head and Elephantine royal base fragments in lighter grey stones (MFA 20.1213 and Habachi 1985, no. 102) are too disparate for them to belong to the same statue. The examples in dark granodiorite, however, have grid square measurements that match exactly. This means that the royal Kerma head (MFA 13.3968) and the royal Elephantine base (Habachi 1985, no. 103) have the potential to be fragments of the same statue.⁸⁰ If so, this would have interesting implications about the nature of Kerman collecting. Decapitating a royal statue and bringing back the head for burial with the Kerman king would mimic the act of taking body parts to mark military victories.⁸¹ The Amenemhat III (?) head fragment from Kerma is also unusual because it is broken at the thickest part of the torso, rather than at the naturally vulnerable neck or waist, and would take quite some force to achieve this break.

This leads to the question if the Nubians also destroy Egyptian sites along with taking sculpture as war booty. Construction at the Heka-ib complex ends by the close of Dynasty 13, which is the same date that Nubian military raids seem to intensify. There is also evidence of other mutilation of sculptures remaining on Elephantine Island.⁸² In the family shrine of Sarenput I, all of the male statues had mutilated faces while the female relatives were left untouched (Habachi 1985a: 27). Some statues in the chapel of Heqaib also show signs of

⁸⁰ The dark granodiorite of these two sculpture fragments also has a similarly smooth polish, and details of the kilt, bull tail, and bag amulet are incised in thin lines that take on a white appearance.

⁸¹ In fall 2011, deposits of right hands taken from defeated soldiers were found at Tell el-Daba. Bietak, Manfred. 2012. "I brought a hand" - Archaeological evidence from Avaris. Paper presented at the annual meeting for the American Research Center in Egypt, April 27-29, 2012 in Providence, Rhode Island.

⁸² I would like to thank Deanna Kiser-Go for her suggestion to look for intentional damage at the Heka-ib complex.

mutilation in the face and hands (ibid: 49). The statue of Imenj-seneb was defaced by breaking off the hands and feet (ibid: 51). A statue of Heqaib has facial mutilation (ibid: 54), and Khakaure-seneb's seated statue has intentional damage on the face and arms (ibid: 56). This suggests that the Nubians' motivation for entering Egypt was not simply that of art collectors, but rather that collecting activities were a way of commemorating violent interactions. Without recourse to written records, Nubian kings could mark their military victories through the use of Egyptian material culture.

El-Kab

El-Kab is the northernmost Egyptian site with secure evidence of Kerma military raids, both in Egyptian material culture at Kerma and Egyptian textual records. The inscribed stone vessels from El-Kab found in tumulus KIII at Kerma fall into a possible date of mid-Dynasty 16 to late Dynasty 17, and as this is the last of the great royal tumuli of the Classic Kerma Period the later end of that range is most likely. The small statue of Mentuhotep of El-Kab from KXV (Khartoum 1132), can be most securely placed in the mid-Dynasty 16 to Dynasty 18 date range, providing further evidence that this northern campaign occurred at the close of the Second Intermediate Period. If this date is accepted, then the unsuccessful attack on El-Kab described by Sobeknakht II would have occurred approximately three generations of Egyptian governors prior, which could correspond to the reign of the Kerma king interred in KX (two Nubian generations prior). The Egyptian sculpture fragments contained in Tumulus KX demonstrate an extensive campaign in Egypt, probably more intensive than in the interceding generation (KIV). Although Tumulus KX does not contain any textual references to the El-Kab region, it does contain several Horus figures which could have originated in the Horus of Nekhen sanctuary.⁸³ Kermans in the second generation of the Classic Kerma Period may have attempted a raid on El-Kab, and then been repulsed by Sobeknakht II. Then a later wave of invasion in the fourth generation was successful, resulting in the collection of the El-Kab material.

Assiut

Assiut is by far the northernmost Egyptian site represented in all of the imported finds in Classic Kerma contexts. During the Second Intermediate Period, Assiut was located on the border between Egyptian-controlled territory and the Hyksos powerbase in the north. This has led some to speculate that the Hepdjefa and Sennuwy statues were the diplomatic gift that sealed the purported Hyksos - Nubian military alliance.⁸⁴ As discussed above, the reality of a negotiated alliance between these polities cannot be materially supported.⁸⁵ Alternately, these statues from Assiut could have been obtained and transported during movement along the desert/

⁸³ Tumulus KX also contains the statue fragment that names the king as "...beloved of [Montu], lord of Maduw" (MFA 20.1202 / 14-2-279), and the fragment that mentions Min of Kopots. These fragments could have been dispersed in the region of El-Kab, closer to their original sources. As this is the only textual evidence relating to Medamud and Koptos, it is unlikely that they represent a Nubian raid on these major Middle Kingdom temple sites.

⁸⁴ O'Connor suggested this in early scholarship (O'Connor 1974: 32), as well as Wenig (1978b: 31).

⁸⁵ The discussion of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware in Chapter 5 will confirm this by the limited distribution of this imported Hyksos ceramic type.

oasis route that bypassed the Egyptian controlled section of the Nile (Kendall 1997, Valbelle 2004). This would represent a huge physical effort to convey two life-sized statues without the ease of river transport. Hepdjefa's statues were particularly accessible to Nubian 'collectors,' as another statue belonging to him was discovered at Gebel Barkal in the Piye/Natakamani temple (Valbelle 2004: 216). This other Hepdjefa statue could have been taken from Kerma by the later Nubian rulers, which would mean that three statues were transported from Assiut.

The contracts contained in Hepdjefa's tomb in Assiut mention provisions to be given as offerings to ka-statues of Hepdjefa, with up to five statues in different locations in the tomb and local temples (ibid: 90-1). This confirms that statues of Hepdjefa were available in the Assiut region, but doesn't eliminate the possibility that he had statues located elsewhere in Egypt. There is evidence of officials with ties to the southern part of Egypt, but who were not resident at Aswan, who commissioned votive statues to be erected at the Heka-ib sanctuary. Some of these officials were active as far north as Memphis, but are represented in the Elephantine corpus.⁸⁶ The inscription on Hepdjefa's statue includes a title that involves Upper Egypt: *hry-tp 3 rsw*, "the great headsman of the South" (Reisner 1923b: 513, fig. 343, 31c). The extensive inscriptions in the tomb of Hepdjefa in Assiut don't contain this exact title, but do name him as the *imi-r3 rsw mi kd.f*, "the overseer of the south in its entirety" (Reisner 1918: 79-80).

The statues of Hepdjefa and Sennuwy are stylistically consistent with Dynasty 12 sculpture from the Elephantine workshops. Hepdjefa's statue is a variation of the seated male statue, with pleated short kilt and holding a folded cloth in a clenched right fist. This is also found with the statue of Heqaib, made by Sehetpib, from Elephantine (Habachi 1985b: pl. 124, no. 48) and the statue of Imenj (Senusret I) (ibid: pl. 142, no. 60). Another fragment from KIII has the same pleated skirt and the fist holds a folded cloth (MFA 14-2-614b). The seated statues of Khakaure-seneb (lived around the 34th year of Amenemhat III) (Habachi 1985b: pl. 81, no. 28) and Heqaibankh (Senusret III) (ibid: pl. 69, no. 25) are similar in style, material, and finish to the Hepdjefa statue from Kerma, as well as several other examples.⁸⁷ The basis of the statue is a low backed seat with no inscriptions except for two vertical columns along the front face, running from the knees to along the feet. The rather flat and simplified lower arms are held tightly to the lap and both hands are flat on the top of the knees. The kilt has deep and closely placed pleats. The lower leg muscles are powerful but rendered with strong ridges, and connect with the feet in thick ankles.

⁸⁶ Egyptian individuals represented in the Heka-ib statuary corpus, who lived or were primarily active further north in Egypt: Sarenput II was buried at Qubbet el-Hawa, but his titles include "chieftain of El-Kab" and priestly duties in Heliopolis and Memphis (Habachi 1985a: 46). Habachi argues that the family of Heqa-ib and Imenj-seneb mention Ptah, Ptah-Sokar and Geb in their dedications, but ignore the local gods of Aswan, suggesting they may be originally from the Memphite area (1985a: 54). Queen Weret is also attested at Lahun on cylinders and with another statue, and provides a precedent for an important figure from Middle Egypt who is also represented at the Heka-ib sanctuary (Habachi 1985a: 112; Brunton 1949). Queen Weret may have been included in the Elephantine sanctuary due to her role as a priestess of Sobek (Habachi 1985a: 112).

⁸⁷ Other seated male statues from Kerma: Ankhw son of Khuyt (KIV, MFA 20.1187a / 13-12-47), uninscribed example (KIII, MFA 20.1197 / 13-12-322),

There are only a handful of Middle Kingdom female statue fragments known from any Egyptian contexts which can be compared to that of Sennuwy. The unprovenanced face of a woman in the Royal Museum of Scotland is of a similar scale, made in granodiorite, and also presents a youthful idealized face (Bourriau 1988: 27). The brows follow along a straight line above almond shaped eyes, and there is more of a pronounced smile in her thin lips than in Sennuwy's similar mouth. The structure of the face with strong cheekbones and a square chin is also shared between these two female statues. No female statues retain their heads at the Heka-ib complex, but the lower half of the statue of queen Weret has similar formal elements (Amenemhat II-Senusret III) from the Heka-ib complex (Habachi 1985b: pl. 193, no. 101). Although the statue of Weret lacks an inscription and the granodiorite has lost its polish, they share rounded, wedge-shaped arms which taper to flattened hands, slightly overlarge feet and thick ankles. Sennuwy has greater modeled detail in her musculature and knees, but her statue is roughly twice the scale of the Weret statue. The other two basis fragments of female seated statues at Kerma are quite similar, but not inscribed.⁸⁸ These three female statue fragments were of a comparable scale (~20 cm in height for the Kerma base fragments lacking feet, 35 cm in height for the Weret with feet), while Sennuwy is on twice the scale at ~60 cm from feet to waist. Queen Weret is also attested at Lahun on cylinders and with another statue, and provides a precedent for an important figure from Middle Egypt who is also represented at the Heka-ib sanctuary (Habachi 1985a: 112). Queen Weret may have been included in the Elephantine sanctuary due to her role as a priestess of Sobek (Habachi 1985a: 112). This opens the possibility that the Lady Sennuwy statue could have also been installed at the Elephantine sanctuary. The small amount of female statuary preserved from the Middle Kingdom does not help provide other regional comparisons.

The stylistic comparison alone cannot definitively place the Hepdjefa and Sennuwy sculptures in Elephantine, but should at least open this possibility to discussion. Although the volume of Egyptian sculpture found in Classic Kerma contexts and the vigor with which it was collected should not be dismissed, the particularly far north source of Assiut, without much supporting evidence between, should be questioned.

Collection and power

Egyptian sculptures interred with the kings of the Classic Kerma period provide evidence of repeated military campaigns into Egyptian controlled territory. The first Classic Kerman king (in KXVI) may have only reached Elephantine Island. The subsequent king (in KX) likely threatened El-Kab and may have reached the outskirts of the Theban region. The king of the third generation (in KIV) does not seem to have reached beyond Elephantine. The last king of the Classic Kerma period (in KIII) achieved the greatest military victories, once again reaching El-Kab and successfully sacking the older local burials. This concentrated effort over the course of the Classic Kerma period demonstrates that aggressive territorial expansion was a primary goal of the Nubian kings.

The Egyptian sculptures with which the Kerman kings returned home are objects for use in Egyptian funerary cults and deposited in tombs, they are not luxury goods designated for

⁸⁸ Uninscribed seated female statue fragments from Kerma: KIV, MFA 20.1190a and KXVI, MFA 20.1195.

trade. To an ancient Egyptian, divorcing these objects from their original context would mean the spiritual death of their owners. This does not suggest that they were given willingly to be taken to Kerma.

The volume and size of the Egyptian statuary transported to Kerma could not have been the result of uncoordinated raids, rather there must have been a significant amount of organization of manpower to obtain them. Coercing the sculptures from their Egyptian contexts of use would transform them into highly symbolic resources for the Kerman king to then use in his own community.

The corpus of Egyptian sculpture found at Kerma was used primarily in royal Kerman contexts, showing that this symbolic resource was tightly controlled by the Kerman king. The main corpus of sculpture was found within the transverse corridors of the royal tumuli. The placement of the statues corresponds with another burial practice that demonstrates the authority of the king within his community, as Kermans were sacrificed and interred in the same corridors. As the sculptures represent human figures, which is an artistic tradition that is notably lacking in the Kerma culture, they may have been included in this sacrificial context alongside true human bodies as representation or objectification of people.

Several other pieces of sculpture, especially the stela of Intef, were found emplaced at the accompanying royal funerary chapels. The example of this stela is particularly interesting, as its main visual interest is the exotic Egyptian hieroglyphic text and a winged sun disc which is also incorporated into the same royal complex in other forms.

Intef stela – display and authority of knowledge

In the case of the Intef stela displayed in front of funerary chapel KII, once again its ‘cultural biography,’ or life history, can be set into the volatile political context of the Second Intermediate Period. The history of ownership and acquisition of the object will afford an understanding of the meaning and value that could have been ascribed to it (Appadurai 1986: 34; Kopytoff 1986: 66-67). The stela was first produced as a commemoration of Intef’s achievements as an Egyptian bureaucrat. It was then obtained by the Nubians as loot from an Egyptian religious complex and transported south. Back at Kerma, the ruler prominently displayed the Egyptian object, speaking to his ability to obtain it due to the shifting political relationship between the two polities. Therefore the Kerman ruler’s ideology incorporates a reference to his growing military power. This cultural biography is comparable to the modern example of the Rosetta Stone, as displayed in the British Museum as opposed to the Louvre or Cairo Museum, as our contemporary personal understandings of that artifact also have ramifications that spread far from a simple reading of its text. Without knowledge of the meaning of the text on the Intef stela, the hieroglyphs may have still held significance to Kermans as a clear marker of the foreign, Egyptian origin of the object.⁸⁹

The Egyptian motif of the winged sun disc on the lunette of the Intef stela was also highly visible on the carved granite lintel set into Funerary Chapel KII. In the case of the stela,

⁸⁹ Or as Adams describes it: “A stela of one’s own was, after all, one of the prime status symbols of antiquity, and an illiterate Nubian king might have been content to impress his equally illiterate subjects with a second-hand model” (1977: 211).

and perhaps of the lintel, this Egyptian motif was present in the form of a physical Egyptian import. The use of this Egyptian motif by the Kerman king interred in this burial complex was not restricted just to Egyptian imports. The southern vault of the burial antechamber, KIII room B, was decorated with a wall painting of a winged sun disc (Reisner 1923a: 136). Recent excavations found the paint too poorly preserved to be visible (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 139), so all description of the winged sun disc must be taken from the original excavation records (Reisner 1923a: 136, pl. 6/4). Reisner described the white walls and details in colored paint, but did not mention the colors of the disc. The outline of a circle can be seen in the field photo, while details of the wings are lost. Unfortunately, this does not allow for a close comparison with the Egyptian prototypes, but the selective use of the motif can be discussed.

The three examples of winged sun discs discussed above are restricted to the burial complex of a single ruler. This restriction would support the interpretation that it was the ruler's prerogative to use this Egyptian motif. As the two most prominent examples are in the form of imports, they would have stood as a visual reference to his power to obtain Egyptian goods. In turn, this would speak to Kerma's ascending political position over Egypt. At a time of changing social statuses, these foreign goods reference his route to legitimacy. Smith, citing the model of political value put forth by Shortman and Urban (1992), has noted that this top-down control of Egyptian imports was likely a strategy used by the Kerman ruler (Smith 2003: 82). It should be emphasized, however, that in the case of the winged sun disc motif it is not a typically royal Egyptian symbol that has been appropriated. Rather than adopting a clear marker of pharaonic status, the Kerman ruler chose a motif that meshed with local solar religious traditions.⁹⁰

The replication of an Egyptian motif by artisans at Kerma leads the discussion into the use of Egyptianizing material culture in royal burials of the Classic Kerma Period. This chapter has sought to demonstrate the primary role Egyptian imports played in the program of royal ideology and legitimization of the Classic Kerma kings. If Reisner was excited and confused by finding Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in Classic Kerma burials, it is as much from the intention of the ancient Kerman kings as from his 20th century world-view. Transported out of their original contexts of use in Egypt, these sculptures kept that geo-cultural association and stood as references to the interregional conflict that led to their obtainment. The Kerman interpretation of the process did not cease with this use. After becoming entangled with Egypt on a global scale, Kerman kings translated these current events for use in their own community through the inclusion of Egyptianizing elements in their mortuary complexes. The next chapter will address elements of the Classic Kerma royal burials that display stylistic or visual elements, demonstrating a reinterpretation of Egyptian models.

⁹⁰ See Kendall's discussion of disc-shaped ostrich feather headpieces found on rams or goats, sanctity of Deffufa rooftops, and the possibility for a solar aspect of royal ancestor cults (1997: 77-78).

CHAPTER 4 - EGYPTIANIZING MATERIAL CULTURE IN ROYAL CLASSIC KERMA CONTEXTS: THE QUESTION OF EGYPTIAN ARTISTIC INFLUENCES IN FUNERARY CHAPELS

In the previous chapter, the corpus of Egyptian sculpture contained in the burials of the Classic Kerma kings was shown to provide evidence of successive military incursions into Egypt. The act of interring this Egyptian war booty in royal burials can be interpreted as a statement of domination over foreign rivals, providing the Kerma king with an arena for demonstrating his political power and legitimacy to his own community. This theme of foreign domination has the potential to be incorporated into other media in other components of the royal Classic Kerma burials. This chapter argues that the decoration of the royal Classic Kerma funerary chapels, in particular, contains a limited degree of Egyptianizing elements. The controlled nature of the use of these potential Egyptian visual references demonstrates that they were only incorporated into indigenous traditions, rather than being adopted wholesale. None of the possible Egyptian elements present in Kerma art are directly related to specific funerary practices, nor are any elements of pharaonic iconography discernible in Kerma royal burials. Instead, Egyptianizing visual references were used as an integral part of the construction of new expressions of Classic Kerma kingship and legitimization, independent of Egyptian pharaonic models of power.

The lack of the use of direct pharaonic iconography by the Kerma kings is an important contrast to Nubian kings of other periods. Unlike the self-proclaimed Nubian pharaohs of Dynasty 25, Kerma kings do not seem to have adopted Egyptian crowns, paraphernalia, or royal poses such as the smiting scene for their use in any context. There is one exception to this observation, as a small sandstone stela that may depict a Kerma king was recovered at the Egyptian fort site of Buhen (Figure 4.1). A schematically rendered royal figure wears the white crown and a kilt, and holds a mace along with a bow and arrows. The simplicity of the carving suggests that this stela was not created by trained Egyptian artists in a major workshop, which would be expected from its findspot at the edge of both the Egyptian and Kerma Second Intermediate territories. The inclusion of the bow and arrows with Egyptian pharaonic accoutrements has led to the identification of this figure as one of the the Classic Kerma kings, drawing the Egyptian connection with Nubia as the Land of the Bow (Wildung 1997: cat. 100).⁹¹ Without an inscription, it is unknown if this stela was commissioned by a Kerma king or if it was produced independently by an Egyptian artist. The small size, poor workmanship, and lack of inscription do not work together to suggest that this single stela represents a significant program of legitimization through monumental royal figures.

The representation of a ruler of Kerma at Buhen may have been designed to make a statement about his control of the northern region of Nubia, and his threat to Egyptian rule (Török 2009: 108-9; Kendall 1997: 32-33). The placement of this stela at a border fort and not in Kerma is important, as it demonstrates that this type of emulation of Egyptian art and mode of making political statements was meant for an Egyptian audience. Knoblauch argues that the

⁹¹ Although Nubia was commonly referred to as the Land of the Bow (*ḥst*) in Egyptian texts, and this toponym is suggested by the Buhen stela figure, there are no preserved fragments of wooden bows from the Classic Kerma graves discussed in this thesis. See Reisner 1923b, pl. 51, 3 for wooden weapons, which are throwsticks or otherwise unidentifiable.

Buhen stela was not part of the Kerman king's ideological program, and in fact was a border stela produced by Egyptian artists along with two other examples (Buhen 732, Gebel Turob 38; Knoblauch 2012). The combination of the Pharaonic iconography of a mace and white crown with the traditionally Nubian-marked bow still must be addressed, lending support to the interpretation of the stela as representing a Kerman king. At the same time, Knoblauch's argument "that the impulse for its creation originated in an Egyptian, and not a Nubian cultural tradition" is compelling (2012: 89). When compared with other stelae produced at Buhen, the schematic workmanship of the stela can be determined to be from a local workshop. Egyptian "ex-patriots" at Buhen could have designed this stela to bridge their ideas and understandings of kingship with their experiences under the patronage of the Kerman king.

The example of the Buhen stela suggests that there might have been a conscious separation between internal and external audiences for Kerma art, taking into account the different affects on separate audiences. There is only highly equivocal evidence that Egyptian royal iconography was adopted for use within the capital itself,⁹² none of which comes from the site of the royal mortuary cults. This puts into question O'Connor's generalization of Egyptian influence at Kerma resulting from Egyptian craftsmen inserting expressions of power which had been lacking in the local repertoire (1984: 107). The most common expression of an Egyptian king's power is to be found in his image in relief or statuary, and this was not implemented by the Nubian rulers except in this particular context of communication with Egyptians.

There is an overall absence of the figure of the Kerman king in his burial monuments, in comparison to pharaonic artistic compositions. The most prolific arenas for the demonstration of pharaonic power are images of the king and texts about him, which are both completely absent from the decorative programs in the royal Classic Kerma funerary chapels.⁹³ There are only seven known possible instances of a royal figure from Kerma. Five of these were found in the latest tumulus, KIII, and four examples are extremely tenuous, small, and could represent other human figures.⁹⁴ The largest possible Kerman royal representation is an almost life-sized

⁹² The striped wig on a faience ear fragment (13.5753) could be argued to be part of a nemes, or is alternately a typical private wig. Another faience sculptural fragment (Eg.Inv.3514) which has lost its exact archaeological context could possibly be a restyled white crown, or is more likely an animal snout, beak or floral element.

⁹³ Török noted that although only the lower sections of the funerary chapel decorations are preserved, the general dearth of monumental human figures in Kerman art strongly suggests that this was not the content of the other registers (2009: 147).

⁹⁴ Possible examples of royal, or other, human figures: MFA 13.5693 (3 cm) and MFA 13.5699 (5 cm) are lower legs of from two separate faience human figures, 20.1312 (5 cm) foot and 20.1311 (4.6 cm) hand from faience human figure, and MFA 13-12-352c (4.2 cm) nose (?) of half-life-sized faience human figure (could also be a hippopotamus ear?). MFA 13.5753 (5.4 cm) ear and wig (?) of slightly less than life-sized faience human figure. An almost life-sized bronze ear with strips of gilding was found in the highly disturbed debris of Funerary Chapel KXI room B (MFA 13.4305 / Su.1130), but is probably not from the Classic Kerma period and Meroitic in date instead. The similarity of this ear with the Meroitic gilded bronze royal statue from Tabo (Sudan National Museum 24705, cat no. 229 in Baud, Michel. 2010. *Méroé: un empire sur le Nil*. Milan: Officina Libraria) leads me to suggest that the statue fragment was displaced by looters from the Meroitic section of the Kerma necropolis (see Reisner 1923a: 41-57).

terracotta torso, which was found in a domestic context (Bonnet 2004: 160, 185-186).⁹⁵ This basic dissimilarity between royal Kerman and Egyptian programs of iconography demonstrates an essential difference in conceptions of kingship. An Egyptian king could rely on a codified tradition of representation of his power, instilled in a depiction of himself. The Kerman king did not have an equivalent representational tradition, and seems to have made the choice to depict his status and / or negotiate his legitimization through other types of iconography that held more local significance. The preserved evidence suggests that the Kerman king promoted associations with powerful animals, and only included limited visual references to contact with Egypt.

The following analysis will present the types of representation in royal Kerman funerary complexes, and will demonstrate the overall Nubian nature of the decoration present. Instances of possible Egyptian elements or visual references will be discussed, with an emphasis on their placement and use within the larger decorative scheme. In general, subjects with a possible Egyptian identification are oriented to suggest southwards movement, while Nubian subjects move northwards. This differential orientation, along with the repetition of scenes of conflict, may demonstrate that the events of interregional conflict between Egypt and Nubia are referenced in royal mortuary contexts. Small details in painted plaster decoration, a medium previously unfamiliar to Nubian artists, may also be modeled on Egyptian tomb scenes. Potential sources of inspiration can be identified at Egyptian sites known to have been visited by Kermans during this period.

The last three burials of the Classic Kerma period—Tumulus KX with Funerary Chapel KXI, Tumulus KIV, and Tumulus KIII with Funerary Chapel KII—demonstrate the increasing differentiation of the Kerman ruler from his subjects (Kendall 1997: 39). The redefinition of internal social hierarchies can be seen in the exponentially increasing size and wealth of the Kerman kings' tumuli in the Eastern Cemetery. Along with the design of larger tumuli and funerary chapels, the wall decorations would have been part of the rulers' program of power display. Set into this context of internal and external political change, these Egyptianizing paintings can help illustrate the ancient Nubian rulers' approaches to legitimization.

⁹⁵ Török also questions whether this headless male torso can be assumed to represent a king as it lacks any identifying characteristics (2009: 147, no. 125).

Royal Kerman funerary complexes - tumuli and funerary chapels

Classic Kerma Generation	Tumulus	Burial Chamber Decoration	Funerary Chapel	Funerary Chapel Decoration
Generation 1	KXVI	none	none	-
Generation 2	KX	none	KXI	Painted plaster: boats, fishing, files of animals (hippos, giraffes, cattle); Faience tiles: rosettes
Generation 3	KIV	none	none, or KXI?	-
Generation 4	KIII	Painted plaster: Winged sun disc	KII	Painted plaster: boats; Faience tiles: lions, hippos, plants; Stone lintel: winged sun disc

Table 4.1 - Royal Kerman funerary complexes and their decorative schemes, by generation.

As discussed previously, the royal Classic Kerma funerary complex is composed of a large tumulus burial with an internal brickwork skeleton, and can also include a rectangular mudbrick funerary chapel, or *deffufa*, situated directly to the northwest of the tumulus. The royal tumuli of Classic Kerma Generations 1 and 3, KXVI and KIV, do not have accompanying funerary chapels, while those of Generations 2 and 4, KX and KIII, do have funerary chapels. Tumulus KXVI is the earliest of the Classic Kerma royal tumuli, and the addition of a large funerary chapel had not yet developed. Tumulus KX is the first of the royal complexes to include a funerary chapel, and the first stage of the construction of Funerary Chapel KXI may correspond to this royal burial. Tumulus KIV does not have a funerary chapel located to the northeast. The proximity of Funerary Chapel KXI, and the fact that this chapel was extended at some point (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 65), suggests that this ruler may have reused his predecessor's funerary chapel (O'Connor 1984: 108).

Funerary Chapels KXI (Figure 4.2) and KII (Figure 3.21b) have similar architectural plans of elongated rectangles with extremely thick walls, and two interior rooms set on a straight axis. The two funerary chapels are similar to the religious structure KI located in the Kerman city in that they are built with extremely thick mudbrick walls. Religious complex KI has much less internal space, is accessed from a side entrance, has a 90-degree turn at an internal altar, leading to a stairway to the roof. Both funerary chapels also contain stairways, suggesting that Kerma religious rituals had a shared element that incorporated vertical movement, and possibly necessitated exposure to open sky. Although the plan of the Classic Kerma funerary chapels are the most complex, Middle Kerma funerary chapels are known. Eleven single-room structures served as simple chapels to near-by tumuli from the Middle Kerma Period (Reisner 1923a: 134).

These earlier examples demonstrate that previous Nubian funerary practices necessitated the presence of a funerary chapel, and that the monumental examples from the Classic Kerma period represent an expansion of an existing tradition (Lacovara 1987: 51; Kendall 1997: 69).

The architectural plans of Funerary Chapels KXI and KII are seen by some scholars as distinctive to the site of Kerma (Wenig 1978, Adams 1977), especially due to the extreme thickness of the walls. Alternately, O'Connor argued that this perceived uniqueness may be due to the fact that there are relatively few earlier Middle Kingdom or contemporary Second Intermediate Period Egyptian religious structures known (1984: 81). O'Connor draws the connection with several of the known Middle Kingdom and late Second Intermediate Period religious structures, such as the temple at the Eastern Delta site of Ezbet Rushdi and the Tetisheri 'chapel' at Abydos, which also have markedly thick walls (ibid: 81-4). The simple internal axial plan is similar to the plans of the Middle Kingdom Abydos cemetery S chapels, chapels at Aniba, and the Tetisheri 'chapel' (ibid: 97). Lacovara draws the same correlations in architectural plan between the Egyptian 'chapel' of Tetisheri and the Nubian structures, but concludes alternately that the Nubian structures may have been the model for the Egyptian one (1986: 58). O'Connor, on the other hand, finds the cross-cultural similarities convincing enough to propose that Egyptian architects planned the Kerma structures, basing them on models from Egypt and with only minor adaptations for the Kushite demands (ibid: 107). Since the publication of these articles, however, further excavation of the Tetisheri 'chapel' structure at Abydos has demonstrated that it is in fact a pyramid base (Harvey 2008), which explains the thickness of the foundation structure and renders it incomparable to the Kerma structures. The Ezbet Rushdi temple does have comparably thick walls, but the transverse chambers and complex tripartite shrine are not replicated at Kerma.

The Egyptian architectural models that O'Connor cites are also problematic as they come from sites far removed from Nubia. Kermans had extensive contact with the Heka-ib religious sanctuary at Aswan, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, which does not have significantly thick walls nor does it provide other architectural parallels. Instead of drawing parallels from Egyptian temples and chapels far from the border with Nubia, the other most likely point of contact for the people of Kerma with Egyptian architecture was at the Second Cataract forts which had been built under Senuseret III. Although these forts did not serve a funerary purpose, they remained on the landscape as examples of Egyptian architecture. Any similarity may simply result from the construction methods used, perhaps by Egyptian ex-patriots who could have been conscripted to build the Kerman funerary chapels.⁹⁶ The mud-brick construction of the Western Defuffa KI includes horizontal wooden beams to strengthen the walls, which is also seen in the construction of the Second Cataract forts (Kendall 1997: 21). On the whole, the defensive architecture of the forts is extremely thick-walled. The same simple axial plan found by O'Connor in the Middle Kingdom Egyptian examples of religious architecture can be found in the entrance gates used in this military architecture. It should be noted, however, that a simple axial plan is a basic form of architecture, and therefore is a likely candidate for parallel independent development. As noted above, the Kerman chapels all integrate a stairway for vertical movement, which is not an essential component of the possible Egyptian religious

⁹⁶ Lacovara has also noted that the interior mudbrick supports of the royal Kerma tumuli have similarities to the casement foundations of the early New Kingdom palaces at Deir el-Ballas (2006: 193)

structure models. The Kerma use of construction techniques in mudbrick may have been transferred from Egyptian precedents, but the plan and decoration of these Classic Kerma funerary chapels suggests that the religious practices associated with the Kerma temples were distinctly Nubian.

The types of decoration in royal Classic Kerma funerary complexes are painted wall decoration and faience wall tiles. Painted wall decoration was used in Funerary Chapel KXI, Funerary Chapel KII, and the burial chamber of Tumulus KII (Reisner 1923a: 124, 136, 263)⁹⁷. Painted plaster has not been recovered from Nubian burials before these Classic Kerma examples, although this medium was widely used in Egyptian contexts. In general, the painted decoration depicted local and dangerous animals, with the addition of scenes with boats and / or human figures. Faience tiles were used in ceiling decoration in Funerary Chapel KXI, and extensively as wall decoration in Funerary Chapel KII. The earlier ceiling tiles in KXI portray a field of rosettes and are constructed from trimmed Egyptian faience vessels (Reisner 1923b: 148; Lacovara 1998). The faience tiles in KII demonstrate a leap forward in production technology and were pieced together to compose large lion figures, hippopotami, framing elements, and a variety of plant forms (Reisner 1923b: 148-153, Lacovara 1998).

The earlier painted wall decoration in Funerary Chapel KXI provides the majority of the possible Egyptian visual references in Classic Kerma royal funerary complexes, and the techniques used to produce the decoration also demonstrate the closest connections to Egyptian production. The degree of Egyptian influence in the Funerary Chapel KXI wall paintings has been debated, but a close analysis shows that any possible Egyptianizing elements are limited in use and scope. The presence of any Egyptianizing elements in Funerary Chapel KXI takes on more significance when compared to the use of an Egyptian religious motif and decorative architectural elements in the following Funerary Chapel KII. The subsequent wall decoration in Funerary Chapel KII is primarily Kerma in subject matter, and demonstrates a marked technological advance in faience technology on the part of the Nubians. At the same time, there is the most prevalent incorporation of an Egyptian religious motif in the burial complex KII & KIII, that of the sun disc which is found in the tumulus burial chamber and lintel of the funerary chapel.

As the wall paintings are produced directly onto the mudbrick walls of the royal Classic Kerma funerary complexes, these scenes must have been created on site. As such, this decoration provides a secure example of potentially Egyptianizing art from the Classic Kerma period. That is, the wall paintings could provide an example of art with thematic or stylistic references to Egyptian models, and are designed outside of Egyptian communities.⁹⁸ As there are no known incidences of painted wall decoration in Nubian burial sites before this, these scenes were originally attributed to strong Egyptian influences, perhaps even to the presence of Egyptian artists (Reisner 1923: 264). This original suggestion of Egyptian influence found in the

⁹⁷ A winged sun disc was found by Reisner in Tumulus KIII and is discussed further in Chapter 3, comparing the dispersal of that motif throughout Classic Kerma burials. The only surviving illustration is so poor that it does not allow for a stylistic analysis (Figure 4.29a, Reisner negative number C5839, Reisner 1923a: plate 6/4).

⁹⁸ See Chapter 1 for a general discussion of the definition of the term 'Egyptianizing.'

Kerman wall paintings has persisted, and new evidence adds to the discussion. Bonnet and Valbelle re-excavated the Eastern cemetery and reconstructed the preserved wall paintings from Funerary Chapel KXI. Unfortunately they found the other Kerman wall paintings did not survive as they were not carefully backfilled (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000). Reisner's original descriptions and field photos must suffice as evidence for the wall paintings in Funerary Chapel KII and the burial chamber of Tumulus KIII.

The question of Egyptian influence in the decoration of royal Classic Kerman funerary complexes

The exact nature of Egyptian influence on the Kerman wall paintings and any potential sources has been debated. Adams described the painted scenes as “unmistakably Egyptian in style and theme” (1977: 208), and included the paintings as part of his evidence for Egyptians active at Kerma on “the managerial level” (1977: 210). Lacovara later argued that the style of painting and the subject matter do not completely mesh with Egyptian examples, and “must have resulted from a familiarity of the local craftsmen with Egyptian imports and monuments in Nubia rather than the work of a colony of Egyptian craftsmen resident at Kerma” (Lacovara 1986: 56). In part due to two newly recovered scenes (sailboat and Nile fishing) that display the most direct similarities to Egyptian models, Bonnet suggested that the Kerman wall paintings were influenced by observation of the mortuary complex of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri, especially the solar / seasonal themes which originated in the Old Kingdom solar temples (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 102). Török has rebutted with the argument that any similarities are simply conceptual generalities of the representation of rulership and domination over nature, and particularly do not replicate of pharaonic iconography (2009: 150-151), nor do any similarities “penetrate the deeper layers of Kerman religion and kingship ideology” (ibid: 147).

In order to determine if the Kerman wall paintings do present distinct similarities with Egyptian models, the scenes, their elements, and their compositions must be analyzed in detail (Figure 4.3). Although Bonnet and Valbelle suggest that Egyptianizing elements in the Kerman wall paintings may have been based on examples found in the Theban area, as the previous chapter demonstrated there is no material evidence contained in the royal Classic Kerman burials that suggests that the Nubians breached the Egyptian political center of Thebes. Instead, the Egyptian sites known to have been encountered during Nubian raids should be investigated as possible sources of inspiration for any Egyptianizing elements in the Kerman wall paintings. As will be demonstrated below, there are limited but indicative elements in the KXI wall paintings that suggest connections with the visual repertoire available in the Aswan and El-Kab area. At the same time, Török's argument for the essentially Nubian character of the funerary chapel wall paintings stands in light of the composition of the scenes and the majority of the subject matter. A constrained incorporation of Egyptian elements could be the result of 1) Egyptian artists participating in the creation of the Kerman wall paintings who relied on familiar scenes or motifs to fill in areas of the decoration otherwise directed by the Nubians, or 2) a conscious choice to reference contact and / or conflict with Egypt through visual means, or 3) both of the above. These possibilities will be discussed after the evidence of Egyptian influence on the Kerman wall paintings has been analyzed.

In addition, the placement and orientation of the Kerman wall paintings has been debated in relation to potential Egyptian motifs. Bonnet suggested that painted scenes that represent

Egyptian themes are limited to the east walls of Funerary Chapel KXI, while Nubian themes appear on the west, demonstrating an ordered separation of space based on cultural origin (Bonnet 1997: 92). Török has noted that an association of Egypt with east and Nubia with west does not correspond with their actual geographic placement, unlike a distinct separation of Egyptian elements to the north and Nubian elements to the south in Meroitic temples, and in addition some Nubian animal scenes appear on the east walls (2009: 148-149). The orientation and implied movement of the subjects in the wall paintings in Funerary Chapel KXI has been noted to be primarily to the north, towards the focus of the chapel, perhaps emphasizing the animals as the natural resources which the Kerman king commanded (Török 2009: 150; Bonnet and Valbelle 2000). The files of animals which move northwards are contrasted, however, by several scenes of boats oriented southwards as well as bulls confronting or fighting each other. The wall paintings in Funerary Chapel KII also depict boats, although their poor state of preservation and few field photographs make it difficult to determine their orientation.⁹⁹ The overlapping boat hulls in the KII paintings suggest a scene of naval confrontation. When set within the context of the major political events of the Second Intermediate Period, the focus on north-south movement and scenes of conflict could instead, or additionally, reference conflict with Egypt.

In the subsequent Funerary Chapel KII, Egyptian war booty may have been incorporated into the decorative program. The Egyptian religious symbol of a winged sun disc is also prominently included in the funerary chapel decoration, and is replicated in the associated royal Tumulus KIII burial chamber. An originally Egyptian technology, faience production advances in complexity and is used to create both Nubian and Egyptian decorative architectural elements for Funerary Chapel KII. The more obvious inclusion of Egyptianizing elements in this later funerary chapel emphasizes the less prominent Egyptianizing elements in the earlier Funerary Chapel KXI. In addition, the distribution of the use of the winged sun disc motif suggests a pathway and motive for the use of Egyptian visual references.

A close examination of the Classic Kerma wall paintings in Funerary Chapels KXI will demonstrate the overall consistencies of the iconography used in royal Nubian contexts with art in other Kerman funerary contexts. The evidence for a limited degree of Egyptian influence in the Funerary Chapel KXI wall paintings will be presented. At the close of the chapter, the discussion will move to the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing elements in Funerary Chapel KII, in order to synthesize the analysis in Chapters 3 and 4. Finally, an example of the use of an Egyptian motif in both a royal and a private context will bridge the discussion into the subsequent analysis of the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in private burials.

⁹⁹ Two Reisner field photographs cover slightly overlapping sections of the KII room A scene of sailboats: A2027 (Reisner 1923a: pl. 4/2) and B2459. A line drawing reconstruction of A2027 was created by Lacovara (1986. *The Funerary Chapels at Kerma. Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (CRIPEL)* 8: 49-58).

Stylistic analysis of painted wall decoration – Funerary Chapel KXI

Partial scenes of boats, animals, and human figures were found throughout Funerary Chapel KXI (Figure 4.3).¹⁰⁰ The scenes were painted on mud plaster set over the mudbrick walls and were generally preserved to a height of one meter or less, retaining the lower register of the scenes (Figure 1.6b; Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: figs. 52-68). Small sections of the painted decoration in all areas of the chapel interior are preserved, although the entrance corridor has the best preservation. Although Reisner uncovered the wall paintings first, he was not able to observe as much detail in the scenes as Bonnet and Valbelle's team.¹⁰¹ The few additional scenes noted by Reisner help fill in the gaps of the decorative scheme recorded recently.

Moving from the entrance of the chapel to the back, the first foyer of the entrance corridor contains a large sailboat pointing to the south on the western wall (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: fig. 52, nos. 1&2).¹⁰² In the second foyer section there is a nilotic fishing scene on the eastern wall (Bonnet scene 10, *ibid*: fig. 62, no. 10), and files of red hippos on the western wall and door jambs (Figure 4.6, *ibid*: fig. 53-55, nos. 3-4, 11). The third foyer of the entrance corridor contains a file of large cattle pointing northwards on the western wall (Bonnet scene 6,

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that these paintings are not from the original construction of the chapel, but rather are painted over earlier scenes. Bonnet suggests, by observation of areas where the first layer is partially visible, that the second layer of paintings is more or less consistent with the previous decorations (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 70). The repainting of Funerary Chapel KXI does confuse the chronological placement of the decoration, as does the several stages of construction of the building (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 65). O'Connor (1984) suggests the reuse of Funerary Chapel KXI may be contemporaneous with the royal burial in KIV, which lacks its own funerary chapel. Despite these issues of reuse, the wall paintings in KXI can still be analyzed as a whole, and seem to precede the construction of Funerary Chapel KII.

¹⁰¹ Reisner briefly describes the wall paintings he observed during the original excavation, although his reconstructions are more partial than the recent ones provided by Bonnet (Reisner 1923a: 265-266). Reisner's i) men and house is Bonnet's boat (no. 1-2), and traces of a scene opposite were no longer preserved. Reisner's ii) rows of hippopotami are Bonnet's nos. 3-4, 11, and traces of a scene opposite is Bonnet's fishing scene (no. 10). Reisner's iii) line of bullocks is Bonnet's no. 6, and on the opposite wall the same scene of bulls and rowboats is described (Bonnet's no. 12). Reisner's iv) states that rowboats were visible on the middle of the east wall of room A. As Bonnet found more row boat scenes in the northeast corner of KXI room A (nos. 15-16), this supports Reisner's suggestion that the entire eastern wall sections of that room were dedicated to row boat scenes. In iv) Reisner also states that the entire western wall sections of room A, including the south and north corner sections, had a file of giraffes. Reisner's v) covers the inner corridor, and what he saw as a red stag on the west and "large-leaved plant" on the east were both determined to be giraffes by Bonnet (nos. 8 and 17). In room B, Reisner's vi), he did not observe any of the scenes found by Bonnet. Instead, he noted the legs of a human figure on the northern section of the west wall (further in than Bonnet's file of giraffes no. 9). On the eastern wall of room B, another bull scene may have been located south of Bonnet's no. 18, noted as the legs of a quadruped near the entrance to the stairway.

¹⁰² For all the KXI wall paintings discussed here, please refer to the excellent illustrations in Bonnet, Charles and Dominique Valbelle. 2000. *Edifices et rites funéraires à Kerma*. Paris: Errance.

ibid: fig. 57, no. 6).¹⁰³ The eastern wall of the third foyer has a scene of a woman in a rowboat moving north, next to two bulls facing each other across a trough (Figure 4.8, ibid: fig. 63, nos. 12&14). Directly above the boat and bull scenes is a heavily damaged group of animals (Bonnet scene 13, ibid: fig. 64). The mixture of nilotic scenes with pastoral scenes does not suggest a rigid separation of landscapes in the design of the decoration.

In room A there are three scenes preserved, two of which may relate to each other. A file of large giraffes is oriented northward on the middle section of the western wall (cf. Figure 4.6a,b; ibid: fig. 58, no. 7). Reisner noted traces of giraffes on the western sections of the south and north walls of room A (1923a: 266, no. iv). The northeast corner of room A has the remains of two registers of rowboats, oriented to meet each other at the intersection of the scenes. The rowboats on the east wall move north, and the rowers are painted in black and have feathers on their heads, the typical Egyptian depiction of Nubians (Bonnet scene 15 & 16, Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: fig. 65). The crew of the rowboats on the adjoining north wall have contrasting reddish-brown skin and their oars are tipped in the opposite direction, effectively suggesting movement to wrap around the corner, south, to meet the Nubian crew (Figure 11, ibid: fig. 65, no. 16). The two preserved registers of the northeast corner boat scenes align with each other, also suggesting that they are meant to be part of a larger scene. Reisner noted traces of additional rowboats in the central section of the eastern wall of room A, and suggested that they continued from the rowboat scene in the north end of the entrance corridor (1923a: 266, no. iv). The arrangement of files of giraffes on the western walls, and a series of boats which may be part of a naval battle on the eastern walls of the first room of Funerary Chapel KXI is mirrored in the wall paintings of the later Funerary Chapel KII.¹⁰⁴ The parallel decorations of the two funerary chapels emphasizes the importance of this arrangement, although the exact significance is unknown.

The corridor between KXI room A and KXI room B contains two scenes of files of giraffes, one on either wall. The file of giraffes on the west wall walk placidly to the north (Bonnet scene 8, ibid: fig. 59). In contrast, the file on the east wall break into a run (Bonnet scene 17, ibid: fig. 61). The placement of the legs of the galloping giraffes and the lead's upturned tail capture the unique movement of these monumental animals, and demonstrates the artists' intimate knowledge of them.¹⁰⁵ Giraffes are the most commonly occurring animal in the painted decoration of the two royal funerary chapels at Kerma, and were also present in KII room A although no sketch or photograph of the scene was produced (Reisner 1923a: 124).

¹⁰³ An extremely damaged scene on the inner side of the second door jamb of the entrance corridor may depict a tree (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 76, fig. 56, no. 5). Bonnet suggests that the tree may represent the move from the Nilotic scenes by the entrance to the land-dwelling mammals of the interior of the chapel (ibid: 98). This fragmented painting will not be discussed further here due to its poor preservation.

¹⁰⁴ Reisner notes the arrangement of a file of giraffes on the west wall of Funerary Chapel KII room A, and took two photos of a scene of overlapping sailboats which were on the east wall (1923a: 124).

¹⁰⁵ The realistic depiction of giraffes and their movement in Kerman art is especially notable in comparison to the disproportionate renderings of giraffes in Egyptian foreign tribute scenes (see Figure 6.32, Huy Theban tomb TT40), or the almost unrecognizable Persian interpretation of a giraffe led by Nubians at the palace of Persepolis (contra E. Schmidt, who thought it may be an okapi from sub-saharan Africa, *Persepolis vol. I structures, reliefs, and inscriptions* (Chicago, 1953), pl. 49).

The inner room B of Funerary Chapel KXI contains scenes of giraffes, bulls, and people on a ladder-like structure. A file of giraffes, perhaps about to break into a run, move northwards on the south section of the west wall (ibid: fig. 60, no. 9). Reisner noted the legs of a human figure on the northern section of the west wall of room B, which was no longer preserved (1923a: 266, no. vi). Two adjoining scenes of bulls are on the eastern wall in the northern half of room B. In the scene to the south, the red bull lock horns with the bull with black and red spots as they fight (Bonnet scene 18, ibid: fig. 66). In the scene directly to the north, a man drives the same red bull south towards the same bull with black and red spots, which faces north (Bonnet scene 19, Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: fig. 67). Reisner noted the legs of another quadruped further to the south on the east wall of room B, close to the entrance to the stairway (1923a: 266, no. vi), which could either be a continuation of the line of giraffes from the south or the bulls to the north. A stone emplacement for a naos or other cultic focus has a heavily damaged scene of two human figures with ladders, and was found in the northernmost section of room B (Bonnet scene 20, Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: fig. 68).

What is immediately apparent in the Funerary Chapel KXI wall paintings is the overwhelming sense of movement among the diverse subjects. Animal and human figures alike are not static, often proceeding in a row of similar subjects. In the case of the animals, they follow in a file of other individuals of the same species, which is consistent with other animal depictions in Kerman art. The humans, primarily those in rowboats, present similar ordered lines of subjects. Not enough of the rowboat scene on the east section of room B is preserved to determine if these were also nearly identical subjects, or if each boat crew was distinguished from another. The majority of the movement in the scenes is to the north, particularly in the scenes of local animals. Some of the human figures also proceed to the north, namely the Nubian-marked rowboat crew and the crew with the female captain.¹⁰⁶ These subjects that move north, towards the cultic focus of the chapel, could be seen as offerings for the sustenance of the deceased king (Török 2009: 150) Yet they differ significantly from Egyptian depictions of funerary offerings, as their representation does not include the step of restraining or slaughtering them for use and consumption. Instead, they rather forcefully progress forwards, even the cattle that are otherwise known to be primary food offerings in the funerary feast.¹⁰⁷ The prevalence of giraffes, in particular, does not support their interpretation as food offerings, as there is no faunal evidence for the consumption of giraffes other than the use of their hair in textiles and jewelry (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 96). These files of animals provide the clearest connections with Kerman art in other media, and will be considered first in order to demonstrate the overall consistencies in the wall paintings with Nubian practices.

The scenes with subjects that move southwards, either directly or effectively headed out of the chapel, stand out in contra-distinction to the main flow of movement. These are notably the Egyptian-type sailboat (Bonnet scene 1, 2) and the rowboat crew whose lighter brown skin is possibly meant to distinguish them from the Nubian crew they are about to encounter (Bonnet scene 15 & 16). Other scenes include subjects which are oriented south as one side of a heraldic pair, about to fight, or in the process of fighting. These are primarily the pairs of bulls (Figures

¹⁰⁶ The female figure is the captain or coxswain, she faces in the direction of the boat's movement, while the crew faces backwards as they man the oars.

¹⁰⁷ See discussion in Intro and Chapter 3 for the bucrania that surround Kerman tumuli burials.

4.13 & 4.14, Bonnet scenes 12, 18 and 19), especially the sequential scenes of the red bull and the bull with red and black spots in the northeastern end of KXI room B. Only the nilotic fishing scene (Bonnet scene 10) and the scene with assorted animals (Bonnet scene 13) include subjects moving in both directions in a less structured setting. Although the general subject matter of boats and bulls can be found in other Nubian art, especially in petroglyphs, the formal particulars of these scenes have some potential parallels to Egyptian models found in the regions known to have been entered by the Kermans.

For this study, parallels will be drawn from the Old Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period tombs from the Aswan to El-Kab region of Egypt, as these are the main sites represented in the corpus of imported Egyptian sculpture discussed in the previous chapter. The diverse repertoire of Egyptian art may contain some similarities to Kerman scenes, but if they post-date these examples or are far removed from Upper Egypt it is highly unlikely that there is a direct connection between the Nubian and Egyptian examples. Instead, if the Egyptian examples have the potential to have been viewed by Nubians during this period, a case could be made for observation influencing Nubian design. The fact that the only potential Egyptianizing scenes among the Kerman wall paintings are also the only elements oriented to move south, and / or are engaged in conflict suggests that they may have been meant to reference political events.

Files of animals and the Kerman artistic style

The files of hippopotami, giraffes, and cattle present in the wall paintings of Funerary Chapel KXI present the most internal consistencies with other types of Kerman art. Rows of nearly identical animals of the same species are also used in the decoration of inlaid funerary beds, demonstrating both a Kerman mode of representation and the association of files of animals with mortuary beliefs (Lacovara 1986: 56).¹⁰⁸ The manner of representing three-dimensionality in the two-dimensional medium of wall painting finds parallels in other Kerman funerary equipment as well. The use of linear detailing to render texture or volume is found on the patterned skin of the crocodile, fish scales, kilts of the fishermen, and the neck folds of the hippopotami. Three dimensional surfaces are abstracted into a series of lines or notches. This artistic tradition can be found in faience sculpture, ivory inlays, and mica appliqué, especially in the linear rendering of the folds of necks, eyebrows, and furry textures. At the same time, the flexibility of polychrome painting seems to have been taken advantage of in other figures. In particular, the spotted giraffe and bull skins have more realistic texturing which is possible by using contrasting shades of paint.

A comparison of the files of animals in the decoration of the royal Funerary Chapel KXI with Kerman and Egyptian uses of those animals demonstrates their connections and importance in Nubian traditions. Hippopotami were used in other royal and private Kerman funerary art, and although they may have had an apotropaic function they do not seem to be associated with

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of inlaid funerary beds and the incorporation of Egyptianizing motifs. In the case of the inlaid footboards, the animals predominantly face to the right, which aligns them in the same direction that the deceased faces. The orientation of offerings in Egyptian art is the opposite, as they are aligned to move into the face of the deceased (Schafer 1974). The matching alignment of deceased and animal motifs in Kerman art may suggest that they pertain to the identity or status of the individual instead.

negative, chaotic qualities as in Egypt. Giraffes are prominent in royal funerary art and appear in both realistic and fantastical forms in private funerary art, while they play a limited role in Egypt primarily in scenes of foreign tribute. Cattle are known to be primary food offerings in Kerma and Egypt, and the scenes of fighting bulls in the KXI wall paintings fit within known Nubian artistic tradition, while at the same time some specific aspects of their representations may also be linked to Egyptian artistic traditions.

Hippopotami

The second entrance room is dominated by hippopotami, marching northward in rows into Funerary Chapel KXI. Registers of hippos are placed on the western wall and both stone door jambs (Figure 4.4, Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 72, 164, fig. 53-55). Forty-two red hippos are preserved on the west wall. They have almost identical black outlines and are arranged in files on the side wall, each figure more or less aligned vertically and horizontally with the others. A stack of eight duplicate hippos are on the western jamb. Five hippos are shown on the eastern jamb at a slight angle, and the bottom-most animal has its teeth bared aggressively. Some hippos on all three surfaces have remnants of parallel, curving lines around their necks, likely denoting folds of fat.

In Egyptian symbolism, hippopotami were seen as a chaotic element that must be subdued. If hippopotami were pictured in tomb decoration, they were used apotropaically in scenes of hunting or subjugation (Lacovara 1992: 21). Hippopotami were also characteristically associated with blue, but bright red hippo figures were seen as especially dangerous due to their association with Seth (*ibid*: 22-23). Blue faience hippos are often found broken, probably in rituals to magically kill them (*ibid*: 24). Files of hippos are unknown in Egyptian tomb decoration (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 97). Someone with an Egyptian mindset would not want ranks of aggressive, red hippopotami filing into their funerary chapel and threatening their afterlife. The use of a multitude of dangerous animals, oriented towards the cultic center of a funerary chapel, is distinctly Kerman.

Other representations of hippopotami are found in rulers' tumuli at Kerma, while some elite grave goods featured modified figures of Taweret.¹⁰⁹ Two fragments of a hippo-shaped faience tile were found in Funerary Chapel KII, and fragments of modeled faience hippos were found in Tumulus KIII.¹¹⁰ The full animal form of the hippo seems to have been only used in the rulers' funerary complexes, while anthropomorphized hippo figures are used on private funerary beds. Taweret bed inlays, mica appliquéés and amulets were found in elite graves throughout the

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 6, for a full discussion of the metamorphosis of the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taweret into distinctly Kerman forms with local religious associations, particularly with high-status Kerman women.

¹¹⁰ Hippo tile (KII): Eg.Inv.3568-9; Hollow hippo head (KIII): 13-12-793e,f,j, 13-12-794d, 13-12-801, 14-2-642, (see also Lacovara 1992, fig. 7, although I do not follow his reconstruction). Other modeled hippo fragments from tumulus KIII debris: 13-12-352f, 13-12-793a,c, 13-12-794a, 14-1-1104e, 14-2-618e, 20.1734, 21.11804, Eg.Inv.3373-4.

three main Classic Kerma tumuli.¹¹¹ The overall popularity of hippopotami figures throughout Kerma society shows that this animal had a special symbolic status. The inclusion of not just the arguably protective image of Taweret, but also unfettered wild hippos suggests that the local meaning embraced their violent nature as well. The ruler perhaps used the dangerous animal to symbolize his political and military power, along with other powerful animals such as bulls, lions, scorpions, and crocodiles.¹¹²

Giraffes

Files of striding giraffes were painted in rooms A and B of Funerary Chapel KXI on both sides of the walls, and all the currently preserved giraffes are oriented to the north (Figure 4.6a,b; Bonnet scenes 7, 17, Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 76, fig. 58-61).¹¹³ The southern and northern walls of the western side of KXI room A previously had giraffes oriented to follow the main line of animals, as noted by Reisner (1923a: 264). The southern wall section of giraffes faced west, wrapping the continuous file of animals around the corner to then face north. Similarly, the northern wall section of giraffes faced east, also wrapping the continuous line of animals towards the northern focus of the chapel. Facing into the chapel, the giraffes are arranged with either a slight overlap or a slight space between each animal. Their skin is shown in a yellow pattern over a white background, and is detailed enough to identify them as reticulated giraffes (ibid: 99). The giraffes in the doorway to Room B on the eastern side (Bonnet scene 17) are more active than the others; the leading animal has broken into a gallop with its front feet lifted and its tail curled upwards (ibid: fig. 61). The running giraffe imparts the viewer with a vivid impression of action and the animal's strength. The massive size and distinctively odd proportions of a giraffe immediately instills a sense of their power, and the multitude of a herd of giraffes magnifies this impression of power.

Giraffes occur in foreign tribute scenes in Egyptian art, and are associated with Nubian goods (ibid: 99). There are no extant images or examples of goods in Egypt made from giraffe skin or hair. Giraffes seem to have been valued in Egypt more as an exotic animal rather than as a raw material. Their large size and unique physiology would have made them a prime exotic curiosity. Giraffes in Egyptian tribute scenes could have symbolized the pharaoh's subjugation of Nubia, whether real or desired (Harvey 2003: 89). Unlike the Kerma giraffes, they placidly follow on a lead and are often on a relatively small scale in comparison to the human figures in the scene. The Nubian wall paintings embrace their speed and power instead, rather than portraying them as subjugated offerings.

In contrast to Egypt, giraffes played a more prominent role in Kerma. The Kerma ruler may have included images of giraffes to demonstrate his control of natural resources (Bonnet and

¹¹¹ Private graves with Taweret objects, KX: K1001, K1031, K1033, K1053, K1056, K1063, K1065; KIV: K439, K449; KIII: K307, K309; KB15.

¹¹² From tumulus KIII: lion faience tiles (MFA 20.1223-4), glazed quartzite lion (MFA 13.4229), scorpion (MFA 20.1666), and crocodile (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 137).

¹¹³ A line of giraffes was also found on the western section of the northern wall of Room A in Funerary Chapel KII, approximately the same area as one of the scenes in KXI (Reisner 1923: 124). Unfortunately, no field photo is available.

Valbelle 2000: 96). Giraffe teeth were used as amulets, and giraffe tail hair was used as a fiber to create bracelets, textiles, and beer strainers at the site (*ibid.*)¹¹⁴ The zooarchaeological evidence from Kerma does not suggest that giraffes were eaten (*ibid.*: 165). Instead, parts of their body were physically incorporated into personal adornment or objects of ritual use. The religious associations with giraffes are also suggested by the use of their form in private funerary items. Realistic giraffes and mythical winged giraffes figure as funerary bed inlays.¹¹⁵ This animal's major presence in the wall paintings of chapels KXI and KII also suggests that they held an especially important symbolic role for the Kerman king. Their impressive size and physical power could have put them in the same category as other powerful and potentially dangerous animals such as hippos, lions, crocodiles and scorpions.

The orientation and placement of the giraffes in the royal funerary chapels are consistent, as they always face northwards (or wrap around to the north) and are predominantly on the western walls of the chapel. The entire western section of the walls of room A of Funerary Chapel KXI was composed of files of giraffes (Reisner scene iv & Bonnet scene 7). The first room of the later royal funerary chapel, KII room A, may have had the same composition of northwards-oriented files of giraffes on the western wall sections (Reisner 1923a: 124). As the placement of subjects is the same in the earlier and later royal funerary chapels, their orientation and use must represent a continuing Kerman religious meaning or function.

Cattle and Bulls

Scenes with cattle include a line of swimming cattle (Bonnet scene 10), a file of bulls (Bonnet scene 6), two bulls facing each other over a canal or trough (Figure 4.8, Bonnet scene 12), and sequential scenes of two bulls about to fight and fighting (Figures 4.13 & 4.14, Bonnet scenes 19, 18). Three of these scenes in Funerary Chapel KXI feature a pair of bulls about to fight, or in the process of fighting. In all cases, one bull is completely red while the other is partially or mostly black. Cattle were important resources at Kerma and in Nubia in general, but their methods of representation in these wall paintings may have some basis in Egyptian representations as well.

The heads of two horned cattle are in the top right section of the nilotic or fishing scene on the east wall of the entrance corridor (Bonnet scene 10). Their upraised heads and lack of bodies suggest that they are meant to be mostly submerged in water as they cross the river. They move southwards towards the entrance of the chapel. As they are placed at the top of the scene, they provide the boundary for the top or edge of the river scene below, which also displays other similarities to Egyptian models as will be discussed below. The specific form of these swimming cattle is notably similar to cattle crossing scenes from Egyptian tomb scenes. The cattle crossing motif is usually part of a standardized scene with men on a skiff baiting them across the water with a calf. This Egyptian scene is found in Old Kingdom tombs, especially those of the Giza-

¹¹⁴ Giraffe hair bracelets: MFA 20.1777, 20.1788 (KXB); giraffe hair textiles/beer strainers: MFA 20.1410, 20.1411, 20.1427 (KIII), Eg.Inv.4180.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of the use of giraffes figures in private funerary art, especially the development of their fantastical form. Winged giraffe inlays: MFA 20.1544-20.1547a-c (K309), realistic giraffe inlays: MFA 20.1336-20.1342 (Figure 6.13, K1096).

Memphis region.¹¹⁶ No extant examples of Egyptian tombs with a cattle crossing scene are identifiable from the Aswan to El-Kab region, although they could have been present in the damaged areas of the late Old Kingdom Qubbet el-Hawa tombs. If the swimming cattle of the niolithic scene (Bonnet scene 10) was inspired by previous Egyptian models, it composes a minor element of a larger scene and provides no distinct religious functions.

A line of four placid bulls leads into Funerary Chapel KXI on the western wall of the entrance corridor (Bonnet scene 6). The first and third bulls have their heads held level. The second bull has its head raised, and the last bull originally had its head raised, but then was finished on the level. The bulls are solid red with black outlines and details. They face into the chapel, and therefore could be meant as offerings coming to the deceased ruler's cult. The arrangement of nearly identical animals of the same species in a row is consistent with the prevalent giraffe and hippopotami scenes discussed above, and is a major characteristic of Kerman funerary art.

Three additional scenes of bulls take the form of antithetical pairs, with one or both of the animals posed aggressively. Directly next to the boat with the female figure, two bulls face each other across a trough (Figure 4.8, Bonnet scene 12). The rudder of the boat cuts over the back leg of the black bull, suggesting that the boats were added to the scene later. A black and white bull faces a red and white bull separated by two parallel lines. The lines may be meant to represent a water trough, canal, or well as a bucket sits between the lines. A rope from the bucket hits the horn of the red and white bull, but may continue past the horn rather than be meant to be attached to it. The black bull stands with equal weight on all four feet. The red bull is ithyphallic and takes a more aggressive pose, pushing forward with its back feet and with its horns angled for attack. This scene of bulls sets them as figures in separated spaces, aligned on a north - south axis, and about to engage in conflict.

Another bull scene is found close to the back of the chapel on the eastern wall (Bonnet scene 19). A man wielding a staff drives a red spotted bull in front of him, both facing towards a red spotted bull with black haunches. The human figure wears a white kilt with red spots, much like the patterning on the red bull, and carries a vertical staff. The bulls are close enough that their horns may be interlocked, but the paint is too damaged at the point of intersection to tell. The preserved bull legs stand solidly on the ground, not showing much movement of the animals and suggesting they have not yet met each other.

Immediately to the south of the above scene, the same two bulls are seen engaged in a fight with their horns interlocked (Bonnet scene 18). The coat patterning of each bull matches that of the animal in the same position in the previous scene, suggesting that this bull fighting scene is meant to portray the subsequent meeting of the animals. Both bulls are posed with their back legs bracing for impact and their front leg raised. This scene is active and lifelike, and has the most symmetrical composition of all the Kerma wall paintings. Paired with the previous scene, it provides an episodic narrative, leading from north to south and towards the entrance of the tomb. The chronological progression from one scene to the next is a sophisticated portrayal of time. Again, conflict occurring on a north - south axis is emphasized, this time with an

¹¹⁶ For example, cattle crossing scenes are present in the tombs of Kagemni (Porter and Moss 1960, III part 2: 522) and Mereruka (Porter and Moss 1960, III part 2: 527).

additional implied southwards movement which would confront a viewer entering northwards into the funerary chapel.

Cattle occur in many representations at Kerma, and cattle would have been a key part of the local economy and subsistence. The line of four bulls (Bonnet scene 6) is perhaps echoed in a line of quadrupeds on the hull of the wooden boat model from the accompanying Tumulus KX (Figure 4.7, MFA 20.1485). The animals on the boat hull have the same black details on their hooves and tail tips as in the wall painting. The background is painted red, while the bodies of the animals are left unpainted to show the color of the wood. Fragments of faience quadrupeds and a faience boat model were also found in tumulus KIII.¹¹⁷ Imagery of cattle brought on vessels could support the interpretation of the line of bulls as magical offerings. Cattle were certainly used as food offerings in the mortuary cult of the king, and others, as massive amounts of bucrania were found arranged around major tumuli (Reisner 1923: 190, 272; Reisner 1915: 72). No images of the cattle being slaughtered and butchered are found at Kerma, which is an ubiquitous scene in Egyptian tomb decoration (Tylor 1895: 17, pl. XIII, 1900: pl. XII, 1896: pl. VI). If the Kerman cattle images in funerary contexts were meant as food offerings, they are not magically slaughtered for eternity as in Egyptian methods of representation.

The additional emphasis on pairs of bulls or cattle engaged in conflict alternately suggests that these animals were not meant to represent easily accessible food offerings. The depiction of aggressive cattle is found elsewhere at Kerma and in other Nubian artistic traditions. Fighting bulls are also found at Kerma on an incised pottery sherd (Figure 4.8, Török 2009: 148).¹¹⁸ There is also an extensive petroglyph tradition, particularly in the Fourth Cataract region, of cattle depictions that include fighting bulls and cattle being driven with sticks (Kleinitz and Koenitz 2006). The fighting cattle in the innermost section of the funerary chapel introduce an aggressive and chaotic element that would not be allowed as part of an Egyptian funerary scene. In contrast, the powerful animals could allude to the power of the Kerman king, as may also be the case for the hippopotami and giraffe scenes discussed above. Additionally, conflict between two groups on a north-south axis will also be found in boat scenes, and in general could be meant as a reference to the major political events of interregional conflict between Kerma and Egypt.

Although there is significant evidence for the traditional use of aggressive cattle figures in Nubian art, some Egyptian parallels can be identified at sites known to have been entered by Kermans. The similarities between these Egyptian examples and the Funerary Chapel KXI scenes do not necessarily suggest that the Kerman artists were directly modeling their scenes on the Egyptian ones. The Egyptian comparanda are introduced here to demonstrate that identifying lines of artistic influence is often problematic, and that regional associations have the potential to be overlapping. Bulls and out-of-control cattle are found in Egyptian tomb decoration at Qubbet el-Hawa and El-Kab. There is a highly visible example of running and fighting cattle in the forecourt of the tomb of Sirenput I at the Qubbet el-Hawa in Aswan (Figure 4.9, Porter and Moss 1960, V: 238). The particular details of the second register, in which a man hits a bull with a switch as it confronts another bull, closely match the second Kerma bull scene. The Aswan example is also unusually prominently placed, visible on the outer façade of the tomb and

¹¹⁷ Faience quadrupeds from KIII: MFA 13.5718, MFA 20.1315a-d.

¹¹⁸ Potsherd with incised fighting cattle: MFA 20.2101 / 13-12-357, from KIII hall A.

located above a fish spearing scene. At El-Kab, rampaging cows run over a worker in the tomb of Paheri, part of a larger agricultural scene (Tylor 1895: 7, pl. III).¹¹⁹ These small details within an Egyptian scene replicated at Kerma could potentially hint at Egyptian artists at work in Nubia, relying on known vignettes in their repertoire. These limited examples of possible Egyptianizing elements, however, cannot stand alone to prove an Egyptian influence on Kerman wall paintings.

Scene with a variety of animals

The scene with a variety of animals is poorly preserved, but breaks from the primary theme of files of animals. Two or more disorganized registers of a variety of quadrupeds were found on the upper part of the eastern wall of the entrance corridor (Bonnet scene 13). The best preserved and most recognizable animals are an ibex and a goat (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 167). Ibexes are also found in ivory inlays (Figure 6.6, MFA 13.4219g), as are grazing goats (Figure 6.23, MFA 20.1373-6). The largest animal is shown in black with only one horn, but it is badly damaged. In comparison with other animals represented at Kerma, it could be a rhino (Figure 4.19, MFA 20.1778) or an elephant (Figure 6.6, MFA 21.11799). The small black outline directly below the neck of the largest animal could be an attacking hunting dog, but the figure is too fragmentary for a clear reconstruction. A lone animal in red has its snout to the ground and a curled tail, and is most likely a pig (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 166), especially in comparison to the pigs in the tomb of Renni at El-Kab (Figure 4.10, Tylor 1900: pl. II). The group of horned quadrupeds in the lower right of the scene may be oriented diagonally in regard to the other loosely defined registers that compose the scene. The variety of animals put together into one composition is reminiscent of Egyptian desert hunt scenes, as in the tomb of Sobeknakht (Tylor 1896: 12, pl. X), but the scene is too damaged to propose a full reconstruction. The notable aspects of this scene is the combination of many species of quadrupeds into one composition, with the subjects oriented to the south and moving in a somewhat disorganized manner. This less organized composition contrasts with the ordered files of animals, oriented northward, that dominate the rest of the wall decoration of Funerary Chapel KXI.

Summary of the use of animal scenes in Funerary Chapel KXI wall paintings

The predominant use of animals in Funerary Chapel KXI wall paintings takes the form of files of a single species, oriented to move northwards towards the cultic focus. The use of files of animals is found in both royal and private Kerman funerary contexts, and there are consistencies in their orientations. As Lacovara has noted, the arrangement of animals of the same species into files is used by Kerman artists in royal wall paintings and on private funerary bed footboards (1986: 56). In both of these mediums, the files of animals are oriented so that they face northwards. The private funerary beds are set with the head of the bed, and the deceased, to the east. The footboard of the bed is set to the west, and the inner face is inlaid in the decorated examples. The files of animals in the ivory inlays are oriented to face north, the same direction as the files of animals in the royal funerary chapels, and the same direction as the deceased

¹¹⁹ More placid cattle are driven with a stick in the tomb of Sobeknakht (Tylor 1896: 5, pl. III), and are used to pull a sledge in the tomb of Renni (Tylor 1900: pl. XI).

individuals interred on the beds.¹²⁰ The consistent northwards orientation of animal figures in both royal and private Classic Kerman graves strongly suggests that these images of local fauna played a key role in funerary and religious beliefs. The emphasis on movement, and the inclusion of dangerous animals in a cultic area is in contra-distinction to any Egyptian depictions of animals as food offerings in funerary art. As these files of animals are not passive offerings, they may instead be meant to represent the power or actions of the Kerman king and / or his subjects instead.

The additional use of fighting bulls, especially in an episodic arrangement, inserts a secondary theme of conflict on a north - south axis. Within the overall impression of movement to the north, these exceptions in orientation are highlighted. Without the recourse to textual explanations, for either the ancient or modern viewer, the intention of the use of scenes of north - south conflict cannot be definitively understood. At the same time, the major military campaigns outlined previously in Chapter 3 provide a potential framework of political events that may be referenced in the royal Kerman wall paintings.

Human figures and scene composition – possible Egyptianizing elements

The above analysis of the files of animals in the Funerary Chapel KXI wall paintings demonstrates that the majority of the scenes fit within established Nubian and Kerman artistic traditions and funerary practices. Other scenes are less congruous, and present possible Egyptianizing elements in the decoration of this royal funerary chapel. Human figures are almost absent in Kerman art,¹²¹ and are the most concentrated in the KXI wall paintings in the entire Classic Kerman corpus. As the use of human figures is rather anomalous in Kerman art, it introduces the possibility that these scenes may be in part based on observations of Egyptian art. The preserved scenes in which human figures occur take place primarily on the Nile and indicate activities that take place on the water. The nilotic fishing scene (Bonnet scene 10) and sailboat scene (Bonnet scene 1, 2), in fact, contain the most direct parallels to Egyptian scenes and / or motifs, as will be demonstrated below.

Yet the way in which these potentially Egyptianizing figures are rendered and arranged is significantly divergent from Egyptian models. The figures in the KXI wall paintings generally conform to the Egyptian canonical representation of the human body, but they do not rigidly follow the constrictions of pose and form found in Egyptian models. The Kerman human figures leave the impression of a familiarity with, but not a strict adherence to, Egyptian rules of representation. The composition of scenes in general is also not as rigidly structured as in Egyptian rules of representation. Areas of space within a single scene are not always clearly defined, especially the separation between water and land in the nilotic scene.

¹²⁰ See Chapter 6 for a full discussion and list of examples of inlaid funerary beds in private Classic Kerman graves.

¹²¹ Török notes the lack of monumental human figures for the depiction of the Kerman king or anthropomorphic deities (2009: 147), but this is also true for human figures of any social status. See above, footnotes 92 and 94 for a list of all other possible human representations from Classic Kerma contexts.

Each of the remaining scenes from the Funerary Chapel KII wall paintings must be carefully analyzed in order to determine if an argument for or against a significant Egyptianizing artistic influence can be made. When possible, examples of wall decoration from Egyptian tombs will be taken from tombs in the region between Aswan and El-Kab, as this is the documented extent of Nubian travel at this time (as discussed in the previous chapter). The scenes will also be from tombs either pre-dating the Classic Kerma Period or roughly contemporary. The latest of the El-Kab tombs was constructed during the reigns of Thutmose I to III (Tylor 1900). Although it cannot be assumed that Nubians saw these particular scenes, they have the most potential to be representative of the material they could have been exposed to while in Egypt. This is specifically in contrast to Bonnet and Valbelle's suggestion that the themes of animals and everyday activities found in the Kerman wall paintings may have some influence from the Theban monuments of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II (2000: 102), which is a region not represented in the supporting evidence of Kerman penetration of Egyptian territory. As always, the term "influence" is in itself problematic because it does not address the nature of observed similarities nor their intention in use.

The use of possibly Egyptianizing visual elements in the KXI wall paintings does not suggest that "influence" included changed cultural practices. Overall, the wall painting scenes do not contain clearly Egyptian religious motifs or practices. Some general themes, manners of representing subjects, and small details do present a body of evidence for a loose basis in Egyptian models. The limited and controlled use of Egyptianizing elements may be present, and could have its source in the types of Egyptian monuments encountered during Kerman military raids in Egypt. In particular, any visual references to Egypt in the royal funerary chapel wall paintings may have had the goal of referencing the political climate of conflict between Kerma and Egypt.

Nilotic Fishing scene

The nilotic scene of animals and men fishing demonstrates the closest potential parallels to Egyptian models, while also displaying unique or Nubian elements. This complex painted scene is located on the eastern wall of the second entrance foyer (Bonnet scene 10). The combination of nilotic subjects with human figures undertaking fishing activities has been said to be 'certainly inspired' by traditional Egyptian representations of nilotic activities, while at the same time the organization of the scene and placement of figures differs significantly from the Egyptian examples (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 85). A close inspection of the elements of the Kerman nilotic scene finds only small parallels with Egyptian nilotic scenes. The underlying organization of space and subjects creates a diametrically opposed function for the scene than would be desired in an Egyptian funerary context.

Beginning with the human figures in the lower left of the nilotic scene, one large male figure leans over to pull up a fishing net, which is folded over on itself. He wears a white loincloth or tucked-up kilt with yellow stripes or folds.¹²² His proper left foot is shown forward

¹²² The difference between this type of garment and the pointed linen kilts usually worn by Egyptian figures may suggest that these figures wear tied up leather garments. However, I do not agree that they are beaded leather skirts as suggested by Bonnet and Valbelle (2000: 83), as the dotted decoration seen on the skirt of the female figure is absent (see Chapter 6 for a full discussion of beaded skirts).

and up from his other foot, but his knee is not bent which creates an awkward stance. A smaller, naked male figure bends over behind him, mirroring the stance of the larger figure, and one arm is extended to grasp a white object and the other arm pushes down on a yellow mass. The mound of yellow is reminiscent of a grain pile, but this would not match the nilotic imagery of the rest of the scene.

Two other small male figures sit on a yellow boat, each holding a pole and wearing a garment similar to the one worn by the man with the net. The figure at the rear dangles his legs over the side of the boat, while the other either kneels or sits cross-legged. Their hairlines come down to equal levels on both sides of their heads and there is no suggestion of a profile, suggesting that their faces are shown frontally. The two men could be using their poles to spear fish, to pole the boat through the water, to angle for fish, or to beat the water to scare the fish into the net below (as is done in modern Egypt). All of the human figures in this scene are shown with reddish-brown skin and black hair, but it is difficult to determine if this coloring choice is meant to label them as Egyptian, or if the artists used standard Egyptian male-marked skin coloring for Nubian male figures as well (Török 2009: 149).

The central part of the scene is composed of a large crocodile in profile, angled with its head up and to the north. The crocodile is surrounded by schools of fish and three birds. The crocodile has the same net-like pattern in black on its body. This is likely to denote the texture of its skin rather than it being netted, as there is no cross-hatching preserved between the crocodile and the net, although the faded blue fill of the water is preserved (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 83). The fish are grouped as if in schools, with a triangular group of eight below the crocodile and a looser group of six near its mouth, and one fish of a different type follows behind them. The fish are colored red and black, and their scales are shown in an uneven looped pattern. One yellow ostrich chick follows behind the crocodile, although ostriches are not water birds. A pair of pelicans, with distinctively large beaks, walk above the crocodile. All of the nilotic animals face northwards, into the chapel.

The upper right section of the nilotic scene may either represent the other bank of the river, or else is part of a different land-based scene. Above the two pelicans, two cattle are placed directly under a wooden frame. The cattle are depicted with only their backs and raised heads, suggesting that the rest of their bodies are submerged as they swim across the water. Two vertical supports with a cross-beam are directly behind them, and perhaps is a frame for hanging or drying foodstuff. The relationship between these elements and the crocodile and fish below them is not clear, as there is no demarcation of the boundaries of the space that contain these elements.

The lack of canonical delimitations of space within the Kerman nilotic scene, especially the lack of register lines and the angled placement of the crocodile and small school of fish, does not allow for a clear reading of the relationships between the many subjects contained within it. The overall impression of movement among the animals, especially the large and prominent figure of the dangerous crocodile, puts an emphasis on the animals rather than the human figures. The human figures are on a small scale in relation to the animals, and their actions and placements do not lead to an impression that they are exerting any control over the wild animals, even the fisherman with the net had only partial success in his catch. The crocodile and group of fish that move on an angled axis look in danger of overwhelming the two men on a small skiff.

The movement and unconfined nature of the the wild animals in the Kerman nilotic scene give a sense of abundance, but is in contrast to the Egyptian funerary function of fishing scenes as part of the process of overcoming chaotic forces and maintaining *ma'at*.

The upper two elements of the scene, the wooden frame and the swimming cattle, are partial but can be found in Egyptian tombs from Aswan and El-Kab as well. There is a similar frame with forked upper supports used in a grape-crushing scene located among the agricultural scenes of Paheri's tomb (Tylor 1895: 11, pl. VII), suggesting the frame in the Kerma scene may also be associated with agricultural work or perhaps drying fish. The cattle crossing motif is also usually part of standardized scene with men on skiff baiting them across the water with their calf, and often a crocodile lurks in the water waiting to catch a cow. Seen in Old Kingdom tombs, especially in the Memphite region, no examples of the cattle crossing scene are preserved in the Aswan to El-Kab region (Figure 4.11).

A verbal description of some of the elements of the Kerman nilotic fishing scene—men netting fish, two men in a skiff with poles, and a crocodile among fish—exhibits a general similarity to Egyptian scenes of fishing in the marshes. A closer examination of Egyptian examples demonstrates fundamental differences in motifs, composition, and possible meanings. The tomb of Sabni at the Qubbet el-Hawa provides a typical example of an Egyptian scene of fishing in the marshes (Figure 4.12), although with the stylistic characteristics of the late 6th Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1960, V: 232). The action of fishing and fowling are combined into one symmetrical scene with two facing figures of the deceased. On the left he stands on a papyrus skiff with one hand forward, grasping fowl, with his back hand throwing a throw-stick. On the right, Sabni again stands on a papyrus skiff in the same pose, grasping fowl with his forward hand, and pushing his spear into two fat fish with the other. Family members, notably including female figures, are arranged around his two significantly larger figures. His female relatives sniff lotus blossoms and wear a full complement of fillets, collars, bracelets and anklets. Even the fish he has not caught are spatially contained, either in the lower register of the scene or in orderly rows under the speared fish.

The composition and actions of Egyptian fishing and fowling scenes are largely standardized from the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom. Scholar believe the scene is meant to communicate more about afterlife ideals, virility, and apotropaic protection than actual fishing activities (Manniche 2003: 42). The abundance of the Nile is shown, but depicted in an arrangement that emphasized order and containment, demonstrating the triumph of the deceased over the chaotic forces of nature. Fish are captured to provide sustenance for the afterlife, while also symbolizing the maintenance of *ma'at* (order). The closest element of subject matter in the Egyptian fishing scenes to the Kerma example is only the element of two male figures on boats, carrying poles, which is a general similarity rather than a direct correlation.

Egyptian scenes of netting fish, rather than spearing them, could provide a more likely model for the Kerma scene and are readily found in Aswan and El-Kab monuments. There are no other examples of netting fish preserved in the Kerma corpus of art. Fish netting scenes occur in Egyptian tombs as part of marsh scenes, usually as a smaller sub-scene below the main fish-spearing scene. Examples of this Egyptian scene are found in the tombs of Sarenput I at the Qubbet el-Hawa (Figure 4.13, Porter and Moss 1960, V: 238), Paheri at El-Kab (Tylor 1895: 10,

pl. VI), and Sobeknakht at El-Kab (Figure 4.14, Tylor 1896: 6, pl. IV).¹²³ Unlike the fish spearing scenes that showcase the figure of the deceased, the fishermen who net fish work as part of the daily life scenes meant to provide sustenance for the deceased in the afterlife. The fishermen use a specific kind of net that is laid out in its own register and needs a group of men to work it. The fish can be either swimming horizontally in an ordered manner (Sarenput I and Paheri), or arranged more chaotically (Sobeknakht). The fishermen often wear shorter kilts or loin cloths that leave their furthest thigh exposed, exactly as found on the Kerma fishermen figures (Sarenput I and Sobeknakht).

The fish netting scene in the tomb of Sobeknakht at El-Kab provides the closest parallel to the composition of the Kerman fish netting sub-scene. The fishermen in both examples stand to the left of the net, with one leg stretched behind their bodies as they throw the net. The nets also both extend horizontally out to the group of ensnared fish, unlike the majority of the Egyptian fish netting scenes with the netted fish placed on a lower register. The Sobeknakht and Kerma fishing scenes do differ in that the Egyptian fisherman stands on a boat, and the Kerman fish placidly swim towards their captor. The presence of a close parallel composition in the tomb of Sobeknakht at El-Kab is particularly intriguing, as this Egyptian nomarch provides significant evidence of contact with Kerma (see Chapter 3). His tomb biography inscription includes a passage describing his repulsion of Nubian looters, while the last Classic Kerman royal tumulus KIII contains a stone vessel inscribed for a Sobeknakht of El-Kab that could have been part of his funerary assemblage (Davies 2003). This known point of contact of Kermans with an Egyptian monument may also provide a direct inspiration for an Egyptianizing scene designed for a funerary monument of the Kerman ruler.¹²⁴ If this hypothesis is accepted, at the same time other details in this potentially Egyptianizing scene have Kerman counterpoints and the function of the larger scene does not follow Egyptian models.

Although some of the nilotic fishing scene motifs can be found in Egyptian funerary scenes, the featured animals are also found in other media in Kerman funerary art. Crocodiles

¹²³ Although fish netting scenes are a relatively minor component of Egyptian funerary decoration, there are numerous examples found throughout Upper Egypt. Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom Theban examples of fish netting scenes include TT34, TT39, TT53, TT60, TT66, TT73, TT78, TT79, TT81, TT82, TT85, TT100, TT123, TT125, TT127, TT200, TT217, TT241, TT279, TT342, TT366 (Porter and Moss 1960).

¹²⁴ The chronological concordance between Funerary Chapel KXI and the tomb of Sobeknakht II at El-Kab (tomb no. 10) is difficult to establish. Sobeknakht II was the nomarch shortly after the reign of Bebiankh in mid-Dynasty 16 (Bennet 2002: fig. 7). The latest datable material from the royal funerary complex KX & KXI is from mid-Dynasty 13, and may be significantly older than the date of construction of that complex. The final Classic Kerman funerary complex KIII & KII contains material that could date from mid-Dynasty 16 to early Dynasty 17, which again may be older than the date of the construction of the complex. The range of possible dates for the KX & KXI royal funerary complex makes it possible that the Sobeknakht II tomb was constructed by the time of the Funerary Chapel KXI decoration. The Kerman nilotic fishing scene in KXI is also located on the outer section of the funerary chapel, which may be contemporaneous with the burial of the king in tumulus KIV, further extending the date of possible construction.

are also represented in faience,¹²⁵ ivory inlays,¹²⁶ and glazed steatite.¹²⁷ Pelicans are found in mica appliqués.¹²⁸ Ostrich chicks are depicted in ivory inlays (Figure 6.6) and mica appliqués, and ostrich feathers are used for fans.¹²⁹ Cattle are ubiquitous at Kerma, as discussed above. Fish, however, are not found in Kerma art but are quite prevalent on the imported Egyptian faience vessels found scattered in the debris of the royal Kerma burials.¹³⁰ Therefore the types of animals used in the nilotic scene cannot be assumed to demonstrate a direct observation of Egyptian models.

The Kerma nilotic wall painting scene in Funerary Chapel KXI falls somewhere in between any direct assignment to a cultural artistic tradition. The animals represented are consistent with the corpus of Classic Kerma art. Yet the combination of elements in the Kerma nilotic fishing scene is not otherwise represented in Kerma art. The co-occurrence of fishermen, boats, fish, birds and crocodiles is found in private Egyptian funerary monuments in the Aswan to El-Kab region. The composition of the nilotic scene into a simple narrative in which a man throws a net while a crocodile chases prey, rather than the presentation of subjects in a file, could either demonstrate a general knowledge of Egyptian artistic traditions, or a significant new development in the complexity of Kerma art.

At the same time, the narrative and themes constructed by the composition of the Kerma nilotic scene do not follow the Egyptian artistic canon. In all, the lack of formal registers and the different trajectories of the water animals give the scene a feeling of action and disorganized movement in a natural setting. This is in direct contradiction to the function of Egyptian nilotic scenes in funerary monuments, with their trope of subduing chaotic forces. Instead, the forceful movement of animals, especially in a northward direction, is in agreement with the Kerma artistic tradition of files of animals. The disjunct in the underlying composition of the Kerma nilotic scene with Egyptian examples highlights a marked difference in Kerma funerary beliefs, which do not seem to focus on the control of chaotic elements.

¹²⁵ Faience crocodiles: 14.1103 (K1300), 13.5828 (KIV Room B)

¹²⁶ Ivory crocodiles: 15-2-128 and 21.11800 (KXV), 13.4216 (K1061)

¹²⁷ Glazed quartzite crocodile in KIII (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 168, 137).

¹²⁸ Pelican appliqué: 20.1758 (K500)

¹²⁹ Ostrich ivory inlays are only found in situ in KX, Ostrich chick ivory inlays: 13.4211 (K1050); 20.1345-20.1353, 20.1548a, 20.2098 (Figure 6.13, K1096); Adult ostrich inlays: 20.1327-20.1335 (K1096); 20.1500 (KIII Room GG); 20.1549-20.1550a-c (K1095). Ostrich chick mica appliqués: 20.1755 (K1090). Ostrich fans: Su.764 (K1038), Su.798 (K1039), Su.811 (K1043), Su.899 (K1055), Su.904a-b (K1058), Su.1152 (K1037), 15-3-395 (KN28), 20.1406 (K427), 20.1407 (K1610), 20.1567-8 (K1085), Eg.Inv.3775-82, Eg.Inv.3782, Eg.Inv.4596, Eg.Inv.4613-4, Eg.Inv.13098 (unknown provenances).

¹³⁰ As discussed in Chapter 2, the majority of the black-line decorated faience vessel fragments found at Kerma have decoration and technical characteristics which make it certain that these represent Egyptian imports. Examples of imported Egyptian faience vessels with fish: 20.1230 / 13-12-413 (KIII debris), 20.1252a-e / 14-1-1139, 1140, 1144, 1146 (KXVIII debris), 20.1258 / 14-1-1205 (KXVI room C), 20.1268 / 14-2-915 (K338 debris), 20.1272 / 14-3-1424 (KB38), 20.1275 / 14-3-1467 (KII room A), 20.1283 (unknown provenance).

Sailboat

The western wall of the first entrance foyer in Funerary Chapel KXI has a large-scale sailboat painted in black, red, and yellow (Bonnet scene 1, 2). The hull of the boat is black, has an upturned bow and stern, and is roughly 150 cm in length (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 70, fig. 52). The central cabin has red and yellow panels, and another structure in yellow is directly to the stern of the cabin. The contents of the boat are painted in black and are shown inside and above the cabin, but are too fragmentary to reconstruct. At least four parallel lines angle down from the cabin, perhaps denoting oars or rope lines. The mast and rigging are in yellow and the sail is unfurled and full of wind, which means the boat is moving south against the Nile current.¹³¹ A small figure in black stands in the rigging, and two incomplete figures in red stand to the right of the sail and may be part of a separate scene.

The type of hull and rigging shown in the sailboat scene from Chapel KXI closely matches examples of Egyptian sailboats. The contemporaneous El-Kab tombs of Renni, Paheri (Figure 4.15), and Sobeknakht contain three separate sailboat scenes (Tylor 1896: pl. II, 1895: pl. II, pl. V, 1900: pl. V). In particular, the details of the double-masted rigging and the sailor perched on the boom are the same, although the sterns of the Egyptian boats are less up-turned than the Kerma example¹³² (Tylor 1895: 9, pl. V, 1900: pl. V). Depictions of boats used for long-distance Nile trade with Nubia provide more associations, especially the similarity of the red and yellow cabins in the well preserved painted examples in the tomb of Amenhotep called Huy (Theban Tomb 40) (Figure 4.16, Porter and Moss 1960, I.1: 75, Davies and Gardiner 1926). In Huy's scenes of the arrival of Nubian tribute, barges with red and yellow cabins are shown, although these Egyptian boats are more highly decorated than in the Kerma example. There are also multiple thin parallel lines running down from the cabins of the boats in Huy's tomb, representing either lines or oars. The parallels between the sailboat painting at Kerma and these contemporaneous or slightly post-dated Egyptian sailboats suggest that the boat depicted in Funerary Chapel KXI is an Egyptian boat of a type meant for long-distance travel.

In all of the Egyptian examples discussed above, the ships' cargo is shown both inside and atop the cabins. The contents of open cabins, such as horse pens, are depicted within the structure. The contents of closed cabins are depicted atop the structure, which follows the Egyptian rules of indicating objects that are contained within a box (Schäfer 2002). The Kerma wall painting seems to conflate both of these Egyptian rules of representation, with contents depicted inside and above the same cabin structures. The manner of representing spatial

¹³¹ The strong Nile current pulls boats north, while the prevailing winds allow travel against the current with the use of sails. The need to use sails only when going against the Nile current led to a sailboat with full sails to be used as the Egyptian hieroglyphic determinative for southward movement (Brewer and Teeter 1999: 25)

¹³² Bonnet and Valbelle's reconstruction of the sailboat painting in Funerary Chapel KXI has a thick and sharply up-turned stern (2000: fig. 52). The stern section of the painting is heavily damaged, and consequently the boat's stern may have been more symmetrical with the bow, as is found in the other Second Intermediate Period-early New Kingdom Egyptian sailboats in the El-Kab tombs of Renni and Paheri.

relationships in the Kerma sailboat painting demonstrates another divergence from established Egyptian artistic traditions.

The direct similarities with the technical aspects of the sailboat support the identification of the Kerma painting as an Egyptian vessel. In particular, the double boom sail rigging is a hallmark of Second Intermediate Period to early New Kingdom Egyptian sailboats (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 72; Vinson 1994). The other boats depicted in Funerary Chapel KXI have a crew of rowers and no sail, in contrast, and would be most effective for short-distance travel. These rowboats may represent Nubian boats instead, as will be discussed below. The close correlation between Egyptian sailboats and the Kerma wall painting could have been designed to not only show that the ruler had been in contact with Egyptian sailors, but had even observed their representation in Egyptian territory. Although this sailboat presents the closest parallels to Egyptian models within the Kerma wall painting corpus, the strict Egyptian rules of representing the spatial relationship between a container and its contents were not followed precisely. The artists who created this painting therefore demonstrate a familiarity with Egyptian sailboats, but not a canonical training in Egyptian artistic traditions.

A cargo-laden Egyptian sailboat would be an obvious reference to exchange activities, and its placement at the entrance of the chapel suggests these scene was of importance. The Egyptian sailboat is oriented to the south, the direction in which a trading expedition from Egypt would travel. This southwards orientation also results in this vessel moving *out* of Chapel KXI, which is the opposite of the majority of the movement of the wall painting scenes. As this sailboat does not effectively move towards the cultic focus of the chapel, the vessel does not seem to have been meant to bring offerings or goods to the mortuary cult practiced inside. Due to the orientation and identification of the Egyptian sailboat, this scene may function as a reference to interregional contact and the obtainment of foreign goods.

Lacovara (1986: 56), as well as Bonnet and Valbelle (2000: 72), have suggested that the representation of the sailboats in royal Kerma funerary chapels may be influenced by the depiction of the deceased's journey to Abydos that is found in Middle Kingdom to New Kingdom Egyptian tombs. Bonnet and Valbelle note that the southward orientation of the KXI sailboat effectively leads the vessel towards the entrance to the accompanying royal Tumulus KX, although the representation of the cargo is too damaged to determine if a royal body is depicted (2000: 95). Török comments that if the KXI sailboat is meant to represent the movement of the royal body, it would stand out as the only scene referring to the practice of mortuary rites for the deceased (2009: 149). The Egyptian funerary tradition of the deceased's Abydos pilgrimage is a culturally and geographically specific religious practice that is unlikely to be relevant to the residents of Kerma. The associations of the movement of the deceased's body by boat are also embedded in the Egyptian practice of burial on the western side of the Nile, which necessitated the use of a boat to cross from the settlement on the eastern side of the river. At Kerma, the cemetery is located inland, to the east of the settlement. Unlike in Egypt, there is no geographical need for the use of a boat during funerary rituals held at Kerma, which opens the possibility that the depictions of boats in royal Kerma funerary chapels could be associated with riverine expeditions instead.

Comparison with sailboats from Funerary Chapel KII

Sailboats were also present in the wall paintings in Funerary Chapel KII, and provide a comparison with the single sailboat from the earlier Funerary Chapel KXI so they will be discussed here. In fact, the fleet(s) of sailboats in Funerary Chapel KII are the only clearly photographed wall painting from that later chapel¹³³ (Figure 4.17a,b & Figure 4.18, Reisner 1923: 124, pl. 4/2). Numerous sailboats are depicted in two informal registers, and their overlapping hulls have a relatively shallow curve with tall vertical prows or sterns that are notably different from the form of the KXI sailboat. Lacovara has reconstructed the scene with a group of three larger boats to the north, with their prominent ends facing south, and another group of three larger boats on the south with their prominent ends facing north (cf. Figure 4.18, 1986: fig. 7). This would imply that these two groups of boats are either heading toward or away from each other. If the boats depicted in the KII scene are related to Egyptian boats, the prominent end of the boat would be located at the prow (Vinson 1994: 31), and as a result the boats would be heading toward each other.

Frustratingly, the poor preservation of the scene makes it difficult to definitively reconstruct the directions of movement in the sailboat scene in Funerary Chapel KII. If the above reconstruction is correct, they are two groups moving towards each other which would represent the moment of two fleets of sailboats meeting. Overall, the uneven overlapping of the boat hulls gives the scene a sense of chaotic movement. Rather than a careful inventory of boats as usually seen in Egyptian representations, as in the tomb of Amenhotep called Huy (Davies and Gardiner 1926), this could suggest a conflict or naval battle, as in Old Kingdom scenes of men fighting on skiffs (Figure 4.19). Alternately, the composition could be designed to give the image of a fast moving and impressive fleet.

The smaller boat with a large cabin directly above the leftmost group of boats provides an interesting example of the differences between Egyptian and Kerman representations of three dimensional space. The single boat in the KII painting is set above the main line of larger sailboats, and is of a smaller scale and different type than the others. To show the breadth of a group of objects, an Egyptian composition would either have a somewhat regular series of overlapping figures or figures of the same size shown directly above each other (Schäfer 2002: 190), which is not the case in the less structured KII sailboat scene. The insertion of the single, small boat confuses the composition of this boat scene, adding to the sense of chaotic movement. As seen in the nilotic fishing scene in the earlier Funerary Chapel KXI, the highly formalized Egyptian rules for the use of registers and depicting spatial relationships were not followed by the artists who created the Kerman wall paintings.

Fleet of rowboats

Returning to the discussion of the wall paintings in Funerary Chapel KXI, a fleet of low-prowed boats with groups of rowers may have led from the north section of the eastern wall of the entrance corridor (Figure 4.8, Bonnet scene 12), along the eastern wall of KXI room A

¹³³ Reisner only briefly describes the other wall paintings from Funerary Chapel KII, noting there were also giraffes (Reisner 1923: 124). Bonnet's recent excavations found the walls of KII too deteriorated to reconstruct the wall decorations (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 132).

(Reisner scene iv), to the northeastern corner of the eastern wall of KXI room A (Bonnet scenes 15 & 16). The placement of this fleet of rowboats on the eastern walls of the first room of royal Funerary Chapel KXI corresponds to the location of the fleet(s) of sailboats in the later Funerary Chapel KII. The repeated placement of boats in the equivalent section of a funerary chapel suggests that the scene held special importance in the decorative program. Four rowboats, arranged on two registers, meet at the northeast corner of KXI room A (Bonnet scenes 15 & 16). The crew of the boat on the right is shown with completely black skin and feathered headdresses, distinctly marking them as Nubian in Egyptian iconography (Figure 4.26, *ibid*: 96). A damaged figure stands at the prow with outstretched arms, and is filled in yellow and red paint instead. The rowers oars are tipped to the right, moving the boat northwards into the chapel. The crews of the boats on the left have reddish-brown skin in contradistinction to the other crew (*ibid*: 89), arguably denoting them as Egyptian. They face in the other direction with their oars tipped to the left, effectively wrapping them around the corner and making them row out of the chapel in a generally southern direction. The prows of the boats are facing each other, as no stern rudders are present as in the nearly identical rowboats in the entrance corridor (Bonnet scene 12). The facing prows are also outlined with a thick line (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 89). The two groups of rowers are set on different walls, but are in the moment of meeting at the corner of the room.

The other incidences of scenes preserved on the northern faces of walls of the Kerman funerary chapels support the interpretation of the possibly Egyptian rowers effectively wrapping around the corner of the wall to the south. The hippopotami located on the northern sides of the stone jambs in the entrance corridor of Funerary Chapel KXI (Bonnet scenes 4 & 11) are oriented to face towards the center of the hallway, continuing the movement of the north-moving files of hippos behind them (Bonnet scene 3). The file of giraffes painted on the west side of the northern wall of room A in Funerary Chapel KII face to the east, also effectively wrapping around the corner to proceed northwards (Reisner 1923a: 124). The two faience lions on the façade of Funerary Chapel KII also face inwards to the entrance, effectively starting a northwards procession.¹³⁴ The movement of the boat of rowers with the reddish brown skin therefore effectively wraps around the corner to meet the northwards-moving Nubian rowers.

The rowed boats at Kerma have a general form that is difficult to directly relate to Egyptian types (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 96). They are arranged more formally than the KII fleet, but their placement in the room and their movement towards each other is unusual. Egyptian scenes in tomb decoration are not commonly wrapped around corners until the reign of Seti I (Kiser-Go 2006: 433). The ‘Nubian’ boat moves northward, while the possibly Egyptian boat effectively moves southward, realistically reflecting the directions fleets from each area would take. If the artists’ choice of distinguishing the rowboat crews by skin color, and using the markers of ‘Nubian-ness’ utilized by Egyptian artists, was meant to convey different ethnic identities, then these related boat scenes could be meant to represent a meeting between Kermans and Egyptians.

The question of skin color and its significance is always problematic in ancient art, and the motivation for the use of different colors for different figures in the Kerman wall painting is especially unclear, as seen in other scenes in Funerary Chapel KXI as well. The fishermen in the nilotic scene, the cattle driver in the bull-fighting scenes, and some of the figures in the sailboat

¹³⁴ See note 140 for the placement of the faience tile lions on the façade of Funerary Chapel KII.

scene have reddish-brown skin. Török argues that in the Kerma wall paintings the use of a reddish-brown skin color is in itself an adoption of canonical Egyptian rules of representation, which in this case would be linked with depicting the male gender of the figures rather than their ethnicity (2009: 149). In the case of the boat crew shown with completely black skin, they have the additional ethnically-marked representation of a single feather worn in the hair. Egyptian representations of a Nubian ethnicity, primarily in depictions of Nubians as foreign enemies or as tribute bearers, rely on the trope of dark skin and feather in the hair (Smith 2003). Despite the relatively good preservation of feathers and other organics in Kerma burials (see Chapter 5), no feather headdresses are present in private graves. The connotations of this Egyptian-based representation of ‘Nubian-ness’ in a Kerma context must then be questioned.

Possibly, in the representation of their self-identity in distinction to Egyptians, the Kerma artists may have relied on a codified Egyptian manner of depicting themselves. Alternately, the artist may be representing a different Nubian group, and made the choice to distinguish them through the general, Egyptian markers of ‘Nubian-ness.’ Török argues for the latter, but suggests that the use of black paint for the figures may represent that this group is from a region south of Kerma (2009: 149). The argument that the Kermans may have associated a darker skin color with a more southern origin moves into dangerous territory, as the combination of the darker skin color with the feather headdress is a thoroughly stereotypical trope of Otherness in Egyptian art and cannot be assumed to represent an ethnic reality. In addition, the connotations of skin color as an ethnic marker to ancient peoples, and any reliability in its depiction, is highly debatable.¹³⁵ Ultimately, the color of paint used for the fill of different figures in the Kerma wall paintings cannot be used as evidence for or against the assignment of the Kermans as African, or more African than ancient Egyptians (see also Chapter 2). As will be discussed in Chapter 5 and in the conclusions, Kerma culture (and material culture) does have aspects that suggest connections to Sub-Saharan cultures, in addition to ancient Egypt. Standing as an independent kingdom, Kerma, and any ancient Nubian culture should be understood and evaluated within their own independent conceptions of self.

Returning to the subject of the scene, boats with crews of rowers are found in three dimensional representations in Classic Kerma graves as well. Reisner found fragments of a wooden boat model in tumulus KX, a granite boat model in KIV, and a faience boat model with rowers in KIII (Reisner 1923: 277, 192-3, 138).¹³⁶ Although boat models are typical Egyptian funerary equipment, each of the Kerma examples has unique aspects such as decoration, size, or

¹³⁵ The association of skin color with ethnic or racial identities in ancient Egypt is problematic. Some individuals from Nubia, such as Mahirper were shown with different skin colors in different contexts - both geographical and by function (Smith 2003: 22-4). The other main use of skin color in the Egyptian artistic canon was to depict gender, with women shown with yellow ochre skin. At the same time, skin colors could be used interchangeably, for example the relief that depicts Nekhebu’s statues from Dynasty 6 Giza (MFA 13.4339.1) have him as young, red, old, yellow. Black skin was also associated with Osiris and fertility, rather than ethnic or racial identities.

¹³⁶ Wooden boat from KX: MFA 20.1485 and 20.1486, Granite boat from KIV: 13-12-11 (Reisner 1923: 192-3, pl. 14/2), Faience boat model: MFA 13-12-317, 13-12-328k, 13-12-339c-d, 13-12-352b, 13-12-794, 13.5829, 14-2-313c, 14-2-314a-c,e,h-i, 14-2-332b, 14-2-618b-d, 14-2-628b, 14.1001, 14.1319, 14.1323, 20.1307-12, 20.1318, Eg.Inv.3499, Eg.Inv.3501, Eg.Inv.3507.

material. With only fragmentary evidence and without supporting texts, it is not possible to reconstruct the specific cultic significance of rowed boats at Kerma, but it is clear that they played a key role in funerary practices. Their representation in two- or three-dimensions are limited to rulers' monuments, suggesting that boats were linked with his control of long-distance travel. The possible depiction of a crew of Nubian (Kerman?) rowers encountering a crew of Egyptian (?) rowers also has the potential to depict interregional interactions or conflicts during the early part of the the Classic Kerma Period.

Rowboats and a female figure

Two rowboats of the same type as those discussed above are painted on the east wall of the third entrance foyer of Funerary Chapel KXI. The rowboats are placed directly next to, and slightly overlap, the scene of two bulls facing each other across a trough or well (Figure 4.8, Bonnet scene 12). Only the figures on the southmost boat are preserved, and the primary figure directing the rowers is a woman. She has slightly darker brown skin than the rowers and wears a red skirt. Her torso has broad proportions, showing that she is obese. A small figure sits on a stool behind her, with its arms upraised towards her back. The rowers hold their oars tipped to the proper right, moving the vessel northwards. Some of the details of the scene were better preserved at the time of Reisner's photograph and are not represented in Bonnet and Valbelle's reconstruction. The waist and front of the woman's skirt had a line of light dotted decoration, as do the arms of the rowers.

The primary figure on the rowboat is female, which suggests she could be an important Kerman woman. Sitting at the stern of the boat, she may be acting as the coxswain or pilot for the rowers. She wears a necklace, bracelets on her upper arms, and a brown skirt with rows of adornments shown as light dots (Figure 4.5, Figure 4.20). The same set of adornments is attested in archaeological finds in the accompanying tumulus KX, in elite grave K1053 (Figure 4.21a,b). K1053 body D was a woman who was buried on an inlaid bed, and was approximately 35-50 years old.¹³⁷ She wore a necklace, silver bracelets on her upper and lower arms, and a pleated leather skirt with silver beads on the drawstring (Figure 4.22; Su.1089, Reisner 1923a: 342-343, fig. 111), exactly matching the details of the wall painting in Funerary Chapel KXI. The woman K1053 body D also wore a silver openwork cap (Figure 4.23), but the top of the painting is damaged so it cannot be determined if a similar headdress was included or not. Other silver beaded skirts and caps are found in a few other graves,¹³⁸ so the woman interred in K1053 is not necessarily the same woman pictured in the wall paintings. Instead she may represent a class of priestess or high status women. The role of such high-status women in Kerman society will be explored further in Chapters 5 and 6 in the discussion of private burials.

In late periods of Nubian history, important female political figures are commonly depicted as obese. This ideal of female body type is especially prominent in the Napatan and

¹³⁷ Personal communication, Dr. Margaret Judd, based on research on Kerma human remains in Cambridge, UK.

¹³⁸ Silver beaded skirts: K1053 body D (MFA Su.1089), K439 body A (MFA 20.1669 / 14-220, and 14-1-221), K318 (14.1223 / 14-2-48). Silver caps: K1053 body D (MFA 13.4196 / 20.2025 / Su.1090), K334 (MFA 14.1595 / 14-3-779), KXX (MFA 14.1109 / 14-1-829).

Meroitic periods. A statue of the Napatan queen Amanimalel from Gebel Barkal shows her with soft shoulders, globular breasts, and wide hips (Wildung 1997: 222). Reliefs of Meroitic queens routinely depict these influential women with corpulent bodies (Adams 1977: 326). Since both of the female figures from chapel KXI have obese proportions (see below for a figure of a woman on a ladder), these may indicate the earliest examples of a long-running Nubian conception of powerful women.

The primary placement of a female figure on a boat is not common in Egyptian tomb decoration, but one aspect of this scene is found in the contemporary El-Kab tombs. The small figure behind the woman mirrors the pose of the hairdressing attendants in the tomb of Sobeknakht II (mid- to late-Dynasty 16) (Tylor 1896: pl. V, VII). Alternately, the small figure may be placing a headdress on the head of the woman. The top of the woman's head was not preserved, but in comparison to the burial of the woman in K1053 (body D), this could be an attendant arranging a similar headdress on this woman of high-status.

The boat containing this high-status woman may be at the rear of a line of boats that reached the length of KXI room A on the eastern wall. The question remains of how this sequence of scenes was meant to be read or encountered by the viewer. The woman in the rowboat may have been intended as the last of a long procession or flotilla. At the same time, her proximity to the entrance of the funerary chapel may have been intended as primacy of place.

Two figures with ladders

Two heavily damaged figures of people with ladders were found on the stone emplacement or dais of the unknown cultic focus of Funerary Chapel KXI (Bonnet scene 20). The placement of this scene at the center and back of the chapel demonstrates that it is of central importance to the funerary cult. The ladders are yellow with black rungs and are angled away from each other in a V-shape. The larger, female figure on the right is bent at the waist and is placed behind the ladder. She is mostly nude and her breasts are shown in profile. She may have an animal skin or other adornment fastened around her waist and dangling behind her. There is black and red paint remaining below her torso, but it is too fragmentary to tell what it originally depicted. The second, smaller figure is shown in the process of climbing the ladder. The leg on the upper rung is not bent realistically, but rather is just shortened. The sex of this figure cannot be determined, although it is also nude except for the adornment at the waist.¹³⁹ This figure's pose is upright and its arms do not come down by its waist, suggesting that it may be carrying something. The poor preservation of the paint does not allow for a full interpretation of the poses or activities of the two figures.

Bonnet and Valbelle suggest the scene on this emplacement could be the base for a hut on ladders, as in the depictions of huts from Punt in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, and perhaps meant to house an image of a god or king (Figure 4.24, Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 107-109). They cite the domed sandstone shrine Reisner found at Gebel Barkal, Temple B500 (MFA 21.3234) as an analogous Nubian cultic item. Recently, however, this domed shrine has been reinterpreted as symbolizing the mountain of Gebel Barkal itself, as a dome with a uraeus is used

¹³⁹ This adornment around the waist of the figure could be meant to depict the beaded faience girdles found on bodies of deceased (Reisner 1923b: 99-100).

in the Napatan stela of Nastasen to denote the name of the mountain (Wildung 1997: 270). Therefore this significantly later Nubian cultic item is specific to the sacred landscape of the Fourth Cataract area, and is an unlikely parallel for a Kerma cultic item. Alternately, they suggest that this scene could also represent people climbing up the walled fortifications of the main city of Kerma (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 91).

Instead, an interpretation of this ladder scene should take into account that Kerma religious architecture was built to accommodate cultic activity on multiple vertical levels. The three large mudbrick religious structures at Kerma all had stairways for roof access (Reisner 1923: 23, 123, 260). The structure at the center of the city, the Lower Deffufa KI, has such little internal space that it is likely the rooftop provided a main area for cultic activity (Kendall 1997: 46). Some Egyptian temples included processions to the roof for certain solar-focused festivals,¹⁴⁰ but were primarily designed for processions that followed a straight path through increasingly darker rooms to the cultic focus (Shafer 1997). Ladders and vertical movement are not the typical central focus of Egyptian funerary chapels, instead an image of the deity or the deceased is set to receive the offerings borne to them. As demonstrated by the architecture of the Lower Deffufa KI, some key Kerma religious rituals were instead built around vertical movement through an enclosed space, and then open to the sky. This opens the possibility that some such ritual of vertical movement could involve the activity depicted in this scene with ladders. Therefore, this scene most likely provides evidence of Nubian funerary practices, and the similarity of the ladders with scenes from Punt is coincidental.

Were Egyptianizing elements used in Kerma wall paintings?

A careful examination of wall paintings in Classic Kerma funerary chapels has shown that there are only a limited number of motifs with possible Egyptian models. In all cases of possible Egyptianizing visual elements, examples are small details within overwhelmingly Nubian scenes. These include the specific design of one bull fighting scene (Bonnet scene 19), the manner of depicting Nubian rowers (Bonnet scene 15), the hair-dressing of the woman in a rowboat (Bonnet scene 12), the manner of representing netting fish (Bonnet scene 10), and the form of an Egyptian sailboat (Bonnet scene 1, 2). The depiction of human figures may also indicate a general knowledge of the Egyptian canon of representation. Most human figures in the Kerma wall paintings incorporate a mixture of perspectives to depict the complex form of the body, but they do not strictly adhere to Egyptian artistic rules. The use of a red-ochre paint for most of the male figures in the scenes may also demonstrate a knowledge of Egyptian canonical gender representations. At the same time, it should be noted that the two identifiable female figures do not have yellow skin. The woman in the boat (Bonnet scene 12) has distinctly brown skin, and the woman in the ladder scene (Bonnet scene 20) also has red-ochre skin. Taken as a whole, the limited number of potentially Egyptianizing elements argues against a significant Egyptian influence on the wall paintings in royal Kerma burial complexes.

Bonnet and Valbelle have concluded that the selection of daily life scenes in the Kerma funerary chapels reflects the tradition of the 'Chamber of the World' from Old Kingdom Solar

¹⁴⁰ Dendera is an example of an Egyptian temple with stairways for specific, additional cultic processions, primarily the New Year procession of Hathor in which her cult statue was exposed to the first sunrise of the year (Wilkinson 2000: 150).

Temples, passed down through Middle Kingdom and exposed through the Theban monuments of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 101-102). This chapter has shown, however, that if any Egyptian influence is to be found the Kerma wall paintings, it can be found in more relevant pre-existing and contemporary traditions of Egyptian private tomb decoration in the area that is documented to have Kerma travelers. Egyptian tombs from the region between Aswan and El-Kab were found to contain comparanda. As discussed above, this is the documented geographical extent of Kerma expeditions into Egypt. The pool of Egyptian tombs available for view at the end of the Second Intermediate Period would include older, existing tombs and contemporary tombs still in the process of being built. The Old Kingdom tomb of Sabni at the Qubbet el-Hawa was shown to share the motif of fishing scenes. The Middle Kingdom tomb of Sirenput I at the Qubbet el-Hawa provides examples of many shared themes, especially bull-fights and fish netting.

The majority of the closest correlations in motifs come from the Second Intermediate Period to early New Kingdom tombs at El-Kab. If these tombs were models for the Kerma wall paintings, it could suggest that the Nubians were trying to replicate contemporary trends in Egyptian funerary art. The tomb of Sobeknakht provides a key example of a possible location of contact, as an inscription in his tomb describes defending his town against Nubians and stone vessels with his name were found in Classic Kerma tumuli (Edwards 2004: 95). His tomb dates to the reign of Sobekhotep III and includes scenes of netting fish, sailboats, hunting ibex, driving cattle, and a small hairdresser attending his wife (Tylor 1896). The tomb of Renni was finished in the reign of Amenhotep I, probably just post-dating the last of the Classic Kerma mortuary complexes. The tomb decoration is certainly within the same local tradition as Sobeknakht's, and shares with the Kerma paintings scenes of sailboats with workers in the rigging and pigs with their snouts to the ground (Tylor 1900). The tomb of Paheri was finished in the reign of Thutmose III at the latest, yet it also has scenes of sailboats with men in the rigging, netting fish, active bulls, and small details like a frame with forked supports or workers with tucked up kilts (Tylor 1895). The tombs of Ahmose called Pennekhbet and Ahmose son of Ibana have little decoration, but contain detailed biographies telling of their battles against Nubians at the close of the Second Intermediate Period (Porter and Moss 1937: 176, 182). The career of Ahmose called Pennekhbet spans the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose III (ibid: 176), showing that even though two of the El-Kab tombs with motifs that also occur at Kerma were finished into the New Kingdom, this period was still within a lifespan of the last Kerma rulers.

The significant difference between all possible Egyptian models and the Kerma funerary chapel wall painting is the lack of specific depictions of Egyptian mortuary rituals. This demonstrates that the Nubians were not trying to participate in similar afterlife practices. Scenes that abound in the El-Kab tombs, such as preparation of the mummy, funeral processions, or protective rituals (Tylor 1895: 11-12, pl. VII, VIII), are completely absent at Kerma. Images of the deceased also do not seem to be present in the Nubian wall paintings, or at least if he was among the people pictured, he did not have as prominent a figure as in Egyptian tombs. There are also no biographical inscriptions in the Kerma mortuary complexes, arguably one of the most important components of an Egyptian tomb. The tombs of Ahmose Pennekhbet and Ahmose son of Ibana are mostly devoted to their biographical inscriptions (Porter and Moss 1960, I.1: 176, 182). The best Egyptian models for the Nubian rulers' funerary decoration also come almost exclusively from private, not royal tombs (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 100). These major

differences demonstrate that although the Nubian rulers may have wanted to incorporate Egyptian motifs in their burials, they were not seeking to replicate Egyptian funerary practices, nor to emulate an Egyptian king's funerary cult.

Most importantly, if these Egyptianizing elements are accepted as significant, all are limited to Egyptian daily life scenes from private tombs. The lack of connections to royal Egyptian art shows that the Kerman rulers were not trying to emulate a Pharaonic type of mortuary cult or ideology. Specific Egyptian cultic imagery is also not present in Funerary Chapel KXI, demonstrating that in this case the Kermans did not take on Egyptian religious practices. Instead, any Egyptian models were reworked to have local relevance. For example, animal and boat motifs are consistent with other Classic Kerma art, showing that they held local significance. Additionally, the orientation of the bull fights, Egyptian sailboat, and Egyptian - Nubian rowboat crews potentially highlight the political events of the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Period. If these scenes were meant to provide a visual reference to Egypt, then they could also have functioned as commentary on the violent nature of Kerman interactions with Egyptians.

Wall paintings at Kerma as indicative of the Kerman world-view

The style and composition of the wall painting scenes from royal Kerma funerary chapels are not consistent with Egyptian artistic traditions. Instead, the underlying arrangement of subjects and space demonstrates that the artists were using painting to communicate a Nubian world-view. In the Kerman wall paintings, there is a less formal separation of space than in Egyptian art. When horizontal compositions are used, figures are placed on informal registers without ground lines. Registers are also used primarily with multiple figures of the same type, such as files of hippos or fleets of boats. The use of files of figures gives a sense of movement, abundance and multiplicity. In series of registers, such as the hippo or rowboat scenes, figures are also aligned vertically into loose stacks. Having both a vertical and horizontal alignment of figures creates a grid-like effect, also emphasizing multiplicity. In scenes with more complex compositions, especially the nilotic fishing scene, elements are arranged to emphasize movement along many axes. This more chaotic arrangement is in direct contra-distinction to the function of similar nilotic scenes in Egyptian funerary art, in which order is imposed upon nature.

Instead of a focus on ensuring order (*ma'at*) and an eternal supply of food offerings, the schema of royal Kerman wall paintings in Funerary Chapel KXI provide small narrative moments within an overall theme of northwards movement. Entering the chapel, a viewer would first encounter the Egyptian sailboat headed towards them, and the action of the nilotic / fishing scene. They would then follow the movement of the ranks of aggressive hippopotami, passing through to the third entrance foyer. At first on the west, animals confront them, both in the fighting bull scene and moving southwards in the upper scene of assorted animals. Slightly further in they begin to follow the sequence of files of animals on the west, starting with cattle. Mirroring the movement of the animals on the west, the female figure in a boat also begins the procession of humans in boats on the eastern wall. The theme of northwards movement continues in KXI room A, again with animals on the west and humans (in boats) on the east. This separation of the animal world on the west and the human on the east must have had special significance, as this arrangement was also used in the later Funerary Chapel KII. At the north-

east corner of KXI room A, the viewer may encounter the depiction of Nubians coming in contact with Egyptians.

Moving into the final room, KXI room B, the paintings are the most damaged. The sequential scenes of bulls fighting, however, are located at the far end of the room. Reaching the back of Room B, the viewer would be nearing the end of the trajectory so the overall theme of northwards movement culminates in scenes of conflict. The final element of decoration encountered is the ladder scene, which emphasizes vertical movement. It is unclear if this scene of vertical movement has a direct connection with the eastern stairwell as part of the funerary rituals undertaken in the royal funerary chapel.

The overarching theme of northwards movement, with interspersed vignettes of north-south conflict could have been intended to be in dialogue with the physical reality of interregional interaction during this period. Although there is no textual biography included in the ruler's funerary chapel, these themes and the possible inclusion of Egyptianizing visual elements could visually express the success of his military expeditions. The role of the Classic Kerma ruler would have been in a state of rapid development as Nubia's power on the international stage increased, and he would have to seek to demonstrate his legitimacy to his community. The manner in which the Kerma king built his ideology had changed by the final generation of the Classic Kerma Period, as evidenced by the next and last royal Funerary Chapel KIII. This chapter will conclude with an overview of the decorative program of the final royal burial complex of the Classic Kerma, with the goal of demonstrating how Egyptian and Egyptianizing elements could work together to speak to the power of the Kerma king, and transitioning to a discussion of the internal social relationships of the rest of the Kerma community.

Interplay of Egyptian and Egyptianizing, royal and private - The decorative program of royal funerary complex KII & KIII

The burial complex of the final king of the Classic Kerma Period is comprised of the Funerary Chapel KII, also known as the Upper Deffufa, and Tumulus KIII. The forms of the chapel and the tumulus of this fourth generation of royal kings are based on those of the previous two generations. The plan of Funerary Chapel KII also has a simple central axis with two rectangular rooms, both with five columns down their central axis (Reisner 1923a: 122 and plan XIII). The decorative program of the complex, however, includes some distinct elements that show a progression in the ideology of kingship and the technology available to express it.

The walls of Funerary Chapel KII were decorated primarily with faience tiles in figural and geometric motifs. The front façade of the temple was faced with composite faience tile lions, each just over a meter in length (Reisner 1923a: 129). Faience tile fragments were found throughout the debris in the interior of the chapel, including faience-covered wooden ceiling beams. The faience production technology was originally developed in Egypt, but the transfer of faience production knowledge to Nubia seems to have occurred before the Classic Kerma Period (Lacovara 1998). By this fourth generation, Kerma craftsmen developed the techniques of producing silica-based glazed ceramics to new levels. The faience tiles used in Funerary Chapel KII demonstrate a well-coordinated faience workshop based at Kerma, and the production of

large glazed quartzite sculptures for use in the royal Tumulus KIII show the creative adaptation of this technology into new forms.

The decorative program of the royal mortuary complex KII & KIII also included painted plaster scenes, as in KXI. Wall paintings with the same themes and placements as those in KXI room A were present in KII room A. Files of giraffes moved northwards on the west walls, and registers of sailboats of uncertain orientation were placed on the east walls. Although the mudbrick walls of Funerary Chapel KII were preserved to a height of eleven meters, much taller than those of KXI, the wall paintings were unfortunately not as well preserved (Kendall 1997: 70). The burial chamber of Tumulus KIII had painted decoration as well, and the only recognizable decoration element preserved was a winged sun disc (Reisner 1923a: 136).

The use of the Egyptian motif of a winged sun disc in the wall painting of the burial chamber of Tumulus KIII is mirrored in two stone elements of Funerary Chapel KII. The imported stela of Intef includes a prominent winged sun disc on the lunette, and this Egyptian sculpture seems to have been used in conjunction with the traditional, undecorated stone stelae at the front of the chapel. The large granite lintel that spanned the entrance doorway of the chapel has a similar, canonical Egyptian winged sun disc in its center. This lintel may have been obtained in Egypt, or made at the site to include the Egyptian motif (1923a: 124, 127-8). The prominent repetition of a particular Egyptian visual reference within the context of the same king's burial complex strongly suggests that it was intentionally used as part of his ideological program.

The implications of the Kerma development of the originally Egyptian technology of faience production will first be discussed, in the context of the decorative program of Funerary Chapel KII. Then the use of the Egyptian motif of the winged sun disc in both Egyptian and Egyptianizing forms will be used to illustrate the connections between the use of material and visual references to Egypt. The example of a winged sun disc in a private burial will transition the discussion to the next two chapters, and the analysis of the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in private contexts at Kerma.

Faience tiles and the evolution of an Egyptian technology at Kerma

The largest concentration of faience tiles at Kerma was found in KII. They include large lion tiles, cornice tiles, and rilled tiles (Figure 4.25). The tiles seem to have been inlaid both into the walls and also into freestanding objects, such as on a large ceramic vessel which was found in the northwest corner of room KIIA, and on wooden beams (Reisner 1923a: 129). Faience was produced in Egypt since Predynastic times, and the knowledge of its manufacturing process spread to Nubia, possibly through contact at the Second Cataract Forts in the Middle Kingdom (Lacovara 1998: 46). These tiled architectural and decorative elements show the use of an Egyptian production technique to produce distinctly Nubian decorative material. The abstract designs of the rilled tiles do not seem to have parallels in Egyptian art, and instead may be related to the use of geometric designs in Kerma art.¹⁴¹ The only clearly Egyptianizing element among the Kerma tile forms is the architectural border elements that resemble torus molding and

¹⁴¹ Bed inlays include decorative patterns of triangles, as do ram horn protectors, leather pot nets, and some painted and incised pottery decorations.

cavetto cornices. Long tiles with a semi-circular or peaked cross-section make up sections of torus molding. Elongated tiles have a central ridge or rill with a darker glaze applied along it, and may have been arranged as a cavetto cornice (Lacovara 1998: fig. 23). These framing elements, probably set along the top of the chapel walls, do not provide a specific religious function in Egypt.

The Kerma faience tiles are particularly unique in the use of sectional animal figures. Fragments of a small faience hippopotamus, and a slightly larger and three dimensional hippopotamus head show that this dangerous animal also played a role in the decorative program of royal Funerary Chapel KII.¹⁴² Sectional tiles were set together in the façade of the chapel to produce two modeled faience lions. These faience tile lions closely resemble copper lion inlays from subsidiary grave K334 in form and style, demonstrating a consistency in Kerman art (Bianchi 1980: 157). The two faience tile lions from the façade of Funerary Chapel KII were likely oriented with the animals proceeding into the entrance, facing each other across the doorway. Reisner found the majority of the tiles from the better preserved lion, which faces right, in the debris on the left side of the façade.¹⁴³ These prominent dangerous animals led into the entrance of the funerary chapel, following the same inward-moving orientation found in the majority of the decoration in the earlier chapel KXI. Small sectional tiles of the head and arm of a Nubian man were also found, although the bands on the arm are equally likely to be armbands or bangles rather than the binding of a prisoner as previously suggested (Figure 4.27).¹⁴⁴

Imported Egyptian vessels may have been reused in the production of decorative tiles from KII. Chemical analysis of the tiles and clearly imported Egyptian faience vessels found at Kerma (Figure 4.28a-c) has demonstrated a similarity in chemical composition that may suggest

¹⁴² Hippos in faience include tiles (KII): Eg.Inv.3568-9; Hollow hippo head (KIII): 13-12-793e,f,j, 13-12-794d, 13-12-801, 14-2-642, (see also Lacovara 1992, fig. 7, although I do not follow his reconstruction). Other modeled hippo fragments include: 13-12-352f, 13-12-793a,c, 13-12-794a, 14-1-1104e, 14-2-618e, 20.1734, 21.11804, Eg.Inv.3373-4. The Kerman faience hippopotami are in contrast to one imported faience hippo figurine 13.4121 (K1001) (Haynes, J. 2004. "Statuette eines Nilpferdes" in *Pharao siegt immer*, S. Petschel (ed.), Bönen: DruckVerlag Kettler, pp. 215, cat. no. 207).

¹⁴³ In the 1923 site publication, Reisner notes that fragments of a right-facing (13-12-1029) and left-facing (13-12-1052) lion were recovered (1923a: 129). The right-facing lion was found "about seven meters southwest of the doorway" (Reisner 1923b: 152). This placement is confirmed in the excavation diary entry for January 1, 1914, which states that the tiles from the right-facing lion were recovered in Strip 2 of the debris directly in front of the KII façade. A sketch included in the excavation diary entry from December 31, 1913 shows that Section/Strip 2 was located approximately in the middle of the left (west) side of the KII façade. Therefore the right-facing lion was oriented with his head towards the main entrance of the funerary chapel. The more fragmentary left-facing lion was found in Section/Strip 5 (Object Register entry for 13-12-1052), approximately in the middle of the right (east) side of the KII façade, mirroring the placement of the other lion and forming a heraldic pair as was also often used in the arrangement of animal figures on ivory bed inlays (see Chapter 6).

¹⁴⁴ For the identification of the Nubian man tile as a prisoner, see cat. no. 137 in Friedman et al. (eds.), *Gifts of the Nile: ancient Egyptian faience*. New York: Thames and Hudson.

the recycling of the imported faience for use in local production (Lacovara 1998: 49¹⁴⁵). This type of recycling of Egyptian imports as raw material demonstrates that trade with Egypt was not only driven by a desire for finished goods. Instead, faience was also possibly desired as an exotic material which could be reworked into the form of Nubian decorative objects. The production technique used in the manufacture of the tiles was ultimately Egyptian, but the final use of the objects created does not show a large degree of Egyptian influence.

In the earlier funerary chapel KXI no similar modeled faience tiles were found, but faience was still used decoratively. Fragments of thin sandstone slabs with large faience inlaid rosettes were found (Figure 4.26). These six-lobed rosettes were made of inlaid, re-used faience vessel fragments¹⁴⁶ (Reisner 1923a: 266). The slabs may have been used to cover the ceiling, with the rosettes mimicking stars, or they may have encased a freestanding object (Reisner 1923a: 167). The reused faience vessel fragments were from different types of vessels commonly known from Egypt, including the thin black line decoration type, the incised blue background type, and plain blue vessels. Several re-shaped fragments from different vessels were pegged and plastered in place to create a single lobe of the rosette (Reisner 1923a: 267). It may be the case that the earlier chapel KXI was designed to include faience inlays as decoration, but the local production of faience was not yet sophisticated enough to produce tiles specifically designed and manufactured for the chapel as in KIII.

Kerman artists in the fourth generation of the Classic Kerma Period also perfected the process of glazing solid quartzite, developing the use of silica-based copper glazes for new materials (Ellis and Newman 2005). Workshops, perhaps based in the area surrounding the religious complex KI, produced the glazed quartzite funerary bed and large animal sculptures that were placed in the royal Tumulus KIII (Reisner 1923b: 139). As with the small glazed crystal beads that had been produced previously in Kerman workshops, this technique produced objects that refracted light and gleam brilliantly through the blue glaze.

The evolution of faience and glazing production technologies for use in royal burial complexes demonstrates the long history of Egyptian - Kerman contact. The Kerman skills in faience production may have exceeded those of the Egyptians by the close of the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁴⁷ The trajectory of faience production at Kerma emphasizes Kohl's critique of ancient core-periphery models. The former "periphery" of Kerma transformed and surpassed the technological achievements of the Egyptian "core." Additionally, this technical development was an integral part of the development of the expression of royal Kerman ideology.

¹⁴⁵ Citing the unpublished, *Archaeological and technical studies of faience and faience making from Kerma, Sudan*, J. Henderson, A. Kazmarzyck, P. Lacovara, P. Vandiver, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

¹⁴⁶ Rosette faience inlays from KXI: 13.4350, Su.1131, 15-2-7, 15-2-17, and 15-2-134.

¹⁴⁷ The early Dynasty 18 Egyptian palace at Deir el-Ballas contains evidence of faience tile decoration that is similar in form and production techniques. Unlike at Kerma, there is also direct evidence of Kermans living at this Egyptian site, and their presence may have been in part to produce these faience tiles. As part of the sporadic evidence of the Kerma Récent, it is unclear if their labor was coerced or mutually beneficial (Minor i.p.).

The use of the Egyptian winged sun disc motif in Classic Kerma burials - bridging royal and private contexts

In the same setting of Funerary Chapel KII, the culmination of trends in the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture can be found. As discussed at the close of Chapter 3, two stone elements at the front of Funerary Chapel KII share the Egyptian motif of the winged sun disc. The stela of Intef, taken as loot from the Heqa-ib complex, has a winged sun disc in the lunette (Figure 3.21a). This Egyptian import was likely emplaced at the front of the royal funerary chapel along with two uninscribed stone stelae. Stone stelae were set at the front of the previous royal funerary chapel KXI, and are also used in C-group burials (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 66). In this case, an Egyptian import seems to have been literally inserted into a Nubian burial tradition. The Egyptian winged sun disc motif was also prominently displayed on the monumental granite lintel above the entrance to Funerary Chapel KII. The enormous size of this lintel complicates the argument that it could have also been obtained from an Egyptian source, but the form of the winged sun disc is indistinguishable from canonical Egyptian examples (the Intef stela, for example). The prominent and repeated use of this Egyptian religious motif in the decorative program of Funerary Chapel KII suggests that it held a special significance to this Kerma king. The meanings held by this Egyptian motif could be multiple, both religious and as a reference to the manner in which he acquired the foreign items.

The importance of this adopted Egyptian motif to the king of the fourth Classic Kerma generation becomes even more clear as a winged sun disc wall painting was used in the central chamber of the accompanying Tumulus KIII. Recent excavations found the paint too poorly preserved to be visible (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 139), so all description of the winged sun disc must be taken from the original excavation records (Reisner 1923a: 136, pl. 6/4). Reisner described the white walls and details in colored paint, but did not mention the colors of the disc. The field photo shows the outline of a circle and the span of large wings, and there may be other decorative elements (feet?) below the sun disc (Figure 4.29a).

These three examples of winged sun discs are restricted to the burial complex of a single ruler. This would support the interpretation that it was the ruler's prerogative to use this Egyptian motif. As the two most prominent examples are in the form of imports, they would have stood as a visual reference to his power to obtain Egyptian goods. In turn, this would speak to Kerma's ascending political position over Egypt. At a time of changing social statuses, these foreign goods reference his route to legitimacy. Smith, citing the model of political value put forth by Shortman and Urban (1992), has noted that this top-down control of Egyptian imports was likely a strategy used by the Kerma ruler (Smith 2003: 82). It should be emphasized, however, that in the case of the winged sun disc motif it is not a typically royal Egyptian symbol that has been appropriated. Rather than adopting a clear marker of pharaonic status, the Kerma ruler chose a motif that may have meshed with local solar religious traditions.

The final example of the winged sun disc motif found at Kerma provides a counterpoint to the model of royal ideology discussed above. Fragments of at least three ivory inlays in the form of winged sun discs were found in the small grave KB13¹⁴⁸ (Figure 4.29b, Reisner 1923a: 106). Flat sections of ivory were notched deeply to denote feathered wings, and a disc shape was

¹⁴⁸ Winged sun disc ivory inlays: MFA 14.1645 / 14-3-1314

incised more lightly in the central area. These ivory inlays would have been set into a wooden funerary bed, on which the deceased was interred. The personalization of Classic Kerma funerary beds and other burial goods includes other Egyptian motifs, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The sun disc inlays are composed of the same formal elements as the more numerous vulture bed inlays. When compared to a vulture from the elite grave K439¹⁴⁹ (Reisner 1923a: 228), the similarities in the long cuts to form the pinion feathers and the angular bend along the top of the wing are evident. The workmanship of the sun disc inlays is slightly less skillful, however. The artist simply removed the vulture's body from the composition, and inserted a disc in its place. Vultures and other birds are more common and found early in the Classic Kerma period, which suggests that the Egyptianizing winged sun disc examples are based on the local artistic tradition.

The removed location of KB13 does not provide a clear a relationship with the deceased ruler. It is possible that this individual had a family or political connection to the ruler that allowed them to use this motif, but did not grant them access to the tumulus. Alternately, it could be argued that this was a case of elite emulation, in which the individual copied the motif in a more accessible medium with a desire to be like the king. The use of an otherwise royal motif could have even been a deliberate overstepping of boundaries to challenge the king's prerogative. As valued objects are restricted in ownership, other individuals may compete to divert them for their own use (Appadurai 1986: 25). Instead of a socially codified path of allowances from ruler to cooperating elite, some examples of Egyptianizing art may have been designed by those outside of the inner circle who desired to demonstrate their individual power. In this single instance, however, the ultimate motivation of the owner of the winged sun disc inlays in KB13 must remain ambiguous. Yet the presence of this motif outside of the ruler's tumulus speaks to a complicated social hierarchy at the site.

The rest of the Kerman community was affected by the same political and social changes that affected, and were instigated by the Kerman king. Chapters 3 demonstrated that interregional conflict between Nubia and Egypt intensified over the course of the Classic Kerma Period. Members of the Kerman community other than the king were also implicated in these actions. Individuals ranging from soldiers, to bureaucrats, to priests and priestesses would have lived and acted within this volatile political context. As the Kerman king gained political power and social capital, his relationship with his subjects would have changed. Chapter 4 has shown the changes in the Kerman kings' ideological programs, moving from a limited use of Egyptianizing design elements in a constrained manner, to the prominent embedding of an Egyptian religious motif within the context of a single royal funerary complex.

The discussion will now turn to questions about the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in private Classic Kerman burials. Did the rest of the Kerman community use similar strategies in negotiating their own ways through social changes? The use of Egyptian imports as part of the Kerman burial kit has the potential to inform about changes in social relations over the course of four generations (Chapter 5), both reinforcing and illustrating internal social hierarchies. In addition, Egyptianizing visual elements, as seen with the sun disc

¹⁴⁹ Vulture ivory inlays from K439: [MFA 20.1354 / 14-1-224](#)

inlays, were also worked into the design of private personal burial items (Chapter 6). When compared with the social hierarchies outlined in Chapter 5, Egyptianizing material culture can be demonstrated to have been used in the negotiation and construction of other social identities, especially among high-status Kerman women.

CHAPTER 5 - EGYPTIAN MATERIAL CULTURE IN PRIVATE CLASSIC KERMA CONTEXTS: NEGOTIATION OF STATUS THROUGH FUNERARY PRACTICES

The use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in private Classic Kerma burials can provide insight into how the rest of the Kerman community related to the king, and how other internal social relationships changed during a time of major political change. The graves of a certain group of elite Kermans were constructed directly into the discs of the royal tumuli, providing a direct physical relationship between these individuals and the mortuary complex of their ruler. Other private burials are not associated with a royal tumulus, and their placement in the chronology of the cemetery is less certain. As the outlying graves and minor tumuli were plundered and not fully recorded by Reisner, it is difficult to determine if they belonged to individuals with a higher status that afforded them their own funerary monument, or if they were disfavored and were not granted a direct connection with the king in death. These minor tumuli and unassociated graves will not be included in the analysis presented here, as further research is necessary to secure their dates of use. However, the private graves set within the confines of the royal tumuli, called subsidiary burials, demonstrate that these individuals had a real or desired relationship with the king. They provide a controlled microcosm of the Kerma community, and these subsidiary burials most likely date to the same generation as the king in the primary burial. Using this spatial grouping by tumulus effectively divides this subset of private graves into four generations of the Classic Kerma period, and allows for an analysis of social change over time. Testing this hypothesis of generational subsidiary burials represented in each royal Classic Kerma tumulus, the following analysis argues that even with some possible overlap in the dates of subsidiary burials in subsequent tumuli, changes over time in the types of burials and their material contents demonstrate trends of increasing social stratification and the increased use of Egyptian imports.

First, this chapter argues that there is a difference in status between possible hierarchical social groups, based on burial type. Social stratification between these groups can also be shown to increase in magnitude over the course of the Classic Kerma Period. Next, an analysis of Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing object types will be undertaken to argue that they are used differentially by each main group of the Kerman community, and those uses change over time. Overall, there is a demonstrable concentration of Egyptian imports in private graves of the highest statuses, and the use of Egyptian imports increases over time. Some types of closely Egyptianizing objects are distributed in a way to suggest that they were more accessible replicas. Finally, a brief discussion of the distribution of Nubian funerary goods and changes in their use over time will demonstrate that the use of Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing object types did not replace traditional Kerman mortuary practices and therefore argues against any acculturation to Egyptian cultural practices on the part of the Kermans. Instead, these trends argue for an active use of Egyptian material culture as part of indigenous strategies of status negotiation.

Private Classic Kerma subsidiary graves are generally rectangular in shape and are patterned on the same funerary practices as found in the royal graves, but on a smaller scale. The primary deceased individual, whose death instigated the construction of the burial, was most often interred on a wooden funerary bed. These beds were either plain and lacked decoration, or in fewer cases, the footboard was inlaid with ivory animal figures. Some graves contained more than one bed, and in these cases it is often impossible to determine which body contained in them

was the primary deceased individual. Death at Kerma was a family affair, as the husband or wife accompanied their spouse to the grave. Other individuals were also sacrificed and lay on the floor of the grave around the primary deceased individuals. These human sacrifices represent the same funerary tradition as the hundreds of individuals who could accompany the Kerman king in death, but on a much smaller scale. The sacrificed individuals may have been other family members or servants, but are all from the same Kerma population and seem to range in age and sex (Judd and Irish 2009). Less elaborate private subsidiary graves could take forms similar to non-bed burials of the preceding Middle Kerma period, with the deceased laid on the ground in a flexed position, often covered by an ox-hide. The increase in complexity of burial arrangement during the Classic Kerma Period to include funerary beds, some with inlaid decoration, and the accompanying increase in wealth and luxury of burial goods argues for a larger trend of social stratification.

CK Beakers	Total graves	Beakers Bkt. I	Beakers Bkt. II	Beakers Bkt. III	Beakers Bkt. IV	Beakers Bkt. V	Beakers Bkt. VI	Beakers Bkt. VII	Beakers Bkt. VIII
KXVI	23	30.4% (7)	0	0	0	0	30.4% (7)	0	69.6% (16)
KX	81	43.2% (35)	56.8% (46)	21.0% (17)	7.4% (6)	13.6% (11)	1.2 (1)	0	2.5% (2)
KIV	51	13.7% (7)	68.6% (35)	37.3% (19)	7.8% (4)	3.9% (2)	0	0	0
KIII	36	36.1% (13)	88.9% (32)	36.1% (13)	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.1 - Distribution of Classic Kerma Beaker types (Reisner 1923b: 328-352) in private subsidiary graves grouped by Tumulus

The practice of private burial in subsidiary graves in Classic Kerma royal tumuli provides a chronological framework within which to analyze changes in the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture during the four generations of the Classic Kerma Period. Each subsequent generation of private burials are contained within the tumulus of a Kerman king, although these are a self-selected group of elites with some real or desired relationship to the deceased ruler. In general, each of these four groups of private burials can be taken as a generational group, although some overlap between the beginning and end of a generation is likely. The grouping of progressive generations within each subsequent tumulus can be confirmed by the distribution of types of Classic Kerma beakers within the private subsidiary graves. In particular, the hallmark tulip-shaped beaker with the distinctive proportions of equal height and rim diameter is Reisner's black-topped redware type II (Bkt. II), which increases in use along the sequence of KXVI, KX, KIV and KIII (Table 5.1). This type of Classic Kerma beaker is not found in Tumulus KXVI (Generation 1), while other earlier types with flat bottoms and more vertical sidewalls are present (Bkt. VI in 30.4% and Bkt. VIII in 69.6% of KXVI private graves). The earlier flat-bottomed beaker types Bkt. VI and V continue in use in KX (Generation 2), while only Bkt. VI is present in only 3.9% of private graves in KIV (Generation 3). Bkt. IV, a beaker type with rounded sides is only used in the middle two generations found in Tumulus KX (Generation 2) and KIV (Generation 3). Reisner's Bkt. I elongated beaker type does not seem to be representative, and instead his Bkt. I beaker sub-types are distributed in a way that also argues for the chronological sequencing of subsidiary graves in KXVI, KX, KIV and KIII (Reisner 1923b: 333). Reisner's beaker sequence, although not ideal, argues for a degree of similarity in the most prevalent ceramic vessel types used by each tumulus-group of

subsidiary burials.¹⁵⁰ Changes in the use of several beaker types between each tumulus-group of subsidiary burials also support the interpretation of these private burials occurring within a single generation. Most likely, these private burials occurred after the death of the king interred in the tumulus, thereby capturing one generation of the Classic Kerma community that corresponds to the lifetime of the subsequent Kerman king.

Having established the chronological sequence of the private subsidiary Classic Kerma burials, an analysis of the percentage of graves of each generation that contain each major object type can demonstrate increases or decreases in the use of that type of object. Trends in the use of certain classes of object types, especially Egyptian imports, can then argue for changes in Classic Kerman society. In particular, the increase in the use of Egyptian imports, as found in the increase in the percentage of burials within a tumulus that contain them, shows that the ability and desire to acquire these foreign objects grew over time. The use of Egyptian imports did not replace traditional uses of Nubian objects in funerary contexts, as the percentage of burials with almost all Nubian object types did not decrease or increase significantly.

Determining what is Egyptian, Egyptianizing, and/or Nubian

Assigning a cultural designation to an object or object type is never straightforward nor unequivocal. The corpus of material culture found in Classic Kerma burials is particularly problematic, as many types of objects could be, and have been, determined to be either Egyptian or Nubian based on different criteria. Only a few object types provide the clearest Egyptian origins, namely those with canonical inscriptions and decoration that can be compared to well-established Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period examples. As discussed in Chapter 3, no text fragments excavated at Kerma (save for one highly debatable example¹⁵¹) were composed by or for Kermans. Hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Kerma corpus are arbitrary texts, likely valued for the exotic nature of the signs themselves than for their content. Therefore, the presence of hieroglyphs on an object mark it as an Egyptian import. Other objects display all of the canonical characteristics of known Egyptian examples. For the purposes of my study, object types that can be considered to be Egyptian imports are¹⁵²: stone vessels, stone kohl pots, scarabs of canonical types, amulets of discernible types, mirrors of canonical types, ivory wands, and senet game sets. Undoubtedly there are significant amounts of Egyptian ceramic vessel imports, but as a full analysis of the pottery evidence from Classic Kerma graves would necessitate a full re-classification of Reisner's pottery types this dissertation will not attempt a

¹⁵⁰ Reisner's ceramic typology of vessels found in subsidiary graves has also been used by Gratien (1978), O'Connor (1984), and Lacovara (1987) to support a similar chronological sequence of the royal Classic Kerma tumuli.

¹⁵¹ There is possibly a corrupted hieratic inscription on a ceramic vessel from the religious complex KI, but the date and origin of the vessel is debatable, see Lacovara, Peter. 1985. "An Incised Vase from Kerma," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Jul., 1985), pp. 211-216.

¹⁵² Object types will be discussed in the same order determined by Reisner in his second volume of Kerma publication, separated by main material types (1923b). Continuing in this generally logical order will hopefully ease comparison of my study with the original presentation of the material.

detailed analysis of the evidence.¹⁵³ Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware vessels will also be discussed, although they originated from Hyksos-controlled Egypt they may have reached Kerma through Upper Egyptian sources. Each of these object types will be discussed in greater detail in regards to why they should be considered to be Egyptian imports, but more importantly as to how their use in Classic Kerma burials implicates larger social trends in the community.

The line between Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture is much debated, especially in the case of Kerma where Nubian artisans were actively designing funerary goods with exotic models in mind. The term ‘Egyptianizing’ itself may not be the most appropriate way of describing the complexity and diversity of the material culture produced at Kerma. The majority of the object types that I will refer to as Egyptianizing display only small, but significant, differences from known Egyptian models. Morris, in response to Higginbotham, has suggested that this type of “almost perfect imitation” should be described as “Egyptian-style,” while “Egyptianizing” should refer to “an adaptation or a reworking of Egyptian motifs or styles in a manner alien to Egypt’s artistic tradition” (Morris 2005: 15). I agree that this is an important distinction, as the Kerma material can be considered to range from close copying of Egyptian object types with only small modifications, to the complete transformation of an Egyptian motif into a new cultural context (which will be discussed in Chapter 6).

I will also consider these closely Egyptianizing or ‘Egyptian-style’ objects in this chapter’s analysis, with the question of their function in relation to ‘authentic’ Egyptian imports in mind. For the purposes of my study, object types that can be considered to be Egyptianizing are: Egyptianizing scarabs with schematic forms or designs,¹⁵⁴ ‘Amulet beads’ of mostly unidentifiable forms, fly amulets, Egyptianizing mirrors with distinctive handle forms, bronze razors, wooden headrests, and sandals. Each of these object types will be discussed in greater detail in regards to why they should be considered to be Egyptianizing (i.e., made in Nubia), but more importantly, as to how their use in Classic Kerma burials compares to ‘authentic’ Egyptian imports.

Kerman artisans created many unique crafts that are undeniably part of their distinct Nubian traditions. The range of materials used (and preserved) demonstrates a deep creativity and expertise, from thin sheets of sparkling mica to hair taken from giraffe tails. Although this corpus of Kerman material culture deserves as much, if not more, attention than the Egyptian and

¹⁵³ Bourriau (2004) provided a general study of the use of Egyptian imported ceramic vessels in the Ancient, Middle and Classical Kerma graves excavated by Bonnet. The presence of Egyptian ceramic vessels increased over the course of the Ancient to Middle Kerma Periods (Bourriau 2004: 12). Lower Egyptian ceramic imports were present at the beginning of the Classic Kerma Period, but only Upper Egyptian ceramic types are represented in the later Classic Kerma graves found by Bonnet (*ibid*). Although there is a wealth of evidence of ceramic vessels present in Classic Kerma burials from Reisner’s excavations, his a more detailed study of the ceramic types present in these burials would present a fuller understanding of the basic trade in resources rather than commodities, but is beyond the scope of this chapter. O’Connor (1984) presented a statistical study of all types of possible Egyptian imported wares separated by sector of the Kerma cemetery. His study analyzed the ceramics in order to determine a chronological datum, rather than looking for changes in their use over time as will be done here.

¹⁵⁴ Schematic scarabs or ones that do not fall into established categories known from Egypt are also considered as a separate group by O’Connor (1984) and Markowitz (1997).

Egyptianizing material culture found in the same burials, its discussion here must be truncated in order to provide a general presentation of Nubian object types as a background for the analysis of Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing object types. Object types can be determined to be Kerman in origin based on their similarities to Middle Kerman examples, other Nubian material culture, or as unique developments in locally available materials. Funerary goods that represent Nubian traditions include: bronze daggers with trapezoidal pommels, other bronze knives, wood and ivory combs, bone implements, horn protectors for rams, ivory jewelry, hats with mica appliqués, gold and silver adornment, palettes and pigments, linen and beaded cloth, rugs of linen and ostrich feather, pot nets, leather skirts with or without beading, giraffe hair jewelry and basketry, ostrich feather fans, a huge range of ceramic types including the ubiquitous Classic Kerma beaker, jewelry in hard stones, glazed stone, ostrich eggshell, shell and faience. Many of these Kerman objects are crafted of materials that are known to be key resources obtained by Egyptians as Nubian tribute in the New Kingdom. Gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers for example were integral in the manufacture of the most luxurious items in the Egyptian court, demonstrating a geographic reversal of the incorporation of exotic goods in elite contexts of use.

Methodology for data collection and analysis

The data analyzed in this chapter was collected by tabulating the number of objects of each major object type within the private subsidiary graves of the four main Classic Kerma royal tumuli. The type of private burial was determined by the form of the most elaborate interment arrangement in that burial—either an inlaid funerary bed, plain funerary bed, or a non-bed burial where the deceased was placed on the floor of the grave. As multiple individuals are interred in a given Classic Kerma grave, precedence was given for the most elaborately equipped individual.¹⁵⁵ Reisner's description of the subsidiary grave was used to establish the presence and type of funerary bed, as wooden bed frames were usually discernible even in poorly preserved states. The presence of an inlaid bed in a grave is particularly certain, as the material of the ivory inlays does not degrade as easily as wood.

The objects found in a given grave were tabulated in a spreadsheet for data analysis. Finds were assigned to the major object types as determined by Reisner, as these broad categories were determined to be representative for this study. Each object type was then classified as an Egyptian import, closely Egyptianizing object, Nubian object, or unknown. As discussed above, these classifications were undertaken in comparison to canonical Egyptian and

¹⁵⁵ In the case of graves that contained both plain and inlaid funerary beds, they were classified as inlaid bed burials for the purposes of this study. Due to the small number of examples, it is difficult to determine if the use of multiple beds or bed-types in one group grave reflects a higher status of those contained therein. The singular example of a triple inlaid bed burial in K439 will be discussed in the analysis of the third generation of Classic Kerma burials in Chapter 6, and in this case the multiplicity of the most elaborate burial type does seem to be linked with the grave of a woman of high status. Five graves have burials on inlaid and plan beds, and four of them fall high above the median wealth total for all graves of the same generation: K1625 had a wealth total of 28, compared to the median wealth total of 9 objects for KXVI subsidiary graves; K1053 had a wealth total of 40, K1062 had 7, K1065 had 28, and K1090 had 26 compared to a median wealth total of 11 objects for KX subsidiary graves. Therefore having multiple bed burials in one grave may demonstrate a congregate of higher-status individuals, but due to the limited number of examples this is difficult to establish with certainty.

traditional Nubian examples and in each sub-section the criteria for assignment will be detailed. The goal of assigning a cultural attribution to the finds from private Classic Kerma graves was not to present a static or essentialized origin or use of a given object type. Instead as will be demonstrated below, the range of forms of related object types argue for a active re-invention of designs and uses in distinction from traditional Egyptian models.

The *wealth total* of each grave was calculated here by finding the sum the number of objects of found in the grave,¹⁵⁶ although small items that would be used as a group¹⁵⁷ were only counted as one object in order to not artificially inflate the results. The wealth total is meant to provide a general estimate of the ability of the deceased to acquire material wealth. Any weighted value of an object cannot be reconstructed with certainty. For example, a gold necklace cannot be said to be ‘worth’ five times as much as a faience necklace. Therefore the non-specificity of the wealth total value makes the direct comparison of the wealth total of a single grave with another single grave problematic. Instead, an investigation of the median wealth totals of different generations or burial types has the potential to illustrate larger social trends in general terms, as will be discussed further below. Additionally, the comparison of the wealth total of a single grave with the median wealth total of graves of that type or generation also has the potential to inform about the relative ability of the deceased to amass material resources.

During the calculation of the wealth totals of the private Classic Kerma graves, it became apparent that differential plundering during historical or modern times made the inclusion of some graves in the data set inappropriate. Based on the textual description of Reisner’s original excavation, and the visual state of the burial found on the grave plan, each grave was assessed for a degree of plundering on a scale of one to four, from intact to heavily disturbed. All private Classic Kerma graves with the highest plundering rating of four were discarded from the data set, leaving 23 out of 34 graves from Tumulus KXVI, 81 out of 101 graves from Tumulus KX, 51 out of 58 graves from Tumulus KIV, and 36 out of 38 graves from Tumulus KIII. Of the remaining graves, the average assessed plundering rating was relatively consistent among all four tumuli, although Tumulus KIII graves (K300 series) were the most intact and therefore may be slightly skewed to higher object counts.¹⁵⁸ In addition, the most likely objects to be taken during plundering were jewelry items, especially those of precious metal. As is always an issue when analyzing archaeological material, the data set presented here must be understood as

¹⁵⁶ The wealth total data was first tabulated in a spreadsheet (iWork Numbers) using the lists of grave contents from Reisner’s publication volume that is arranged by provenance (1923a), and then cross-checked with his volume arranged by object type (1923b). Discrepancies were resolved by consulting the MFA Kerma Object registers.

¹⁵⁷ Small items that were counted as a group, using presence or absence for inclusion in the wealth total are: hard stone beads, glazed stone beads, shell beads, faience beads, ‘amulet beads,’ and bone implements. Beads of different types were strung together as circlets, bracelets, necklaces or girdles and therefore each bead should not be counted as an individual item. Similarly, bone implements were often recovered in sets of 3-5 awls.

¹⁵⁸ Excluding graves of the highest plundering rating of four, the average plundering rating from Tumulus KXVI subsidiary graves is 3 (medium disturbance), from KX subsidiary graves is 2.6, from KIV subsidiary graves is 2.3, and from KIII subsidiary graves is 2.2 (light disturbance).

incomplete, while remaining as the only record that can provide insight on the use of material culture in the mortuary practices of the Classic Kerma community.

The majority of the statistical analysis discussed in this chapter is based on the comparison of the percentage of private burials of a type or generation that contain 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 Classic Kerma community. The tabulation of quantities of object types per private subsidiary grave used to calculate wealth totals was converted to produce a tabulation of presence / absence of each object type per grave. The presence / absence data was then used to calculate the percentage of graves by category that contained each object type. These percentages are presented in Tables 5.1, 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8, and are compiled in Appendices 5.2-5.4. As an object of a given type was distributed through groups of graves of different quantities, a direct comparison of the quantities of a given object type is not statistically meaningful. In other words, the fact that seven out of 20 (35%) of all scarabs in subsidiary graves were found in Tumulus KX burials, while nine out of 20 scarabs (45%) were found in Tumulus KIII burials simply illustrates that more scarabs were found in Tumulus KIII (cf. Drennan 2010: 69). As there are 36 burials in the Tumulus KIII data set, versus 81 graves in the Tumulus KX data set, these percentages are not directly comparable or informative. The more significant statistic that allows trends in use of an object type to be compared between different groups of burials is the percentage of graves that contain (i.e., use) that object type (Appendix 5.4 presents statistical significance calculations). To continue with the example of scarabs, only 8.6% of Tumulus KX private burials contain scarabs, while 25% of Tumulus KIII private burials contain scarabs. A 16.4% increase in graves that contain scarabs after two generations demonstrates that the use of scarabs by Kermans in mortuary contexts almost tripled by the close of the Classic Kerma Period. This method of *comparing the distribution and use* of object types between private burials of different types, and of each generation, has the potential to illustrate larger social trends and changes over time in the Classic Kerma community.

Types of Classic Kerma Private Burials

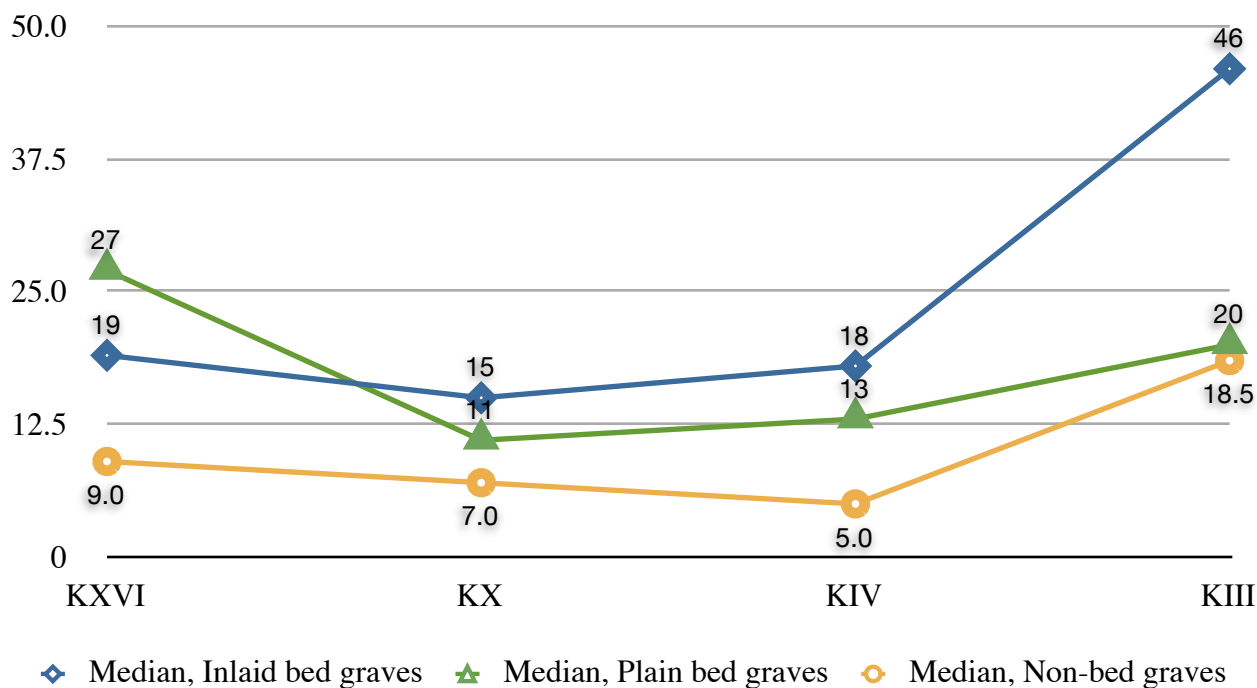
Burial Type	Average (191)	KXVI (23)	KX (81)	KIV (51)	KIII (36)
Funerary Bed (all)	72.8% (139)	65.2% (15)	71.6% (58)	74.5% (38)	77.8% (28)
Plain Beds	61.2% (117)	43.5% (10)	60.4% (49)	64.7% (33)	69.4% (25)
Inlaid Beds	14.1% (27)	26.1% (6)	16.0% (13)	9.8% (5)	8.3% (3)
Non-bed	27.2% (52)	34.8% (8)	28.4% (23)	25.5% (13)	22.2% (8)

Table 5.2 - Percentage of graves in Classic Kerma tumuli of each burial type

The burials of private individuals were constructed directly into the disc of the royal Classic Kerma tumuli, and are referred to as subsidiary graves. Reisner numbered these subsidiary graves based on which tumulus contained them, for example a subsidiary grave from Tumulus KXVI would be given a sequential number starting with K1600 (KX contains graves in

the K1000 series,¹⁵⁹ KIV graves are in the K400 series, and KIII graves are in the K300 series). On average, burial of the primary body on funerary beds was the most common type of private interment (Table 5.2). There was an overall increase in either type of bed burial in each group of subsidiary burials in the tumuli of the Classic Kerma Period, while the rarer inlaid bed burials decreased in use. Based on the labor and materials put into each type of burial, it could be expected that an individual buried on an inlaid bed had the most access to resources based on their status in the community, followed by an individual with a plain bed burial, and then finally an individual without a funerary bed. To test this assumption, an adjusted total number of objects included in a grave can be used as an index of wealth, and allow for a comparison of the ability to amass resources.¹⁶⁰

Median Wealth Total of Burial Type, by Tumulus



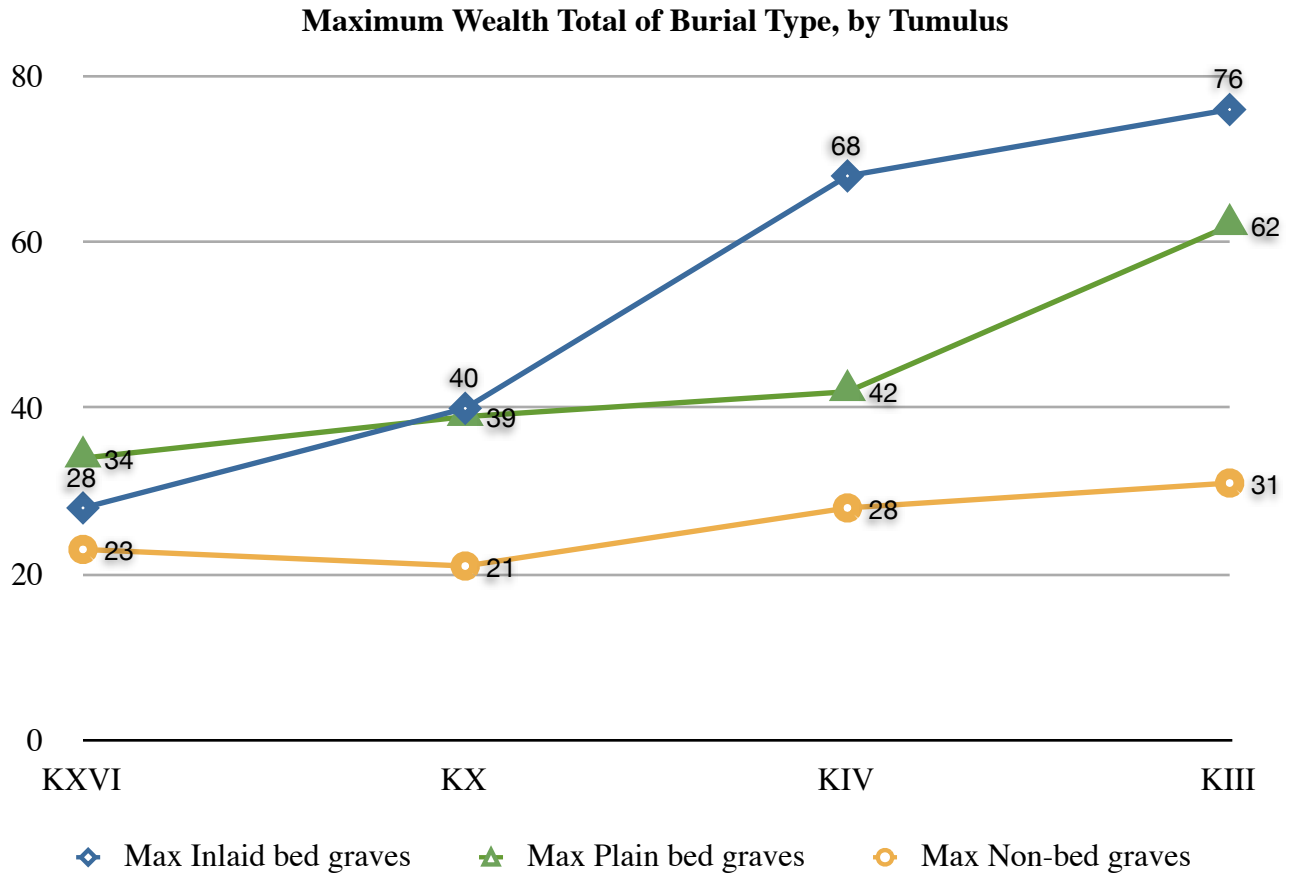
Median Wealth Total	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Median, all types	16	10	11	20
Median, Inlaid bed graves	19	15	18	46
Median, Plain bed graves	27	11	13	20

¹⁵⁹ To avoid confusion when 101 subsidiary burials were discovered in KX, Reisner numbered the last two graves in that tumulus as K1000A and K1000B.

¹⁶⁰ Wealth total is calculated here by the number of objects of most types, with the addition of the presence or absence of small items that would be used as a group – namely beads, amulets, and bone implements. This data was tabulated using Reisner’s publication volume arranged by provenance (1923a), and then cross-checked with his volume arranged by object type (1923b). Discrepancies were resolved by consulting the MFA Kerma Object registers.

Median Wealth Total	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Median, Non-bed graves	9	7	5	18.5

Table 5.3 - Median Wealth Total¹⁶¹ of objects in private Classic Kerma subsidiary burial types.



Wealth Total	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Max (all types)	34	40	68	76
Max Inlaid bed graves	28	40	68	76
Max Plain bed graves	34	39	42	62
Max Non-bed graves	23	21	28	31

Table 5.4 - Maximum wealth totals of objects in private Classic Kerma subsidiary graves, by each burial type.

¹⁶¹ Medians are used to be more resilient to outliers (Drennan 2010: 20), graves designated as ‘completely cleared out’ (plundering level 4) are omitted. If a grave with an inlaid bed also included a plain bed, it was classified as a inlaid bed grave.

The differences between the highest wealth total in inlaid bed graves vs. plain bed graves also increased the most in Generation 3. Generation 2 (KX) has a separation of only 1 object, Generation 3 (KIV) has 26 objects, and Generation 4 (KIII) has 14.

A comparison of wealth dispersal by burial type demonstrates that on the whole, inlaid bed burials had the highest wealth totals, then plain bed burials, and finally non-bed burials (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). Except for the first generation of subsidiary burials in KXVI, the highest median and maximum wealth total was found in graves with inlaid beds. Also after Generation 1 / KXVI, the separation between the median and maximum wealth totals in inlaid and plain bed burials increased, with the largest separation between them in Generation 4. This differential access to material resources follows the pattern of increased access in burials with increasingly complex burial equipment, suggesting that these different burial types represent individuals different hierarchical statuses in the community.

When comparing median wealth totals of each type of burial over the four generations of the Classic Kerma period, a similar pattern of consolidation of wealth into the most elite segment of the Kerman community occurs (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). Once again, Generation 1 (KXVI) stands out with comparably higher wealth totals among all types of burials, suggesting a relatively egalitarian society. An acceleration in difference between generations is also seen, with Generation 4 (KIII) again holding the highest median levels of wealth. Non-bed graves in KIII are notably far higher in median wealth than in the other generations. This suggests that the overall prosperity of the community had increased, while the most elite group within it had become the most restricted in membership and able to amass resources.

As the percentage of the subsidiary burials which had inlaid beds decreased over time, the inlaid bed burials also decreased in the percentage of the total generation's wealth contained within them (Table 5.5). There was not an amassing of wealth in the inlaid bed graves, in fact there was a decrease over each generation in the percentage of the total wealth held in these graves. The average wealth total per family / grave provides a general index of wealth and holds generally steady until the last generation when it increases by almost ten objects, suggesting that there was an influx of material resources available throughout the private Kerman community.

Total Wealth by Tumulus	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
All grave types	408	1065	811	907
Per family/grave	17.7	13.1	15.9	25.2
Inlaid bed graves total	110	246	168	142
Inlaid bed graves % of total	27.0%	23.1%	20.7%	15.7%

Table 5.5 - Comparison of total wealth of entire tumulus, and percentage of it contained in inlaid bed burials.

An analysis of the overall trends in the wealth total of objects in private Classic Kerma graves demonstrates a restriction in membership to an increasingly elite group within the community. Patterns found in the comparison of the median wealth totals by burial type of subsequent generations argue for the move from a relatively egalitarian dispersal of material resources at the beginning of the Classic Kerma Period, to an increasingly differentiated control of material resources by increasingly stratified social factions by the close of the period. The first

generation of burials in KXVI appear to have a relatively egalitarian dispersal of wealth between burial types. Over the course of the next three generations, the percentage of the community buried with the most ornate funerary equipment and the most amount of burial goods decreased, while an index of their status, via their ability to amass burial goods for use in their grave, increased.

This trend towards social stratification is what is typically expected during a transition to a more complex form of statehood, which is supported by the royal Kerman evidence as well. As the Kerman kingdom grew in political presence on an interregional scale, social changes also occurred internal to the community. As the Nubian relationship with Egypt drove this change, Egyptian-marked material culture has the potential to be actively implicated in the building of status and wealth in the Kerman community.

The Classic Kerma Funerary Kit

As demonstrated above, types of burial equipment were closely connected to the deceased individual's status in the community, at least as demonstrated by ability to amass material resources. The forms of the burial equipment used in private Classic Kerman graves demonstrate primarily Nubian funerary practices, although the workmanship of the beds and limited use of coffins may have connections to Egypt. The forms of private Classic Kerman burial equipment will first be discussed in order to evaluate changes in mortuary practice over time. Then the object types present as Classic Kerman burial goods will be discussed in order to determine if Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing items were implicated in the negotiation of status at the site, and if their use changed over time.

After the presentation of burial equipment, the use of burial goods by burial type and generation will be discussed. In order to analyze the use of Egyptian imports in Classic Kerma elite burials, the object assemblage that makes up the Classic Kerma funerary kit must first be evaluated. The presentation variety of objects types found in Classic Kerma burials was presented thoroughly, yet confusingly, in Reisner's second volume of his site publication (1923b). This extensive compendium of objects separated by material and form has been discussed and condensed in other studies, although never in a systematic or detailed manner.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Adams 1977: 203-206, discusses main burial types and relative wealth of objects; Kendall 1997: 53-73, presents changes in types of burials over the KA, KM and KC phases; Gratien (1978) presents chronological implications in comparison to Sai excavations; Bonnet (1990) includes a discussion of some object types (especially funerary beds) and detailed chronological changes over KA, KM, KC; Bonnet has further comprehensive summaries that are well illustrated with examples from exhibitions (1997: 88-116 and 2004: 70-89).

Burial Equipment

Burial Equipment	Average	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Total graves	191	23	81	51	36
Funerary Bed (either type)*	72.8% (139)	65.2% (15)	71.6% (58)	74.5% (38)	77.8% (28)
Plain Beds	61.2% (117)	43.5% (10)	60.4% (49)	64.7% (33)	69.4% (25)
Inlaid Beds	14.1% (27)	26.1% (6)	16.0% (13)	9.8% (5)	8.3% (3)
Hide Covers	25.7% (49)	17.4% (4)	45.7% (37)	3.9% (2)	16.7% (6)
<i>Coffins or boxes</i>	3.1% (6)	0% (0)	7.4% (6)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Rams	38.2% (73)	43.5% (10)	42.0% (34)	39.2% (20)	25% (9)

Key to object type categories in tables used in Chapter 5:

Nubian	<i>Egyptianizing</i>	<i>Egyptian</i>
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*Five graves have both inlaid and plain beds, which is why this number is not equal to the sum of the Plain and Inlaid categories.

Table 5.6 - Percentage of private Classic Kerma burials with main types of burial equipment.

Funerary Beds

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. XXVII, 3)

Wooden Kerma funerary beds had bovine legs, as do almost all pre-New Kingdom Egyptian beds (Dreyfus 2005: 258). An early Dynasty 18 example of a wooden bed with gilded cobra decoration is in fact quite similar in construction to Kerma funerary beds, particularly the form of the footboard braces, the positions of the dowels, and the ribbing on the bulls' feet which can also have gilded coverings (Lacovara 2002). Although a connection to Egyptian furniture construction can be found in earlier and later Egyptian examples, Kerma funerary beds must have been designed and constructed at the site and reflect local artisans skills. The prevalence and numbers of beds in Classic Kerma graves, along with the long history of development of beds at the site, excludes the possibility of their importation. The selection of motifs used in the design of the inlaid funerary beds, and the use of a distinct linear style of representation, also fit

closely into the repertoire of funerary and religious imagery found in all creative media of the Kerma culture (see Chapters 4 and 6).

The function of beds in Egyptian burial contexts diverges from their use as supports for the body in Nubian contexts. Beds and other pieces of furniture are included in Egyptian burials in order to provide all the comforts of home for an eternal afterlife. Kerma beds serve an integral role in funerary practices, with the body of the deceased placed on them rather than in a coffin. The use of funerary beds has a long development at Kerma beginning in the Middle Kerma phase,¹⁶³ and is one of the shared funerary practices found later in the Napatan and Meroitic cultures (Welsby 1998: 81-2).

Each subsidiary burial may contain one or more funerary beds, which may either have a plain wooden footboard, or one with ivory inlays in a variety of motifs. The bodies placed on beds are the primary deceased individuals in the tomb, with sacrificed individuals laid around the perimeter of the grave. The deceased individuals placed on beds also have the highest concentration of personal accessories, suggesting that their status afforded them more wealth and attention in death. Not all subsidiary graves contained a bed burial, as traditional flexed burials placed on the ground and covered with a hide continue to be used in smaller, less wealthy graves. When more than one bed is present in a single subsidiary tomb, it is not always clear who is the individual whose death instigated the construction of the tomb. The graves represent a single burial event, as they were filled in with soil and not accessible later. Instead, the death of one family or group member seems to have led to the sacrifice of other related individuals. Whether this relationship was by family, servitude, or other social connections is difficult to determine. The social implications of the practice of bed burial, especially the selection and use of Nubian and Egyptian motifs for bed inlays, is discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 6.

Hide Covers

Hide covers continue in use in the Classic Kerma period, after a long history of use beginning in the Ancient Kerma period.¹⁶⁴ The differential preservation of organics between the four main Classic Kerma tumuli does not allow for an adequate comparison for changes in the use of hide covers over time. This problem of preservation can be seen in the notably low percentage of hide covers in subsidiary burials of KIV, which may indicate overall less favorable conditions for the preservations of organics in this tumulus. The position of the hide cover over the body and burial goods puts it in direct contact with soil and moisture, to its detriment, while perhaps helping to protect the organic materials beneath it. The continued use of hide covers in Classic Kerma burials demonstrates another indigenous, Nubian funerary practice that promotes tradition rather than changed religious practices.

Coffins or Boxes

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 27, pt. 1)

¹⁶³ Middle Kerma funerary beds see: Bonnet et al 2004; Dunham 1982.

¹⁶⁴ Hide covers in Ancient Kerma through Middle Kerma, see: Bonnet et al 2004; Dunham 1982.

Coffins are only found in Tumulus KX, and then in a very limited amount of four to five examples. Reisner thought that the rectangular pit in the royal burial chamber of KX was created to hold a wooden coffin although no traces of wood was found in it (1923a: 276, fig. 91), and that a funerary bed could have been placed over it (ibid: 376). Alternately, the pit may have been a trench meant to hold the legs of the funerary bed. Other private subsidiary graves, however, do preserve evidence of coffins or boxes in this same tumulus, but evidence for the nature and use of the wooden coffins suggests that they were not used in a typical Egyptian manner. As none of the burials which include a box coffin have the deceased left *in situ*, it is unknown if they were placed in the box coffin or on the bed above it.¹⁶⁵

The decayed remains of a white-painted wooden coffin were found in the rectangular trench in the middle of grave K1059 (Reisner 1923a: 347, fig. 115, 116). Two gold covered bed legs were found in the trench next to the coffin (ibid, MFA 13.4225 / Su.905), suggesting that the coffin was placed directly under an ornate wooden funerary bed. This may have also been the case in K1035, where a rectangular shaped depression included the decayed remains of a funerary bed with gilded feet (MFA 13.3987 / Su.739), which led Reisner to believe a wooden coffin had been used (1923a: 325).

The individuals buried in K1050 used a wooden box or coffin as well as an inlaid bed (Figure 5.1a, bed Su.920, inlays MFA 13.4211, MFA 13.4214a-c). The wooden box was too decayed to determine if it was decorated, and may have been covered by a hide (Reisner 1923a: 340; neg. no. C4386). The wooden bed was displaced and broken up during plundering, and may have been placed over the coffin as seen in graves K1059 and K1035. Interestingly, the motifs used on this funerary bed included the canonical Egyptian representation of bees (see Chapter 6 for further discussion of Egyptian motifs on funerary beds). Similarly, the coffin “inferred from the sunk pit” in K1046 (Reisner 1923a: 338) may have been another box in a bed trench (see tomb card for K1046).

Grave K1000B was completely plundered except for the fragments of a wooden coffin or box with vertical lines of inscription (Figure 5.1b, Reisner 1923a: pl. 26, 4). No description of this grave or find exists outside of Reisner’s publication, so the placement and use of this wooden item cannot be reconstructed. The hieroglyphs visible in the field photo are not well formed, but do not seem to be spurious as part of the name of Osiris is preserved. The intelligible hieroglyphs suggest that this inscribed coffin was made and decorated by an Egyptian, rather than a Nubian craftsman. As this inscribed Egyptian coffin comes from a highly disturbed context, it cannot be shown if this Egyptian coffin was used in a typical Egyptian-type burial, in combination with a funerary bed as demonstrated above, or was displaced from another later context entirely.

The primary burial in K1031 was placed in an ox-hide box (Reisner 1923a: 324), seemingly combining the trend of including a box or coffin with the indigenous practice of using hide covers. Other hide box burials are known from much earlier burials, however, and one in

¹⁶⁵ As Reisner complains: “It is impossible to determine whether the chief body was in coffin or on bed; but it would seem more probable that the chief body was in the coffin, while the principle sacrifice was on the bed; however, the customs at Kerma are strange, and the opposite may have been the case” (1923a: 347).

excellent condition was found by Bonnet in an early Middle Kerma grave (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 19).

The fact that coffins were included in burials in combination with funerary beds in the second generation of Classic Kerma burials fits with other trends observed in the associated royal burial. In this generation, Egyptian imports and Egyptian symbols were present in growing numbers. Egyptian sculpture was interred in the sacrificial corridor in significant amounts for the first time (see Chapter 3). A wooden boat model was included with the royal burial equipment, and is the closest to Egyptian prototypes as the material and form of boat models changes significantly over the next two generations of royal burials (see Chapter 4). The royal funerary chapel KXI also includes a limited amount of Egyptianizing wall paintings in the decorative scheme (see Chapter 4). The trend towards incorporating Egyptian elements, imported or visual, increased in the second generation of Classic Kerma burials, but models were not fully integrated or adapted into Kerman practices.

The use of coffins in royal and private burials was limited to this second generation, and not prevalent. The four private burials with the coffin *in situ* demonstrate how this piece of Egyptian funerary equipment was used in combination with established Kerman bed burial traditions. In at least two of these private burials, the deceased individual also had an especially luxurious funerary bed with gold embellishment. If these decayed box coffins were also imported from Egyptian sources, like the box or coffin in K1000B, this demonstrates a connection between locally available items of status and exotic ones. The Egyptian bee motif inlays from the bed in K1050 provide another, visual reference to Egypt in the context of coffin use. However, the experimentation with coffin use in the second generation of the Classic Kerma period was short-lived and did not continue.

Rams

The rams' horns were often capped with ivory or wood horn protectors, blunting the ends and protecting the handlers (Bonnet 1990: no. 258). These horn protectors could be covered in pitch and ostrich egg-shell triangular decorations (Figure 5.2, Reisner 1923b: 253-4). Unlike the royal cattle sacrifices, which may have fed mourners at a funerary feast (Kendall 1997: 55-6), the sacrificed rams in elite graves were left whole and perhaps were meant for use in the afterlife (Bonnet 1990: no. 201).

Rams are the primary animal found as a sacrifice in private Classic Kerma graves, although animal sacrifices were integral to Kerman burials from the Ancient Kerma period through the Classic Kerma period (Bonnet 2004).¹⁶⁶ Many tumuli of the Middle Kerma period were ringed with bucrania (*ibid*), while the slaughter of cattle for Classic Kerma royal tumuli reached a peak with hundreds of bucrania around tumuli KX, KIV and KIII (Reisner 1923a: 190, 272; Reisner 1915: 72).

Rams had a significant symbolic role in Kerman art, especially in relation to the king. The head of a ram is part of an animal sculpture in blue-glazed quartzite commissioned by the

¹⁶⁶ Although several pet dogs were included in Middle Kerma burials, in some cases laying at the feet of the deceased (Bonnet 1990: fig. 101), none were recorded in Classic Kerma graves (Chaix, Louis. 1999. "The dogs from Kerma (Sudan) 2700 to 1500 BC". *Historia Animalium Ex Ossibus*. 109-132).

king for his burial in tumulus KIII (MFA 20.1180 / 13-12-785; Wildung 1997: cat. 104; Bonnet 1990: no. 259). The silver headdress worn by a woman in K1053 may also depict curved rams' horns (MFA 20.2025 / 13.4196 / Su.1090), as will be discussed in Chapter 6.¹⁶⁷ Some sacrificial lambs had discs of ostrich feathers and other beaded adornment attached to their heads (Bonnet 1990: no. 201; Kendall 1997: 76), perhaps demonstrating solar religious associations. Kendall has suggested that the worship of ram deities at Kerma may have been the origins of the Egyptian conception of Amun as a ram (1997: 76-9), although I would argue for a loose association between the two.¹⁶⁸ Without additional information about the Kerman religious beliefs and practices associated with rams, I suggest focusing on their demonstrable role in religious life instead.

Ram sacrifices were relatively common in Classic Kerma burials, in roughly an average of a third of the graves over the entire period. There is a slow decline in ram sacrifices over the four generations of the Classic Kerma period. This may demonstrate a general trend in the restriction in access to wealth or status markers over time, as is also seen in the general decrease inlaid bed burials.

Burial Goods

The trends towards social stratification and restriction of elite status found through the analysis of burial type, as determined by burial equipment, must also be tested for in the use of Egyptian, Egyptianizing, and Nubian burial goods. Items of personal adornment and use for the dead have the potential to have been chosen not simply as a perceived “wealth,” but also as integral items in the display and negotiation of status in the Kerman community (Pearson 2000: 9). Egyptian objects in particular can be argued to have increased in use as exotic symbolic resources. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the volume and access to Egyptian material culture of all types increased as Kerman military incursions increased in geographic scope and intensity. Access and desire to use these Egyptian imports on the part of private Kermans will be shown to have increased over time, with differential access by burial type / social status.

¹⁶⁷ It should be noted that for the type of sheep common at Kerma, both males and females had forward-curved horns (Bonnet 1990: no. 201). For more information on the biological remains of sheep from Kerma, see Ryder 1984: 477-483, 1987, Chaix 1987: 297-304, Chaix and Gruet 1987: 77-92.

¹⁶⁸ Several scholars have suggested that the prominence of the form of Amun as a ram at Gebel Barkal and in Napatan religion in general may have roots in syncretism with an earlier Nubian ram deity. Kendall discusses the presence of ram and lamb sacrifices with ostrich feather discs, their similarity to prehistoric rock art in the Sahara, and the association of the ram-headed Amun with Gebel Barkal in the early New Kingdom (1997: 76-9). For further information see also (in chronological order)—Török 2009: 251 and 2002: 12, citing Maspero. 1899. *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique* III, pg. 169; Bonnet 2004: 156-160; Kendall, T. 2002. “Napatan Temples: A Case Study from Gebel Barkal. The Mythological Origin of Egyptian Kingship and the Formation of the Napatan State.” Presented at the Tenth International Conference of Nubian Studies, University of Rome, Italy, Sept. 9-14, 2002; P. Pamminger. 1992. “Amun und Luxor - Der Widder und das Kultbild,” *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5, 93-140; Behrens 1986: Widder. LÄ VI (1986) 1243-1245; Wildung, D. 1984. *Seostris und Amenemhat. Ägypten im Mittlern Reich*, München, pg. 182; and Wildung, D. 1973. “Der widdergestaltige Amun Ikonographie eines Gotterbildes,” paper presented at the International Congress of Orientalists, Paris 1973.

There was a diverse variety of burial goods available to an elite member of the Classic Kerma community. Items of personal adornment were worn on the body, while other items were either placed at the foot of the funerary bed or arranged around the grave. As groups of people were interred in the same grave, this makes the interpretation of ownership more complex. Jewelry placed on an individual can be attributed to them directly, while the ceramic vessels grouped in the grave cannot. I will approach each grave as an entity, and discuss individual ownership only when possible. Status is usually ascribed archaeologically by the amount and value of the objects associated with the deceased, while understanding that a burial is a construction made by the deceased's family and community. The corpus of burial goods included with a person is not a direct reflection of their identity in life, instead it is carefully chosen and designed to promote what is desired (cf. Pearson 2000). In the case of Classic Kerma burials, the socially embedded nature of the burial is extended in a most literal way, using the deceased's power in the community to direct the sacrifice of other individuals. These sacrifices may have been family members or servants, and although they are not given the same care of placement and amount of personal adornments, some sacrificed individuals carry their own notable burial goods.

My discussion of Classic Kerma burial goods will follow the order used by Reisner in his second 1923 publication, *Harvard African* vol. VI, Kerma parts IV-V. Reisner categorized his finds by material, with sub-sections for each object type. I confirmed his tabulations of each object and its findspot with his lists of finds by grave in his corresponding publication *Harvard African* vol. V, Kerma parts I-III. Discrepancies between the two publications were resolved by consulting the Kerma Object Registers in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston archive.

Egyptian or closely Egyptianizing object types

Many of the object types found in private Classic Kerma burials have the potential to be Egyptian imports, or alternately, to be made in Nubia but closely patterned on Egyptian models. The assignment of a given object into either of the categories can only be undertaken after a comparison with known Egyptian examples. These Egyptian or closely Egyptianizing object types will be discussed together in order to distinguish their possible origins of manufacture and to see if their patterns of use change over time or by burial type. In general, distinguishable Egyptian imports increase in use over the course of the Classic Kerma Period and are concentrated in the most high-status graves (inlaid bed burials). Some object types which are closely modeled on Egyptian material culture are replaced over time by 'authentic' Egyptian imports, while others seem to provide more accessible alternatives to those interred in less high-status burial types (plain and non-bed). Each object type will be discussed, following the order of their presentation in the second volume of the main site publication, arranged by materials (Reisner 1923b).¹⁶⁹ All distribution trends referred to are included in Table 5.7 and Appendices 5.2-5.4.

¹⁶⁹ Although Reisner's presentation of finds by material provides an important resource for comparing the use of object types over time, the publication is extremely difficult to use as objects are given a sequential number within each subtype and are not directly referred to by their field number. The individual field numbers can be obtained by cross-referencing the find in the first volume that is arranged by provenance (Reisner 1923a), as the object lists in the second volume include the number of the tomb in which the object was found.

Table 5.7 - Percentage of graves with the presence of **Egyptian**, closely **Egyptianizing**, and **Hyksos** object types, separated chronologically by tumulus, and separated by burial type.

Object type	Chronological	Gen. 1	Gen. 2	Gen. 3	Gen. 4	Burial type		
	Average	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Total graves	191	23	81	51	36	21	103	44
<i>Stone vessels</i>	8.9% (17)	4.3% (1)	6.2% (5)	3.9% (2)	25% (9)	23.8% (5)	10.7% (11)	0% (0)
<i>Kohl Pots</i>	12.6% (24)	8.7% (2)	4.9% (4)	7.8% (4)	38.9% (14)	14.3% (3)	15.5% (16)	6.8% (3)
<i>Scarabs</i>	11.0% (21)	8.9% (2)	8.6% (7)	5.9% (3)	25% (9)	28.6% (6)	12.6% (13)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptianizing Scarabs</i>	5.2% (10)	17.4% (4)	4.9% (4)	3.9% (2)	0% (0)	9.5% (2)	1% (1)	4.5% (2)
<i>“Amulet beads”</i>	9.4% (18)	4.3% (1)	7.4% (6)	9.8% (5)	16.7% (6)	14.3% (3)	10.7% (11)	6.8% (3)
<i>Egyptianizing or Nubian amulets</i>	1.6% (3)	0% (0)	2.5% (2)	0% (0)	2.8% (1)	4.8% (1)	1.9% (2)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptian amulets</i>	2.1% (4)	0% (0)	3.7% (3)	2.0% (1)	0% (0)	9.5% (2)	1.9% (2)	0% (0)
<i>Fly amulets</i>	1.6% (3)	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)	9.5% (2)	1% (1)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptian Mirrors</i>	1.0% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	5.5% (2)	9.5% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptianizing Mirrors</i>	2.6% (5)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	13.9% (5)	0% (0)	4.9% (5)	0% (0)

Object type	Chronological	Gen. 1	Gen. 2	Gen. 3	Gen. 4	Burial type		
	Average	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Total graves	191	23	81	51	36	21	103	44
Bronze razors	11.5% (22)	17.4% (4)	3.7% (3)	2.0% (1)	38.9% (14)	14.3% (3)	13.6% (14)	2.3% (1)
Other bronze implements	3.7% (7)	0% (0)	0% (0)	2.0% (1)	16.7% (6)	0% (0)	5.8% (6)	2.3% (1)
Headrests	14.7% (28)	8.7% (2)	25.9% (21)	7.8% (4)	2.8% (1)	23.8% (5)	16.5% (17)	11.4% (5)
Egyptian wands	0.5% (1)	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1% (1)	0% (0)
Egyptian games	1.0% (2)	4.3% (1)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1% (1)	0% (0)
Linen	10.5% (20)	26.1% (6)	9.9% (8)	3.9% (2)	11.1% (4)	4.8% (1)	8.7% (9)	9.1% (4)
Sandals	12.6% (24)	4.3% (1)	19.7% (16)	11.8% (6)	2.8% (1)	4.8% (1)	17.5% (18)	9.1% (4)
Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware	2.1% (4)	0% (0)	4.9% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	3.9% (4)	0% (0)

Stone vessels, excluding kohl pots

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 22, Stone vessels types I-III, VI-VII)

Stone vessels of all types except kohl-pots are relatively rare burial goods in Classic Kerma graves, except for a marked increase in the fourth generation burials in Tumulus KIII (Figure 5.3a-c, 5.4). This late significant increase in stone vessels may be the result of the intensification of Nubian campaigns in Egypt and the taking of war booty. The majority of the examples in elite graves are Reisner's type I, pear-shaped jars with a flaring mouth (1923b: 57-8). The remainder are his type II, spherical and similar jars (ibid: 59-61). Reisner type I corresponds to Aston type 145, ovoid to bag-shaped, pointed jar with flaring, ribbed rim (Aston

1994: 142). This type of stone vessel is primarily known from Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12 contexts,¹⁷⁰ although an inscribed example from K334 for Sobeknakht of El-Kab (Figure 5.3a,c, 14-2-678, Reisner 1923a: 171, 1923b: 524) secures this type through Dynasty 13 / 16 (Davies 2010). Reisner type II corresponds to Aston type 142, round-bottomed globular jar with neck, known from Dynasty 12 contexts¹⁷¹ (Aston 1994: 141).

One globular jar from K325 (MFA 20.1150a,b) is inscribed for the otherwise unattested and undated Horheriat of El-Kab (Figure 5.3a,b) (Bonnet 1990: no. 267). Another inscribed vessel fragment was found in the tumulus KIII debris and may be from a disturbed private burial (13-12-786, Reisner 1923b: 59). The inscription on this fragment does not preserve a toponym, but names the official Iymer(u) who could be the man of the same name who was the governor of El-Kab and father of Sobeknakht I.¹⁷² As discussed in Chapter 3, these stone vessels provide key evidence of a successful Kerman raid on the Upper Egyptian site of El-Kab. Their inclusion in private graves would be of particular significance, commemorating a military victory.

The banded alabaster of these stone vessels could have been a desired commodity in of itself, but the unguents or other oil-based contents were also highly valued in ancient times. A bag-shaped vessel from K1038 (Figure 5.4) (MFA 13.4266) still holds the thick remnants of its oily contents. The three inscribed stone vessels interred in private graves could have the added value of presenting exotic, foreign-marked hieroglyphs. These are one of the only Egyptian hieroglyphic-marked objects available to private Kermans, aside from the even rarer possession of inscribed ivory wands or bronze razors. The inscribed stone vessels originate from the looting campaigns which also procured the hard-stone sculpture interred in Kerman royal contexts (as discussed above in Chapter 3), and in fact all originate from the sack of El-Kab, one of the northernmost sites known to be reached during hostilities.

The two graves that included the inscribed vessels from El-Kab are also of a remarkably high-status. The burial in K325 was on a plain funerary bed, but had a wealth total of 36 objects and included a pair of ivory fly amulets that may be related to military position (see discussion below) (Reisner 1923a: 163-4). The primary deceased individual in K334 had a unique and lavish funerary bed with bronze lion inlays,¹⁷³ and this burial had the highest preserved wealth total of all KIII private burials, with a wealth total of 76 objects still in place (Reisner 1923a: 170-2). Although there is a significant increase in access to stone vessels (of types other than kohl pots) in the fourth generation of burials in tumulus KIII, the most distinctive examples thereof are found to be associated with only the highest status private burials.

¹⁷⁰ Senusret II at Harageh, Senusret III at Dashur, Dynasty 12 contexts at Rifeh, Hu, and Harageh, and Middle Kingdom contexts at Abydos and Esna, for references see Aston 1994, type 145.

¹⁷¹ Dynasty 12 contexts at Hu, Abydos, and Buhen, for references see Aston 1994, type 142.

¹⁷² For the full family tree of the governors of El-Kab, see Davies 2010: 235, fig. 10.

¹⁷³ Bronze lion inlays: 14-2-661 to 14-2-674, 14-2-702 to 14-2-705, now partially in Sudan National Museum, Khartoum 1127-334-3&11 (Bonnet 1990: no. 272). See also: Bonnet, Charles, and Siddig Amhed Hamad. 1980. *Quelques remarques sur des lions en bronze décorant un lit retrouvé à Kerma*. Genava, v. 28, Genève: Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève. See Chapter 6 for further discussion of this bed in relation to other funerary beds.

Stone Kohl Pots

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 22, Stone vessels type V)

Kohl pots are the most prevalent type of stone vessel found in Classic Kerma burials in general (Figure 5.5), while there was a significant increase in their presence in the fourth generation of graves in KIII. Kohl containers were also among the most accessible Egyptian imports, with no significant difference in the percentage of inlaid and plain bed burials that contained them. These small stone vessels of a distinctive shape were most often made of alabaster, and also often contained residue of the cosmetics inside. The presence of kohl pots is evidence for the trade of kohl eye-makeup into Nubia, may demonstrate that the Nubians wanted to follow Egyptian fashion in cosmetics (Kendall 1997: 103). Cosmetics, such as kohl, were linked to the process of rebirth in Egyptian funerary beliefs, as they increased the beauty and sexual reproductive allure of the deceased individual (Manniche 1999: 128). On a more practical level, Kermans could also have been interested in the superior medical properties of Egyptian eye paint. Black kohl was produced through a complex process with a base of galena, and Egyptian medical prescriptions for eye ailments include black eye paint mixed with other substances, such as honey (ibid: 136-7). As with the oil-based contents of other stone vessels, the processed commodities contained within may have held the most value to the Nubians.

Some of these small Egyptian stone vessels have replacement lids of other materials, or show other signs of repair. The replacement lids were most often made from locally available stones, such as sandstone (Reisner 1923b: 63-5). The only faience kohl pot had a broken base repaired in antiquity with a potsherd (K1618, 14-2-144; ibid: 64). These replacements emphasize the value and rarity of these Egyptian imports.

Scarabs and Sealings

Scarabs and scaraboids are represented as burial goods and as actively used economic tools in Classic Kerma contexts. Examples of predominantly Second Intermediate Period (Dynasty 15) types were found in private Kerma graves and were often held in the hand of the deceased. Seal impressions were found in great quantities in areas of workshops in the religious complex KI, and also funerary contexts, such as sealing the royal burial chamber in tumulus KX. Several scholars have studied the use of scarabs at Kerma; Smith (1996) in particular has shown that they demonstrate the adoption of an Egyptian-based economic transaction system. The distribution of these heavily used Egyptian imports among the Kerma community in death can provide an insight into those individuals' roles in life.

Egyptian Scarabs

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 23, Scarabs types IV-VI)

Small Egyptian imports, such as scarab seals, could have been obtained from a variety of sources, even from tomb-robbing in Egyptian Second Cataract fort cemeteries (Gratien 2004: 77). The sources for the Egyptian scarabs found in Classic Kerma burials were contemporary, unlike the Egyptian statuary sources, as several scarabs found at Kerma name Hyksos rulers (ibid: 78). The general corpus of scarabs found at Kerma (physically and as seal impressions), is largely consistent with that of the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt, Hyksos controlled

Lower Egypt, and in the Levant. These scarabs with scroll borders, nonsensical magical inscriptions,¹⁷⁴ names of Hyksos pharaohs,¹⁷⁵ names of Egyptian officials,¹⁷⁶ and heraldic animals or figures¹⁷⁷ are generally referred to as ‘Hyksos scarabs,’ although they are found throughout the entire extent of this Second Intermediate Period world-system from Canaan to Kerma (Ben-Tor 2010: 93). The production center may have been located at Tell el-Daba, as the similarities in some decoration elements such as spirals and the inaccuracies in many inscriptions suggests that they are the products of Hyksos craftsmen (ibid: 94). The shared corpus of scarabs in Egypt and the Levant is seen as evidence for strong interregional connections, with linked Canaanite cultures in both areas (Ben-Tor 2010: 92-93). On the whole, the selection of scarabs available to Kermans also mirrors that in Egypt, as seen by the similar scarabs found near the

¹⁷⁴ Spirals combined with *nfr* and/or ankh signs (Seal impressions: Su.354, Su.348, Su.346, Su.473, Su.353, Su.347, Su.360, Su.357, Su.358, Su.359, Su.356, Su.362, Su.361, Su.369; scarabs: 14-2-1137, 14-1-1093). The repeating anra formula (Seal impressions: Su.366 and Su.367; scarabs: 13-12-451, 14-1-445, 14-3-423) is very common in Levantine sites of the Second Intermediate Period (Tufnell 1984: pl. IV-VI), and has Canaanite origins (Ben-Tor 2010: 93-5). Scarabs with scroll borders surrounding *nefer* and *ra* signs, referring to the cult of *ra*, can be found throughout the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period (Seal impressions: Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 108; scarab 14-1-1093 (K1600A)) (Ben-Tor et al 1999: 63; Tufnell 1975: fig. 6 and 9).

¹⁷⁵ Scarabs or impressions with names of Hyksos kings found at Kerma include three highly typical scarab sealings of King Sheshi (Pepi, Su.472, Su.370, Su.373). The name of Amenemhat IV, Kheperw is found on an example with a triple kheper sign down middle, 13-12-93 (Reisner 1923b: 76, no. II-59, pl. 41; Tufnell 1984: pl. LIII, no. 3091-3093). The name of Maaibra Sheshi (Ben-Tor 2010: fig. 6 and 8; Tufnell 1984: pl. LVIII-LIX, no. 3277-3340) is attested in three sealing impressions from KI (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168: Su.472 (no. 56), Su.370 (no. 57), Su.373 (no. 58), Su.385 (no. 61).) He may have been the first king of the Hyksos Dynasty 14 (Allen 2010: 8), or the first of that dynasty (Ryholt 1997: 50), though his placement in the sequence of Second Intermediate period kings is highly controversial (Ben-Tor et al 1999: 58). This by the far the most common of all Hyksos royal scarabs, with over 100 known examples (Ben-Tor 2010: 97; Ryholt 1997: 366-376).

¹⁷⁶ A glazed steatite scarab inscribed for “the royal sealer, the overseer of sealers, *h3r*” (14-3-490, KX Hall B body JH) is of an extremely prolific and wide-spread late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period type. Late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period scarabs for *h3r* the overseer of sealers: Martin 1971: no. 984-1088a; Tufnell 1984: pl. XLIX, no. 2908 (Fara) and no. 2915 (Ajjul); Petrie 1917: pl. XVII, BT (J.29), BU (T.33), BV (J.33), BW (T.9), BY (U.30), BZ (T.9), CA (J.29), CB (T.41), CC (T.37), CD (U.30), CE (T.33) Newberry 1975: pl. XXII no. 20, 21, 22.

¹⁷⁷ Standing human figures, often with cobras and on *neb* signs, some perhaps with Horus heads: (Seal impressions: Su.404, Su.408, Su.409, Su.410, Su.411, Su.412, Su.413, Su.414, Su.415, Su.477, Su.478; scarabs: 13-12-629, 14-3-641, 14-3-454, 14-3-586, 13-12-855) (Tufnell 1984: pl. XLII-XLIV). Two men facing with a lotus in between (Seal impression: Su.402; scarabs: 13-12-869) (Tufnell 1984: pl. XLV, particularly no. 2786 from Ajjul). Men with crocodiles (Scarabs: 14-3-641, 14-3-454, 14-3-586) and double crocodiles (Scarab 14-3-300), (Tufnell 1984: pl. XXXIX). Man spearing hippopotamus (Söderbergh 1953: 23, fig. 11b), late MK to SIP rare type. Hathoric figures or systra, like Su.356 and Su.364 are attested in Middle to Late Bronze Age contexts at Tell el-Ajjul (Tufnell 1984: 138, pl. XLVIII). Another sealing of a heraldic figure with a uraeus, standing on a *nb* basket was recently recovered by Bonnet (Gratien 2004: 78, pl. 3).

Faiyum at Mayana¹⁷⁸ and Qau in Middle Egypt¹⁷⁹ (Bourriau 2010: 17, fig. 4). Scarabs found in Second Intermediate Period contexts in Egypt and Nubia (Kerma), have parallels from the later half of Levantine sequences (Group III at Jericho and later) (Ben-Tor 2010: 95-6; cf. Tufnell 1984). This suggests that the scarabs used at Kerma represent the movement of easily portable foreign goods from Egyptian sources, rather than direct trade with the Hyksos.¹⁸⁰

The prevalence of geometric designs and animals in combination with only a few hieroglyphs enabled illiterate officials to use these as recognizable personal seals (Gratien 2004: 75). At Kerma, this certainly holds true in the selection of seals found in use. Almost all of them feature highly recognizable spiral patterns or a single animal or human feature. These scarabs with one emphasized or heraldic figure are among some of the most used impressions in preserved sealings (ibid: 78).

Lions are the most prominent motif on sealings from the religious complex KI. Over 300 sealings of all types and colors were made with one seal, depicting a striding lion on a *nb* basket with a uraeus and *nfr* sign (Su.377, Reisner 1923a: 39, 1923b: 75, 81, fig. 168, no. 62¹⁸¹; Object Register). Another lion on a *nb* basket accounts for an additional 44 seal impressions (Su.396, Reisner 1923a: 39, 1923b: 75, 81, fig. 168, no. 78; Object Register). A third version of a striding lion was used five times (Su.399, Reisner 1923a: 39, 1923b: 76, 81, fig. 169, no. 80; Object

¹⁷⁸ Cemetery K(1200) at Mayana: the standing human figure on Mayana scarab 9 is almost identical to MFA 20.1762 / 13-12-629 (K308), the scrolled cross on Mayana 64 is closely related to the Kerma seal impression shown in fig. 168, no. 104, the repeating faux hieroglyphic signs on Mayana 12 and 15 are also found on Kerma scarabs 14-1-445, 14-3-423 (Bourriau 2010: fig. 4; Reisner 1923b: fig. 168 and pl. 40-41). Mayana cemetery 2100 also holds evidence of exchange with Kerma, as a painted 'hut'-like lidded pottery box was found with the burial of a young girl (Bourriau 2010: 17).

¹⁷⁹ Qau scarab 67 with double human figures holding a staff (Bourriau 2010: 17, fig. 4) is comparable to Kerma seal impression Su.402 and scarab 13-12-869.

¹⁸⁰ Ryholt (1997) has used the distribution of these Second Intermediate Period scarabs to suggest massive trade diasporas throughout the Levant and Nubia during this period. As will also be demonstrated here, assuming that the individual who was buried with a 'Hyksos scarab' was ethnically Canaanite is completely illogical, see Ben-Tor et al 1999.

¹⁸¹ Note that the impressions in Reisner's fig. 168 became misnumbered by +1 during publication preparation. The misnumbering was first noticed by Smith (1996: note 10), finding that the seals from KXI were incorrectly numbered by +1. Unfortunately, the Object Register sketches for part of the KI seal impressions are missing from the MFA archive, so the fact that the misnumbering extends to these seals as well was not apparent. However, in photo A2555, the seal impression labelled Su.377 is mistakenly labelled no. 63 in the cut-and-paste preparation for fig. 168, as referred to by Reisner in his discussion of KI seal impressions (1923b: 81). This is also confirmed by field photo B1789 which lists Su.377 as the first seal pictured, and is clearly the seal marked as fig. 168, no. 62 in the publication. In the final publication, the seal impression formerly labelled Su.378 is no. 63 instead, and this is the line drawing referred to in Smith 1996 and Bourriau 2004, but this is incorrect. This is also the case with Su.396 actually shown in fig. 168, no. 78; Su.402 actually shown in fig. 169, no. 83; Su.389 actually shown in fig. 168, no. 70; and Su.399 actually shown in fig. 169, no. 80. Confirming these seal impressions with the MFA object register, other multiple sealings that were not included by Reisner in his discussion can be found.

Register). Other forms of lions, either striding or sitting, are on 16 additional sealings that were only used once or a few times for impressions.¹⁸² The total number of preserved seals from the religious complex KI with lion seals of any type is 365. Although lions are part of the known Second Intermediate Period repertoire,¹⁸³ this particular animal motif takes on a special prevalence at Kerma, probably because of the association of the lion with the Kerman king (cf. KII façade). The use of several versions of seals with the same animal motif in one context demonstrates that Kermans were choosing specific motifs for specific religio-economic uses.

Only six other sealings were used multiple times, and none are particularly common. Sixteen impressions of a seal with two human or falcon figures facing each other¹⁸⁴ is the next most common seal (Su.402, Reisner 1923a: 39, IV-V: 76, 81, fig. 169, no. 83). There are ten impressions of a seal with a crowned uraeus with *nfr* signs¹⁸⁵ (Su.389, Reisner 1923a: 39, IV-V: 75, 81, fig. 168, no. 70). A seal with two *nfr* signs and four connected spirals was used seven times (Su.346, Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 41; Object Register). A human figure kneeling in praise before a Horus falcon was used four times (Su.417, Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 99; Object Register). This lack of variety suggests that transactions or accounting were controlled by a certain individual or group, and emphasizes the importance of scarabs in the role of an individual in the Kerman community. These actively used items were then interred with their deceased owners.

Egyptianizing scarabs

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 23, Scarabs types I-III)

Other seals may have been created at Kerma, as they do not have any recognizable hieroglyphs or Egyptian symbols, and rather are decorated with cross-hatching or simple geometric designs. Other studies have assigned part of the Kerma scarab corpus to this Egyptianizing category (Gratien 2004: 78; Markowitz 1997). On the whole, I agree with their categorization, although I assign a few examples as foreign rather than Nubian or vice versa.

¹⁸² Sealings with lions on them used once, unless otherwise noted: 2 sealings of Su.378 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 63), Su.391 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 73), Su.392 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 74), Su.393 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 75), 5 impressions of Su.394 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 76; Object Register), Su.395 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 77), Su.397 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 79), Su.401 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 169, no. 82), 2 impressions of Su.410 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 169, no. 91, Object Register), Su.476 (Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 65). Also unknown seals fig. 168, nos. 116, 117, 115 may bring the total to 19.

¹⁸³ Petrie catalogued two lion scarabs of Dynasty 13 and Dynasties 15-16 that are quite similar to the striding lion scarabs from Kerma (1974: 24, nos. 877, 878). Ward confirms that although lions first are used as design elements on scarabs from the First Intermediate Period, they are most prevalent in the Second Millennium BCE (Ward 1978: 53). When compared with Levantine evidence, lions also peak in the Second Intermediate Period equivalent levels (Tufnell 1984: 133, pl. XL). They include lions striding on *nb* baskets and crocodiles (ibid: pl. XL, no. 2624, 2628, 2632).

¹⁸⁴ Not a *kheper* scarab as recorded in Smith 1996 and Bourriau 2004.

¹⁸⁵ Not a hare as recorded in Smith 1996 and Bourriau 2004.

These variations on cross-hatched and geometric patterns are the next most common sealing impression motifs, after lions. A variegated cross-hatch decoration was found on 51 sealings of all container types, though 43 were on wooden boxes (Su.324, Reisner 1923a: 39, 1923b: 75, 81, fig. 168, no. 10; Object Register). Although this is one of a dozen simple cross-hatched designs,¹⁸⁶ each has its own spacing and arrangement to make it recognizably unique. This particular pattern is also extremely close to the ivory scaraboid found in 1600 C3 (14-1-1211, A2041 3/6). Another scaraboid with a simple cross-hatched decoration was used six times (Su.316, Reisner 1923a: 39, 1923b: 75, 81, fig. 168, no. 1). A more complex cross-hatched geometric design was used six times (Su.332, Reisner 1923a: 39, 1923b: 75, 81, fig. 168, no. 18). Four impression of a cross-hatch with central band were found (Su.343, Reisner 1923b: fig. 168, no. 21). The total number of preserved seals from the religious complex KI with geometric designs is 67 simple, 34 more complex, 101 of all types. These geometric seals could have been made at Kerma for use by Kerman officials.¹⁸⁷ In fact, many of the geometric patternings have strong similarities to those used on painted pottery, beaded pot nets, and beaded tunics found at the site. They also mimic the patterns impressed on mud jar sealings put on pottery with incised rim decoration, which can be found on some Kerman and C-group pot types.

The scarabs found in burials with similarly geometric, cross-hatched designs do not have especially detailed or realistic scarab backs. Scaraboids with regularly spaced cross-hatching were primarily made in ivory and had simple rounded backs, also with cross-hatched decoration (14-1-347 (K444), 13-12-222 (K417), (14-1-434 is the exception with a double-scarab back). More complex cross-hatched decorations with variations in spacing also had rounded backs (14-1-1094 (K1600A), 14-2-151 (K1618), 14-1-1211(K1600C)) (see A2041, A2042). One ivory scaraboid was over 5 cm in length, and found near the hands of the deceased individual (14-2-148 , K1618 body B). Ivory, of course, was a locally available luxury material, showing that the idea of and practices associated with Egyptian scarab seals had been translated into Nubian resources. The use of Nubian scaraboids phased out over time, however, as they were replaced by ‘authentic’ Egyptian scarabs. Desire, access, or both increased over time, rather than a transformation of practice to Nubian models.

Scarabs and Scaraboids at work in death

The scarabs and scaraboids which were integral in life were interred with the individual who had used them in their position or office. Gratién suggests that the scarabs interred with individuals in Classic Kerma burials were desired and used as amulets, meant to protect the deceased (2004: 77). Arguing against this primarily magical use, the pattern of scarab

¹⁸⁶ From Reisner 1923b, fig. 168, simple cross-hatched designs used once, unless otherwise noted: 6 sealings of Su.316 (no. 1), Su.317 (no. 2), Su.318 (no. 3), Su.319 (no. 4), Su.320 (no. 5), Su.465 (no. 6), Su.321 (no. 7), Su.322 (no. 8), Su.323 (no. 9), 51 sealings of Su.324 (no. 10), 2 sealings of Su.325 (no. 11). More complex geometric, linear designs: Su.326 (no. 12), Su.327 (no. 13), Su.328 (no. 14), Su.329 (no. 15), Su.330 (no. 16), Su.331 (no. 17), 6 sealings of Su.332 (no. 18), Su.333 (no. 19), 2 sealings of Su.334 (no. 20), 2 sealings of Su.335 (no. 21), Su.336 (no. 22), Su.337 (no. 23), Su.338 (no. 24), 2 sealings of Su.339 (no. 25), Su.470 (no. 26), Su.340 (no. 27), Su.341 (no. 28), Su.342 (no. 29), 4 sealings of Su.343 (no. 30), Su.344 (no. 31), Su.469 (no. 32), Su.467 (no. 33), Su.468 (no. 34).

¹⁸⁷ Similarly, Minoan-made scarabs included general cross-hatched designs, although they tended towards more complex geometric designs (Philips 2004).

distribution and the fact they are most commonly found held in the hand of the deceased suggests that they were associated with the status of the deceased as one who sealed with them, that is, with the individual's activities in the distribution and control of material resources.

The most important conclusion to draw from the corpus of scarabs at Kerma is that they are contemporaneous and comparable to the scarabs circulating in Egyptian, Hyksos, and Levantine contexts during the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁸⁸ Kerma, although at its southernmost reaches, was participating in this wide ranging world-system of interactions. The exact route and mode of transferral of scarabs must remain unclear. Hyksos-made scarabs did not necessarily come directly from exchanges with the Hyksos as they are also endemic in Egyptian territory in this period. The symbolic nature of the exchange and obtainment of scarabs seems to be embedded in the larger practice of exchanging goods. Sealing impressions on a variety of container surfaces are found in the religious complex KI at Kerma. Yet scarabs were also used to seal doors during funerary rituals, as seen with the seal on the main burial chamber of KX and remains in funerary chapel KXI.

Scarab distribution	Egyptian	Nubian	Hand	Garment	Debris
KIII	12	0	1	1	10
KIV	8	4	3	1	9
KX	27 scarabs (17 graves)	5	5	9 scarabs (2 garments)	17 scarabs (14 individuals)
KXVI	1	4	2	0	3
Totals	48	13	11	11 scarabs (4 garments)	38

Table 5.8 Distribution of Egyptian and Nubian scarabs/scaraboids by tumulus, and their placement in the grave.

When scarabs were found *in situ* in Classic Kerma burials, they were most often grasped in or left near the hands of the deceased individual. Sixty-one scarabs, scaraboids or plaque seals were found in relatively secure burial contexts within the four main Classic Kerma tumuli (Reisner 1923b: 81-84). When the scarabs/scaraboids were found *in situ*, they were only either

¹⁸⁸ In particular, the prevalence of scarabs with heraldic beasts (Ward and Dever types 9B, 9D, 9E, 9F) and human and mythical figures (Ward and Dever types 10A-C), fall within the Second Intermediate Period (Ward and Dever 1994: 188, fig. 9:5). The exact dating and chronological significance of Second Intermediate scarabs is much debated, see Ben-Tor, D. 2010. "Sequences and chronology of Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs, based on excavated series from Egypt and the Levant," in Marée 2010, pp. 91-108. Ben-Tor, D. 2002. "Second Intermediate Period Scarabs from Egypt and Palestine: Historical and Chronological Implications," in Bietak 2002, pp. 27-42. Tufnell, O. 1984. *Studies on scarab seals 2: Scarab Seals and their Contribution to History in the Early Second Millennium B.C.*. Warminster, Wilts, England: Aris & Phillips.

close to the hand of the deceased (11 instances¹⁸⁹) or integrated into a beaded garment (11 scarabs in the case of 4 garments¹⁹⁰). At least three of the deceased individuals who held a scarab/scaraboid in their hand also wore a pleated leather skirt and were probably female¹⁹¹ (see Chapter 6 for a further discussion of Kerman women). The use of scarabs/scaraboids in beaded garments was rare, as were the garments themselves, and may have had a decorative and/or amuletic purpose. In the case of the juvenile sacrifice KX-B PB, four were animal-shaped scaraboids, while the fifth had a highly visible crocodile carving on the seal (14-3-300 to 14-3-304; Reisner 1923a: 290, A2241 & A2146). These animal shaped scaraboids were likely chosen in complement to the two carnelian Egyptian amulets (hippopotamus and sphinx) also used on the beaded garment (see Egyptian amulet section below). Foreign, Egyptian animal figurines were employed in this case in a way that meshed with local Nubian animal motif usages, as the deceased also had two faience scorpion breast appliques (MFA 20.1731 / 14-3-292 and Khartoum National Museum 1036).

The concentration of scarabs and scaraboids in the hands of the deceased Kermans emphasizes their use as seals, rather than wearing them for an amuletic value. This emphasizes their usage by the individual in acts which are economic and religious in nature. That individual's role in economic-religious exchanges was likely one of the most important aspects

¹⁸⁹ Scarabs near hands of 11 deceased individuals: K307 body A (male*) held ("on left hand") Egyptian glazed steatite scarab (13-12-577) (Reisner 1923a: 147); KIV Hall B body B, Egyptian steatite scarab "above or in hand" (14-2-917) (Reisner 1923a: 197); KIV Hall B body G, Egyptian glazed steatite scarab "under hands" (14-3-77) (Reisner 1923a: 198); K417 body A (female*) held ("between hand and face") ivory scaraboid (13-12-222) (Reisner 1923a: 210); KX-B body Q (find no. 96), Egyptian glazed steatite plaque seal "under head (probably from hand)" (14-3-251) (Reisner 1923a: 284); KX-B body WC (find no. 160), Egyptian faience scarab near hands (14-3-325) (Reisner 1923a: 293); KX-B body DE (find no. 253), Egyptian blue glazed steatite scarab under hands (14-3-423) (Reisner 1923a: 296); KX-B body XK (find no. 404), Egyptian glazed steatite scarab with gold backing from near hands (14-3-586) (Reisner 1923a: 305); K1053 body D (female*) held ("in or on right hand") gold wrapped Egyptian glazed steatite scarab on string of carnelian and amethyst beads (MFA 13.4111/Su.1904, Su.1095) (Reisner 1923a: 343); K1603 body E, female (?) in skirt held serpentine scaraboid ("on right wrist") (14-2-394) (Reisner 1923a: 404); K1618 body B held ("near hand") very large scaraboid in ivory (14-2-148) and wore woman's leather skirt (14-2-148c) (Reisner 1923a: 411). *Gender determined by Dr. Judd's osteological study of the Kerma human remains (personal communication).

¹⁹⁰ Scarabs integrated into four beaded garments: K321, Egyptian glazed steatite strung on beaded fringed garment (seal is 14-2-453, garment is 14-2-452, 14-2-582) (Reisner 1923a: 160; Tomb card K321#3); KIV Hall B body V, ivory scaraboid in debris (14-2-1102), with beaded garment? (Reisner 1923a: 199); KX Hall B body PB (female) wore beaded garment that included 5 scarabs (14-3-300 to 304) (Reisner 1923a: 290). Four of these have animal backs (2 hedgehogs, a pair of rams, and a frog), while the one with a traditional scarab back features double crocodiles on the other side. More likely desired for animal motifs than the inscriptions. KX-B body QH (find no. 321), four Egyptian steatite scarabs (14-3-497 to 500) from neck and breast along with many beads (necklace or garment?) (Reisner 1923a: 300).

¹⁹¹ The evidence strongly suggests that only Kerman women wore these pleated leather skirts, as confirmed by my comparison of deceased individuals who wore them with the sex determined by Dr. Margaret Judd's osteological studies (personal communication). Of the 200 individuals that were identified by Dr. Judd's study that can be securely identified by Reisner's grave and body assignments, eight females and no males had preserved leather skirts.

of their status in the community. The use of their scarab was linked to their ability and authority in the obtainment and dispersal of goods, within the Kerma religious institutions.

Scarabs were found with several deceased Kerma women, which emphasizes women's integral role in economic-religious activity in the community. The high-ranking woman buried in K1053 held a gold-wrapped Egyptian glazed steatite scarab in her right hand, strung with ornately carved carnelian and amethyst drop beads (Figure 5.7a,b, MFA 13.4111; Reisner 1923a: 343). The insignia of the seal is a striding figure who wears a pointed kilt, holds a staff, and stands on a *nb* sign. As discussed above with lion sealings, insignias of the same general type may have been used for related sealing tasks, whether indicating the identity of the sealer or destination of the goods. The striding heraldic figure seal is well attested at Kerma,¹⁹² and is a known 'Hyksos' scarab type. This type of insignia was used to seal the wooden door of the king's burial chamber in tumulus KX (MFA 15-2-31), although that impression most exactly matches the scarab found in grave K311 (Figure 5.8, 13-12-855; Reisner 1923a: 151, A2041). Less than ten impressions of this type of insignia were found in the context of the religious complex KI sealing deposit (Object register, A2556). This may represent different spheres of economic transaction associated with different areas of religious activity – city-center vs. royal funerary cult – with some overlap between them. Another intriguing detail is that while the kilted figure on the seal was originally meant to be male in its Egyptian context of use, at Kerma it is held by an important woman whose skirt is part of her set of symbolic personal adornment. As with the skirted Taweret (to be discussed in Chapter 6), this detail may have been given new significance at Kerma, and instead referenced a female-specific role or rank. Overall, the common Egyptian import of scarabs came to be used in key ways of enacting status and negotiating roles in the Classic Kerma community.

'Amulet beads'

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 24, types III-VIII)

Some deceased individuals wore beaded jewelry or cloth garments made of large numbers of schematic faience amulets (Figure 5.9a). These 'amulet beads' include some identifiable Egyptian motifs, especially Tawerets, *wadjet* eyes, *djed* pillars, and perhaps fly amulets. The majority are vaguely formed and unidentifiable, or even simply cross-hatched on the surface. These non-specific amuletic forms are found mixed in with the more identifiable types, but are not often found in Egypt, which suggests they were locally made (Bianchi 1980: 156). It is as if Egyptian amulets are familiar in a general sense, but the idea or value of such amulets are abstracted into shaped cylinder beads. 'Amulet beads' are by far more accessible than typical Egyptian amulet forms, although they are most concentrated in higher status burials, there is a lesser difference in percentages of use among burial types. Their use increases over the course of the Classic Kerma period as well. The design and use of 'amulet beads' suggests that they were designed and used as more easily accessible replicas of foreign goods.

¹⁹² Standing human figures, often with cobras and on *nb* signs, some perhaps with Horus heads: Seal impressions: Su.404, Su.408, Su.409, Su.410, Su.411, Su.412, Su.413, Su.414, Su.415, Su.477, Su.478; scarabs: 13-12-629, 14-3-641, 14-3-454, 14-3-586, 13-12-855 (Tufnell 1984: pl. XLII-XLIV).

Egyptian amulets and amulets of unknown origins

Recognizably Egyptian amulets, other than scarabs, are extremely rare in Classic Kerma burials and consistently rare over the four generations represented (Figure 5.9b). Only four private burials contained them, and all are small carnelian examples.¹⁹³ Amulets of unrecognizable forms are equally rare, and may be Nubian types. This rarity of amulets emphasizes the need and desire for replicated ‘amulet beads’.

Fly amulets

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. XXIV, 4 t&u)

Only three individuals in private Classic Kerma subsidiary graves wore fly amulets, although one individual interred in the sacrificial corridor KIV wore two on a gold and glazed quartzite necklace, and another set was contained in a plundered unassociated grave (Reisner 1923b: 131).¹⁹⁴ The Kerma fly amulets came in sets of two, either in ivory with gilded heads (Figure 5.10) or in bronze, although the latest example was single and highly schematized (ibid: 131-2). Another pair of ivory fly amulets was worn by an individual buried at Semna fort (grave S579, MFA 27.878a-b; Dunham and Janssen 1960), and another was present in a grave at Buhen fort (grave J33, E10347a; O’Connor 1993: plate 7).

In Egyptian contexts, fly amulets were given as marks of military valor or honor. Evidence for the use of flies as symbols of military valor seems to start at the beginning of the New Kingdom, with Ahmose Pen-nekhet being awarded six from Thutmose I (Aldred 1971: 19). This is also particularly interesting in light of the large fly amulets of Queen Aahotep I, who may have briefly commanded the Egyptian army (Cairo Museum 52671; Weber 1977: 264-5; Aldred 1971: pl. 53), and a wife of Thutmose III also had a necklace with small flies (Aldred 1971: 19).

The use of fly amulets at Kerma immediately introduces the question of if this motif was also associated with military valor in Nubian contexts. The individual in K1061 who wore two bronze flies also wore an appliquéd hat with resting / preening bustards (Figure 5.11, MFA 13.4281 / Su.980; Reisner 1923a: 349), not necessarily an image associated with fighting prowess, but an indicator of some high status. The sacrificed individual with two gold-headed silver flies wore them on an unusual necklace of gold, carnelian and blue-glazed quartzite beads (MFA 13-12-76; Reisner 1923a: 196), and also carried an especially ornate dagger with golden details on the hilt rivets (MFA 13-12-73).¹⁹⁵ In this case the fly amulets are paired with precious materials and a weapon. Grave K325 was disturbed during plundering so the fly amulets were

¹⁹³ Egyptian amulets in private Classic Kerma burials: carnelian falcon in K1053 (MFA 13.4111 / Su. 1094, Su.1095).

¹⁹⁴ Fly amulets in Classic Kerma contexts: 2 bronze on body E in K1061 (Su.978, Su.979), two silver and gold on body A in K401=sacrificial corridor KIV-B (MFA 13-12-76), two ivory in K325 (MFA 14-2-803), two ivory and gold in unassociated grave KB5 (MFA 14-3-783), and schematic bronze example in K309 (MFA 13-12-642).

¹⁹⁵ Notably similar to the Kerma-style dagger Berlin 2053, which also has golden details on the pommel and is purportedly from a burial in western Thebes (Dreyfus 2005: no. 186).

not *in situ*, but the burial goods included one of the three inscribed stone vessel fragments from El-Kab (MFA 14-2-785) and an Egyptianizing mirror (see below, MFA 14-2-788) (Reisner 1923a: 163). Access to inscribed stone vessels taken during this major raid in Egypt could certainly demonstrate an involvement with the Kerman military. The remaining pair of flies from KB5 come from a thoroughly plundered grave (MFA 14-3-783, Reisner 1923a: 508-9).

The schematic bronze ‘fly’ in K309 was attached to a girdle of hundreds of blue-glazed quartzite ball beads (MFA 20.1806 / 13-12-642, 13-12- 655, 13-12- 677; Reisner 1923a: 149), worn by a sacrifice laid next to the ornate bed with vultures, flying Tawerets, and flying giraffes. This suggests that perhaps a fly was not actually meant to be represented, rather just wings, or the form and associations with it had transformed.

The contexts of use for fly amulets in private Classic Kerma burials primarily suggest an association with ornate items of personal adornment, and high-status. In two cases, military achievement may also be referenced through either a weapon or an item of war booty. It is unclear, however, if that is the primary association of the fly motif in the Kerman community.

Bronze objects

There are many bronze and copper¹⁹⁶ implements found at Kerma, and there is much debate if they are Egyptian imports or if they are locally made and modeled on Egyptian implements. Recycling of metal imports or the import of ingots has been suggested to account for the discovery of a metal workshop with a kiln and crucibles, but without traces of slag (Bonnet 1990: no. 334). The lack of slag implies that bronze and copper objects were being made at Kerma, but that the raw metal was not produced through smelting ore at the site. Alternately, the first steps of metal production could have occurred closer to the source of the ore, and then the processed copper was transported to the capital.

Bronze mirrors

Egyptian mirrors, type II & Egyptianizing (?) mirrors, type I (Reisner 1923b, Ch. 26, 1/1, I-II)

Bronze mirrors are found in only in Tumulus KIII among the private Classic Kerma burials considered in this study, although Egyptian bronze mirror discs were present in Kerman burials as early as the Ancient Kerma period (Bonnet 1990: no. 124, 134).¹⁹⁷ When found *in situ*, the mirrors were placed by the feet on the funerary bed, the same location as ostrich feather fans, sandals, and headrests. Reisner’s Type II mirrors have papyriform handles made of wood (Reisner 1923b: 178-180), as was common in the Middle Kingdom (Lilyquist 1982: 184), and are almost certainly Egyptian imports. Mirrors with imitation braided leather handles are Reisner’s Type I (Reisner 1923b: 178-180), and may have been manufactured at Kerma. Lilyquist has noted that although the Type I mirrors with braided handles superficially resemble

¹⁹⁶ I will use the term bronze for simplicity’s sake, although the exact copper alloy used at Kerma is not known.

¹⁹⁷ Five Middle Kerma graves contained remnants of bronze mirrors with wooden handles (Egyptian, type II): KN35, MFA 15-3-414; KN100, MFA 16-4-1261; KN120, MFA 16-4-1338; KN183, MFA 16-4-1584; and KB70, MFA 15-2-63 (still wrapped in linen).

Egyptian mirrors, elements of decoration stand out from the Egyptian types (1979: 144). Hathor faces are extremely common on Egyptian mirror handles, while the Kerma mirrors have pairs of falcons, which are not often seen in Egyptian examples (ibid: 95; Bonnet 1990: no. 268). The braided metal handles could be meant to imitate the braided leather or fiber handle covers found at Kerma (Figure 5.12; ibid: 95; Reisner 1923b: pl. 66/1 obj. 7-9, pl. 66/2 objs. 1-4, 12-16, and pl. 67/1 obj. 3).

An example of a locally manufactured version of an Egyptian-style mirror has a braided handle and a very schematic Hathor head (Figure 5.13, KIII Hall A, MFA 20.1791 / 14-2-745). Five other Type I examples have braided handles and the mirror disc is flanked by two falcons,¹⁹⁸ and a mirror of this type was found in an early Dynasty 18 grave at Semna (S552, MFA 27.872; Roehrig, Dreyfus and Keller 2005: no. 146; Bonnet 1990: no. 268; Lilyquist 1982: no. 214), perhaps showing that Kerma metal working was superior or more accessible than Egyptian at the beginning of the New Kingdom. All five of the possibly Egyptianizing bronze mirrors were found in burials with plain funerary beds, perhaps indicating that these mid-status elite individuals desired this type of Egyptian import, but were unable to access foreign examples.

Bronze razors

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 26, 1/2)

Bronze razors were used throughout the Classic Kerma period, but increase significantly in Tumulus KIII and were almost equally distributed between both types of bed burials. The hatchet shaped blades have an extended point, and are riveted into a folded handle with a pick end (Figure 5.14a). Their wooden or ivory cases were sometimes preserved. This razor form has some of the same characteristics as well-known Egyptian forms,¹⁹⁹ but the particular combination of elements seem to be unique to Kerma (Bonnet 1990: no. 334). In this case, earlier Egyptian imports (15-3-281c, from K6002, Reisner 1923b: 183) seem to have been replaced by locally made products which were customized to Kerman needs.

Other bronze toilet implements

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 26, 1/3-5)

Other bronze toilet implements are rare in Classic Kerma burials and are concentrated in Tumulus KIII (Figure 5.14b, Reisner 1923b: 184-7). What Reisner refers to as ‘cutting-out knives’ are instead a type of razor known from Egypt (Freed 1982: no. 223). Scissor-shaped implements and tweezers are also known from Egyptian cosmetic sets (ibid: nos. 225-8). These toilet implements cannot be definitively labelled as Egyptian imports or locally made examples

¹⁹⁸ Classic Kerma graves with double-falcon, braided handle: K318, MFA 20.1790 / 14-2-45; K325, MFA 20.1792 / 14-2-788; K326, 14-2-751 (this person liked Egyptian items but had a hard time getting access to authentic/complete ones, the closely Egyptianizing mirror was in a box with an Egyptian stone vessel with replacement faience lid, 14-2-752); K328, 14-2-859; K338, 14-2-875.

¹⁹⁹ For Egyptian razor forms, see Vandier d’Abbadie. 1972. Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens, pp. 163-164, esp. no. 733.

based closely on Egyptian models. Their use does seem to increase at the same time that bronze razors increase in popularity, and they can occur in cosmetic sets with razors and/or mirrors.²⁰⁰

Overall, bronze mirrors and cosmetic items increase in use over time and are concentrated in elite graves. They are objects that could be used in daily life, perhaps demonstrating changes in personal practices of Kerma elite. Of all possible “acculturation” of Kerma to Egyptian social norms, an increase in the use of Egyptian types of cosmetics and personal grooming implements is possibly indicated by the increase in bronze cosmetic items over time.

Organics – Wood, ivory / bone, and leather

Wooden headrests

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 27, pt. 7)

Headrests have an amuletic role in Egypt, magically protecting the head, and are mentioned as such in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead (Fischer 1979: 688-9). Although they are made in both stone and wood for funerary and daily life use in Egypt (ibid), only wooden headrests are present in Classic Kerma elite graves. Middle Kingdom wooden headrests tend to have bottom supports that are only slightly longer than the upper head support, while New Kingdom wooden headrests have somewhat extended bases (ibid: 687-9). Neither of these forms have the exaggeratedly extended bases found with the Kerma headrests (Figure 5.15). The octagonal stem is particularly known in New Kingdom wooden headrests (ibid). Again, an object in use at Kerma is closely modeled on Egyptian forms, but with significant differences in form to demonstrate that it of Nubian manufacture.

The grave of a woman and child from Western Thebes, which dates to the transition of Dynasty 17 to 18 and contains several items with connections to Kerma, includes a wooden headrest with ebony and ivory triangular inlays (Edinburgh A.1909.527.3, Roehrig et al 2005: 15, 22, no. 6). The extended base is similar to the headrest form found at Kerma (ibid), while the southern-sourced inlay materials are used in a pattern strikingly similar to that found on ram horn protectors from Kerma, although no decorated headrests were present at Kerma. Further into Dynasty 18, wooden headrests could be decorated with protective images of Bes and Taweret, as was also popular on bed equipment (Freed 1982: no. 46).

The Kerma wooden headrests seem to be modeled on Egyptian examples, and only diverge slightly in the longer form of the base. Their placement in Kerma graves demonstrates a difference in their use and associations, however. When found *in situ* in private graves,

²⁰⁰ Bronze toilet and cosmetic items were often found as sets in Classic Kerma graves, particularly in tumulus KIII. Graves with bronze toilet sets set at the feet on the bed: K328, falcon mirror (14-2-859) and razor (14-2-858). K338 has falcon mirror (14-2-875), gilded lion knife (14-2-876), three razors (14-2-877 to 14-2-878), and tweezers (14-2-879). K318, mirror (MFA 20.1790 / 14-2-45) and razor case missing razor (MFA 20.1820 / 14-2-35).

wooden headrests were placed at the foot of the bed,²⁰¹ the same location used for sandals, ostrich feather fans, and bronze cosmetic items. Although in Egypt headrests are meant to be used under the head, as one lays on a bed, this practical usage is not translated in these private Kerma graves. Headrests are also by far the most prevalent in use during the second generation of the Classic Kerma period, in Tumulus KX, and decline sharply in use afterwards. In this same tumulus, twenty of the individuals sacrificed in the main corridor were interred with wooden headrests (Reisner 1923b: 239-40). At least five of these sacrifices lay with their heads on or near the headrest, while others set it by their feet.²⁰² This demonstrates a disjunct between the Egyptian association with protection of the head and practice of holding up the head, and the Kerma focus on the headrest as an item outside of this intended use. Although some Kermans used their headrest to rest their head, the majority of the individuals in elite burials seem to privilege them as a symbolic resource instead.

Egyptian magical wands and clappers (wood and ivory)

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 27, pt. 13 and Ch. 28, pt. 5)

An ebony clapper, with a terminal in the form of a Hathor head with an emerging hand, was found with a sacrifice in tumulus KX Hall B (14-3-222, see A2165 above). Wooden ritual clappers are not as common as the ivory forms well known from the New Kingdom,²⁰³ but at least one wooden clapper is known from secure Middle Kingdom contexts.²⁰⁴ This Egyptian ritual object was found by the knees of a sacrificed individual (KX body SA), showing that Egyptian imports were available to this section of the Kerma community. This individual demonstrates that royal sacrifices could in fact be buried with particularly rich adornment, as they also wore four gold armllets on each upper arm and had beaded anklets of carnelian, which is a relatively rare stone at Kerma (Reisner 1923a: 287).

²⁰¹ Headrests placed at the foot of the funerary bed in private Classic Kerma graves: K1041 (Su.915a), K1055 (Su.898), K1084 (14-3-27). Headrests placed on funerary bed near head: K1065 (Su.1011), at waist: K329 (14-2-838)(Reisner 1923b: 238-41).

²⁰² Headrests by the head of sacrifices in corridor KX hall B: bodies C, D, I, JK, PL. At feet: RK, LE (Reisner 1923a: plans XXIII & XXIV).

²⁰³ A Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology example comes from Deir el-Ballas and therefore dates to very early Dynasty 18 (PAHMA 6-8436, Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966: 68; Fazzini 1975: no. 51). A Dynasty 18 or 19 ivory clapper comes from Semna fort (MFA 29.1188, Ziegler 1982: no. 369).

²⁰⁴ Ebony Hathoric clapper from Lahun, Petrie Museum UC7287 (Petrie Museum. *UCL Petrie Collection Online Catalogue - Detailed Object Information*. University College, London, Web. Accessed 13 December 2011. <<http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#18016>>. See also wooden clappers in the Egyptian Museum (CG69208-9; Hickmann, M.H. 1949. *Catalogue Instruments de Musique*, pg. 6, pl. I) and UC Berkeley Hearst Museum (PAHMA 6-19697; Hearst Museum online database: PAHMA. *Details for object (6-19697): Carved hands, clappers*. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology Delphi online database. PAHMA, Web. Accessed 13 December 2011. <<http://pahma.berkeley.edu/delphi/object/93361>>)

Two apotropaic wand fragments with inscriptions that name royal Egyptian women were found in Classic Kerma contexts.²⁰⁵ Numerous examples of similar apotropaic wands with inscriptions to protect royal and non-royal women are known from the Middle Kingdom.²⁰⁶ The inscription on the reverse of one wand fragment from Kerma (MFA 20.1566) names a princess (*s^ct nswt*), and only the first element of her name, the god Ptah, is visible. Reisner assumed that the last hieroglyphs spelled out the name of a princess attested on a scarab, Redi-en-Ptah, but in fact they are covered by the intact handle and rivets (1923b: 524, fig. 344, no. 44). There is another inscribed apotropaic wand from Lisht that names the 12th Dynasty princess Ptah-neferu,²⁰⁷ now in the Cairo Museum,²⁰⁸ that could be the same princess Ptah-(?) named on this wand. The inscriptions highlight the Egyptian use of these magical wands, in which the fantastical figures of minor gods and demons were asked to protect the women named on them (Pinch 1994: 40-42).²⁰⁹

Ivory magic/apotropaic wands are primarily attested from the Middle Kingdom in Egypt and were used to protect women and children from dangerous forces.²¹⁰ One uninscribed example from the tumulus KIII debris is particularly representative of the typical figures included on these wands, although the poor workmanship suggests it came from a provincial workshop (Figure 5.1, Bonnet 1990: no. 254). The ends terminate in a jackal and lion head, and figures of a rearing cobra, Taweret with a knife, Bes, crocodile, and turtle are incised into the surface. This form of Taweret with a knife is a definite inspiration for the unmodified Tawerets used as ivory inlays in the earlier funerary beds of Tumulus KX private graves (K1053 for example, see Chapter 6 for more examples and modifications over time). Other Egyptian demon forms could have provided some inspiration for Kerman bed inlay motifs, particularly the winged griffin or serpopards that could have been translated into winged giraffes, minus their extraneous human heads (whether based on previous Nubian mythology or not, cf. Kendall 1997: 93). Notably prominent Egyptian protective figures are not selected for reproduction or

²⁰⁵ Queen Yatti in KIII room A debris, MFA 20.1779 / 13-12-349; re-used dagger handle in K1096, MFA 20.1566 / 14-3-704.

²⁰⁶ See especially the numerous examples used by Legge 1905-1906 in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* nos. 27-28, an early but unusually well illustrated study.

²⁰⁷ The daughter of Senusret I, Neferuptah A is named on the apotropaic wand found with funerary equipment at Lisht (Dodson and Hilton 2004: 93), although there is another Neferuptah B who is the daughter of Amenemhat III and is attested at Hawara (ibid: 95).

²⁰⁸ Neferuptah's apotropaic wand: CG9438, broken and no baboon, has Taweret with knife, winged serpopard, Bes, and jackal headed demon with lion and jackal terminals (Legge 1905a: 142, pl. VIII; Daressy 1903: pl. XII)

²⁰⁹ See Legge 1905-1906 for examples of inscriptions. Although most ask the 'numerous protectors' to protect (*s3*) the woman, the re-used example MFA 20.1566 / 14-3-704 may bestow health upon her (*snb hr*).

²¹⁰ For magic wands see: Pinch 1994: 40-42; Bourriau and Quirke 1988: 114; Altenmüller 1986, 1965; Steindorff 1946; Legge, F. 1905-6. "The Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire," in *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 27-28.

adaptation in Kerman art, especially the figure of Bes. When created in Egypt, these wands were designed to perform within an Egyptian magical system, the specific deities represented tailored to the protective needs of an Egyptian woman. That culturally embedded pantheon was not fully embraced in their Nubian context of use, figures were selected, or differentially “turnstyled” (Appaduuri 1986: 31) into local uses, based on Kerman beliefs.²¹¹

This incorporation of foreign and Nubian elements can be found on a physical level in the re-use of one wand fragment as the pommel of an otherwise typical Classic Kerma dagger (K1096, MFA 20.1566 / 14-3-704). This dagger was worn at the hip of a sacrificed individual in the private grave K1096 (body C), which also contained other markers of status like an ostrich feather fan and bed inlaid with ostriches and giraffes (Reisner 1923a: 368-370). The obverse of the pommel frames a finely incised seated baboon and worn remnants of other magical figures are visible (Figure 5.17a).²¹² Baboons are not found on any Kerman art, and although they are present in Egypt as pets or representatives of Thoth, they originated further south in the region of Punt.²¹³ The arbitrary text fragment on the reverse is highlighted as a decorative feature, running the length of the pommel (Figure 5.17b). If only the ivory was desired, the lightly incised text could easily have been shaved away. Nubia is known to be the source of hippopotamus ivory for Egypt, so this particular pommel was most likely made from ivory that had originated in Nubia, was exported to Egypt, fashioned into a wand there, then eventually re-imported to Nubia, and re-used by a Nubian artisan. As with the inscribed stone vessels discussed above, the fact that the object was inscribed seems to have increased its value, and made it desirable to the Kermans. The protective symbolism of the wand may have been retained, but this exotic item was repurposed into a significant Kerman item, with its own locally embedded associations.

Ivory Egyptian game sets

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. XXVIII, 7)

Pieces from Egyptian game sets are quite rare at Kerma, and the only game represented is *senet*, although no playing boards are preserved (Figure 5.18). One faience game piece (K1604, MFA 14.1203 / 14-2-25) and one set of casting sticks (K1024, Su.723) were found in private

²¹¹ A similar integration of the Egyptian Taweret goddess into Minoan genius forms has been studied in a Middle Bronze Age context by Judith Weingarten (1991). At Crete, Taweret comes to be associated with lustrations and animal sacrifice, and is also “a composite being, a monster, imported into previously monster-free landscape” (Weingarten 1991: 12-15).

²¹² The incised decoration is worn away where the pommel would be gripped, showing use in life. For baboons on magical wands: Walking baboon on Berlin 14207 (Legge 1905a: fig. 4), seated baboon in British Museum 38192 / 1837.04.13-146 (Legge 1905a: fig. 33; British Museum Collections Search. *British Museum - Search Object Details, amuletic wand*. British Museum, Web. Accessed 13 December 2011. <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=100855&partid=1&searchText=wand+baboon+egypt&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1>.)

²¹³ Moritz, Dominy, Ikram. 2010. “Baboons, Stable Isotopes, and the Location of Punt,” paper presented at the American Research Center in Egypt, 61st annual meeting in Oakland, California, April 23-25, 2010.

graves in the four main Classic Kerma tumuli. A poorly preserved ivory *senet* game set, with conical and cylindrical game pieces and accompanying ivory casting sticks (MFA 14.1432 / 14-2-1416, 14.1443 / 14-2-1478), was found in the K1600C debris and may have belonged in the main burial or to a sacrifice. This damaged game set was of similar workmanship to an ivory *senet* game set found in a Middle Kerma grave (K6002, MFA 15-3-281). Another full *senet* game set (MFA 20.1447 / 14-1-601, and 14-1-602) with a matching ivory casting box decorated with *djed* pillars (MFA 20.1781 / 14-1-603) was present in the Classic Kerma minor tumulus KXXI (Figure 5.19), and a similar casting box with truncated *djed* pillars was found nearby in the Classic Kerma minor tumulus KXX (Figure 5.19b, MFA 20.1782 / 14-1-828). Ivory is one of the preferable materials for *senet* sets and other games in Egypt (Tyldesley 2007: 12-14), although it would also be readily available at Kerma.

Senet was one of the most popular board games in Egypt and was in use for most of Pharaonic history (Kendall 1982: 263-4). The import of an Egyptian game is intriguing because it implies a certain degree of cultural knowledge passed along with the items. The rules of *senet* are not entirely known (ibid), but the enjoyment of the game would necessitate an understanding of the uses and moves of the pieces. The actions of playing the game, casting the sticks and moving the pieces along the board, are a practice with an Egyptian origin re-enacted by the Nubians. The beauty of the casting boxes, with their Egyptian protective symbols, could help add to the value of these small foreign luxury goods. The Egyptian game *senet* was also enjoyed in life, as game pieces were also found in the ancient city area, near the religious quarters and the Grand Hut (Bonnet 1990: no. 63).

Leather sandals

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. 31, 2/5)

The basic nature of footwear, along with its rapid rate of necessary replacement, suggests that the sandals found at Kerma would almost certainly have been made locally. There are some similarities in the construction of Kerman leather sandals and those found in Egypt, and both cultures also included them in funerary contexts. Egyptian sandals were most often made of coiled fiber/basketry, while some of the rarer leather Egyptian examples imitate this basketry pattern in their decoration (Van Driel-Murray 2000: 306). When made of leather, Egyptian sandal bases had tabs that could be pierced or sewn down as loops for attaching the thong (ibid: 314), as is found with the Kerman leather examples (Figure 5.20, Bonnet 1990: no. 247). Kermans wore leather sandals as early as the Ancient Kerma period, both decorated and plain (Bonnet 1990: no. 91-92, 121), which suggests only a far-removed connection to Egyptian models, and that instead these necessities of daily life were fully embedded in Nubian contexts of use. Sandals were sometimes worn by the deceased, especially in earlier periods, while during the Classic Kerma period they were placed at the foot of the funerary bed along with headrests, ostrich feather fans, and bronze cosmetic items.²¹⁴

Egyptian ceramic vessels

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. XXXII)

²¹⁴ In order to preserve the leather sandals, Reisner sometimes collected the entire human foot for accession into the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see MFA 16-4-1099 for example.

The ceramic vessels contained in private Classic Kerma graves have the potential to inform us about the obtainment and use of foreign resources, rather than luxury commodities. Unfortunately, a full analysis of the Egyptian ceramic vessels from the Reisner Classic Kerma excavations would necessitate a complete re-structuring of his ceramic typology, which is outside of the scope of this dissertation. Preliminary studies on Egyptian ceramic vessels found at Kerma have been undertaken by O'Connor (1984) and Bourriau (2004), while Privati (2004) has concentrated on the ceramic evidence from Bonnet's excavations. Many different wares present at Kerma have the potential to have been imported from Egypt,²¹⁵ O'Connor thought that Egyptian ceramic imports in Classic Kerma graves were almost always closed forms, and were therefore used to transport foodstuffs such as grain (O'Connor 1984: 76-7). Bourriau found instead that both open serving ware and closed storage ware types were represented in later Classic Kerma graves (2004: 12). The presence of open serving ware would suggest a closer relationship with Egyptians, perhaps ex-pats living at Second Cataract forts, rather than just long-distance trade of stable foodstuffs.

Two painted white-slipped redware ceramic vessels are intriguing because they bear a resemblance to Second Intermediate Period vessel types (Bourriau 1990, 2004), but one vessel may have been painted with a Kerman audience in mind. On it, a male figure with red skin and a beard, arguably Egyptian, is being torn apart by two yellow lions (Figure 5.21a, MFA 20.1694a-d / 14-2-34). Egyptian pots of the Second Intermediate Period do not generally have painted decoration, leaving the question of who painted this violent and triumphant scene. Similar heraldic lions were used in faience tile form on the façade of the royal funerary chapel KII, belonging to the same final generation as the private burial that contained this painted pot (K318). The painted scene could have been added to the Egyptian pot by Kerman artists, using the same iconography of powerful, dangerous animals.

At the start of the Classic Kerma Period both Lower and Upper Egyptian ceramic types are present, in contrast to only Upper Egyptian ceramic forms found at the close of the Classic Kerma Period (Bourriau 2004: 12). Bourriau's study did not include the evidence from the Reisner excavations, which have the potential to provide further evidence of patterns of exchange during the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods. As will be discussed below, the presence of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware is also restricted to the early Classic Kerma Period and supports Bourriau's findings.

Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (W.J. XII)

(Reisner 1923b, Ch. XXXII, 3 (5))

Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware was known to Reisner from examples found in Egypt, although the main Hyksos sites were not yet excavated (Figure 5.21, 1923b: 386). Only four fragments of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware were included in private burials, while two other fragments were found in the main chambers of KXVI, and two from KXIV chapel A (Reisner 1923b: 384). The

²¹⁵ Wares classified by Reisner at Kerma, and identified as Egyptian by O'Connor (1984) include: Black-polished I-IX, Red-ware excluding XXIII, XIX and XXIV, some types of Red-ware with White Slip and Polished White Slip, Drab ware, Polished White Slip Grey ware, and Kenh ware (see O'Connor 1984: note 40).

presence of seven vessels cannot be argued as evidence of a major trade network, nor a “lively” one (contra Kaplan, Harbottle and Sayre 1982: 141), although a ‘trickle’ through Egyptian sources is likely.

The general type of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware present at Kerma is Piriform 1, which is one of the most geographically dispersed types, although a concentration in Upper Egypt suggests it was manufactured there (Kaplan, Harbottle and Sayre 1982: 129). Kerma is the farthest south findspot for Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (Aston 2008: 165). The similarity in decoration between TeYW and the black incised decorated Nubian ware led Junker to confuse the two and suggest a spurious TeYW type (ibid: 167).

Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware appears in Reisner’s pottery schema as White-filled, incised, black-polished ware (W.J.)-XII, lumped with the many bowl forms made in a similar, but traditionally Nubian technique.²¹⁶ The visual similarity between their familiar, Nubian ceramic tradition must have piqued the interest of Kerman collectors. The concentration of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware among the earlier two generations of the Classic Kerma period also illustrate that there was not a political / military / economic alliance between the Hyksos and Kerman king at the close of the Second Intermediate Period, as alleged by Kamose.

Summary of the use of Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing material culture

This analysis of Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing material culture in private Classic Kerma burials has demonstrated that their use generally increased over time and that they were concentrated in the most elite private graves. The placement and *use* of Egyptian imports and closely Egyptianizing objects highlights the different associations they accrued in Kerman contexts. Headrests were placed at the feet, magical wands were reworked into dagger handles, and their apotropaic motifs were re-interpreted in Kerman forms (see Taweret in Chapter 6). The only Egyptian object types that have Kerman uses consistent with Egyptian ones are cosmetic items (implements, mirrors and kohl containers) and games (although rare). Aside from hygiene and one form of entertainment, Kermans adapted Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing material culture for their own needs and purposes. The different distribution along lines of social status argues for this use to also include strategies of social negotiation. That is, access and control of Egyptian imports were used in schemes of conspicuous consumption. The interplay of obtainment and use is especially observable in the use of Egyptian scarabs by Kermans in their roles in sealing systems for controlling and monitoring religious / economic material resources. The above observations on the use of Egyptian material culture should be compared at least briefly with the use of Nubian object types in order to determine if these foreign-marked objects were used in addition to, or instead of, pre-existing traditional funerary items, in order to see if funerary practices were changed in significant ways.

²¹⁶ The ceramic tradition of dark or black wares with incised or pricked decoration filled with white pigments is one of the longest attested continuities among almost all ancient Nubian cultures, from the Neolithic (Welsby and Anderson 2004: no. 22) to the Meroitic (Adams 1986: 419).

Table 5.8 - Percentage of private Classic Kerma burials with **Nubian** or possibly Nubian object types, separated by tumulus, and by burial type.

Object type	Chrono-logical	Gen. 1	Gen. 2	Gen. 3	Gen. 4	Burial type		
	Average	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Total graves	191	23	81	51	36	21	103	44
Daggers	26.2% (50)	52.2% (12)	23.5% (19)	27.5% (14)	13.9% (5)	47.6% (10)	21.4% (22)	13.6% (6)
Other knives	3.7% (7)	4.3% (1)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)	-	-	-
Combs	1.0% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)	0% (0)	1% (1)	2.3% (1)
Throwsticks	2.6% (5)	8.7% (2)	2.5% (2)	2.0% (1)	0% (0)	4.8% (1)	1% (1)	2.3% (1)
Bone Implements	28.8% (55)	4.3% (1)	34.6% (28)	31.4% (16)	27.8% (10)	57.1% (12)	29.1% (30)	27.3% (12)
Horn protectors (pairs)	8.9% (17)	13.0% (3)	11.1% (9)	7.8% (4)	2.8% (1)	19% (4)	7.8% (8)	4.5% (2)
Ivory jewelry	15.7% (30)	17.4% (4)	12.3% (10)	25.5% (13)	8.3% (3)	23.8% (5)	16.5% (17)	9.1% (4)
Mica appliqués	12.6% (24)	0% (0)	21.0% (17)	11.8% (6)	2.8% (1)	19% (4)	18.4% (19)	2.3% (1)
Gold	8.4% (16)	8.7% (2)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	5.6% (2)	23.8% (5)	7.8% (8)	2.3% (1)
Silver	5.2% (10)	4.3% (1)	3.7% (3)	5.9% (3)	8.3% (3)	14.3% (3)	4.9% (5)	2.3% (1)

Object type	Chrono-logical	Gen. 1	Gen. 2	Gen. 3	Gen. 4	Burial type		
	Average	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Total graves	191	23	81	51	36	21	103	44
Palettes and pigments	11.0% (21)	47.8% (11)	7.4% (6)	3.9% (2)	5.6% (2)	28.6% (6)	3.9% (4)	0% (0)
Beaded cloth	4.7% (9)	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	5.9% (3)	13.9% (5)	4.8% (1)	7.8% (8)	0% (0)
Rugs	2.1% (4)	0% (0)	2.5% (2)	3.9% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	3.9% (4)	0% (0)
Pot nets	14.7% (28)	17.4% (4)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	33.3% (12)	28.6% (6)	13.6% (14)	9.1% (4)
Leather skirts	12.6% (24)	21.7% (5)	18.5% (15)	2.0% (1)	8.3% (3)	19% (4)	8.7% (9)	13.6% (6)
Giraffe hair strainers	4.7% (9)	0% (0)	7.4% (6)	2.0% (1)	5.6% (2)	4.8% (1)	6.8% (7)	2.3% (1)
Ostrich feather fans	30.4% (58)	17.4% (4)	43.2% (35)	15.7% (8)	30.6% (11)	42.9% (9)	31.1% (32)	29.5% (13)
KC beakers	72.3% (138)	78.3% (18)	64.2% (52)	70.6% (36)	88.9% (32)	76.2% (16)	74.8% (77)	61.4% (27)
Unique items	47.1% (90)	61.8% (21)	27.6% (27)	25.9% (15)	71.1% (27)	66.7% (14)	40.8% (42)	27.3% (12)

Object type	Chrono-logical	Gen. 1	Gen. 2	Gen. 3	Gen. 4	Burial type		
	Average	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Total graves	191	23	81	51	36	21	103	44
Beaded jewelry types								
Circlets	20.9% (40)	30.4% (7)	25.9% (21)	13.7% (7)	13.9% (5)	-	-	-
Bracelets	5.2% (10)	0% (0)	7.4% (6)	0% (0)	11.1% (4)	-	-	-
Necklaces	7.3% (14)	13.0% (3)	6.2% (5)	7.8% (4)	5.6% (2)	-	-	-
Girdles	6.3% (12)	0% (0)	6.2% (5)	0% (0)	19.4% (7)	-	-	-
Beads, by material								
Hard stone	8.4% (16)	13.0% (3)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	2.8% (1)	-	-	-
Glazed stones	12.0% (23)	8.7% (2)	8.7% (7)	15.7% (8)	16.7% (6)	33.3% (7)	12.6% (13)	2.3% (1)
Shell beads	8.4% (16)	26.1% (6)	4.9% (4)	5.9% (3)	8.3% (3)	9.5% (2)	4.9% (5)	6.8% (3)
Other faience	55.5% (106)	52.2% (12)	46.9% (38)	54.9% (28)	77.8% (28)	76.2% (16)	55.3% (57)	47.7% (21)

Nubian object types

The majority of the object types present in private Classic Kerma graves represent indigenous Nubian designs and manufacture. Overall, Nubian object types demonstrate many of the same trends in distribution as found with Egyptian object types. Although the percentages of graves with Nubian object types are usually higher than what was found with Egyptian object types, items are still concentrated in the most high-status burials, those with inlaid beds, and then decrease in presence in plain bed burials, followed by non-bed burials. The most fundamental and accessible Nubian burial goods, Classic Kerma beakers and bone implements, are consistently present over the course of the Classic Kerma period. Many Nubian object types are constructed from organic materials such as basketry, leather, and feathers, and are most concentrated in Tumulus KX which seems to have had the best preservation conditions. Other Nubian object types decrease slightly over time, but this trend is likely skewed by the overall decrease in the percentage of the population with the highest status graves, as these object types are preferentially present in inlaid and plain bed burials. Nubian objects types are determined here to be bronze daggers with trapezoidal pommels, other bronze knives, wood and ivory combs, bone implements, horn protectors for rams, ivory jewelry, hats with mica appliqués, gold and silver adornment, palettes and pigments, linen and beaded cloth, rugs of linen and ostrich feather, pot nets, leather skirts with or without beading, giraffe hair jewelry and basketry, ostrich feather fans, a huge range of ceramic types including the ubiquitous Classic Kerma beaker, jewelry in hard stones, glazed stone, ostrich eggshell, shell and faience.

Classic Kerma daggers have a long, trapezoidal ivory pommel (Figure 5.22, Kendall 1997: 98 and Vercoutter 1960: 265), which is distinct from the lunate ivory pommels found in Ancient and Middle Kerma graves (Bonnet 1990: no. 146). The earlier form is largely indistinguishable from Egyptian dagger types, which continue in the New Kingdom.²¹⁷ Some Classic Kerma daggers are 50 centimeters or greater in length, and these short swords could be quite effective in battle (Reisner 1923b: 190-194). Although Nubia was known as the Land of the Bow, *t3 sti*, by the Egyptians, only three wooden fragments were found in Classic Kerma graves that might be parts of bows.²¹⁸ Kerman soldiers seem to have specialized in short swords and daggers instead, or the Kerman archers were not buried in the main Classic Kerma cemetery. Daggers are among the most commonly attested burial goods in private Kerman graves, and were often worn at the waist. They are strongly associated with higher status burial types, and correspondingly decrease in percentage of presence in the final generation of private burials in Tumulus KIII.

Many Nubian object types are made of bone, ivory and wood. Combs in wood and ivory are rare, but preserve poorly (Figure 5.23, Reisner 1923b: 243-4). Awls and other sharp implements made of bone are another fundamental Nubian burial good (Reisner 1923b: 249-53), are used consistently over the course of the Classic Kerma period, and are very accessible. Pairs of horn protectors made of ivory, bone, wood and sometimes decorated with pitch and ostrich

²¹⁷ For example, the dagger found in the North Palace at Deir el-Ballas dates to early Dynasty 18 and has a lunate ivory pommel (PAHMA 6-17311, Dreyfus 2005: no. 185).

²¹⁸ Wood and horn fragments that could be bows: MFA 14-2-578, 14-3-1150 and 14-2-114 from KIII debris, K1095, and K1612 (Reisner 1923b: 247).

eggshell triangles were attached to the ends of sacrificial rams' horns to protect their handlers (Figure 5.24, Bonnet 1990: 149; Reisner 1923b: 253-4). Thick sections of ivory were worked into bracelets and earstuds, and ivory jewelry is often associated with Nubians in New Kingdom burials at Tombos (Smith 2003: 151, Reisner 1923b: 254-6). The differential preservation of organics between tumuli makes it difficult to compare the use of these organic materials over time, although they do seem to be concentrated in higher status graves.

Personal adornment in precious metals and equally shining mica appliquéd hats is strongly concentrated in higher status graves. Mica appliqués (Figure 5.11) decline in use over the course of the Classic Kerma period, either due to restriction in elite membership (see Chapter 6) or also due to poorer preservation. The use of gold and silver is difficult to quantify, as these precious metals are the most affected by plundering and silver preserves significantly less well than gold (Figure 5.25). Overall, gold is roughly 1.5 times more common than silver in private Kerma burials. This would be consistent with the ratio of rarity found in Egypt as well, as gold was more easily obtained than silver in Northern Africa.²¹⁹ Most of the silver at Kerma is also probably naturally occurring electrum (Reisner 1923b: 282). The concentrated use of silver in the personal adornments of some female burials, especially the woman in K1053 (Reisner 1923b: 342-3), demonstrates their particularly high status.

Textiles and leatherworking are also particularly well-developed Kerma crafts, and the fact that any of these delicate organic materials are preserved is astounding (Figure 5.26). Linen is found in use for clothing, rugs and wrapped around other items (Reisner 1923b: 309), although it is not certain if it was imported or woven at the site. Some linen cloth products are so unique that they must have been made by Kerma artisans, especially heavily beaded tunics,²²⁰ piled toweling,²²¹ and even one textile (garment? cape?) woven of linen and ostrich feathers.²²² Barber has suggested that the beaded and piled textile techniques from Kerma may have then spread to Egypt in the New Kingdom, while the feathered textile is unique in Northern Africa (1991: 155). Kerma artisans also specialized in plaid weaving patterns (Bonnet 1990: no. 324), even using

²¹⁹ The relative rarity of silver vs. gold in Egypt, with silver roughly worth twice the value of gold in the Middle and New Kingdoms, was first noted in Harris, J.R. 1961. *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*. Veröffentlichung Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin Institut für Orientforschung 54, Berlin.

²²⁰ Although Reisner only lists two examples of beaded cloth in his second volume (1923b: 300), at least 9 examples of beaded cloth were found, often around the torso of the deceased individual: K319, K321, K323, K326, K33, K421, K430, K444, KX-B body PB.

²²¹ Rugs with piled toweling were particularly favored by the individuals sacrificed in Tumulus KX, who laid/were laid down on individual towels (Reisner 1923a: 301).

²²² The ostrich feather and linen textile (MFA 14-1-126) was found in the disturbed section of grave K435, which also contained an individual who wore a mica appliquéd hat with winged giraffes.

this pattern in goat fur stool covers (Su.1074a, from K1053).²²³ Giraffe hair, taken from the tail, was used to weave basket-like beer strainers (Figure 5.27, Bonnet 2000: 96; 1990: no. 323), described as handle-covers or fly whisks by Reisner (1923b: 313-315).²²⁴ Beer may have been imbibed in the ubiquitous Kerma beakers (see below).²²⁵

Leatherworking from most known ancient Nubian cultures is notable for its high quality of craftsmanship and creative designs (Van Driel-Murray 2000: 300). Middle Kingdom Egyptian clothing was mostly constructed in fiber or textiles (ibid: 308), while much of the clothing and cordage from Kerma seems to have been made of leather (Figure 5.28, Reisner 1923b: 303-8). Leather net kilts are known from Pan-Grave burials, which are associated with Nubian mercenaries in Egypt, suggesting that leather kilts may be common to Nubian cultures (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993: 16-31). Lacovara (2011) has suggested that the leather skirts from Kerma are related to these warriors' clothes, but the example of the woman in K1053 who wears a skirt adorned with silver beads suggests that instead they are worn by women, perhaps with a certain status or role in the community. In fact, numerous examples have drawstrings beaded with gold, silver, faience, or shell beads (Reisner 1923b: 304-5). Representations of Taweret from inlaid beds depict her wearing similar skirts, as does the wall painting of a woman in funerary chapel KXI (see Chapter 6).

The most amazing preservation at Kerma is found in the numerous examples of ostrich feather fans, now almost 4000 years old and perhaps the single largest archaeological source of preserved feathers (Figure 5.29, Bonnet 1990: no. 120; Reisner 1923b: 315-7). Large bunches of ostrich feathers were attached at the base, and do not have the long handles or ornate fan-plates found on Egyptian examples. These fans were one of the most accessible and popular burial goods in Classic Kerma private burials, with relatively little difference in their prevalence between inlaid, plain, and non-bed burials. There is a distinct decrease in the presence of ostrich feather fans in the third generation burials of KIV, but this tumulus seems to have the worst conditions for the preservation of organics. Ostrich feathers are prominently featured Nubian imports in New Kingdom scenes of tribute, but preserved Egyptian examples are primarily known from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Wiese and Brodbeck 2004: 318-321, Lucas 1962: 29). Ostrich feather fans are a key example of a burial good that is traditionally Nubian, which then comes to be exported to Egypt as an exotic luxury item. In this case, the same associations with

²²³ Nubians in general seem to have liked plaid textile patterns, as an extremely later example of plaid woven fabric was found in X-group burials at Ballana (Emery 1948: 385, pl. 110). Nubian mercenaries of the First Intermediate Period were also distinguished by their plaid/patterned 'sporrans' on their kilts (Fischer 1961).

²²⁴ These woven bulbous giraffe hair items were sometimes found next to stacks of beakers or inside pots (Reisner 1923b: 314), some examples have a hollow tube attached that could be used to siphon and strain mushy beer (Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: 96). The Kerma giraffe hair beer strainers are somewhat similar in form to modern African beer strainers made of fiber basketry, demonstrating an interesting cultural connection to Sub-Saharan Africa, see for example: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology beer strainers: PAHMA 5-13634, Uganda, Teso; 5-6019, Kenya, Kohleni.

²²⁵ Desiccated beer may be the contents of a large ceramic vessel found in grave K1053, which has distinct wheat chaff visible and smells sweetly like dates (Su.1075).

foreign loot/tribute that may have made Egyptian imports so valued at Kerma can be seen in reverse.

Classic Kerma beakers (Black-topped redware types I-VIII) almost always come in stacks of four beakers when found *in situ*, and one burial can contain several sets (Figure 5.30). These elegantly formed ceramic vessels have a distinctive iridescent band around the border of the black rim region, which is itself quite reflective. The walls of the beaker are also extremely thin, often only 2 mm in thickness (Arnold and Bourriau 1993: 183). This hallmark ceramic of the Classic Kerma period was by far the most accessible and used funerary item, increasing in use over time with an eventual presence in almost 90% of all private graves. The stacks of four beakers were sometimes contained in ornately knotted potnets, which could also be beaded (Reisner 1923b: 301-3, 310-11). The continued and increasing use of this fundamental, Nubian object type in the private burials of the Classic Kerma period demonstrates that indigenous funerary practices continued, despite the increasing use of Egyptian object types.

Nearly half of the private Kerman graves discussed here contained at least one item that was unique and unclassifiable, which is a testament to the creativity of the Nubian artisans. Almost always demonstrating an investment in precious materials or time spent crafting it, these items are the most concentrated in graves of the highest status, but are also relatively common in non-bed graves. The percentage of graves that contained a unique item also increased over the course of the Classic Kerma period, showing that artisans were actively creating new designs rather than relying on codified object types. Examples include bronze vessels in the form of Classic Kerma beakers (K334, MFA 14-2-691 to 692), a spouted bowl in the shape of a hippopotamus (K330, 14-2-1162), and a silver cap or headdress (K1053, Su.1090).

Finally, the jewelry found in private Classic Kerman graves demonstrates a high level of craftsmanship and variety of design. The majority of the jewelry was constructed with beads in faience, semi-precious stones, blue-glazed quartzite, and shell (marine and eggshell). I have included percentages of burials which contain each main type of beaded jewelry, but unfortunately these statistics for beaded jewelry are suspect because circlets, necklaces, etc were only reported when they were preserved whole and in place on the body (Reisner 1923b: 94-104). A thorough analysis would necessitate a full reconstruction of the exact placement of groups of faience beads on each body from Kerma, which is beyond the scope of this project. The tabulation of beads by material also has much room for error, although the statistics for glazed quartzite and shell beads are the most reliable, as they are more distinct finds (Reisner 1923b: 106-127). In fact, shell beads seem to be most prevalent in the first half of the Classic Kerma period and decrease in use over time, perhaps as part of a general movement away from the shell jewelry common in the Ancient and Middle Kerma periods. Glazed quartzite beads increase in use, however, and this suggests that Kerman artisans were actively developing this unique production technique.²²⁶

²²⁶ Large glazed quartzite sculpture is known from royal contexts in Tumulus KIII, and this specialized production process is likely centered in royal Kerman workshops (Ellis and Newman 2005).

Distribution of object types by burial type

The distribution of object types by burial type has the potential to inform us about the association of status and control of imports in the Classic Kerma community (see Appendix 5.1). The entire corpus of burials in the mid-late Classic Kerma period (Generation 2-4, Tumuli KX, KIV and KIII) that can be used to discuss the distribution of object types by burial types totals 168 graves.²²⁷ I have not included the burials from tumulus KXVI, Generation 1, in my analysis. The discussion of chronological trends above suggests that the first generation of Classic Kerma burials found in KXVI represents a transitional moment, with the cultural trends/social stratification found in the following three tumuli not yet fully developed. Although an understanding of object ownership by burial type within each generation would be extremely informative, the relatively small data sets that would result from this subdivision would make any statistical analysis questionable (see Appendix 5.4 for statistical significance calculations). Combining the last three generations of subsidiary burials into one data set can give us access to larger social trends, although the results will be slightly biased towards the Generation 2, Tumulus KX data because it composes the majority of the corpus of burials. With this in mind, any statistical suggestions of social stratification have the potential to be muted, as the chronological trends discussed above suggest that the differentiation between status groups was not as intense in the earlier part of the Classic Kerma period. The data, however, will be shown to still strongly suggest social stratification and differential access to Egyptian imports between burial types.

Subsidiary graves of the Classic Kerma period can be divided into three main burial types. The least common burial type has an inlaid funerary bed, comprising 12.5%, with only 21 examples contained in the KX, KIV, KIII data set. As discussed above (Types of Classic Kerma Private Burials), the deceased individuals who were afforded the use of an inlaid funerary bed seem to have belonged to the highest echelon of personal status in the Kerman community, as their burials also contained the largest amounts of wealth. In general, inlaid bed burials can also be demonstrated to have the highest percentages of the inclusion of almost all burial goods. The most common burial type has a plain funerary bed, comprising 61.3%, with 103 examples contained in the KX, KIV, KIII data set.²²⁸ Plain bed burials are the most common burial type, but fall into the second/middle category of wealth totals. This can be shown to be consistent with their trend towards the middle range of percentages of inclusion of almost all burial goods. The third type of burial is a non-bed burial, where the deceased is placed directly on the ground and often covered by a hide.²²⁹ Non-bed burials comprise 26.2% of the data set, with 44 examples contained in KX, KIV, KIII. These simpler burials also tend to contain the lowest

²²⁷ I have omitted graves that I have assigned the highest level of plundering (level 4), based on Reisner's description of the grave as "completely plundered" or "completely cleared out".

²²⁸ Plain bed burials were determined by the presence of a preserved wooden bed or its disintegrated castings. When the wooden bed had disintegrated, it is still possible to determine if it was inlaid or not by the presence or absence of ivory inlays. Ivory is also an organic, but is highly resilient when compared to wood due to its composition of dentine and calcium (see also Krzyszkowska and Morkot 2000).

²²⁹ I have used Reisner's grave descriptions and plans to confirm that non-bed burials were in fact of this nature, and not cases where the bed has fully disintegrated.

levels of wealth in burial goods, and this lack of access can also be found with the lowest percentages of almost all burial good types.

The percentages of burial types which contain mica appliqués should be discussed first, as this other type of decorated funerary equipment intersects with inlaid funerary beds in an interesting way. Slightly under 20% of both inlaid and plain bed burials contain mica appliques, while only 2.3% of non-bed burials have them. Members of the lower echelon of status at Kerma had relatively little access to appliquéd hats, which are personalized with a variety of motifs that could express individual status. There is no arguable difference in access between individuals with bed burials of either type. Those who were interred with inlaid funerary beds effectively had more resource to express status or identity through the motifs used on their beds, and did not have to resort to a different use in hats. These personalized pieces of funerary equipment will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 6, as well as the social implications of their decoration.

Distribution of Egyptian object types by burial type

Object types which can be assessed as Egyptian imports include most types of stone vessels, scarabs and amulets of recognizable Egyptian types, bronze cosmetic implements, and ivory wands and games. Stone vessels of types other than kohl-pots demonstrate a strong difference in dispersal among the three burial types. Inlaid bed burials contain stone vessels (excluding kohl) at twice the percentage of plain bed burials, while none are present in non-bed burials. A similar pattern is found in the distribution of Egyptian scarabs, with twice the percentage of inlaid bed burials containing them than plain bed burials. Again, no Egyptian scarabs are found in non-bed burials. Egyptian amulets of other types are rare overall, but are also present in the highest percentages in inlaid bed burials, less in plain bed burials, and absent in non-bed burials. Egyptian bronze mirrors are only contained in inlaid bed burials, although they are quite rare. The concentration of these Egyptian imports in graves of the highest status type, with a lower concentration in the mid-level grave type, demonstrates that these individuals had greater access to these symbolic resources.

Other Egyptian imports are still the most concentrated in bed burials, but equally dispersed between those of both types. Kohl-pots are contained in roughly twice the percentage of bed burials as in non-bed burials. Bronze razors of Egyptian type are almost equally distributed in inlaid and plain bed burials, and quite rare in non-bed burials. This suggests that control of Egyptian imports was not an absolute monopoly, and all groups within the community had at least some access to them.

Distribution of Nubian object types by burial type

Nubian object types follow similar trends of concentration in elite burials, demonstrating that the Kerman elite did not replace traditional Nubian burial goods in favor of Egyptian imports. Although the use of Egyptian and closely Egyptianizing material culture did become more prevalent over time, its use does not demonstrate a divergence in the strategies of building social status. Foreign marked material culture may have held special distinction, but Egyptian, Egyptianizing, and Nubian material culture were all used in combination in the negotiation of the increasingly restricted / stratified Classic Kerman elite status.

Several Nubian burial goods were also the most commonly found object types in private graves, forming the base of the Classic Kerma mortuary kit. These most common Nubian object types include Classic Kerma beakers of all types, black-topped redware ceramic vessels, bone implements, ostrich feather fans, pot nets, ivory jewelry, faience jewelry, and Classic Kerma daggers. In all cases, these Nubian object types were also distributed differently along lines of burial type, reinforcing the interpretation that burials with increasingly complex funerary equipment were used by private Kermans of increasingly high social status.

Trends in Classic Kerma elite burials over four generations

The analysis presented above argues that three main private Kerma burial types represented as subsidiary graves in the Classic Kerma royal tumuli correspond to different levels of status within the Kerma community, and that the use of many object types changed over time (see Appendix 5.2). Egyptian imports increased in use over time in all types of private burials, demonstrating an increase in access and desire for their inclusion as burial goods. Some Egyptianizing alternatives decreased as ‘authentic’ Egyptian replacements were available, as in the case of scarabs, or increased over time as rarer Egyptian imports increased in use, as with mirrors. Nubian object types had a small decrease over time in examples that were closely linked to the increasingly restricted high-status burials, while the most common Nubian burial goods had large increases in use over time showing that the foundations of Kerma funerary practices were not abandoned in favor of Egyptian replacements. Overall, the significant concentration of wealth in inlaid bed burials over time suggests that social stratification intensified over the course of the Classic Kerma period.

Egyptian imports were also concentrated in the graves of the elite, with the highest concentration in inlaid bed burials, followed by plain bed burials, and then non-bed burials. Closely Egyptianizing objects were also concentrated in the graves of the elite, although they were more equally dispersed between inlaid and plain bed burials. Egyptianizing mirrors were only present in plain bed burials, while imported Egyptian mirrors were only present in inlaid bed burials, perhaps demonstrating a demand for more accessible replicas. Alongside a general trend of social stratification, Kerma elites of all social groups were still able to access these symbolic resources in one form or another, demonstrating an underlying egalitarianism. Nubian object types were also concentrated in the graves of the elite, following the same pattern, although they were generally more accessible than either Egyptian or closely Egyptianizing objects. This demonstrates that exotic objects *did not replace* traditional means of obtaining wealth and expressing status.

The use of Egyptian objects by non-royal Kermans changed over the course of the Classic Kerma period. There is an overall increase in the presence of all imported Egyptian object types in graves of all types, with a dramatic increase in the last generation. Close Egyptianizing object types have differing changes in use over time. Some types also increase over time, namely mirrors (following mirrors in general) and the widely accessible ‘amulet beads’. A switch from Egyptianizing to Egyptian objects is only found with scarabs, where the ‘authentic’ foreign versions become preferred or more accessible. Scarabs are also closely involved with the actual practice of status as they were used during religio-economic transactions, so perhaps these personal items that displayed status while also acting in the performance of that status held special significance as imports. Other closely Egyptianizing

object types peak in the second generation (KX) when the highest elite status is the least restricted, and then decline over time as there are correspondingly fewer highest-status graves.

This peak in the second generation followed by decline is also found in some Nubian object types. Although this decline may at first seem as if Nubian object types are ‘dying out,’ the fact that these are closely associated with the highest status burials, which were also decreasing in number, provides a skew to the dataset.²³⁰ In addition, fundamental Nubian object types are constant or increase in use over the course of the Classic Kerma period, especially beakers and bone implements. Organics such as ostrich feather fans and giraffe hair baskets were probably consistent in levels of usage, although they are poorly preserved in Generation 3 (KIV).²³¹ Overall, the continued and relatively constant use of Nubian object types over the course of the Classic Kerma Period again demonstrates that exotic objects *did not replace* traditional means of obtaining wealth and expressing status in the Kerman community, arguing against the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture as any type of acculturation.

The above analysis of the use of Egyptian objects in private Kerman burials demonstrates how increased contact with Egypt during the military campaigns of the Classic Kerma period affected change within the Kerman community. Social stratification occurred, in which membership to the most elite status in the community became more restricted. There was a corresponding restriction in access to Egyptian imports along status lines, although small Egyptian objects were somewhat accessible to the entire community. The exponential increase in the use of Egyptian imports in the final generation of the Classic Kerma period demonstrates the intensification of interregional contact as military conflict culminated. Close replicas of Egyptian imports in some cases (as with mirrors) may have acted as stand-ins for desired but unobtainable exotic goods, but others instead were distributed along the same pattern as ‘authentic’ Egyptian objects. Most of the traditional Nubian funerary objects confirm these trends in their distribution over social groups and over time, emphasizing the continuation of the fundamental Kerman culture during a time of significant social change.

This discussion has incorporated closely Egyptianizing objects, which are often nearly indistinguishable from ‘authentic’ Egyptian objects. The elite members of the Kerman community also incorporated Egyptian motifs onto their funerary goods, primarily on items that were highly personalized in decoration, such as appliquéd hats and funerary beds. As demonstrated above, inlaid funerary beds seem to be a marker of the highest level of status in the Kerman community. How then did these individuals negotiate their status, and then express it to their community members? The next chapter will consider the role the use of Egyptianizing funerary equipment may have played in this process.

²³⁰ A fine-grained analysis of object type usage separated by burial type and generation would not provide statistically significant data for analysis, as some subgroups would be quite small (e.g., only three inlaid bed burials in Tumulus KIII).

²³¹ As the percentages of all organics decrease in the subsidiary burials in Tumulus KIV, this suggests that the particular conditions of the tumulus (fill, moisture, exposure, etc) were not favorable for preservation.

CHAPTER 6 - EGYPTIANIZING MATERIAL CULTURE IN PRIVATE CLASSIC KERMA BURIALS: THE USE OF THE LOCAL, THE EXOTIC, AND THE FANTASTIC IN ELITE IMAGINATION

An analysis of the use of Egyptianizing art in elite Classic Kerma contexts will provide the final line of inquiry. Perhaps the most creative media in which Egyptian motifs appear at Kerma are ivory bed inlays and mica appliquéd hats found in private burials. The corpus of these two types of funerary equipment can be used to investigate patterns of the use of Egyptianizing art in elite Classic Kerma contexts. Trends in the use of local, exotic, and fantastic motifs argue for an active and changing imagination of elite identity.

These personalized items taken by Kerman elite to the afterlife have the potential to inform about the identity and status of the deceased. As discussed in Chapter 5, Classic Kerma private burials with inlaid beds contain overall the largest amounts of material goods and the highest concentrations of Egyptian imports. This differential distribution of material wealth by burial type strongly suggests that the individuals who used inlaid beds in their graves were of the highest status in the Kerman community. Inclusion or membership in a group of high social status cannot be viewed as a static or immutable part of an individual's identity. Instead, the Kermans who were afforded the use of inlaid funerary beds would have had to build their status through relationships and lines of influence within their community. In fact, this is what the concentration of material wealth in their graves represents—not a simple association of an imbued status granting them access to wealth, but instead a status built through the relationships and roles that resulted in the obtainment of material wealth or elaborate burial equipment.

The funerary bed was a personal item closely associated with the deceased, as it provided support for the body in the tomb. In almost all cases, both plain and inlaid beds only held a single individual.²³² The orientation of the animals on the inlaid bed decoration matches the orientation of the face of the deceased individual laid upon it, as briefly discussed in Chapter 3. Both the deceased and the animals face northwards, creating a symbolic connection between them that must otherwise remain unknown. As the animals are not oriented to move toward the deceased, as is the case in functional Egyptian funerary art, they are probably not meant to represent funerary offerings. In addition, the animal motifs used on the funerary beds are not domesticated species intended for consumption, but rather include wild animals found in the local savannah. Every inlaid funerary bed uses a unique combination of three species of animals, the almost complete lack of even repeated pairings of animals demonstrates that distinction was desired over similarity. The prominent use of unique combinations of such animals on an intensely personal item of burial equipment strongly suggests that they represent some element of an individual's identity.

Decorative hats are beloved by anthropologists as they are items of personal adornment that are highly visible and have the potential to be used in systems of representation (Wobst 1977). The brimless leather caps worn by the Classic Kermans are almost certainly designed for

²³² See the example of grave K425 in which a baby was placed next to Body B on the funerary bed, probably its mother (Figure 1.11, Reisner 1923a: 214).

ceremonial or religious purposes, as they provide little practical benefits. The mica appliqués are extremely delicate, as the thin sheets of mineral flake easily if touched. The process of creating the mica appliqués would have to be undertaken by highly skilled artists, who were able to separate out the thin layers and work them into decorative shapes without destroying them. The layered sheet of minerals in mica refract light and create an iridescent shine that would draw attention to the decoration, especially in low light situations inside a temple (Deffufa). Only one animal motif was used per appliquéd hat, unlike the three used per funerary bed, but many of the same motifs appear in both media, demonstrating a shared set of symbols used by the Classic Kerma community.

The routes to building social status in the Classic Kerma community changed over time, as demonstrated in Chapter 5. The use of Egyptian imports and some closely Egyptianizing objects increased over time in private Classic Kerma graves, in combination with the continued use of Nubian grave goods. The increase in the use of Egyptian imports in private graves may have been a result of an increased desire for their use, but may have equally been a result of the increased availability of Egyptian items as the intensity of military raids brought more war booty back to Kerma (as demonstrated in Chapter 3 by the increase in Egyptian sculpture in royal contexts). As interregional interaction changed supply and demand for material for use in private Kerma graves, did it also change the representations of status created by the community?

The use of Egyptianizing art in royal ideology in Chapter 4 showed it to be limited in scope, but integral to the construction of royal legitimacy. That ‘top-down’ analysis will be complemented with a ‘bottom-up’ focus on Egyptianizing motifs from private Kerma funerary goods, potentially illustrating the community’s responses to the larger political situation of the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Period. These private Kerma responses could demonstrate support by those who benefited within developing power structures, or dissent by competitors. The design of Egyptianizing art was undertaken within the funerary practices and identity building of the Kerma elite (cf. Pearson 1999, Anderson 1983, Wobst 1999). Personalized funerary equipment provided a material and visual arena of discussion of elite status and identity (Wobst 1999: 121).

Wobst’s active view of artistic style as “material interference” (1999) provides a framework for analyzing the elite Egyptianizing art found in Classic Kerma burials. In reaction to processual archaeologists’ denial of the functionality of artistic style, Wobst outlined a model of social communication through the visual characteristics of material culture (1977). His more recent discussion moves beyond using style to discover similarities or social groups, to looking at variances as a mechanism for dialogues of identities (1999: 121-122). Members of a community design and redesign material objects to act in negotiation of sameness and difference —“material interference” (ibid). Commonality between the style of objects of a group of individuals is chosen and deliberate. A perceived lack of change over time does not necessarily indicate a loss of creativity, but rather a “competition for sameness,” while others will seek individuality through the creation of new stylistic messages (ibid). The mechanisms of the social dialogue can remain the same, motifs on funerary equipment in this case, and the the general structure of the social hierarchy can remain the same, a group of elites with a close relationship to the king, but the visual characteristics/style of the discourse may change drastically (ibid).

Wobst's framework of active style benefits from a diverse but limited artistic corpus that can be traced over time. The animal and abstract motifs used in Classic Kerma funerary equipment meet those criteria. Two types of relatively standardized elite funerary equipment provide a varied corpus of motifs, which include Egyptianizing elements. A restricted percentage of funerary beds have footboards with three rows of animal or abstracted motifs. In addition, a small number of elite individuals were buried wearing leather hats with animal or abstracted motifs on mica appliqué. These unique and creative types of funerary equipment are developed over the course of the four main generations of the Classic Kerma period. Other scholars have reported on these beds and hats in a general manner,²³³ but my analysis is the first to seek patterns in individual motifs and combinations thereof.²³⁴ I analyzed this corpus of motifs by creating an inventory of motifs used on each bed or hat, separated by tumulus / generation (Appendix 6.1).²³⁵ Some animal motifs are standardized, especially birds such as adult ostriches and bustards, and these are given their own categories. Other motifs are grouped with almost identical examples, such as the grouping of hyenas, foxes and ant-bears. Motifs that are also found in Egyptian art are marked in yellow (ivory) or orange (mica); namely the goat & tree motif, *rekhyt* birds, bees, and Taweret hippo figures. The goat & tree motif is likely a version of the Near Eastern 'Ram in the Thicket' motif (Bonnet 1990: 143), perhaps introduced via Egyptian art in this period although this motif has also been found on Hyksos objects (Bietak 2012).

The inventory of motifs will be analyzed by plotting motifs in a battleship curves graph, showing the number of each motif found in each generation. This will illustrate trends in the use of individual motifs and the diversity of motifs used within a generation. The combination of motifs found on each bed or hat will be analyzed to find any groupings of motifs that consistently occur together. Patterns of the use of a motif over time, especially those with an Egyptian connection, will be investigated as potential evidence of a 'visual discussion' among the Classic Kerma elite. Wobst's model of competitions for sameness and differentness will inform my analysis, as I will pay equal attention to trends of correlation and randomness. I will also compare the percentages of burials with plain or inlaid funerary beds and/or appliquéd hats to look for general trends of access to elite status in the Kerma community. My goal is to use the analysis of discrete examples of material culture on the scale of the individual to inform about the use of style by a group of elites. My middle-range findings can then, in turn, inform the larger theoretical discussion of the use of style in archaeology (cf. Wobst 1999).

²³³ Bonnet has discussed the importance of animals found in the local environment, the presence of Egyptian Taweret figures, and the possibility of Near Eastern artistic influence in the presence of the 'Ram in the Thicket' motif (2000; 1990: 143).

²³⁴ My analysis is only possible thanks to Joyce Haynes and the NEH funded digital inventory of the BMFA Kerma collection. I thank her and her team of volunteers for their work to reconcile the confusing registration problems for each inlay and appliqué, and the BMFA for employing me to help with the inventory.

²³⁵ KXVI=Generation 1, KX=Generation 2, KIV=Generation 3, KIII=Generation 4.

The Corpus of Inlaid Beds and Appliquéd Hats in Classic Kerma Burials

Elite Classic Kerma burials have the distinctive form of subsidiary burials, constructed directly into the disc of a ruler's tumulus, as discussed in the site overviews in Chapters 1 and 5. Each grave can contain more than one individual,²³⁶ ranging up to 13 distinct individuals but with a median²³⁷ of 2 individuals. The primary deceased individual could be interred on the floor of the grave, often covered with a hide, or laid out on a wooden funerary bed. The funerary beds could have plain footboards or be inlaid with rows of animals or abstracted shapes in ivory.

Remains of over twenty ebony funerary beds have been found with footboards inlaid with rows of animals made of ivory. The majority are local animals, such as ostriches and hyenas, while others are clearly traceable as Egyptian motifs, such as Tawerets. Many of these animals appear in nearly identical forms on another stunning and unique craft of thinly separated sheets of mica, sewn onto leather caps as appliqué. More than thirty of these extremely fragile caps have been found. Inlaid funerary beds and mica appliques were found throughout the Classic Kerma Cemetery (Figure 6.1). The variety of motifs used to decorate both object types changes over the course of the Classic Kerma Period (Figure 6.2).

The question of exactly what the combination of animal motifs chosen by each individual meant on a mythic or religious level cannot be answered fully. The five burials which include both beds and hats have no overlap between motifs in both materials, even when the same individual wearing the hat is laid on the bed (K1061E). Therefore, there is not a simple correlation of an individual with just one totemic species of animal. Instead, the complex set of animal motif combinations are each unique. No single combination of three animal motifs is repeated in the corpus of Classic Kerma inlaid beds. Even combinations of two animal motifs are rarely repeated; out of 41 two-way combinations of animal motifs, only five are repeated, and then with only two duplicates of any combination. This enforced randomness argues for a careful selection of individualized motifs by a Kerman before death.

²³⁶ The number of individuals per grave over four generations: KXVI has a range of 1-10 and a median of 2, KX has a range of 1-13 and a median of 2, KIV has a range of 1-12 and a median of 2, KIII has a range of 1-8 and a median of 1.5.

²³⁷ I use the median instead of the mean/average in order to compensate for the low outliers of plundered graves (Drennan 2010: 20). These medians are also calculated without the most heavily plundered graves, as determined by Reisner's general grave descriptions in his 1923 excavation report, vols. I-III.

Table 6.1 - Two-way combinations of animal motifs found on funerary equipment in the Classic Kerma section of the Eastern Cemetery at Kerma.

Two-way Combinations (378 possible, 41 present)	Instances of Combination	Count of Instances
Giraffe & Bustard	2	5
Giraffe & Taweret	2	
Gazelle/Ibex & Hyena or fox	2	
Vulture, 2 wings & Taweret	2	
Taweret & Hyena or fox	2	
Reptile: crocodiles & Reptile: Turtles	1	36
Reptile: crocodiles & Elephant	1	
Reptile: crocodiles & Hawk	1	
Reptile: crocodiles & Bustard	1	
Reptile: Turtles & Elephant	1	
Reptile: Turtles & Bustard	1	
Rhino & Giraffe	1	
Rhino & Hawk	1	
Rhino & Unidentified	1	
Giraffe & Winged G.	1	
Giraffe & Hawk	1	
Giraffe & Ostrich	1	
Giraffe & Ostrich Chick	1	
Giraffe & Unidentified Bird	1	
Giraffe & Unidentified	1	
Winged G. & Vulture, 2 wings	1	
Winged G. & Winged T.	1	
Elephant & Hawk	1	
Elephant & Bustard	1	
Gazelle/Ibex & Donkey	1	
Gazelle/Ibex & Vulture, 2 wings	1	
Gazelle/Ibex & Taweret	1	
Donkey & Hyena or fox	1	
Goat & Tree & Bustard	1	
Goat & Tree & Vulture, 2 wings	1	
Goat & Tree & Taweret	1	
Hawk & Unidentified	1	
Bustard & Ostrich	1	
Bustard & Ostrich Chick	1	
Bustard & Taweret	1	
Ostrich & Ostrich Chick	1	
Ostrich Chick & Bees	1	
Vulture, 2 wings & Vulture, 1 wing	1	
Vulture, 2 wings & Winged T.	1	
Vulture, 2 wings & Hyena or fox	1	
Unidentified Bird & Taweret	1	

Categories of motifs found in inlays and appliqués

The categories of motifs found on inlays and appliqués are either geometric or animal forms. Most of the animal motifs are of species found in other media at Kerma, such as giraffes. The religious significance of the species can only be conjectured, as the Kerman mythology is unknown but appears complex. Raptors like hawks and vultures have obvious hunting and power connotations. The Egyptian falcon, Horus, and vulture, Nekhbet, do not seem to have been the models for these animal motifs. The prominent eye-markings of the Horus falcon are not present on the Kerman examples. Ostriches and bustards have elaborate mating rituals in which the males raise their wings (as depicted in the inlays) and fight off rivals. Dangerous animals may have played apotropaic, protective functions, or also resonated with the use of similarly dangerous animals in royal Kerman ideology. Border elements were either stylized animal pelts²³⁸ or tiered palmettes. These border motifs will not be discussed here in detail, although palmettes seem to replace animal skins in prevalence over time.

Geometric designs

Rosettes and triangles—were used primarily in the first generation of the Classic Kerma Period for the inlaid beds of private burials in Tumulus KXVI (Figure 6.3,b). Geometric arrangements consisted of a middle row of rosettes with lines of triangles above and below. This original decoration of private funerary beds decreased in prevalence, but continued in use through the final fourth generation of private burials. Rosettes were also used in the form of mica appliqués on leather hats in later generations.

Quadrupeds

Giraffe—these huge mammals must have held a special prominence in local mythology with their huge size and unique body proportions, as they also appear in the ruler's funerary chapel, KX. Giraffe hair was crafted into bracelets, worn by one man who was also buried with an elaborate bronze dagger and sheath.²³⁹ Giraffe tail hair was also used to make beer strainers, found in situ inside of pots.²⁴⁰ After the third generation of the Classic Kerma Period, giraffes were modified into fantastical creatures by the addition of wings (Figure 6.3, 6.7, 6.13).

Elephant—the giant form of the elephant seems to have been familiar to Kerman artists, but was not commonly used in personalized funerary equipment (Figure 6.5). This may suggest that elephants were not endemic to the Dongola area, but instead were acquired from more southern regions.

²³⁸ The border elements are stylized animal pelts, not frogs as suggested by some scholars (contra Kendall 1997: no. 29).

²³⁹ K1088 body A wore a giraffe hair necklace, linen beaded and mica appliquéd girdle with a sheath, for a 40 cm dagger (Reisner 1923a: 365).

²⁴⁰ Giraffe hair beer strainers found in Classic Kerma subsidiary graves: K308, K333 (by beakers), K430, K1039, K1065 (by beakers), K1088 (in R.S.W. jar), K1098.

Rhinoceros—as with the elephant, rhinoceroses are present but not common in Kerman art (Figure 6.3).

Gazelle / Ibex—are among the most commonly used quadruped figures on private funerary equipment, although they are not often found in royal Kerman funerary contexts (Figure 6.6, Figure 6.7, Figure 6.10).

Donkey—only one donkey figure was preserved in the entire corpus of Kerman art, so these work-animals that feature so prominently in Egyptian art may have been considered an exotic animal.

Goat & Tree—the form of the pair of goats grazing with their forelegs in a tree is so closely comparable to prevalent Near Eastern depictions of this scene that it seems likely that the single Kerman use of this motif was inspired by foreign models (Figure 6.23).

Birds

Hawk & Double Hawk—these raptors could have held significance as powerful hunters, and do not seem to have been modeled on the specific form of the Horus falcon known in Egypt as they lack the distinctive eye markings (Figure 6.6, Figure 6.10).

Bustard—the playful form of the dancing kori bustard actually depicts this large bird in the middle of its elaborate mating ritual (Figure 6.4, 6.5, 6.9). Double headed bustards are also used (Figure 6.8).

Ostrich & Ostrich Chick—the figure of the adult ostrich with wings upraised is also either part of their mating ritual, or a mother ostrich defending her nest. The depictions of ostrich chicks capture the fluffy, spotted pinfeathers with the elegant but simple use of a punctate design (Figure 6.6, 6.9).

Vulture—Potentially modeled on the Egyptian goddess Nekhbet, the form of a vulture with outstretched wings, sunning itself, is easily observable in their natural habitat (Figure 6.3). With the variety of birds used that are specific to Kerma, it is more likely that the use of vultures was not inspired by Egyptian examples.


Small bird—two small bird motifs may either represent doves or crows, and demonstrate the diversity of bird figures used in private Kerman art (Figure 6.6 & 6.9).

Rekhyt / Lapwing—the single instance of the lapwing bird in the final generation of private Kerman burials is almost certainly modeled on the Egyptian hieroglyph *rekhyt*, “commoners,” but its use on an elite item of personal adornment suggests that the meaning of the hieroglyph was not transferred (Figure 6.9).

Pelican—the distinctive large bill of the pelican makes them easily identified, and another pelican figure is found in the nilotic fishing scene in the wall paintings of Funerary Chapel KXI (Figure 6.9).

Guinea Fowl—the long spotted plumage of the guinea fowl distinguishes them from other birds in the Kerma corpus, and these flightless birds may have been significant as game birds (Figure 6.8).

Insect

Bee—The only insect motif used in the corpus of Classic Kerman funerary equipment is a bee, which was used in only one instance (Figure 6.6). The similarity in the form of the bee to the Egyptian hieroglyph *bit* (Gardiner sign-list L2 ) suggests that the Kerman example was based on the Egyptian model.

Dangerous animals

Taweret & Winged Taweret— Aside from her exotic appeal, the Egyptian motif of Taweret was transformed in substantial ways. Taweret kept several apotropaic features (Figure 6.3 & 6.5), but the entanglement of her hippo form with local conceptions of the animal must have been significant (Haynes 2004). The addition of a skirt to her figure seems to have been associated with the ceremonial costume of high-status Kerman women (see below). The later addition of wings to her figure further transformed this originally Egyptian motif into new Kerman religious meanings.

Lion—this dangerous animal was associated with the Kerman king in the fourth generation of the Classic Kerma Period. The use of the lion in private Kerman funerary equipment demonstrates that this powerful animal was not restricted to the king alone (Figure 6.3).

Hyena / Fox—Hyenas and / or foxes are grouped together in this study because it is difficult to tell if two different species are depicted in Kerman art, or if the more fox-like animal (MFA 20.1553a,b) is a striped hyena without the fur pattern depicted (Figure 6.6). Spotted hyenas have highly structured matriarchal systems, while striped hyena females are quite territorial (Wagner 2006: 89-90). Striped hyenas are known historically to be present in Sudan, and these nocturnal and shy creatures are linked to witches, djinns, and were-wolf-like semi-humans in the modern mythology of the diverse areas of its habitat (Frembgen 1998). The magical or religious associations of the striped hyena in Kerman mythology must unfortunately remain an enigma, although their placement on only the lower rows of funerary beds suggests it may be related to their practice of digging whelping dens (Wagner 2006: 168).

Investigating animal motifs in private Kerman funerary equipment

In almost all instances, the wood of the funerary bed decayed until only a cast remained in the fill of the grave. The ivory of the inlays preserves better, as this organic material includes

a high percentage of calcium/dentine.²⁴¹ In a few graves, the inlays remained in situ on the cast of the funerary bed and allow for a complete reconstruction of their placement and ordering. The best preserved example belonged to a woman²⁴² who wore silver jewelry and cap, in K1053 (Figure 6.11, Reisner 1923a: 342-343, fig. 111, pl. 26, 1). The footboard had side braces with a vertical row of stylized animal pelts, a top row of gazelles, a middle row of Tawerets, and a bottom row of hyenas (Figure 6.11, Figure 6.12a-c).²⁴³ Almost all inlaid beds follow this pattern: there are three rows and each row is limited to almost identical images of the same species (Figure 6.13). The animals dominantly face to the right, thereby moving in the same direction that the deceased faced when laid out on the bed.²⁴⁴ Alternately, they can be placed in pairs facing away from each other. Within this rigid overall pattern, the combinations of animal motifs used are extremely diverse.

The bed from K1053 is also notable in that it uses two of the only five repeating patterns of animals, the combination of Tawerets and hyenas²⁴⁵ along with the combination of gazelle/ibexes and hyenas²⁴⁶ (Table 6.1). The combination of the three animals does not occur elsewhere. When found in situ, Taweret figures were always in the middle row and hyena figures were always on the bottom row. Likewise, giraffes were always on the bottom row. This suggests that each animal had an appropriate location on each footboard. This placement was perhaps based on their habitat, as flying animals are almost always found on the top rows *in situ*, and striped hyenas are semi-subterranean (Wagner 2006)

The placement of some species of animals on these funerary goods suggests there is an underlying representation of their natural habitat. Winged animals are put at the highest levels, especially atop the head. Out of 46 total hats preserved, 29 have animal motifs, and of these 21

²⁴¹ This differential preservation means that in the more disturbed graves inlaid beds can still be identified by the presence of ivory inlays, although no traces of the wood remain. For a further discussion of the preservation, conservation, and reconstruction of the MFA's collection of ivory inlays, see Gänsicke, Susanne, Pamela Hatchfield, Abigail Hykin, Marie Svoboda, and C. Mei-An Tsu. 2003. "The Ancient Egyptian Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Part 2, a Review of Former Treatments at the MFA and Their Consequences," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*. 42 (2): 193-236.

²⁴² Personal communication, Dr. Margaret Judd, based on research on Kerma human remains in Cambridge, UK.

²⁴³ K1053 inlays: Gazelles (MFA 13.4219a-g (Su.1073)), Tawerets (MFA 13.4220a-h (Su.1073)), and hyenas (MFA 13.4221a-e (Su.1073)).

²⁴⁴ See Kendall (1997: 53-73) for a discussion of the progression of burial orientations from the Early, Middle and Classic Kerma periods.

²⁴⁵ K449 bed has an upper row of 2-winged vultures, a middle row of Tawerets, and a bottom row of hyenas (footboard is MFA 20.1494 (14-3-784), remaining vultures are MFA 20.1495a (14-3-1464), MFA 20.1495b (14-3-784), and MFA 20.1595c / 20.2107 (14-3-784).

²⁴⁶ K1090 bed was only partially preserved, but gazelles (MFA 20.1554a-e, MFA 20.1556 (14-3-761)), hyenas (MFA 20.1553a,b (14-3-758), MFA 20.1099 / 20.1553c (14-3-758)), and at least one donkey (MFA 20.1552 (14-3-759)) were present.

have bird motifs on them (46% of the total, 72% of hats with animals).²⁴⁷ Of the nine hats²⁴⁸ with animal motifs other than birds, two have winged Tawerets and two have winged giraffes, which are also capable of flight, if only in the imagination.

Having established a hierarchy of elevation based on the natural habitats and actions of the animals shown, the way in which foreign motifs fit into this worldview can be analyzed. Animals with exotic connections do not behave any differently than local animals. Hippos, in the form of Tawerets, remain in middle rows when found in situ (K1053 bed, K439N bed, K449 bed). When given wings on a bed, they remain in the middle, grounded context (K309). Two hats show that winged Tawerets can move into higher contexts (KB3 or 5, KB15), along with their fantastical relatives, winged giraffes (K435, K451). Rekhyt / Lapwings (K323 body A hat) are also placed in a high context which is consistent with birds. Bees (K1050 bed) were unfortunately not recovered in situ and were found with ostrich chicks, which usually take the highest row. They are the only insects present, so it must remain unknown if flying insects were classed above or below birds. The goat and tree example with the clearest connections to the Near Eastern 'ram in the thicket' motif was found in situ on the bottom row of the footboard. A hat with a possibly adapted version of the goat and tree motif (KB4) stands as an outlier in a higher context, but this hat also included flying bustards which could have affected the arrangement. The consistency of placement of foreign-marked animals shows that they were incorporated within the Kerma spatial worldview.

Within the structured organization of three rows of animal motifs, the diversity of species used can be shown to change over time (Appendix 6.1). The following analysis will focus only on the securely datable examples from the four main tumuli (KXVI, KX, KIV and KIII), although several Classic Kerma minor tumuli also contained inlaid beds. Tracking changes in the use of all animal motifs, but especially Egyptianizing and fantastical ones, suggests that the Kerma elite actively sought new means of expression individuality and membership in an increasingly restricted high-status group. The transformation of the Taweret motif in particular seems to be linked with the construction of high-status female identities at Kerma.

²⁴⁷ Interestingly, gazelles or ibexes are three of the seven terrestrial animals used on hats. Gazelles and ibexes also seem to have an association with the higher levels of the beds (K1053 in situ, K1090 possible). One gazelle, from a destroyed bed in K439, is shown in a flying gallop (Reisner 1923b: 269, Pl. 56, 2, no. 10). The impression of leaping gazelles may relegate them to the higher elevations of the world view.

²⁴⁸ One hat is an exception and has two motifs so is included in the totals of bird and non-bird motifs: winged giraffes and hawks (MFA 20.1757 / 14-3-976, from K451).

Generation 1: Tumulus KXVI subsidiary graves - the beginning of a funerary tradition

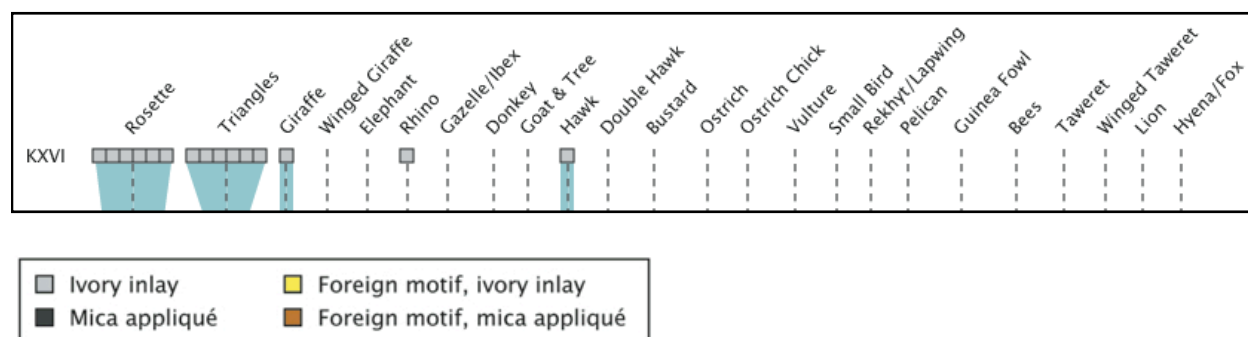


Table 6.2, Battleship curve graph showing frequency of motif use in Generation 1, KXVI.

The first generation of private Classic Kerma burials are contained in Tumulus KXVI (Figure 6.14), and it is here there is the earliest evidence for major social change in the community. The ruler's burial in the central chamber of the tumulus contained a wooden funerary bed with the first attested animal inlays. The footboard was too decayed to reconstruct completely, but the motifs used included a rhinoceros, stylized giraffes, a hawk, and possibly a hippopotamus (Figure 6.15). Inlaid beds are present in private burials for the first time as well, although their decoration is limited to relatively uniform geometric patterns of rosettes and triangles (Figure 6.16).

Prior to this, in the Middle Kerma Period, funerary beds were not decorated (Bonnet 1990: 77). This particularly Classic Kerman burial practice of incorporating an inlaid bed as part of the funerary equipment began at the same moment in time that the Kerman king constructs a distinctly larger tumulus, which included a significant number of subsidiary private graves. As the Kerman king magnified the local burial form of the tumulus for use in distinguishing his status within the community, private Kermans seem to have also built upon the tradition of bed burial in a manner that also allows for a distinction of status. In this first generation of Classic Kerma burials, the king expressed his supreme status through the singular use of animal inlays on his funerary bed, while private individuals had a more collective expression of status through the consistent use of geometric patterns.

Tumulus KXVI contains 34 subsidiary tombs (Table 6.2), among which five to eight burials included inlaid beds (14.7-23.5% of burials) and 11 graves contained a total of 14 unadorned funerary beds (32.3% of burials). Only one mica appliqué hat was recovered, and was worn by a sacrificial individual in room K1600C. In this case, the mica was too poorly preserved for the decorative motifs to be reconstructed. Therefore, at the beginning of the Classic Kerma Period the use of inlaid funerary beds in private graves suggests that there was a sub-set of the community who were afforded the use of specialized, but not individualized, burial equipment. Over the subsequent generations of the Classic Kerma Period, individualism seems to increase in importance, as inclusion into the highest echelon of Kerman society becomes more restrictive.

Generation:Tumulus	% Graves with Plain Beds	% Graves with Inlaid Beds	% Graves with Hats
Gen 1: KXVI (34)	32.3% (11)	14.7-23.5% (5 - 8)	n/a
Gen 2: KX (98)	48.9% (48)	12.2% (12)	15.3% (15)
Gen 3: KIV (58)	53.8% (31)	8.6% (5)	10.3% (6)
Gen 4: KIII (38)	65.8% (25)	7.9% (3)	2.6% (1)

Table 6.2 - Comparison by generation of the percentage of elite subsidiary graves with plain funerary beds, inlaid funerary beds, and hats with mica appliqué.

Generation 2: Tumulus KX subsidiary graves - expansion of a tradition

The second generation of the Classic Kerma period, seen in tumulus KX (Figure 6.17), can be subdivided into an earlier and later stage of elite burials. At the time of the king's interment, up to 300 individuals were sacrificed and arranged along the central corridor of the tumulus (KX-B). The question of who was selected for sacrifice, versus the elite families who were able to insert their own graves into the tumulus mound, remains unsolved.²⁴⁹ In tumulus KX, nine of these sacrificed individuals wore hats with mica appliqué (3% of the sacrifices). This group of sacrifices slightly predates the individuals buried in the subsidiary tombs in Tumulus KX (K1000 graves) who were interred with funerary beds and/or hats.

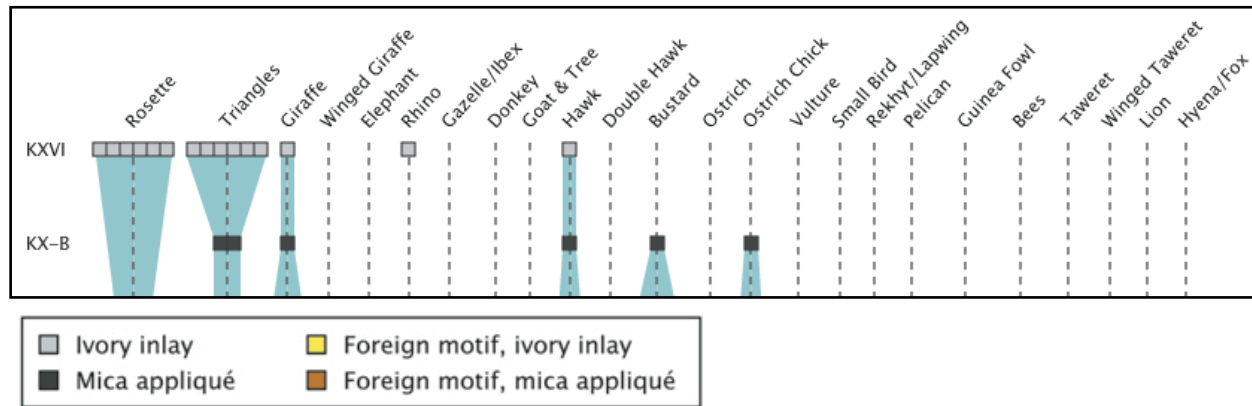


Table 6.3 - Battleship curve graph of frequency of motif use through Generation 2 part 1, KX-B.

Generation 2 part 1: KX-B Sacrificial Corridor

From an estimated total of 300 sacrificed individuals, 9 (3% of the sacrifices) wore hats with mica appliqué with a mixture of geometric and animal designs. All of the animals found in their motifs were found in the local environment and continue to be used in later examples.

²⁴⁹ See Judd and Irish 2009 for a comparison of the human remains from the sacrificial corridor and the subsidiary graves, she found no significant anatomical differences between the two groups.

Early in the second generation, individualized animal imagery expanded into use by members of the community other than the ruler. Foreign Egyptian motifs are not present.

Generation 2 part 2: KX Subsidiary Graves

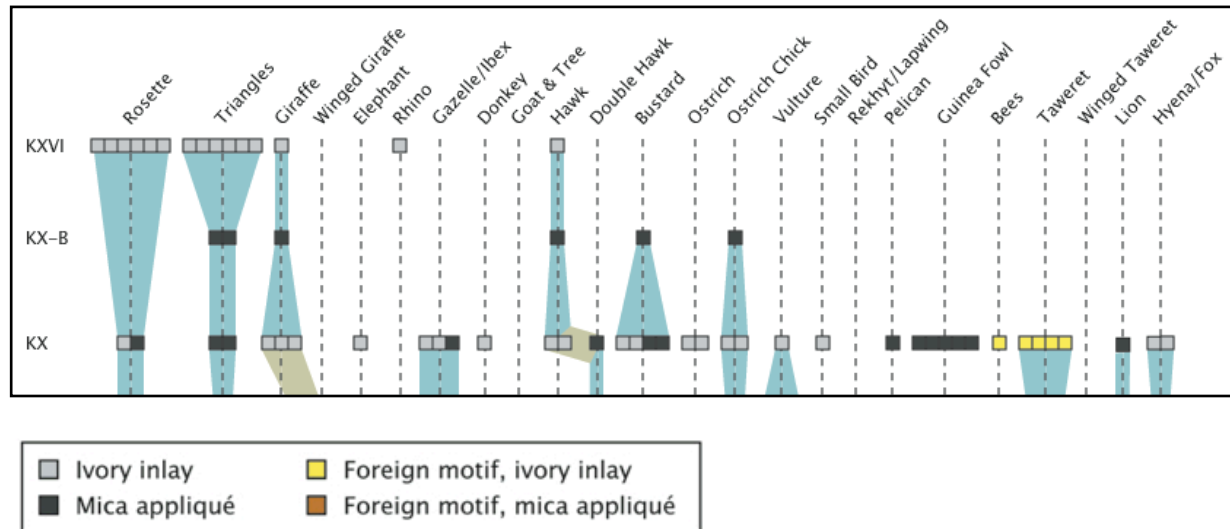


Table 6.4 - Battleship curve graph of frequency of motif use through Generation 2 part 2, KX.


After the interment of the Kerman king and his sacrifices in Tumulus KX, 98 subsidiary graves were constructed within the tumulus perimeter.²⁵⁰ Inlaid funerary beds were used in 12 graves (12.2% of graves), individuals with mica hats were interred in 15 graves (15.3% of graves), and plain beds were used in 48 cases (48.9% of graves) (Table 6.1). This concentration of personalized funerary equipment in the form of inlaid beds and appliquéd hats in a relatively small percentage of subsidiary graves argues that they were only accessible to a subsection of the Kerman elite. As discussed in Chapter 5, burials with inlaid beds also contained the highest median wealth totals (median of 28 objects, versus 20.5 in graves with plain beds, 7 in graves with no beds). During the second generation of the Classic Kerma Period, differentiation between members of the community appears to have increased as demonstrated by their access to and use of burial equipment. Patterns in the design and use of personalized funerary equipment have the potential to speak to conceptions of status and group identity among the most restricted section of the community, those who used inlaid funerary beds.

The elite burials from the second generation provide the greatest number and most varied examples of inlaid beds. The use of unadorned beds continues, while an exclusive section of the elite population designed beds with animal imagery. The funerary equipment of this generation uses the greatest diversity of animal figures. There are 17 distinct animal types present with an extensive set of local animals (Table 6.4). Each animal is usually used only once or twice, and never in the same combination with each other. There are two recognizable Egyptian motifs present in the corpus: bees and Taweret figures (anthropomorphized female hippopotami). Among 17 animal types, 13 animals are used first in these burials (76% are not previously

²⁵⁰ Reisner identified 101 subsidiary graves in Tumulus KX, but one grave was assigned a duplicate number and two were later determined to be part of the sacrificial corridor.

attested motifs). This virtual explosion of motifs suggests either a massive imagining of new characters or the first visual expression of a rich existing mythology.

The images of local fauna, such as the kori bustard (Figure 6.18), show an intimate knowledge of the animals and their behavior. Segments of ivory are smoothed into a flat plane and shaped with controlled, curving outlines. The silhouette of the animal is simplified, but recognizable. Anatomical details are shown in bold, linear strokes. Textures are reduced to areas of parallel lines or ordered dots. The mottled feathers of the ostrich chicks, for example, are translated into a dotted pattern (Figure 6.19). Feathers, especially wing feathers, are shown pointing upwards in the local artistic tradition.

Two animal motifs are introduced in the latter half of Generation 2 that are commonly attested in Egyptian art: the bee and the Taweret hippo.²⁵¹ Although the motifs are Egyptian, the method of representing them is consistent with the local, Nubian animal motifs. Bees are used on one bed (Figure 6.20) and are the only insects present in the Kerman inlay corpus (Reisner 1923b: 268). The form of the bee is nearly identical to the type of bee or wasp depicted in the Egyptian hieroglyph *bit* (Gardiner sign-list L2 ) , although the thin antennae are not depicted and the Kerman example seems to be in flight rather than at rest. The bee is used to represent Lower Egypt in the pharaonic title “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” (*nswt biti*). Although this animal plays a significant role in royal ideology in Egyptian contexts, at Kerma it plays a supporting role on an elite funerary bed in combination with ostrich chicks. This suggests that the bee has been divorced from its Egyptian-specific symbolism, while having the potential to remain as a visual reference to Egypt.

There are four funerary beds in Generation 2 that include Taweret-like hippopotamus figures. These inlays take on some of the specific characteristics of this Egyptian hippopotamus goddess: they stand upright on their back feet, have pronounced stomachs and pendulous breasts, open their mouths aggressively, and hold a knife up to their snout (Figure 6.12b). One set of Taweret inlays from K1053 conform further to Egyptian models as they are naked and have a long ruff of hair along their back, perhaps a conflation of her lion mane and crocodile tail found in her composite Egyptian form. The other three Taweret types found in the second generation of private burials lack the ruff and wear pleated skirts, which are the two-dimensional representations of the pleated leather skirts worn by Kerman women.²⁵² This adaptation of Taweret’s anthropomorphized form to local Kerman norms continues in all later examples found in Classic Kerma burials. Tawerets, or rather the adapted female hippopotamus figure, are by far the most prevalent Egyptianizing motif in Kerman funerary equipment, with a total of 8 groups of figures. Her role as a protective deity could have been adopted by the Nubian community, particularly because her apotropaic features (knife, bared teeth) remain in use. She does not appear in combination with Bes, however, while in Egypt the two are almost always used

²⁵¹ Vultures are also present but are not distinctly linked with the Egyptian vulture goddess Nekhbet, due to the fact that they are consistent with the other locally found birds used as motifs. The vulture problem will be discussed in more detail in the section on Generation 3 (KIV) animal motifs.

²⁵² See Reisner 1923b: 304-305 for examples of leather skirts found worn by individuals in Classic Kerma burials.

together.²⁵³ Hippopotamus motifs are also found in a variety of media at Kerma.²⁵⁴ Perhaps the more familiar animal was readily accepted and incorporated into existing local beliefs (Haynes 2004) while the less familiar dwarf figure was rejected.²⁵⁵

Unlike the variety of motifs used on beds, mica hat appliquéés only feature a single species. In KX burials, birds are the motif used in 12 of 24 examples (small birds, ostrich chicks, bustards, and guinea fowl). Terrestrial animals are limited to three examples: one giraffe (KX-B body EI), one gazelle (K1004), and one multi-headed lion²⁵⁶ (K1044 body A). The remaining nine hats had geometric designs (whether original or due to partial preservation). The second generation of private Classic Kerma burials contains the highest concentration of mica hats (15% of burials), and their use becomes restricted in subsequent generations.

Although the symbolism of motifs used on elite funerary goods cannot be reconstructed, patterns in their use can be determined and analyzed in relation to changing social situations. In this second generation, found in Tumulus KX and Funerary Chapel KXI, the Kerman ruler greatly expanded the size and decorative program of his funerary complex (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of wall paintings and ideology). As the ruler gained control of political capital, undoubtedly the result of his military forays into Egyptian territory (Chapter 3), he sought to monumentalize his growing status. In this period of external political change, internal social hierarchies were also affected. This can be seen in this small section of elites who also sought to develop more complex funerary equipment.

In the second generation of the Classic Kerma Period the new tradition of animal motifs, or the new expression of existing mythologies, was created. Although the general object type—

²⁵³ Taweret and Bes are used as a pair to protect children and childbirth in ancient Egypt. The best examples of these deities come from New Kingdom Egypt. Tawerets and Bes figures are found in wall paintings around household shrines at the settlement sites of Deir el-Medina and Amarna (Kemp, Barry. 1979. "Wall Paintings from the Workmen's Village at El-'Amarna" in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 65, pp. 47-53). Funerary furniture with Taweret and Bes figures was also included in elite Egyptian burials of Dynasty 18, such as the chair of Princess Sitamun from the tomb of Yuya and Tuya, KV46 (Wiese and Brodbeck 2004: cat. no. 33).

²⁵⁴ Other examples of hippopotami at Kerma: Wall paintings of hippopotami are used in funerary chapel KXI (also Generation 2), Egyptian carnelian hippo amulet (KX-B body QB) 20.1734. Hippos in faience include tiles (KII): Eg.Inv.3568-9; Hollow hippo head (KIII): 13-12-793e,f,j, 13-12-794d, 13-12-801, 14-2-642, (see also Lacovara 1992, fig. 7, although I do not follow his reconstruction). Other modeled hippo fragments : 13-12-352f, 13-12-793a,c, 13-12-794a, 14-1-1104e, 14-2-618e, 20.1734, 21.11804, Eg.Inv.3373-4. One imported faience hippo figurine 13.4121 (K1001) (Haynes, J. 2004. "Statuette eines Nilpferdes" in *Pharao siegt immer*, S. Petschel (ed.), Bönen: DruckVerlag Kettler, pp. 215, cat. no. 207).

²⁵⁵ Also see my discussion of the prevalence of animals on most commonly used Egyptian scarabs found in Kerma contexts, Ch. 4.

²⁵⁶ The multi-headed lion motif used here in the Classic Kerma Period could potentially be the precursor to the double headed lion deity Apedemak. For Apedemak in Napatan and Meroitic religion, see Welsby 1996: 77.

an inlaid bed, or appliquéd hat—was consistent among the individual burials, the particular motifs and combinations thereof are all unique permutations of the theme. There is a diverse and creative use of local animals, and there is a limited use of foreign motifs. Even if animals were relegated to their natural habitat (earthbound or flying), no bed was designed with the same pattern as another. The lack of overlap in the combinations of motifs is so absolute that it is almost certainly intentional. A member of the Kerma elite who was able to commission an inlaid funerary bed for their use in death may have chosen the combination of animals depicted on it based on their representational meaning, reflecting or promoting part of that individual's identity. Participating in the overarching artistic, funerary tradition would set the deceased into a restricted group, but within that group their individuality was promoted. It is as if a new social group was imagining itself, while each member prided themselves on their personal identity.

In almost all cases that association of identity and motif cannot be reconstructed, except for the instances of the use of the adapted Taweret figures. The second generation of Classic Kerma private burials provides the earliest evidence of the inclusion of a female anthropomorphized hippopotamus figure on the inlaid bed of a Kerman woman (K1053 body D).²⁵⁷ The three other Taweret-like figures in this generation were adapted with the addition of a decorated skirt, which is the same item of personal adornment that the woman in K1053 wore in death. Further evidence of the use of this Egyptianizing motif in bed inlays for Kerman women will be found in the subsequent generation (K439 body A), demonstrating how a single motif could represent an aspect of identity, in this case that of high-status women.²⁵⁸ Therefore, the other animal motifs could have a similar intentionality of design, linked with aspects of the identity and roles of the deceased in the Kerman community. In addition, the transformation of an Egyptian motif into one embedded in Kerman cultural practices, that of the use of beaded skirts by women of high-status, demonstrates how something foreign can become entangled in local meanings (cf. Dietler 2010).

²⁵⁷ The three other private burials in KX that include Taweret inlays: K1001, K1056, and K1065.

²⁵⁸ The object assemblage found with these women who were interred on beds inlaid with adapted Taweret figures and / or wearing decorated leather skirts will be further explored in the conclusions presented in Chapter 7.

Generation 3: Tumulus KIV subsidiary graves - restriction of a tradition

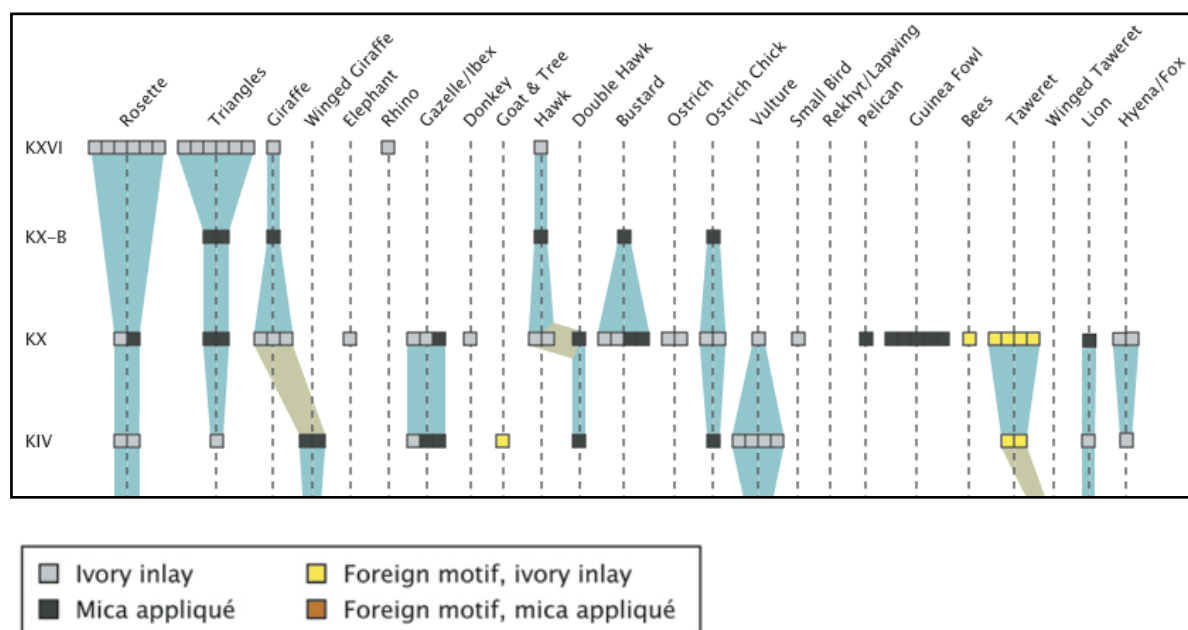


Table 6.5 - Battleship curve graph of frequency of motif use through Generation 3, KIV.

The third generation of the Classic Kerma community is found in Tumulus KIV, and several trends suggest a restriction in access to the highest elite echelon (Figure 6.21). There are 58 subsidiary burials present in KIV, only half as many as in KX (Table 6.2), which could represent either a restriction in access to subsidiary burials or a shorter length for the third generation of the Classic Kerma Period. A decrease in the percentage of inlaid bed burials, and a corresponding increase in the percentage of plan bed burials also suggests a restriction in access to elite status. Only five graves contained inlaid beds (8.6% of graves), with a total of seven examples. Hats with mica appliqué were found in 6 graves (10.3% of graves). Therefore, both types of personalized funerary equipment decreased from the previous generation (inlaid beds dropped from 12.2% to 8.6% of graves, hats dropped from 15.3% to 10.3% of graves). Inversely, the use of unadorned beds increased to 53.8% of graves (31 plain beds). As discussed in Chapter 5, the percentage of private Kerma graves that had a bed burial of either type slightly increased over each generation of the Classic Kerma Period (Table 5.1). The continued use of bed burials demonstrates that the decrease in inlaid bed burials over time does not represent a general move away from traditional Nubian funerary traditions. Instead, the decrease in the section of the Kerma community who used personalized funerary equipment (beds and hats) suggests that elite membership had become more restricted.

The motifs used in the design of personalized funerary equipment in the third generation of the Classic Kerma Period have the potential to demonstrate change in elite identities as well. On the whole, there are fewer examples of inlaid beds and appliqué hats and there is a corresponding decrease in the types of motifs used. Two motifs are added to the repertoire of appliqué and inlays. One pre-existing motif, that of a giraffe, comes to be modified into a

fantastical version as it is given wings. The single new animal motif, of pairs of goats grazing in a tree, has a potential foreign origin. Bonnet has noted that this may be an interpretation of the ubiquitous Near Eastern ram in a thicket motif (1990: 143), while Kendall believes it is simply a local invention of a common pastoral scene (1997: 93). The similarity in the highly symmetrical composition with Near Eastern examples, as well as the fact that it is an entire scene rather than just a single motif, leads me to agree with Bonnet that this goat and tree motif has a foreign origin. Although this motif has its origins in Near Eastern art, this does not prove that in this case it was transmitted through direct contact with the Hyksos. The overwhelming evidence for Egyptian contact suggests that it could have been introduced through Egyptian contexts instead. Aside from the fantastical and foreign additions, no new local animal motifs were introduced in this third generation, and instead only a selection of them continued in use.

Shifts in the frequency of use of certain animal motifs show a changing visual dialogue in elite Kerma art. The animal motifs that continue in use are a combination of local animals, an adapted foreign motif and a fantastical one. The local motifs of gazelles / ibexes, ostrich chicks, vultures, lions, and hyenas are still present in generation three bed inlays. The adapted form of Taweret, with the additional decorated skirt and full hippopotamus body, appears twice. The fantastical form of the double headed hawk is also found. Several of the most popular animal motifs from the former generation cease in use completely, especially kori bustards and guinea fowl. Unfortunately, as the associations of each animal motif remain unknown, the motivations behind the continuation or abandonment of a species are also unknown.

The large increase in vultures is likely due to a bias in the data set, as they all come from one family tomb. Three inlaid beds were present in one grave, K439, allowing for a comparison of beds within one family unit (Figure 6.22). This family of beds provides an intriguing example of the desire for similarity and uniqueness at the same time. All three of the inlaid beds in this single grave used vultures on the top row of decorations, and two both used gazelle / ibexes. In the otherwise random-seeming distributions of animal motifs in the Kerma corpus, these two instances of repetition within one grave suggests that these species held some association within this family group.

Bed A belonged to an adult female and had palmettes on the side braces, a top row of vultures, a middle row of Tawerets placed back to back in pairs, and a bottom row of heraldic pairs of goats, grazing with their forefeet in trees (foreign origin discussed above) (Figure 6.23). Vultures are a continuation from the previous generation, though they seem to have a special significance to this family. The forms of the caprids on this bed demonstrate a distinct modification from previous examples, using foreign inspiration to achieve a level of difference. The use of adapted Tawerets, wearing decorated skirts, once again is directly mirrored by the costume of the woman interred on the bed. Along with her leather skirt with a silver beaded drawstring (MFA 20.1669), she also wore a blue-glazed crystal necklace (14-1-219) and had an Egyptian scaraboid with the form of two rams (14-1-222). The personal adornment and items of the woman K439 body A includes the same object types as the woman K1053 body D. In particular, the ownership of an Egyptian stamp seal points to their shared roles in economic

transactions in the community, perhaps linked with religious institutions (see discussion of Egyptian scarabs and seals at the temple complex KI in Chapter 5).

Bed B belonged to a child and the footboard had a top row of vultures with both wings outstretched, and a bottom row of vultures with only one wing out behind them as if alighting on the ground (Figure 6.23). This footboard was found preserved *in situ*, and therefore was designed without a third animal motif. This variation of the arrangement pattern, only using two animal motifs and both composed of versions of the same animal, is extremely exceptional. As the deceased individual was a child, she/he did not have a complete life history within the community. Although the child was perceived to belong to the class of individuals befitting an inlaid bed, the personalization of the bed was only composed of the motif shared by all family members, a vulture.

Bed C was poorly preserved and only two inlays remained, a vulture with both wings outstretched, and a gazelle. Bed A and Bed C share the use of vultures in the top row and the general animal type of a caprid. The gazelle is shown in mid-leap in a flying gallop, and it has been suggested this pose is also linked to Near Eastern art (Bonnet 1990: 143) (Figure 6.18). Tracing the origin of a pose rather than a distinct motif is more problematic, but it should be noted that the only two possibly Near Eastern-influenced animal motifs come from the same family grave.

Investigating the use of several bed inlay motifs in the context of a single grave brings the issue of expressing or negotiating personal identity to the forefront. The three family members interred on inlaid beds in grave K439 demonstrate how the use of motifs on personalized funerary equipment can both draw similarities and produce differences. In addition, animal motifs with Nubian religious associations work in tandem with exotic foreign motifs. Each individual used the design of their funerary bed to distinguish themselves, while also participating in the over-arching elite mortuary tradition. Within this one family grave the most consistencies between any personalized funerary equipment are found, though some of those consistencies are the promotion of differentiation. This is again an example of difference through sameness, of continuities that also highlight individuality.

Grave K449 contained the burial of an individual on an inlaid bed that also included adapted Taweret figures, but unfortunately the body and its personal adornments were completely plundered. The footboard was preserved whole, with the ivory inlays still attached to the wooden board (Figure 6.26, MFA 20.1494). This inlaid bed has one of the few repeating motif combinations, that of the Taweret figures in the middle row and striped hyenas²⁵⁹ on the bottom row, as was also found on the bed of the woman in K1053. Instead of the gazelles found on the top row of the bed in K1053, a line of vultures were used on the bed in K449. As shown above,

²⁵⁹ Reisner thought these hyena-like animal figures were ant-bears (1923a: 238), which now refers to armadillos and these long-nosed burrowing animals bear no resemblance to the inlays on the bed from K449. He may have been confused with the armadillo (*Proteles cristata*), which are in fact closely related to striped hyenas (*Hyaena hyaena*). The fat bodies and horizontally striped legs of the Kerma inlays suggests that they are meant to represent striped hyenas, which are endemic to Sudan and most of North Africa.

vultures were of special significance to the family interred in K439. Therefore there is a possibility there was an intention of both creating associations and differentiation in the personal funerary equipment of the individual (woman?) buried in K449. The combination of all three motifs is unique, while the vulture - Taweret combination is shared with K449 body A, and the Taweret - hyena is shared with the woman in the previous generation, K1053.

The only other new animal motif of this generation was found in the mica appliqués. This motif deviates from the previous KX examples as it is a local animal which was used before, but was re-worked into a fantastical animal. Two hats feature winged giraffes, their heads hang towards the ground and two wings drape along their body (Figure 6.24, cf. Figure 6.21). The current scholarly consensus is that they are giraffes with wings and not simply giraffes standing under palm trees (Bonnet 1990: 143, 214). The Kerman artists were skilled at showing their subjects in a simplified form, while always depicting all relevant details. There is no tree trunk present to support palm fronds, instead the wings come out precisely from the shoulder blades and the tips reach the ground. The attenuation of the wings makes it almost believable that the giraffe could fly, but also mirrors the elongation of the animal's legs and neck. The notches on the upper edge of the wings match the Kerman convention of depicting feathered wings in motion, as seen in ostrich and bustard inlays. In addition, it is also physically impossible for a giraffe to reach its head to the ground to graze without bending its front knees in an awkward pose that would have been known to the highly competent Kerman artisans (Figure 6.25). The first use of these fantastical giraffes on hats also supports their interpretation as winged, as birds predominately used on hat decoration (as discussed above). As will be seen in the next generation of funerary art, other animal motifs seem to have been modified by the addition of wings as well.²⁶⁰ A re-imagining of a local animal, one that seems to play a prominent role in private and royal Kerman funerary art (see discussion of giraffes in Chapter 5), once again demonstrates a trend of creating difference while retaining continuities.

The percentage of burials with inlaid beds decreased in the third generation, therefore an even more restricted group of elites were participating in this burial tradition. All of the local animal motifs found were seen in the previous generation, and the vulture predominated. Instead of the diversity of the previous generation, these elites seem to be relying on a more codified corpus of local motifs. In the case of the family burial, the prevalence of the vulture also suggests that this design is meant to designate a group or family affiliation. The child, who did not have a full lifetime in which to build his status, only had this shared motif. Another example of a high-status female burial with modified Taweret inlays strongly suggests that this Egyptianizing motif was used to represent both gender and social status, as relevant to the Classic Kerman community. Along with these continued practices, new motifs were integrated into the decorative vocabulary. The new motifs are either of foreign origins, namely the ram in the thicket, or re-imagined local animals in the case of the winged giraffes. Within these trends of restriction among pre-existing iconography and a search for newness in the exotic or

²⁶⁰ The modification of animal motifs with wings in Kerman art could also be a precursor for later Nubian winged deities in Napatan art. See for example, the faience winged deity plaques from the tomb of Piye's Queen, MFA 24.639 and MFA 24.616.

imaginary, this third generation of Kermans were able to balance an inclusion in an elite tradition with a search for exclusiveness.

Generation 4: Tumulus KIII subsidiary graves - the culmination of a tradition

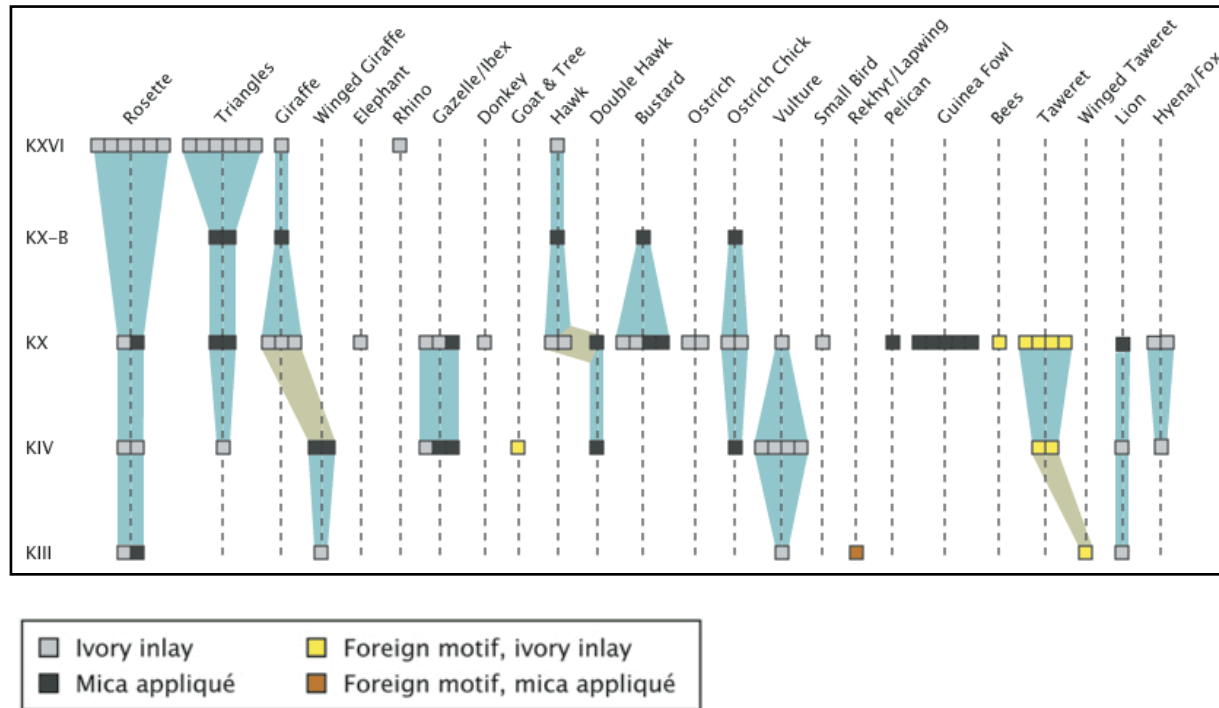


Table 6.6 - Battleship curve graph of frequency of motif use through Generation 4, KIII.


The final generation of Classic Kerma burials is found in the funerary complex of Tumulus KIII (Figure 6.27). The trends of restriction in the highest echelon of elite burials continue, along with the search for new motifs of exotic or fantastical origin. The tradition of burial on funerary beds also takes on new forms, as seen in the king's glazed quartzite bed and an elite bed with bronze inlays. The king had a massive funerary bed which exactly duplicated the construction of a wooden bed, but was made of glazed quartzite (Figure 1.8b, 14-3-1239, Reisner 1923a: 138-140; Reisner 1923b: 50-52). This gleaming, brilliant blue bed would have stood out as unique among all examples, completely differentiating him from the rest of the community. As seen in the first generation of burials, the Kerman king used a type of funerary equipment within local traditions, but magnified to distinguish his status in distinction to his subjects. The same trend of continued evolution in design can be found in private Kerman burials of the fourth generation of the Classic Kerma Period, as the elite sought new and outstanding decorative elements for personal funerary equipment.

After the first use of animal motifs in Generation 1, the Kerman ruler may have tried to distinguish his funerary bed by changing materials. Fragments of a slate funerary bed were found in Funerary Chapel KII, which Reisner thought belonged to the royal burial in Tumulus KIV and were dragged to Funerary chapel KII by robbers (Figure 1.10a,b, 14-1-520,

Reisner1923a: 194, 1923b: 220-222). More recently, scholars such as Kendall (1997) and Bonnet (2000) have suggested that the slate bed was emplaced there in a set of notches in the stone floor, either in Generation 2 or 3. The fragments of the royal blue glazed quartzite funerary bed were found in the Tumulus KIII debris, along with a suite of faience and glazed stone sculpture (Reisner 1923a: 138-140; Reisner 1923b: 50-52). Identifiable sections of the funerary bed include the top of a bed leg. This leg is formed with the same groove and tenon connections as wooden versions, which would be utterly impracticable in stone. One bed foot was found, it was glazed in blue and had black line decoration emphasizing the shape of a bovine foot (14-3-1239, Reisner 1923b: 50-51, pl. 37, 1). No fragments of the footboard have been identified, so it cannot be determined if it was decorated or not. The transformation of the tradition of wooden funerary beds into a permanent and brilliant glazed stone form links the king to an established, community-wide funerary tradition, while placing him outside of it through exceptionalism.

The last generation of elite burials was the smallest in number (38 graves) and had the lowest percentage of tombs with inlaid beds (7.9% of graves) or hats (2.6% of graves) (Table 6.2). Inversely, the last generation of burials contained the largest percentage of graves with unadorned beds (65.8% of graves). These trends of restriction in personalized funerary equipment (inlaid beds decreased from 8.6% to 7.9% of graves, hats decreased from 10.3% to 2.6% of graves) continue from the previous generation. The decrease in the number of graves (to 38 graves from 58) could again be the result of numerous factors, especially a shorter time span in which Tumulus KIII was in use by the community. The decrease in number of graves, however, is also accompanied by the increase in signs of status as the median wealth totals for each type of subsidiary grave increased from the previous generation. Graves with inlaid beds had a median wealth total of 52 objects (52/18=289% increase), graves with plain beds had a median wealth total of 36 objects (36/18=200% increase), and burials without beds had a median wealth total of 22 objects (22/4=550% increase). These drastic increases in median wealth, combined with the increase in the percentage of graves with bed burials, suggests that the smaller number of elite graves in the tumulus of the last generation could be the result of a restriction of inclusion to only the most elite section of the Kerman community.

The three inlaid funerary beds and single appliquéd hat of Generation 4 demonstrate co-existing trends of tradition, imagination and exceptionalism (Table 6.6). The inlaid bed from grave K330 had the traditional geometric rosette (14-2-1164) and triangle design which had been the only design available to elite Kermans in Generation 1 (Tumulus KXVI). Whether this geometric inlaid bed was an heirloom or newly designed with conventional decoration, a link was made with the origins of the tradition. Only two local animal motifs remain in use: vultures and lions. The remaining motifs used are foreign, fantastical, or both.

The foreign motif of the lapwing bird is introduced in the only example of mica appliqués (Figure 6.9). In Egypt these birds are given upraised arms to become the hieroglyph *rekhyt*, symbolizing the populace of Egypt (Gardiner sign-list G24 ). Although lacking the anthropomorphized arms, the distinctive angled wings of the lapwing make it highly identifiable. This type of bird had not been included in the relatively diverse corpus of birds found in the previous three generations.

The inlaid bed from grave K309 was designed with a top row of vultures, a row of winged Tawerets, and a bottom row of winged giraffes (Figure 6.28). Once again, in the design of a single piece of funerary equipment, there is promotion of continuity and re-imagination at the same time. As demonstrated in the three beds from grave K439, vultures may have an association with a particular family line and were in use since the second generation of elite graves. Winged giraffes were first imagined in Generation 3, part of the trend of the addition of only exotic or fantastical animal motifs to the corpus. This new form of Tawerets, with long arms that curve down to the ground with notches along the top edge mirrors the form of the giraffe wings, albeit in an awkward way. Reisner originally suggested that these were winged Tawerets (1923b: 266), and the same form was used in mica appliquéés found in an unassociated/undated Classic Kerma grave (Figure 6.29).²⁶¹ Taken in combination, this bed shows the culmination of the trend towards winged animal motifs, especially those that are fantastical. As seen with the winged giraffes, in the search for uniqueness new motifs were created, and not taken from the mundane surroundings. Instead, there was a re-imagining of local animals or a foreign motif, or both—a winged Taweret is doubly exotic. Although these forms of giraffes and Tawerets are fantastical, they still follow an internal logic of placement based on animal habitats. Vultures, as true birds, remain on the top row of the bed. Winged Tawerets are placed in the middle row, the same placement of all non-winged Tawerets found in situ. Giraffes are likewise found on the bottom row.²⁶² Therefore, the combination of motifs used by the individual in K309 manages to build associations with the past generations by the use of vultures, skirted Tawerets, and winged giraffes.

The development of winged, skirted Tawerets pushes this adopted Egyptianizing motif into a truly adapted Kerman form. In the case of adding wings to create a fantastical and foreign motif, Kermans may have transformed it into realm of the “counter-intuitive” (Wengrow 2011). The process of taking an originally Egyptian motif and deeply incorporating it into a Kerman visual dialogue in fact puts the term “Egyptianizing” in question. Following the course of development, perhaps this adapted Egyptian motif should be termed “Nubianized” instead.

The individual buried on this bed, K309 body A, was completely removed by plunderers (Reisner 1923a: 149). Remnants of their burial goods, however, suggest that their equipment was elaborate. Masses of faience and blue-glazed crystal beads were found (13-12-677 to 680), and a blue-glazed quartzite scarab (13-12-679). Therefore there are two burial good types that overlap with the high-status women who had Taweret inlays on their beds (K1053 body D and K439 body A): a scarab and glazed crystal beads. A distinguishing silver-beaded leather skirt is

²⁶¹ Mica appliquéés in the same form as the winged Taweret ivory inlays: MFA 20.1772 (14-3-1324) from KB15. The series of graves with the KB designation are found in the area north of Tumulus V, and are roughly datable to the Classic Kerma period by pottery comparisons. See discussion of KB13 and the winged sun disc bed inlays for a further discussion of this type of Classic Kerma grave which is unassociated with a royal tumulus.

²⁶² All in situ examples of these three animal motifs follow this arrangement. Vultures on top row: K439 North and South beds, K449 bed; Tawerets in middle row: K1053 bed, K439 North bed, K449 bed; Giraffes in bottom row: K1096 bed (Figure 6.13). See also Reisner 1923b: 267.

not preserved, however, so it is difficult to establish that K309 body A was also a woman,²⁶³ and held a similar role in the community.

The final example of an inlaid bed (K334) from Generation 4 stands out in many ways, as it only uses a repeated lion motif and the inlays are made of bronze (Figure 6.30).²⁶⁴ Although lions were used before in private contexts, in Generation 4 they are featured by the ruler himself. Two faience lion figures flanked the entrance to the ruler's funerary chapel, KII.²⁶⁵ In the burial K334, the private individual chose to stand out both through material and through a link to the ruler's iconography. As mentioned in the previous generation, lion motifs are found in use by only single individuals in generations two, three, and four. If this is not an accident of preservation, this restriction of lion motifs could suggest that the elite individual with this animal held a particular social role in the community. Multiple lion figures are used on the bed K334, much like the stacks of double headed lions found on the hat worn by K1044 body E (Figure 6.31), suggesting that a pride of lionesses may have been represented.

The individual buried on the bronze inlaid lion bed in K334 must have been a person of the most elite status, due to the extremely high wealth total of the grave (79 objects, the highest of all Classic Kerma graves) and the inclusion of eight Egyptian imports (10.1% of the total grave contents, which is unusually high, see discussion of distribution of Egyptian imports in Chapter 5). These Egyptian imports include the alabaster vessel fragment that names Sobeknakht of El-Kab,²⁶⁶ a key piece of evidence for the Northern-most reach of Kerma-Egyptian contact as discussed in Chapter 3. The re-interpretation of the lion bed inlays in bronze is also paralleled in two completely unique bronze beakers, taking the form of the ubiquitous Classic Kerma beaker.²⁶⁷ The person buried in grave K334 pushes Kerma funerary practices in exceptional ways, transforming traditional forms into new materials. Therefore they use the same strategy for individualism as the king in Generation 4, with his move to a blue glazed stone bed, rather than the search for new exotic or fantastical animal motifs that I have demonstrated in the previous generations.

In the fourth and final generation of Classic Kerma burials, the ruler and the individual in K334 reworked the bed burial tradition in exclusive and striking materials. Among the elite,

²⁶³ Two detached skulls may have belonged to any of the three bodies present. Reisner notes that one seemed to be a "negroid female" and the other "was apparently male" (1923a: 149), but his sex designations are quite problematic, and his racial designations should not be used. One body from K309 is in the Cambridge Kerma human remains collection (Judd, personal communication), but is probably the skeleton labeled body C, and it is not possible to determine which skull is included with it.

²⁶⁴ K334, bronze lion inlays: field numbers 14-2-661 to 14-2-674, now in Khartoum and / or in Leipzig.

²⁶⁵ Lion faience tile fragments were found in the debris directly in front of Funerary Chapel KII. Fragments that fit within an identifiable outline include: MFA 20.1224 (13-12-1029), MFA Su.1127b; others may be assigned due to the impression of a mat on the back of the tiles, used in the faience curing or firing process: MFA Eg.Inv.3555-3561, 3565-3566, 3570.

²⁶⁶ K334, inscribed stone vessel for Sobeknakht (Figure 5.3a,c, 14-2-678).

²⁶⁷ K334, bronze beakers in Bkt. III shape (14-2-691 and 14-2-692).

personalized beds and hats were at the most restricted levels. Only two local animal motifs remain in use, as after the first florescence of motifs in KX, all new types were restricted to either foreign origin, fantastic animals or both. New expressions of elite identity were sought after, but they were not based in the reality of the local landscape.

Trends in the use of motifs over the course of the Classic Kerma Period

The trends in subsidiary burials over time show a restriction in membership of the highest status burials in the Classic Kerma community. After the second generation, the number of subsidiary tombs decreases. The percentage of tombs containing mica hats decreases, as does the percentage of tombs with inlaid beds. The percentage of tombs with plain beds increases, however. The practice of bed burials did on the whole did not decline, rather access to the most complex and individualized burial equipment became more exclusive.

The way the elite presented their identities also changed over four generations. In the first generation, the ruler was the first and only community member to use animal motifs on his funerary equipment. The rest of the elite who surrounded him had geometric patterns of rosettes and triangles—special in and of themselves, but not personalized. By the early stage of the second generation, the individuals sacrificed for inclusion in the ruler's burial had taken up the trend of using animal motifs. During the later stage of the second generation, elites took up the local animal motif trend and expanded it by introducing many new types. Two Egyptian motifs were employed, and the exotic Taweret figure ranks among the most popular motifs of the generation. In the third generation, the variety of motifs used declined, and there was a consistent use of one motif, the vulture. Only one completely new motif was added to the local repertoire, the grazing goats, and it is likely an exotic motif, while a re-imagination of a local motif results in the creation of winged giraffes. Finally, in the fourth generation, there was the least diversity in motif types. The majority stand outside of the original corpus of local animals. They are re-imagined fantastical winged giraffes, exotic *rekyht* birds, or the fantastic and exotic winged Tawerets. The continuing local motifs both seem to have special prominence, the vulture being the one consistent motif used, and the lion with connections to the ruler's iconography.

At the outset of this chapter, the goals were set to discuss equally trends of similarity and change, and of cohesion and randomness. This was informed by Wobst's 1999 discussion of design and style as "material interference," or a visual dialogue within an elite group. In his model, continuities and similarities are posed as a "competition for sameness" among a group, while change, randomness or distinctiveness are used to promote individuality or exclusivity. The corpus of Kerman animal motifs has provided a perfect case study of how those trends towards individuality and group identity can co-exist in a lively visual dialogue. Bed inlays, in particular, provided a medium for the design of a multi-layered identity in a most literal way, with the format of three rows of animal motifs. Beginning with the hope of uncovering repeating patterns in the combination of animal motifs, the evidence made it clear that the Kerman community did their best to thwart such repetitions or commonalities. Out of 41 observed two-motif combinations, only five were ever repeated. No triple-motif combination was ever used more than once. Each generation of the Kerman community, during Generations 2 through 4,

seem to have been in an intense “competition for difference.” New sources for that difference were sought, outside of the local landscape through the use of foreign motifs, or through the imaginative modification of familiar animals. At the same time, threads of continuity between generations demonstrate an equally important “competition for sameness,” referencing the animal motifs of the previous generations, and perhaps linking individuals along family ties.

Looking at this evidence with identity in mind, and within the context of the rapid and drastic political changes of the Classic Kerma Period, evidence is found of an elite class seeking to define and redefine itself over several generations. The existing local funerary custom of bed burial was reworked for use in a changing social situation. Political and social change occurred on an international scale with increased Nubian dominance over Egypt. Internal social change followed in response to the growing status of the ruler and the elite close to him. First the ruler stretched the tradition to a new form of expression—animal motifs. The elite followed suit using a mainly local vernacular, set in their local environment. Over the course of the next two generations, group membership was restricted, and the discourse changed to rely on more unusual, new, and exciting motifs—the exotic, fantastic, or both.

There was not a simple trend towards using more Egyptian iconography, rather Egyptian motifs were used in combination with Nubian inventions. The original burial custom remained, that of bed burial, but each generation of the highest elite pushed to imagine themselves in a more and more exclusive way. Through the medium of their personalized funerary equipment, each individual designed their identity. Although the meanings of the motifs remain frustratingly unclear, to the ancient Kerma they would have been known, and each distinct combination would have been personally significant to an individual.

Elite Female Identity at Kerma: using Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture

The use of the adapted Taweret motif by high-status Kerma women on their funerary equipment opens up the discussion of how Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture could be used in the negotiation of identity in the Classic Kerma community. The burial of the woman in grave K1053 is the best preserved of these several possible high-status women, and the full assemblage of her funerary items and personal adornment allow for an understanding of what her role might have been. In particular, the presence of Egyptian imports in combination with an Egyptian scarab held in her hand argues for the link between social status and the ability to obtain foreign material culture, and that burial goods were intrinsically linked with ritual and identity.

The woman, K1053 body D (Figure 4.21a,b), was interred on an inlaid bed with side braces of a vertical row of stylized animal pelts, a top row of gazelles, a middle row of Tawerets, and a bottom row of hyenas (Figure 6.11).²⁶⁸ She was adult, between 35-50 years of age,²⁶⁹ and

²⁶⁸ K1053 inlays: Gazelles (MFA 13.4219a-g (Su.1073)), Tawerets (MFA 13.4220a-h (Su.1073)), and hyenas (MFA 13.4221a-e (Su.1073)).

²⁶⁹ Personal communication, Dr. Margaret Judd, based on research on Kerma human remains in Cambridge, UK.

wore an elaborate costume of a silver headdress (MFA 20.2025) and a leather skirt with a silver beaded drawstring (Figure 4.22, MFA Su.1089) (Reisner 1923a: 342-343, fig. 111, pl. 26, 1). The rest of her personal adornment included a necklace of blue-glazed crystal ball beads (MFA 13.3970), a double set of gold bangles on her upper and lower arms (MFA 13.3988-13.3991), and a gold-wrapped Egyptian faience scarab on a string of carnelian and amethyst held in her right hand (Figure 5.7a,b, MFA 13.4111). An ostrich feather fan (Su.1154) and a wooden headrest (Su.1154b) were set at the foot of her funerary bed. Grave K1053 included five additional bodies, of which four were definitely sacrifices (Reisner 1923a: fig. 111). Along with Kerman ceramic vessels, an Egyptian alabaster vessel (MFA 13.4265a,b) was present in the grave.

Despite the concentration of burials goods and personal adornment on and around the woman K1053 body D, Reisner listed her as a sacrificed “negroid” wife (1923a: 342). Admittedly, there may have been a plain bed burial to the north of her bed that was disturbed, but the lavish funerary equipment of K1053 body D suggests that she was of special importance. The mix of Nubian, Egyptian, and Egyptianizing material culture associated with her in death speaks to her status and roles in life.

The Taweret figures used on her funerary bed are the closest to Egyptian models of all examples found at Kerma. These Tawerets do not have the addition of a skirt or wings, which may suggest that her bed was one of the earliest to employ this Egyptianizing motif. The other Taweret figures used in private burials in Tumulus KX, and the subsequent tumuli, wear skirts with decorated drawstrings that must represent the type of costume that the woman K1053 body D wore. In fact, one other preserved individual (K439 body A) was buried on an inlaid bed with skirted Taweret figures, and wore a similar silver-beaded leather skirt. The remaining burials with Taweret bed inlays are all too poorly preserved to determine if the individual was female and / or wore a beaded skirt.²⁷⁰ However, recent osteological research confirms that a subsection of Kerman women wore leather skirts as part of their burial equipment, while Kerman men did not.²⁷¹ Additionally, depictions of Nubians bearing tribute in the New Kingdom include women wearing long, intricately beaded skirts (Figure 6.32, tomb of Huy), which provides independent verification that Nubian women had such ceremonial costumes in this time period. The fortunate preservation of two high-status Kerman women wearing beaded leather skirts, interred on beds with Taweret figures, argues that this Egyptian motif was adopted and adapted for the representation of their identity.

The woman K1053 body D also had at least three identifiable Egyptian imports in her burial. The alabaster stone vessel was acquired from Egyptian sources, and was relatively rare in this second generation of the Classic Kerma Period. Stone vessels were only found in 6.2% of

²⁷⁰ Classic Kerma graves with Taweret inlays: K1001, K1053 body D, K0156, K1065, K439 body A, K449 body A, K309. Classic Kerma graves with silver beaded skirts: K1053, K439, K434(?), K318.

²⁷¹ Only Kerman women wore pleated leather skirts, as confirmed by my comparison of deceased individuals who wore them with the sex determined by Dr. Margaret Judd’s osteological studies (personal communication). Of the 200 individuals that were identified by Dr. Judd’s study that can be securely identified by Reisner’s grave and body assignments, eight females and no males had preserved leather skirts.

private burials in KX, compared to 25% in the fourth generation (Chapter 5). The inclusion of this Egyptian vessel in her grave demonstrates that she was able to acquire foreign imports.

The other Egyptian import, the gold-wrapped scarab on a beaded stringing, was held in or near her right hand (Reisner 1923a: fig. 111). This placement emphasizes the use of the scarab for sealing, rather than just as a protective amulet.²⁷² Scarabs were also somewhat uncommon items, in 8.6% of the first generation of private Classic Kerma burials. Seal impressions were found in great quantities in the religious complex KI at the city of Kerma, as well as one seal with multiple impressions that had sealed the royal burial chambers in Tumulus KX that is of the same type as the K1053 scarab, although not identical.²⁷³ As described by Smith (1996), Egyptian scarab seals came to be used at Kerma for managing economic exchange in the community. The association of religious / mortuary centers with economic exchange emphasizes that the movement of objects was embedded in the larger cultural practices of the community. The woman in K1053 both had access to Egyptian imports, and the tools to participate in their management and exchange. Therefore, the presence of Egyptian imports in her grave does not simply “reflect” her status in the Kerman community, but rather demonstrates how they were actively used in the construction of her status.

The exact nature of her role, and of other such women in Kerman society is not clear without the support of written records. The importance of high-status Kerman women, however, can be inferred by the figure of a similar woman in the wall paintings in Funerary Chapel XXI. At the rear of the flotilla of row boats, the female who pilots the last boat is shown with almost identical personal adornments (Chapter 4). The silver beaded decoration of her skirt is denoted with pale dots, and she wears bangles on her upper and lower arms, and a necklace. Whatever her role in the scene, whether as a female relative of the deceased king, a priestess conducting funerary rituals, or all of the above, her importance is implied by her presence in this royal wall painting scene.

The wall painting is only preserved to the middle of her face, so it is unknown if the painted female figure also wears a headdress. The woman K1053 body D wore an openwork silver headdress that has been previously described as a vulture crown, based on a perceived similarity with crowns of the Egyptian queen (Reisner 1914). This abstracted Kerman crown differs significantly, as there is no clear bird head or feathers depicted (Figure 4.23). Additionally, the silver headdress was found still *in situ* placed horizontally on her skull, unlike the vertical orientation of the Egyptian vulture crown. Instead, the Kerman headdress is more reminiscent of the horns of a ram, particularly of the type that is later used for manifestations of Amun local to the Third Cataract area (cf. Figure 5.2). Scholars have suggested that the popularity of Amun in the form of a ram in New Kingdom Nubia may be due to a syncretism

²⁷² Scarabs or scaraboids were often found in or near the hands of many individuals in Classic Kerma graves when preserved *in situ*, see discussion of scarabs in Chapter 5.

²⁷³ Grave K311 from the fourth generation of Classic Kerma burials contained a scarab that may be identical to the scarab used to seal the Tumulus KX burial chamber (13-12-855; Reisner 1923 I-III: 151 and Reisner negative number A2041).

with a previously existing Nubian ram deity.²⁷⁴ Therefore, it is more likely that the woman in K1053 held a religious role associated with an indigenous Kerman ram deity.

In the burial of this one high-status Kerman woman, it becomes apparent how a Kerman individual could build and represent their identity within the larger system of use of Nubian, Egyptian, and Egyptianizing material culture. Investigating her burial with an emphasis on the implications of the social biographies of her burial goods, the active design of Egyptianizing motifs in a way that is embedded in Kerman society, and the placement of Nubian elements within a long history of development brings new meanings to the forefront.

²⁷⁴ Several scholars have suggested that the prominence of the form of Amun as a ram at Gebel Barkal and in Napatan religion in general may have roots in syncretism with an earlier Nubian ram deity. Kendall discusses the presence of ram and lamb sacrifices with ostrich feather discs, their similarity to prehistoric rock art in the Sahara, and the association of the ram-headed Amun with Gebel Barkal in the early New Kingdom (1997: 76-9). For further information see also (in chronological order)—Török 2009: 251 and 2002: 12, citing Maspero. 1899. *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique* III, pg. 169; Bonnet 2004: 156-160; Kendall, T. 2002. "Napatan Temples: A Case Study from Gebel Barkal. The Mythological Origin of Egyptian Kingship and the Formation of the Napatan State." Presented at the Tenth International Conference of Nubian Studies, University of Rome, Italy, Sept. 9-14, 2002; P. Pamminger. 1992. "Amun und Luxor - Der Widder und das Kultbild," *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5, 93-140; Behrens 1986: Widder. *LÄ VI* (1986) 1243-1245; Wildung, D. 1984. *Seostris und Amenemhat. Ägypten im Mittlern Reich*, Munchen, pg. 182; and Wildung, D. 1973. "Der widdergestaltige Amun Ikonographie eines Gotterbildes," paper presented at the International Congress of Orientalists, Paris 1973.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSIONS

The examples of the use of the Egyptian motifs of Taweret and the winged sun disc have framed the two main sections of this dissertation. These recognizably Egyptian motifs have implications that cut across categories of material culture and status in the Classic Kerma community. Tawerets were used by high-status Kerma women in the construction of their identities in death; identities that included active roles in the obtainment and exchange of Egyptian imports. The importance of such high-status women included religious roles that granted their representation in the decoration of royal funerary chapels, demonstrating their relationship with the Kerma king. Likewise, the Egyptian motif of the winged sun disc seems to have been mostly restricted to the burial complex of the last Classic Kerma king. The use of this Egyptian motif in the form of Egyptian imports and architectural elements designed at the site demonstrates the link between the material that stood as evidence of the ascending military power of the king and narratives of royal ideology within the Kerma community. The exceptional use of the Egyptian winged sun disc motif in one private burial in the form of bed inlays suggests further links between royal and private spheres of Kerma society. The interplay between private and royal, Nubian and Egyptian found in these examples demonstrates that Kermans were actively engaging with new dialogues introduced through their changing relationship with Egypt during the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Period.

Summary

The first chapter of this dissertation introduced the site of Kerma and the evidence from burials of the Classic Kerma Period. This evidence is presented here in a more accessible form than previously available, with the goal of facilitating new research on this important ancient site. A re-interpretation of the Classic Kerma evidence from the extensive historical excavations of Reisner in the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma is long overdue. Chapter 2 outlined the history of the understandings of Kerma, within larger trends in the study of ancient Nubia. As demonstrated, the early interpretation of the Classic Kerma evidence was heavily influenced by both ancient and turn-of-the-last-century biases. Changes in the approaches to ancient Nubia can be put in dialogue with current anthropological and archaeological themes, and provide new insights into this previously excavated material. Above all, an increase in the access to and interest in Kerma will do the most to further this dialogue.

The analysis and discussion presented in this dissertation began with the investigation of the use of Egyptian, and then Egyptianizing material culture in royal Classic Kerma contexts. Chapter 3 argued that the corpus of Egyptian sculpture found in the Classic Kerma royal tumuli were interred as part of a program of legitimization that used them as material evidence of the power of the Kerma king on the interregional stage. On a basic level, the Egyptian sculpture contained in the four generations of royal tumuli can help reconstruct the geographic and chronological specifics of interregional interactions in the Second Intermediate / Classic Kerma Periods. Successive Kerma military raids into Egyptian territory allowed Kerma kings to obtain large Egyptian sculpture, which then were used in mortuary contexts to demonstrate his power to do so. Using this Egyptian material culture, the Kerma king produced new programs of legitimization for his internal Kerma audience.

Chapter 4 argued that Classic Kerman kings also used Egyptianizing decorative elements in their burial complexes to further these new programs of legitimization. The earlier of the royal funerary chapels, KXI, demonstrated a markedly restricted use of Egyptian motifs or artistic traditions within an overall Nubian decorative scheme. If one takes a more inclusive perspective, possible Egyptian visual references were worked into a narrative of north - south conflict that reflected on political realities of the time. In the final Classic Kerman royal burial complex, the Kerman king chose to highlight Egyptian imports taken as loot, as well as replicating the Egyptian winged sun disc motif in reference to them. This decoration scheme demonstrates a more embedded use of foreign references within the royal ideological program.

Moving to the discussion of similar themes in private Classic Kerman burials, Chapter 5 argued that the distribution of Egyptian imports and closely Egyptianizing object types over time and by burial type shows they were implicated in the construction of elite identity during the Classic Kerma Period. Foreign material culture has a strong correlation with the most elaborate Kerman burial types. Additionally, the use of Egyptian imports and some closely Egyptianizing objects increased over the course of four generations. This provides further evidence for the intensification of military conflict between Kerma and Egypt over time, as was also suggested by the increase in the amount of Egyptian sculpture in Kerman royal tombs. Most importantly, the use of Nubian burial goods and traditions did not decrease significantly over time, demonstrating that the use of Egyptian material in the negotiation of elite Kerman status was additive, instead of a trend towards “acculturation.”

Finally, Chapter 6 argued that the use of Egyptianizing motifs in the personalized funerary equipment of the most elite private Classic Kerman burials showed how internal social dialogues were also built in relation to interregional changes. A rich existing Kerman mythology was first expressed through the animal motifs used on the inlaid funerary beds and appliquéd hats designed for use in the afterlife. Over time, new motifs tended to be exotic foreign motifs, fantastical forms of animals, or both. This search for difference and distinction was paired with an overall restriction in access to these most elite forms of burial goods, demonstrating an increasing social stratification in the Kerman community. The use of the Egyptianizing Taweret motif in particular, which seems to be linked with high-status Kerman women, suggests how a motif which was originally Egyptian came to be embedded in Nubian cultural associations. This active re-design of the exotic into Kerman art perhaps should not be considered as Nubian art attempting to be “Egyptianizing,” but rather, the transformation of the formerly Egyptian into something that is “Nubianized” and fully entangled in local visual dialogues.

Writing the history of the Classic Kerma Period

The chronological trends found in the above analysis allow for a closer understanding of the history of the Classic Kerma Period. The differing amounts of Egyptian sculpture in royal tumuli demonstrate successive military raids into Egyptian territory. The increase in the sophistication of the techniques used to produce royal funerary chapel decoration shows the increasing technological developments of the Kermans. The increase in the use of Egyptian imports in private burials also demonstrates the intensification of interregional contact and conflict. The increasingly restrictive use of the most elite forms of private burial equipment suggests that Kerman society became more hierarchical over time.

The first generation of the Classic Kerma Period, as seen in Tumulus KXVI, demonstrates the development of royal and elite identities into new forms. The first Kerman king began the trajectory of military raids, the trend of human sacrifice on large scale, and the use of animal mythology in burial. Membership among the Kerman elite was not as restricted as in subsequent generations. Private individuals had access to material wealth, but there was a general lack of access to foreign goods and symbolism.

The second generation of the Classic Kerma Period, found in Tumulus KX, saw the exponential growth in the trends of the previous generation. The large rise in the number of Egyptian sculptures in Tumulus KX demonstrates a dramatic intensification in military activity and the magnification of royal burial practices, working to build royal legitimacy and separation from elites. Kerman elites of the second generation had the least restrictive membership, and a creative expression of identity using mostly Nubian forms of burial goods, though there was an increase in the access to and use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture.

The third generation of the Classic Kerma Period, as seen in Tumulus KIV, suggests a lull in the growth of royal power, but continuing developments in the private sphere. The smaller amount of Egyptian sculpture in the king's burial suggests there was a decline in military activity, and the reworking of previous funerary chapel for this king's use also suggests he lacked command of labor and resources. At the same time, restriction begins in elite membership and the evolution of its expression includes an increased use in Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture.

The fourth and final generation of the Classic Kerma Period, found in Tumulus KIII, demonstrates a culmination of royal and private trends. The Kerman king escalated the scope of military activity, which ultimately brought the wrath of the Egyptians. Magnification of royal burial practices signal an (almost) absolute separation of elite and king, as the king used the technological improvements in faience and glazing technologies to design a singular program of funerary decoration that focused on dangerous animal motifs. In private burials, there was an increase in the supply and use of Egyptian imports for all elites. As a result, perhaps those of the highest status(es) had to find ways to separate themselves on ideological level. This trend towards social stratification is suggested by the most restricted membership in the most complex burial type, and the evolution of the visual dialogue of identity further into the exotic and fantastical.

The trajectory of the development of Nubian kingship and elite status in the Classic Kerma Period was ultimately embedded in Kerman cultural traditions. Kermans did not emulate pharaonic ideology, although a perceived 'influence' of Egypt is undeniable. But rather than a direct cultural influence from their northern neighbors, the Kermans were influenced by their *relationship* with Egypt.

The Classic Kerma Period ended with the razing of the settlement at Kerma by Egyptian troops of the early New Kingdom. According to Egyptian historical sources, the pharaohs resident at the Deir el-Ballas palace traveled south to Kerma in at least four military raids. Kamose made one push south prior to his year 3, and Ahmose returned to Nubia up to three times (Morris 2005: 68-71). The conclusion of this military conflict between Egyptians and

Kermans was a decisive Egyptian foray to the Third Cataract region, evidenced by fire destruction levels at the forts of Buhen and the city and necropolis of Kerma (Morris 2005: 68; Bonnet and Valbelle 2004; Smith 2003). Ahmose bragged of summarily executing Nubian rebels and defeating all his southern rivals (Morris 2005: 71).

Archaeological finds, however, offer other evidence for Kermans living and producing material culture throughout Egypt in the period directly after the destruction of their Nubian capital. Bourriau has collected much evidence of Kermans living and dying in Egypt, with distinctive Kerma beakers and other pottery found in early New Kingdom funerary contexts at Thebes, and domestic contexts at Kahun, Hierakonpolis, Edfu, and Memphis (Bourriau 1991). Smith's excavations at Tombos, close to Kerma, have shown that the Nubian and Egyptian residents intermarried during New Kingdom occupation (2003). At Deir el-Ballas in particular, Lacovara's excavations uncovered a significant amount of Nubian cookware sherds, fragments of leather kilts, and bone awls like those found at Kerma (1990: 4, 7, 16-18). This evidence shows that Kermans were actively engaged with Egyptians during the Kerma Récent period / early Dynasty 18, continuing some of their own cultural practices despite the Egyptian conquest of their capital and dissolution of their independent Nubian kingdom.

Returning to the themes in current research on Kerma

World Systems

This study has argued for Kerma's participation in the Second Intermediate Period world-system, not as a passive periphery but as a polity that was able to change the nature of its relationship with Egypt. If the world-systems approach is to be used in models of interregional interaction during this period, Kohl's (1992, 1987) critiques of the static categories of core and periphery should be upheld. The Kerman king should be included in discussions of Second Intermediate Period political events, as a participant on the same level as the Hyksos kings and Egyptian pharaohs.

Materiality

Patterns in the distribution of Egyptian material culture in both royal and private Classic Kerma burials argue that these foreign imports did retain some degree of association with their point of origin. At the same time, the uses evident in the placement of Egyptian object types demonstrate that Kermans re-interpreted them for their own practices. Much as Reisner was first impacted by the volume and scale of Egyptian sculpture in royal Kerma contexts, the Kerman king may have used this Egyptian-marked material culture as a testament to his ability to obtain and control it. Portable Egyptian material culture was accessible for private Kerman use, and its distribution increases along lines of increasing social status. The examples of high-status Kerman women who used Egyptian material culture, in the form of scarabs, to enact their roles in the control of exchange of material resources, including Egyptian imports, argues for the active use of such objects in the daily negotiation of status in the community. Nubian material culture also was used in similar strategies, emphasizing the continuation of Nubian cultural practices instead of any processes of acculturation.

Style

The adaptation and re-interpretation of Egyptianizing motifs in royal and private Classic Kerma contexts argues for the importance of stylistic evidence in archaeological contexts. Kerman artists were able to integrate Egyptianizing elements into Nubian visual dialogues, which were embedded in a Kerman worldview. Within the larger political context of interregional conflict, Egyptianizing motifs seem to have taken on new meaning at Kerma, rather than demonstrating a direct “influence” of Egyptian culture. The nuances of the use of Egyptianizing motifs in Kerman art also argues for the ability for artistic traditions to become entangled, both retaining cultural associations and moving beyond them into new forms. Ultimately, the former questions of the presence of Egyptian artists at Kerma, creating Egyptianizing art cannot be definitively answered; but the discussion of the use of Egyptianizing material culture has hopefully moved beyond this question into more telling issues of social changes in the Classic Kerman community. Instead, the Kerman evidence speaks to a case of ancient “Egyptomania,” and a process of taking that which was exotic, and making it “Nubianized” or embedded in local visual dialogues.

Identity and Agency

The theoretical approaches above have strengthened the understanding of the identity of Classic Kermans as independent actors on interregional and inter-community scales. The Kerman king took actions to construct new means of expressing and negotiating his growing control of resources and labor. As the king came to obtain an influx of foreign material culture through military incursions into Egyptian territory, he had to redefine his role in the Kerman community by integrating material and visual references to the source of his new social status. The rest of the Kerman community was also affected by these socio-political changes, and likewise integrated the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture into the redefinition of the increasingly stratified hierarchical factions. This re-interpretation of the Classic Kerma mortuary evidence allows for situating Classic Kerma as part of a long indigenous development of ancient Nubian cultures, while still incorporating the importance of its (changing) relationship with ancient Egypt.

Finding continuities between Kerma and other Nubian cultures

Some of the themes addressed in this study suggest more continuities between the Kerma and later Nubian cultures, especially in mortuary practices and religious beliefs of the Napatan Period. The important role of high-status women in the Kerman community may be the first attested evidence of the key participation of royal female relatives in Nubian religious and political life. Evidence for important royal female relatives in the Napatan and Meroitic periods shows that they were central players in these kingdoms. In addition, some religious aspects of Kerma culture may be related to better attested deities and beliefs of the Napatan and Meroitic periods. As discussed above, the headdress worn by the woman K1053 body D may demonstrate the presence of an indigenous Nubian ram deity who is later conflated with the Egyptian god Amun in the New Kingdom. Other animal forms, especially the double-headed lions set in stacks on the mica appliquéd hat worn by K1044 body E may be an early precursor to the Napatan double-headed lion deity Apedemak. The general trend towards the addition of wings to

animal figures, namely giraffes and Tawerets, may also be associated with the numerous winged deity forms found particularly in faience amulets in Napatan queens' burials.²⁷⁵

Questions and suggestions for further research

This dissertation will hopefully generate future studies on the Classic Kerma Period, as numerous questions are still left unanswered. A focus on the site of Kerma could produce further insight on the Classic Kerma community at the center of the kingdom. Other questions should address the connection of Kerma to the rest of Upper Nubia, as well as to Sub-Saharan Africa. The methodology used in this dissertation to access a historical excavation archive can also be used to further the discipline of “museum archaeology,” for future studies on ancient Nubia and other previously excavated material.

- *Sacrificial corridors and subsidiary sacrifices* - Who were the individuals sacrificed at the time of the burial of the Kerman king, why were they selected for sacrifice, and what was the motivation of the sacrificers?
- *Demography and use of burial goods* - Many of the human remains were part of a recent osteological study and can provide an insight into the differential use of material culture by different demographic groups. High-status women were discussed in this study, but many other sub-groups of the Classic Kerma community equally could benefit from such analysis.
- *Minor tumuli* - Who was buried in the numerous minor tumuli in the southern section of the Eastern cemetery at Kerma? Were they royal family members as in later Nubian cultures? How does their use of material culture compare or differ from the individuals buried in subsidiary graves? And can the chronological / generational trends found in this study allow the minor tumuli to be dated in comparison?
- *Classic Kerma Pottery* - The huge numbers of pottery vessels found by Reisner were put into a typology that does not meet current standards of practice (Bourriau 2004: 3). Reisner's typology mixed both surface color with fabric type, and did not take into account the many other variables that go into current ceramic typologies. A complete re-analysis of the Classic Kerma pottery evidence from this historic excavation could result in much more evidence about trade with Egypt and indigenous Nubian technologies.
- *Regionality* - This study has only concentrated on the political center of the Kerma kingdom, which would have been a population center of a large geographical area. What other outlying communities are waiting to be studied? With salvage campaigns in the Third and Fourth cataract areas, Classic Kerma sites were identified during survey and remain to be excavated.
- *Connections with Sub-Saharan Africa* - As the “corridor to Africa,” what was Kerma's relationship with other ancient African cultures to the south (and west)? In the Meroitic

²⁷⁵ See for example from Napatan burials: a winged ram amulet (MFA 24.696, Kurru 53, Queen Tabiry), winged Sakhmets (MFA 24.616 and MFA 24.627, Kurru 51, unknown queen; MFA 24.668, Kurru 52, Queen Nefrukekashta; MFA 24.618 and MFA 24.707, Kurru 53, Queen Tabiry), winged goddess faience amulets (MFA 24.654, Kurru 51, unknown queen; MFA 24.620, MFA 24.639, MFA 24.683 and MFA 24.1800, Kurru 52, Queen Nefrukekashta; MFA 24.698 and MFA 24.703, Kurru 53, Queen Tabiry).

Period, ancient Axum took control of Upper Nubia, but what was the nature of their relationship in earlier periods? Just as ancient Nubia has struggled for attention and resources in academia, so has the rest of Africa.

- *Access* - Can this study stand as a model for the use of previously excavated material? Informed by digital archaeology and online database projects like the Giza archives project, the Kerma archive could become a major resource for ancient Nubian research. The flexibility of my data model could then be applied to other Reisner Nubian excavations (including the major sites of the Napatan and Meroitic periods), and Nubian archaeological resources in general. This study stresses the importance of updating and increasing access to historical excavation archives, and the moral obligation to utilize available resources.

Although the focus of this dissertation has been on the use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material culture in Classic Kerma burials, the approaches used have resulted in a deeper understanding of the Nubians of this period. The primary goal of this work has been to increase access to and interest in the Classic Kerma material from the historical excavation of George Reisner, which remains as the main resource for understanding the mortuary practices of these ancient Nubians. It is highly unlikely that any other Classic Kerman site of the magnitude of Kerma will be discovered in the future, but the continued exploration of regional Kerman sites has the potential to provide new comparative material. Our knowledge and understanding of the Classic Kerma culture can only continue to grow.

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CHAPTER 1 - FIGURES

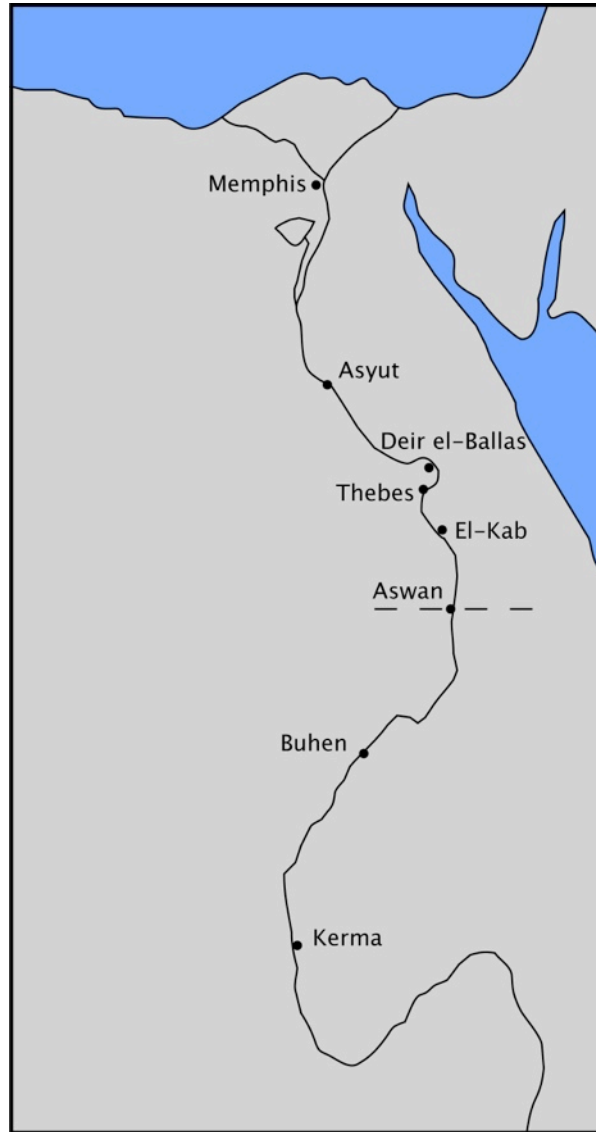


Figure 1.1 - Map of Egypt and Nubia with key sites during the Second Intermediate Period (line drawing by author)



Figure 1.2 - Workmen excavating near the Western Deffufa KI (C4297)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

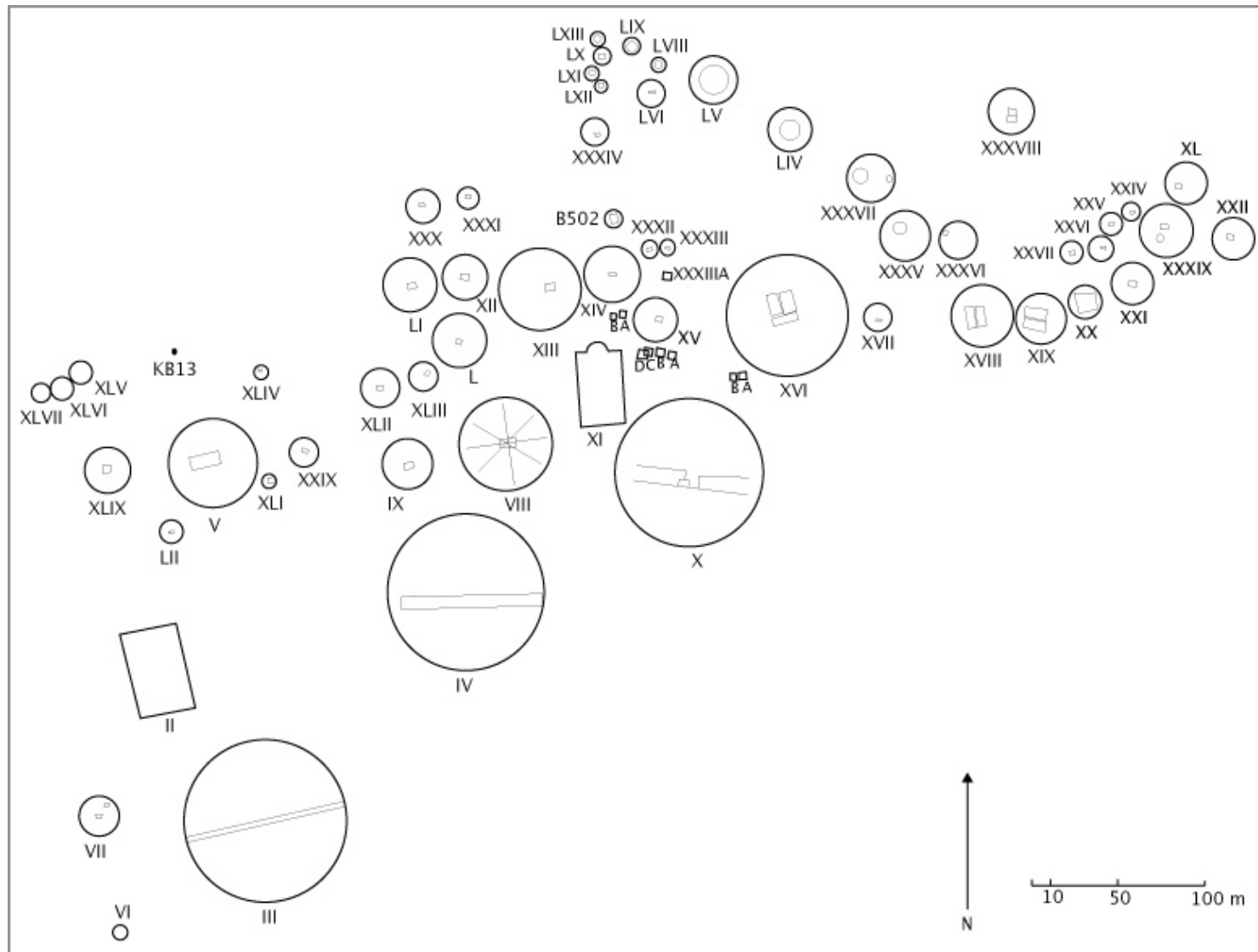


Figure 1.3 - Map of Classic Kerma Southern section of Eastern cemetery of Kerma (adapted from Reisner 1923a: plan III)

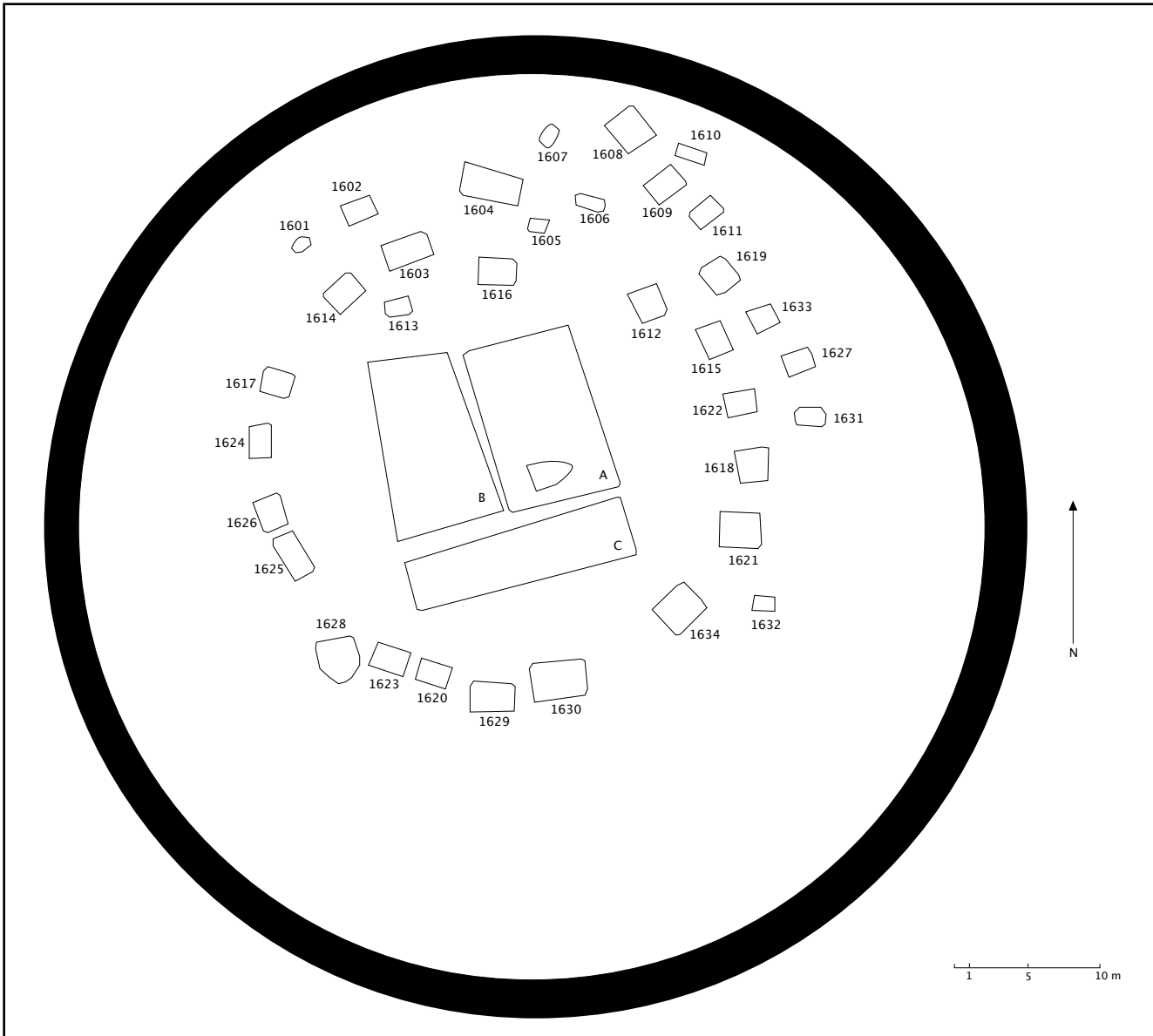


Figure 1.4a - Plan of royal Classic Kerma Tumulus KXVI (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XXV)

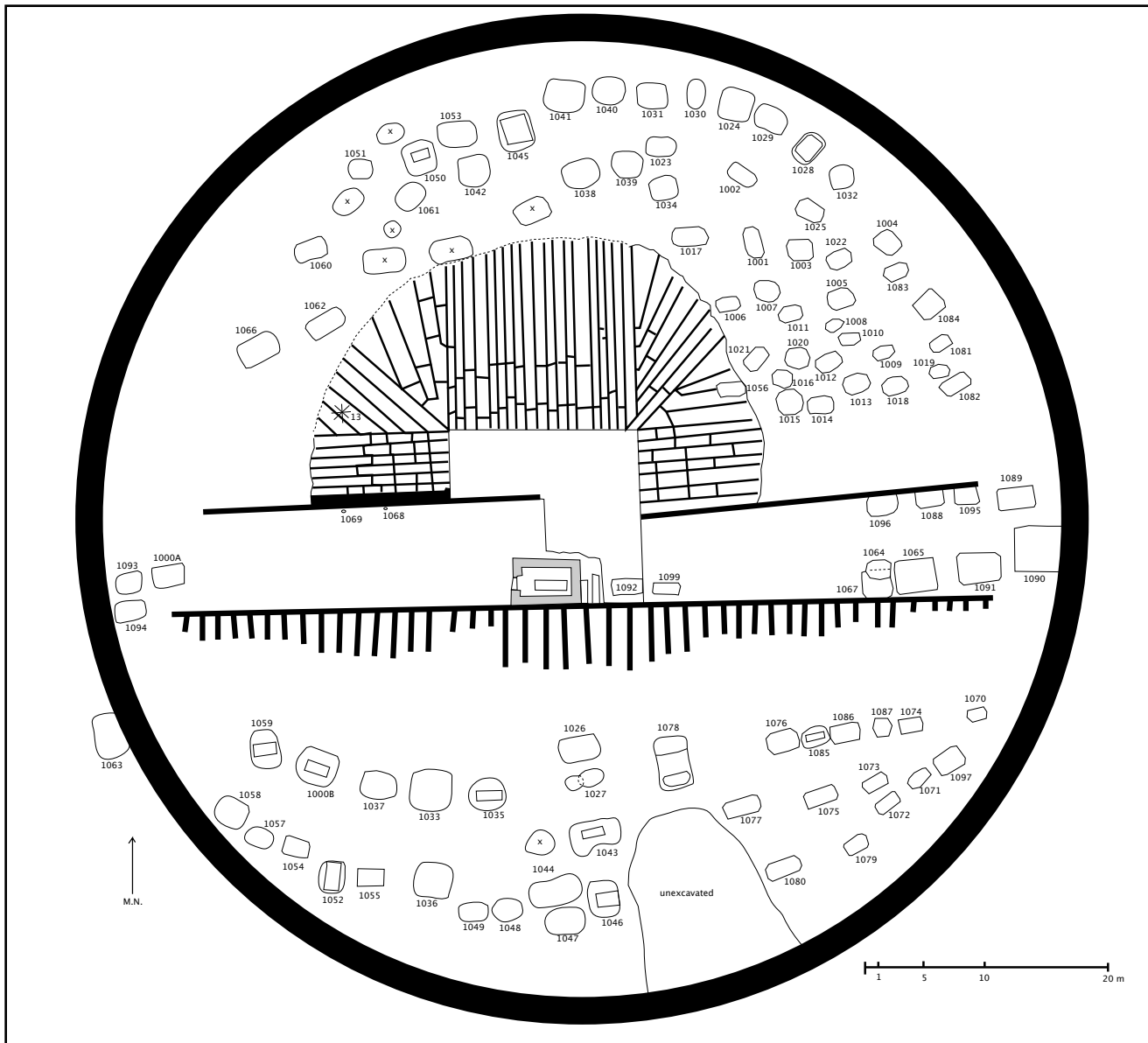


Figure 1.5a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Tumulus KX (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XXI)



Figure 1.5b - View of the sacrificial corridor KX Hall B looking west (B2166)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

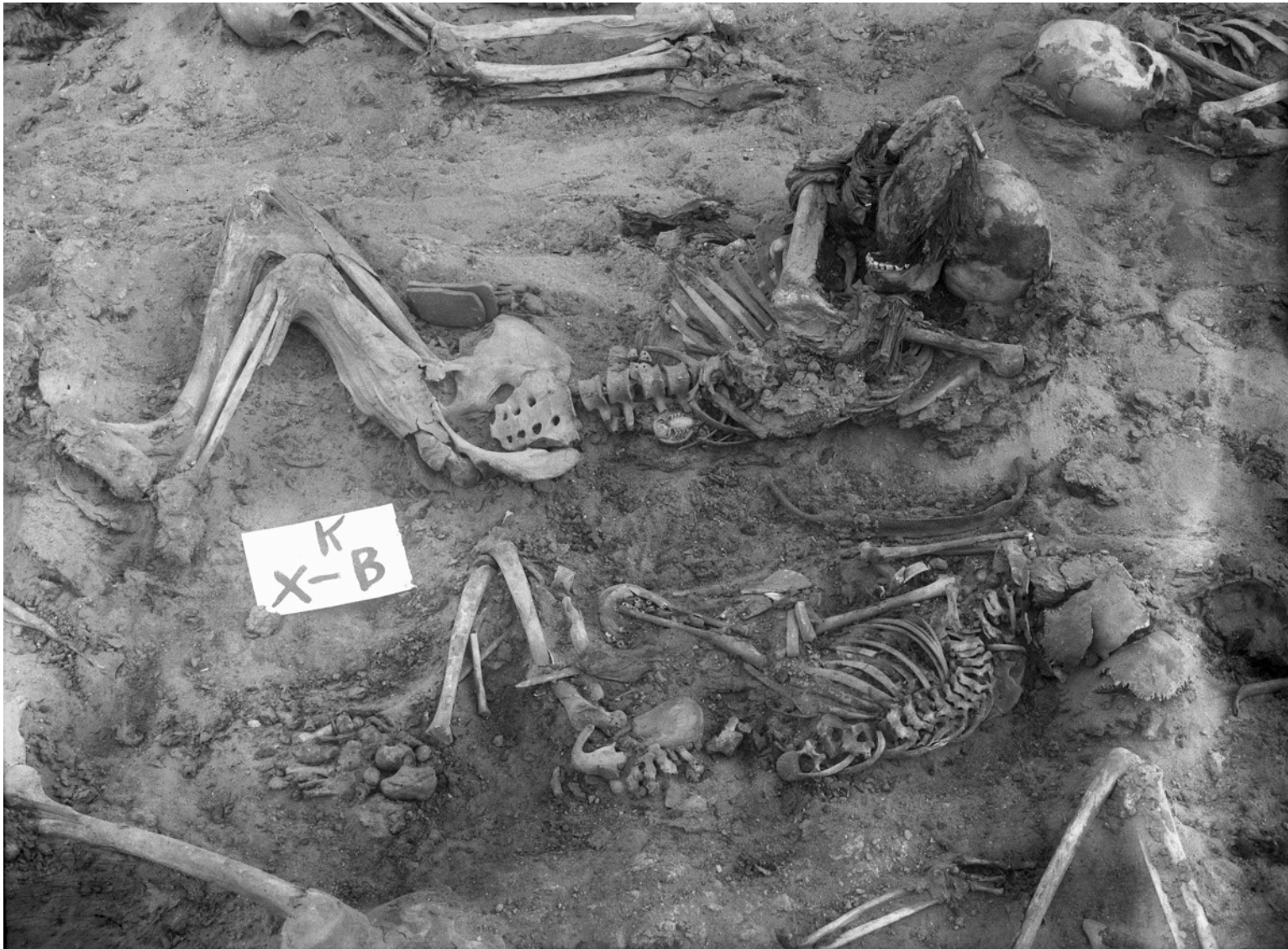


Figure 1.5c - Sacrificed individual KX Hall B body PB (upper) and KX Hall B body QB (lower), with scorpion faience appliqués visible (C6130)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

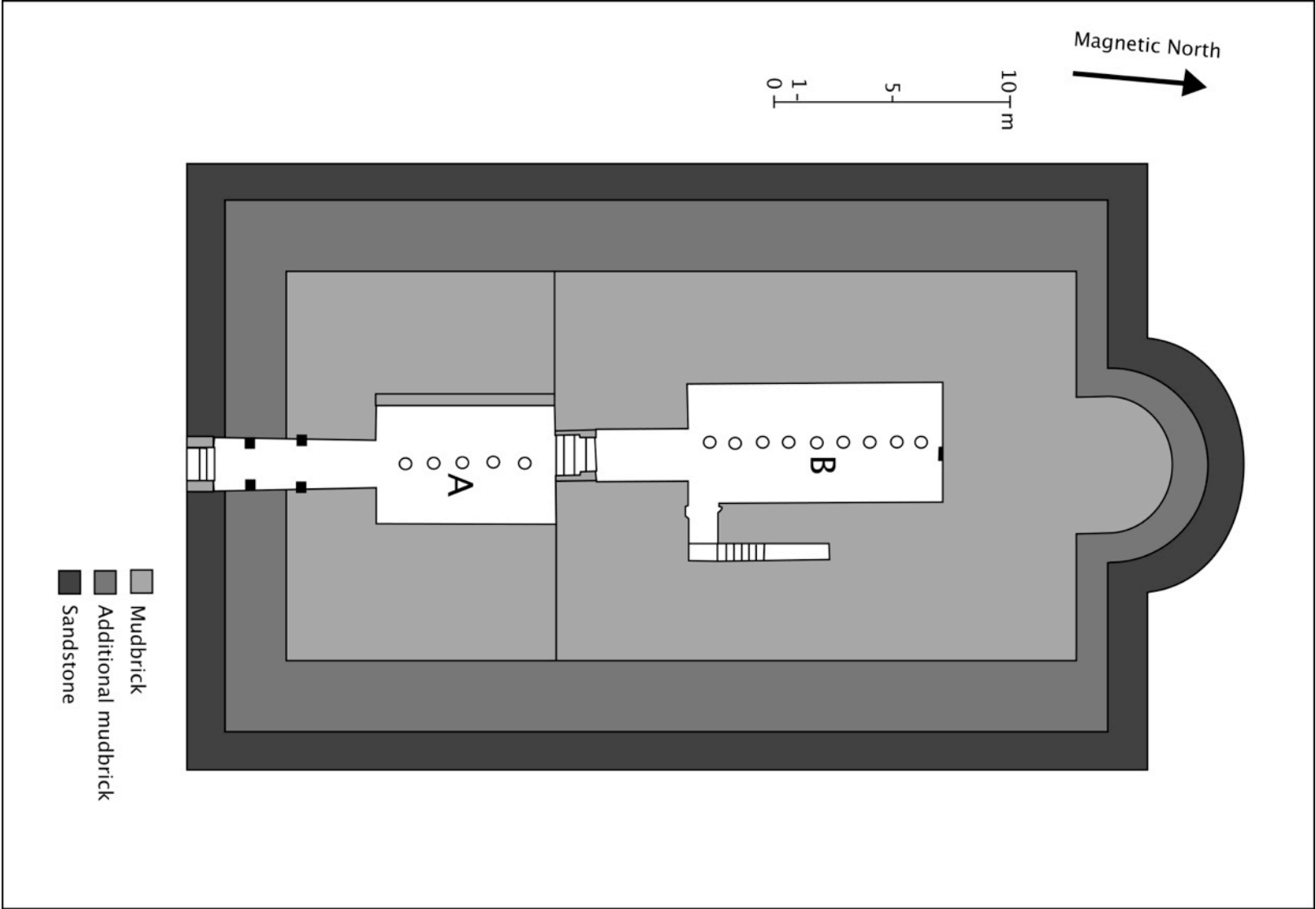


Figure 1.6a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Funerary Chapel KXI (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XIX)



Figure 1.6b - View of Funerary Chapel KXI looking north into the sanctuary, some wall paintings are visible (A923)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

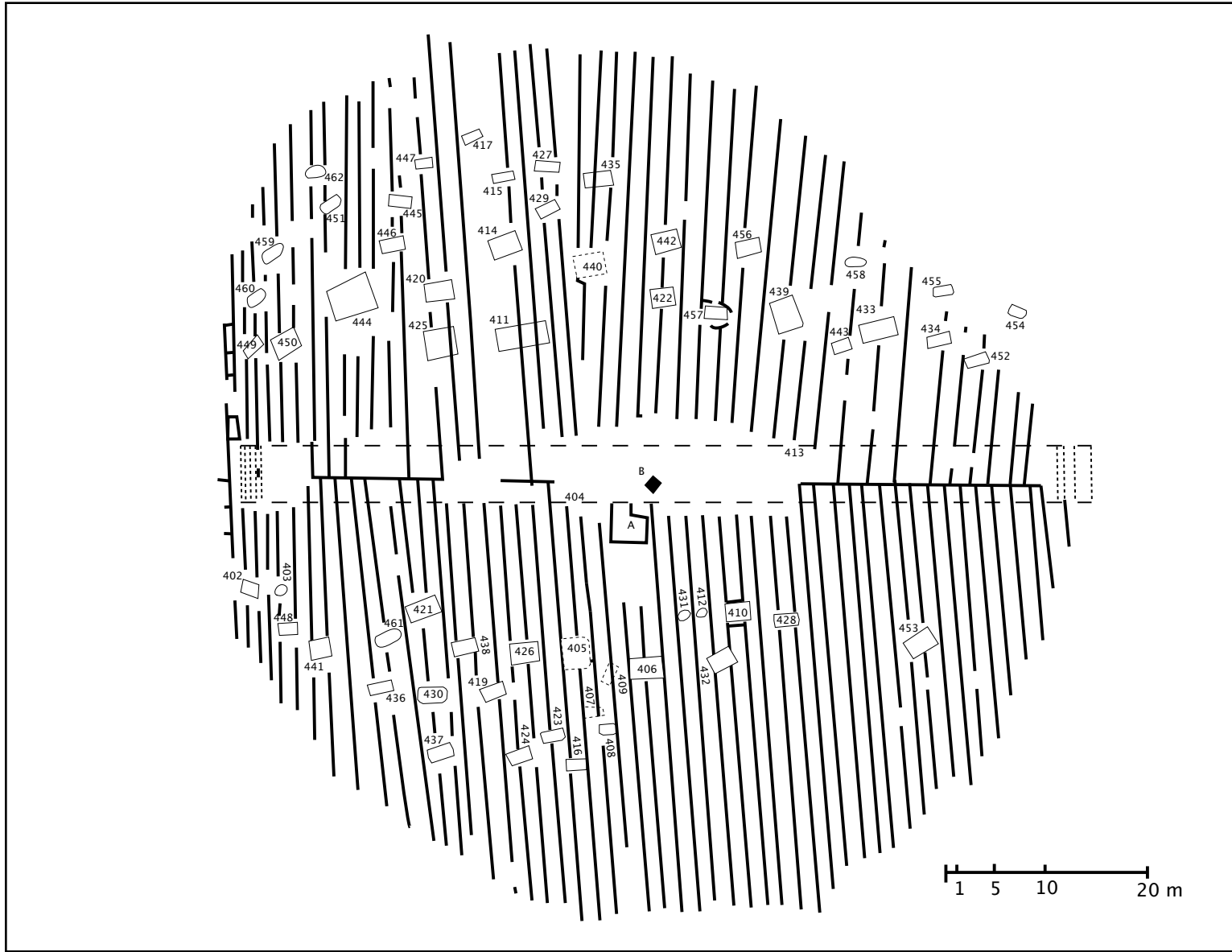


Figure 1.7a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Tumulus KIV (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XVII)

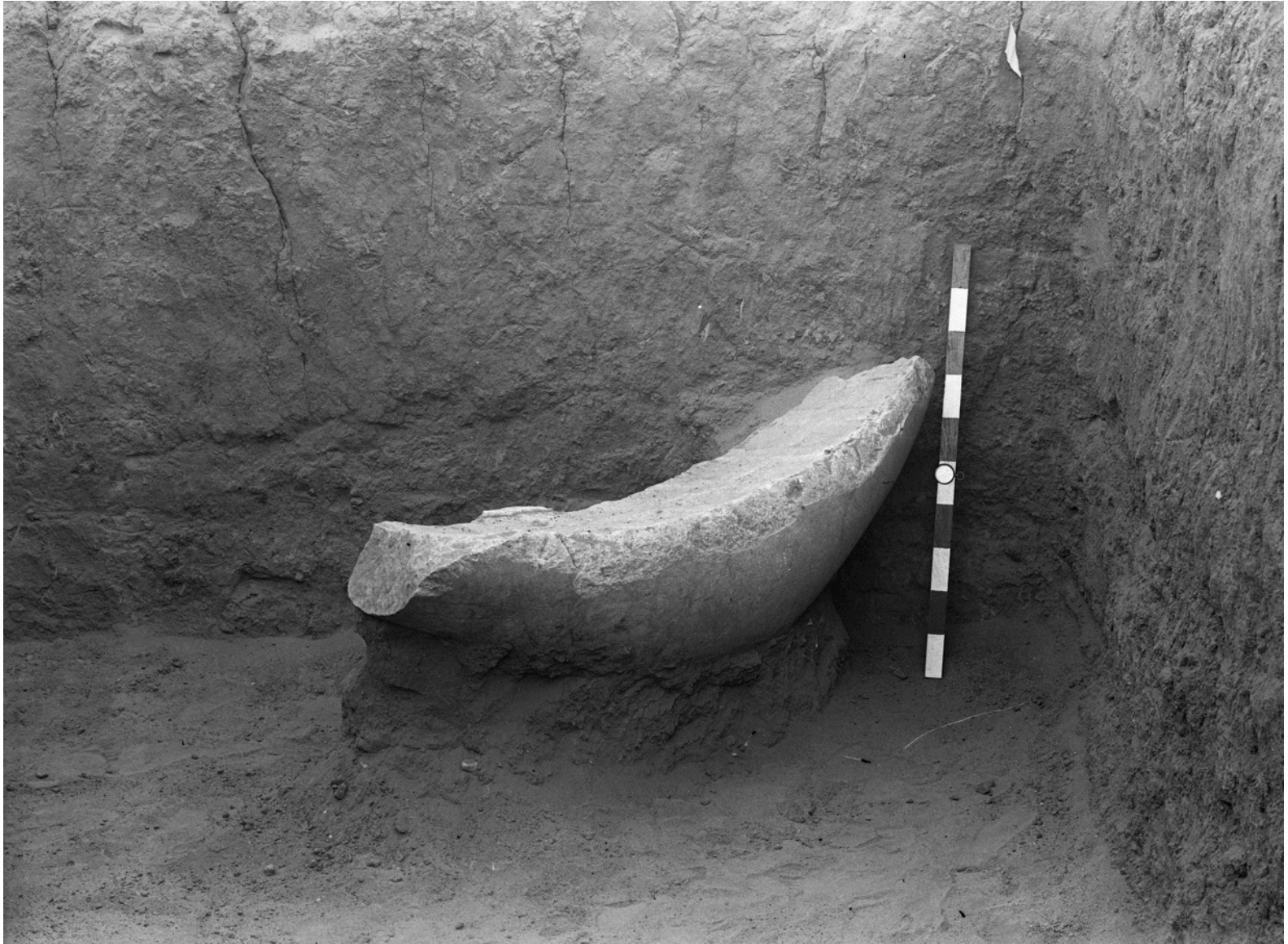


Figure 1.7b - Granodiorite model boat from Tumulus KIV room A (13-12-11) (C5797)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

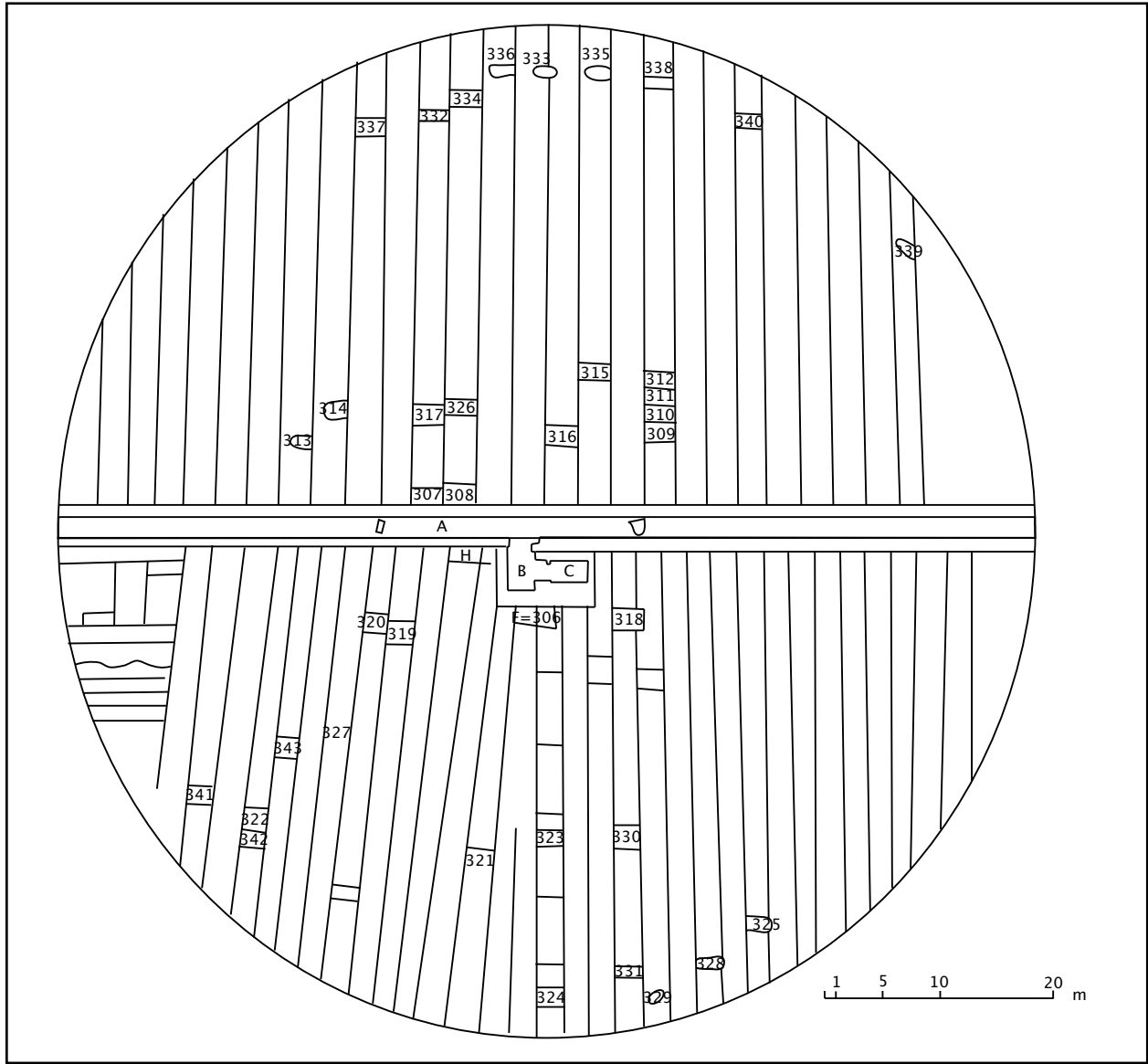


Figure 1.8a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Tumulus KIII (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XV)



Figure 1.8b - View of Tumulus KIII looking north towards Funerary Chapel KII (A2049)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 1.8d - Faience boat model fragments from KIII royal burial, upper right: bench, first two on middle and lower rows: sideboards, bottom right: prow (B2261)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 1.8e - Faience rowers fragments with boat model from KIII royal burial, bottom row first and second fragments: foot and open hand have dark purple skin color from larger steersman figure (B2260)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

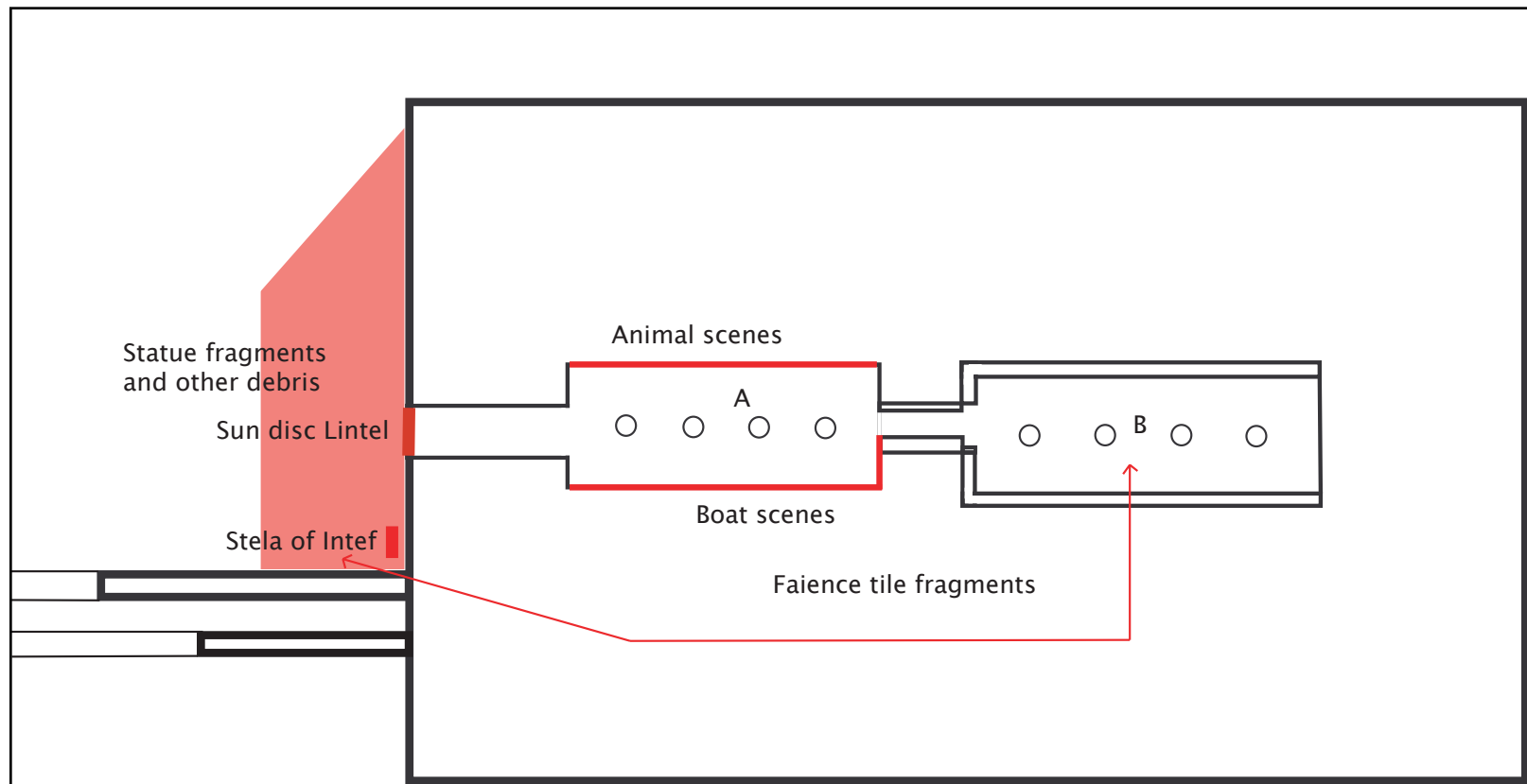


Figure 1.9a - Plan of Classic Kerma royal Funerary Chapel KII (adapted from Reisner 1923: plan XIII)



Figure 1.9b - Façade of Classic Kerma royal Funerary Chapel KII (B2460)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

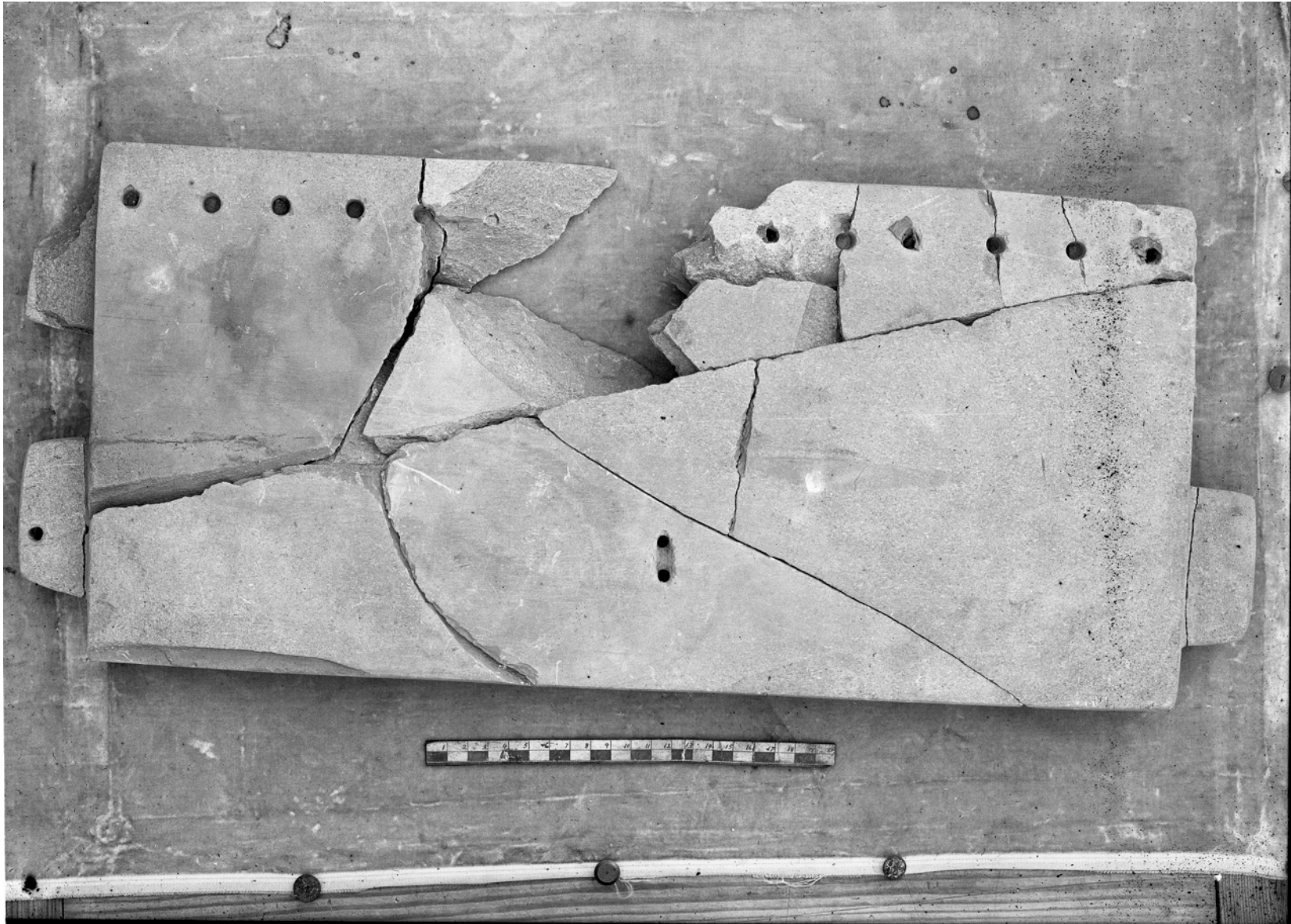


Figure 1.10a - Slate funerary bed headboard or footboard (14-1-520) (A2498)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

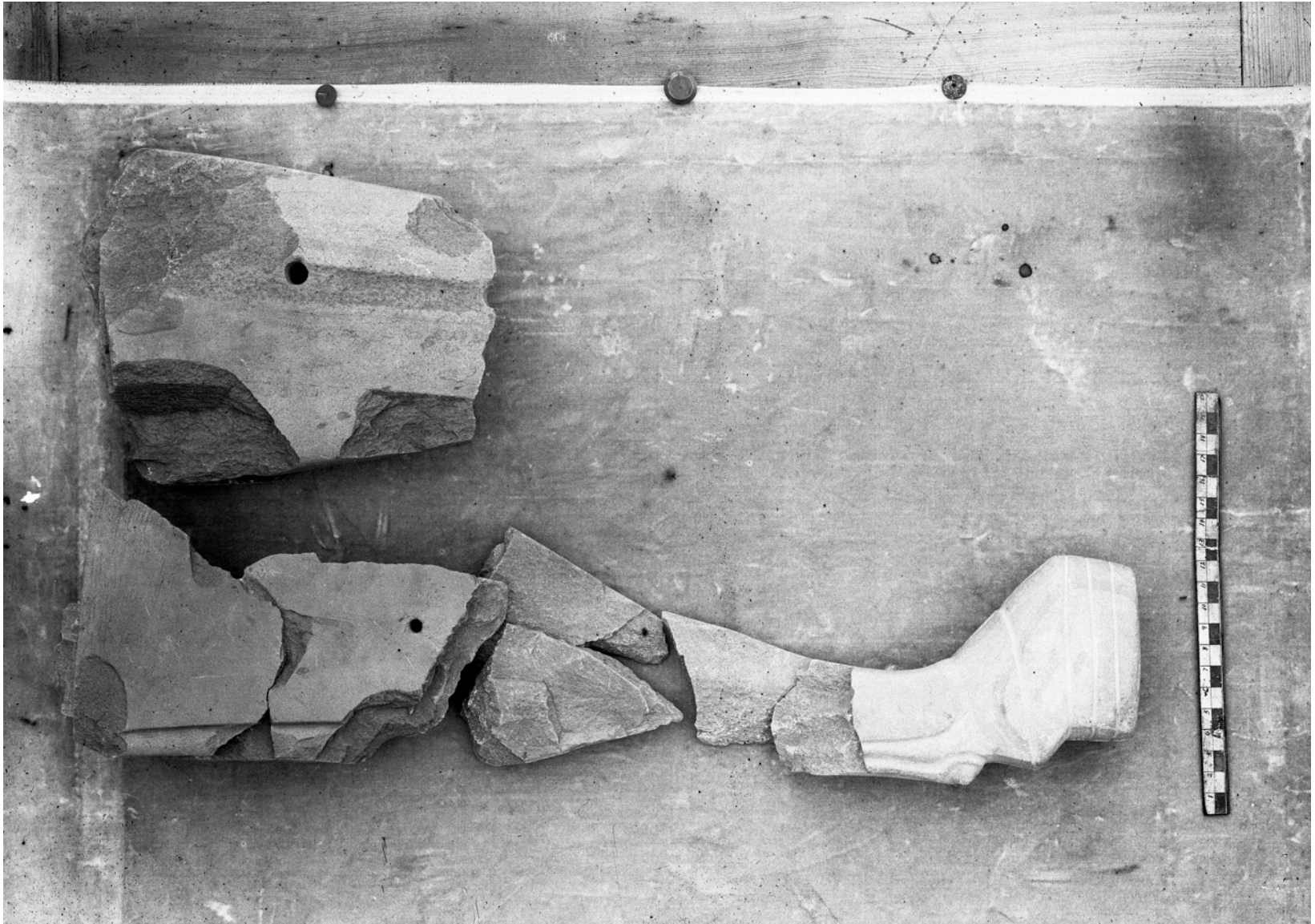


Figure 1.10b - Slate funerary bed, legs (14-1-520) (A2499)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 1.11 - Private Classic Kerma subsidiary grave K425, with three bed burials (C5855)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

CHAPTER 3 - FIGURES



Figure 3.1 - Statue of Lady Sennuwy, found in situ in the sacrificial corridor of tumulus KIII (MFA 14.720 / 13-12-371)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

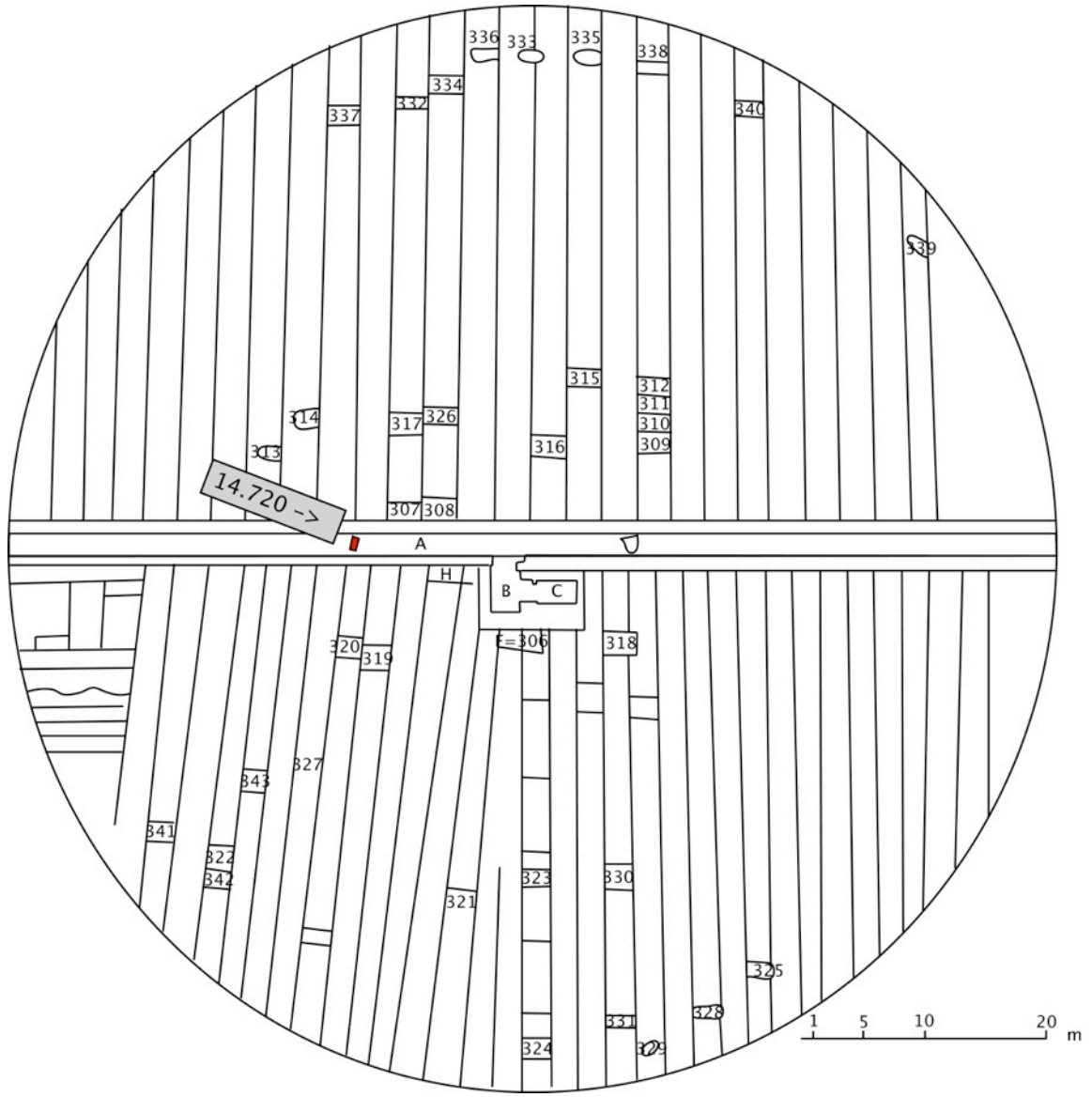


Figure 3.2 - Plan of Tumulus KIII and placement of Lady Sennuwyt (red) in sacrificial corridor (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XV)



Figure 3.3 - Alabaster basin from K1600 (MFA 20.1181a-b / 14-1-1105, 14-1-1107, 14-1-1122)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.4 - Royal wooden statue from K1600C (MFA 20.1821 / 14-1-1297)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.5 - Fragment of seated female statue from KXVI (MFA 20.1195 / 14-1-1171) (C6224)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.6 - Royal seated statue of Sekhemra Khutawy, Sobekhotep II, from KX (MFA 14.726 / 14-1-521, 14-3-1465)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.7 - Head of a Middle Kingdom king, possibly Amenemhat I, from KX (MFA 13.3968 / Su.814)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.8 - Part of reconstructed Heka-ib sanctuary on Elephantine Island (author's photograph)



Figure 3.9 - Woman wearing a Hathoric wig, from KX (MFA 20.1189 / Su.814) (C6231)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.10 - Horus falcon head fragment, KX (MFA 13.3983 / Su.814)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.11 - Female figure holding an ankh, from KX (MFA 14-1-499) (C6254)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.12 - Base fragment of seated official Ankhufankhu, from KV62 (MFA 20.1187a-b / 13-12-47) (C6218)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.13 - Standing official with high-waisted, long kilt (MFA 20.1192 / 13-12-9) (B2213)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.14 - Head of a statue of an official with a bald, shaved head (MFA 20.1207 / 14-1-79) (B2143)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.15 - Lower fragment of seated female, from KIV (MFA 20.1190a / 13-12-8) (B2210)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.16 - Seated statue of Senaa-ib, from KIII (MFA 14.721 / 14-1-1076)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.17 - Ken, overseer of sealers (MFA 20.1191a / 13-12-250) (C6220)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.18 - Ameny, overseer of the sealer, as found in KIII debris (14-2-1481) (C6172)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.19 - Kneeling statue from KIII, fragment rotated 90 degrees (MFA 20.1220 / 13-12-241)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.20 - Fragment of seated statue of Hepdjefa, from KIII (MFA 14.724 / 13-12-372)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 3.21a - Stela of Intef (MFA 13.3967)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

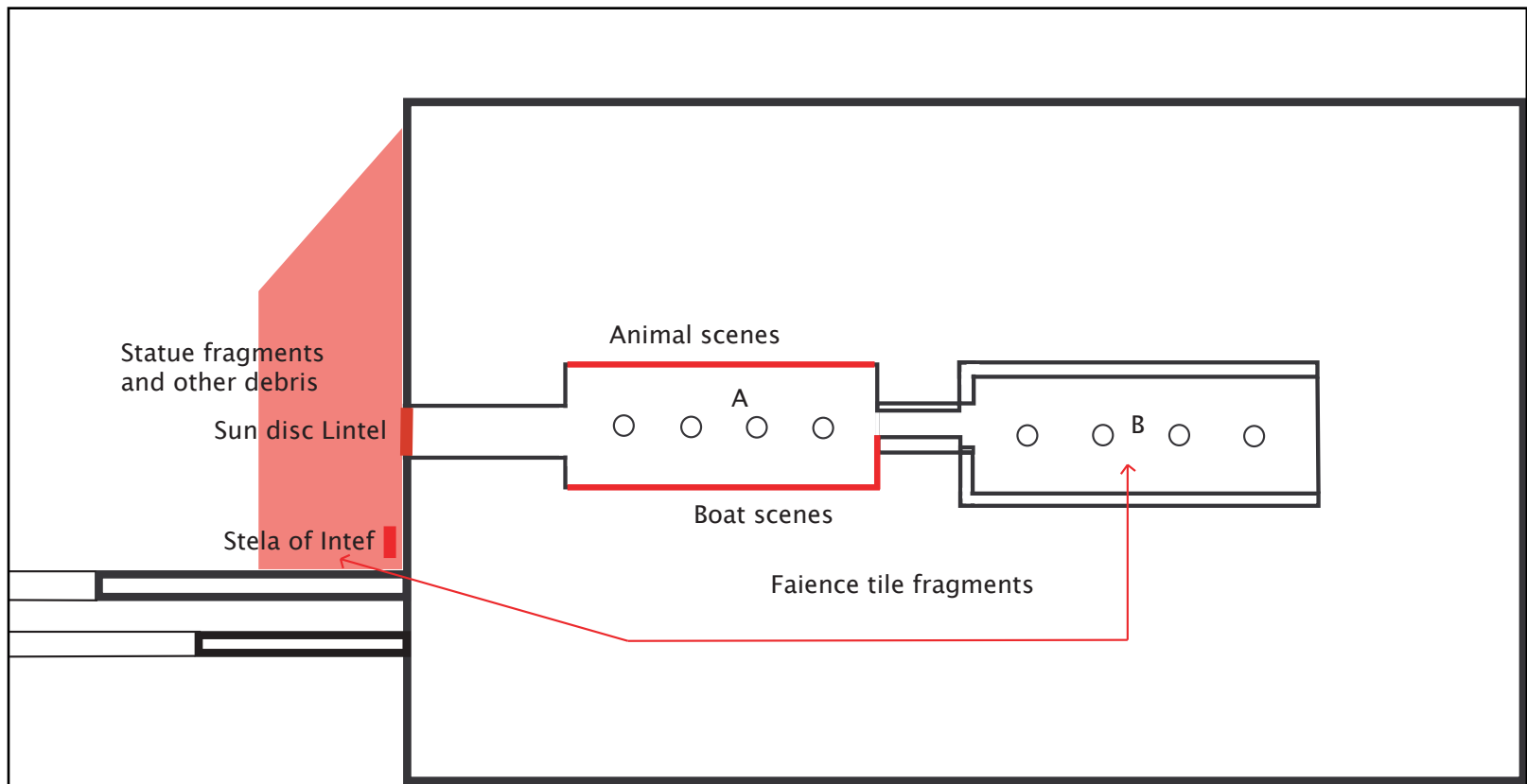


Figure 3.21b - Stela of Intef placement in front of Funerary Chapel KII (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XIII)



Figure 3.22 - Small royal statuette from KII (MFA 20.1204 / 14-1-1137)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

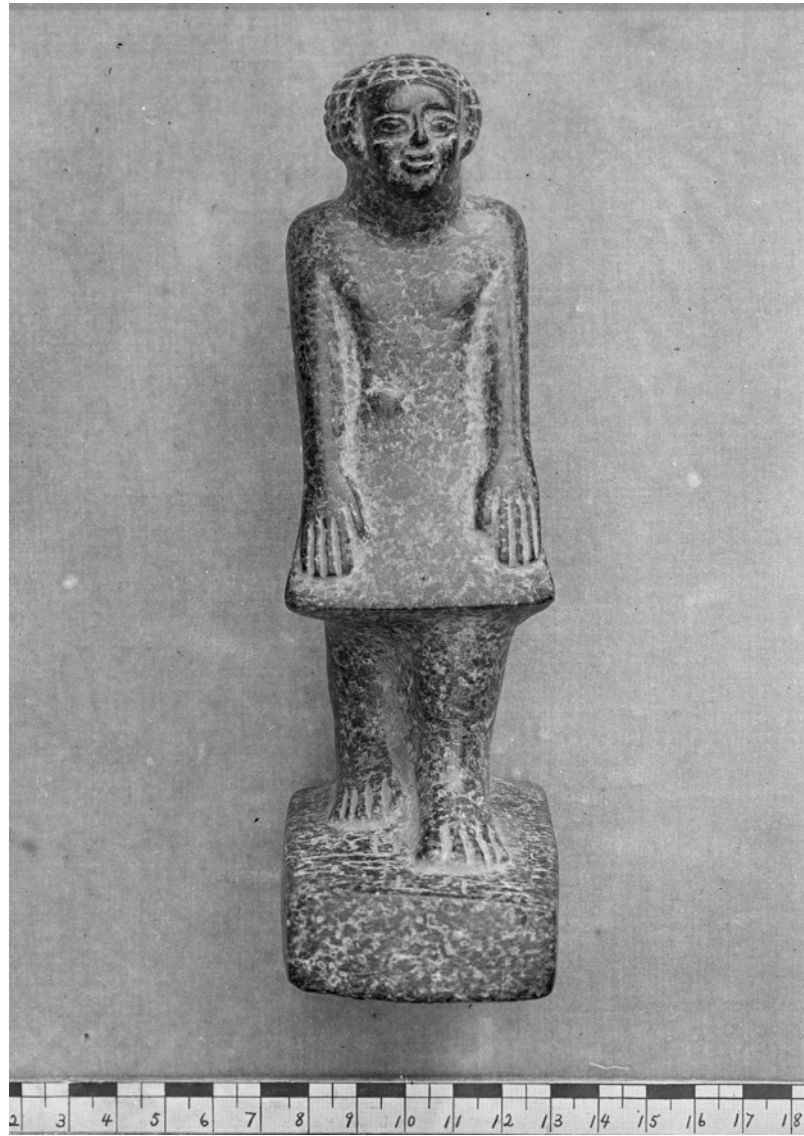


Figure 3.23 - Small statue of Mentuhotep of El-Kab, from KXV (?) (Khartoum 1132 / 14-1-718) (C6417)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

CHAPTER 4 - FIGURES



Figure 4.1 - Stela from Buhen (based on Wildung 1997: cat. 100)

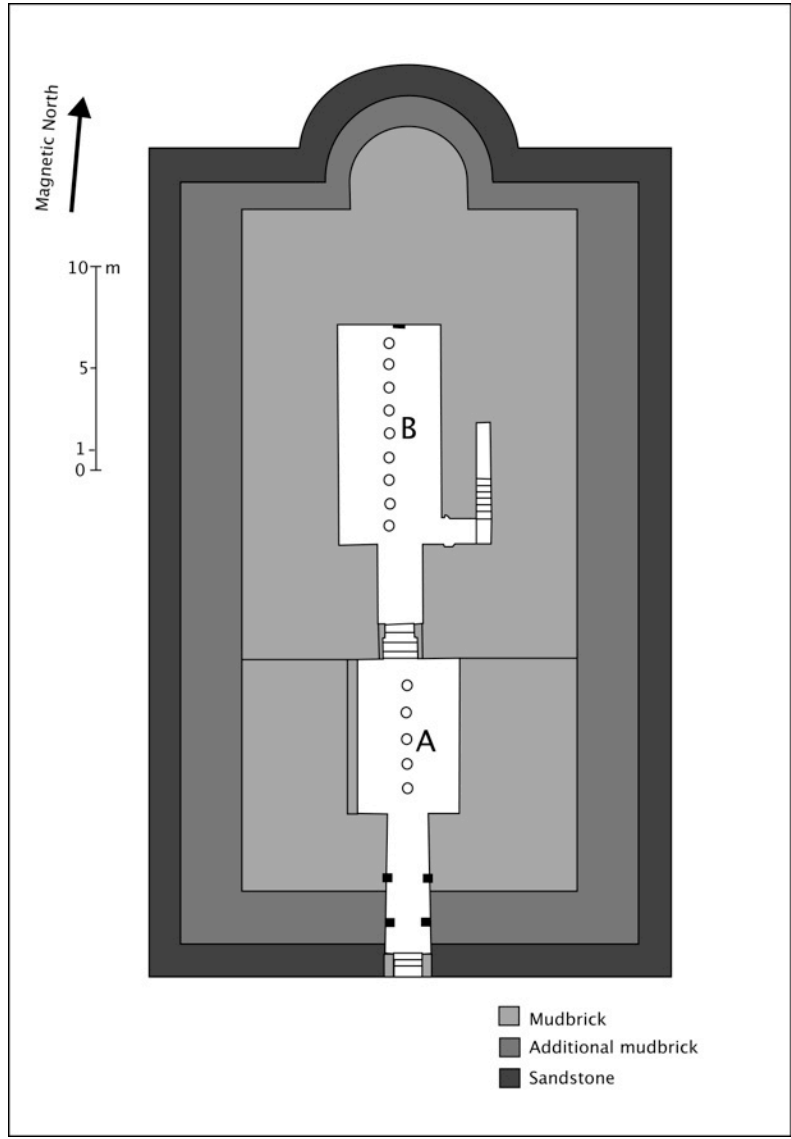


Figure 4.2 - Plan of Funerary Chapel KXI (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XIX)

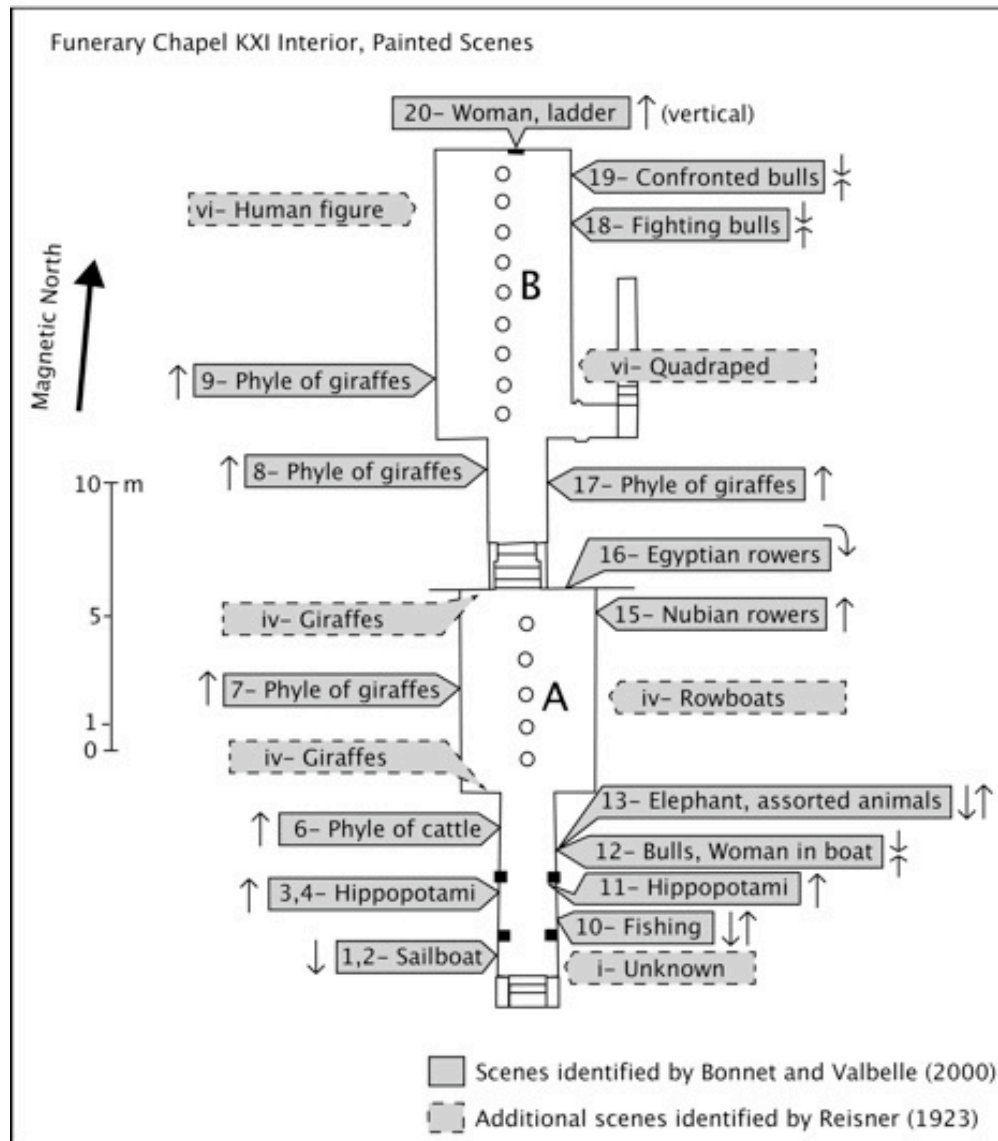


Figure 4.3 - Plan of the interior of Funerary Chapel KII with locations and orientations of wall paintings marked (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XIX; and descriptions in Bonnet and Valbelle 2000)



Figure 4.4 - Reisner field photo of files of hippopotami in second entrance foyer of KXI (C5173)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.5 - Reisner field photo of woman in boat, Bonnet scene 12 (C4417)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.6a - Reisner field photo of a file of giraffes in KXI (C5176)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.6b - Reisner field photo of a file of giraffes in KXI (C5175)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.7 - File of cattle on hull of wooden model boat (MFA 20.1485)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.8 - Potsherd with incised bulls (MFA 20.2101, 13-12-357)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.9 - Bulls About to Fight, tomb of Sarenput I (author's photograph)



Figure 4.10 - Pigs, tomb of Renni (Tylor 1900: pl. II)



Figure 4.11 - Cattle Crossing Scene, tomb of Kagemni (author's photograph)



Figure 4.12 - Fishing and Fowling in the Marshes, tomb of Sabni (author's photo)



Figure 4.13 - Netting Fish, tomb of Sarenput I (author's photograph)

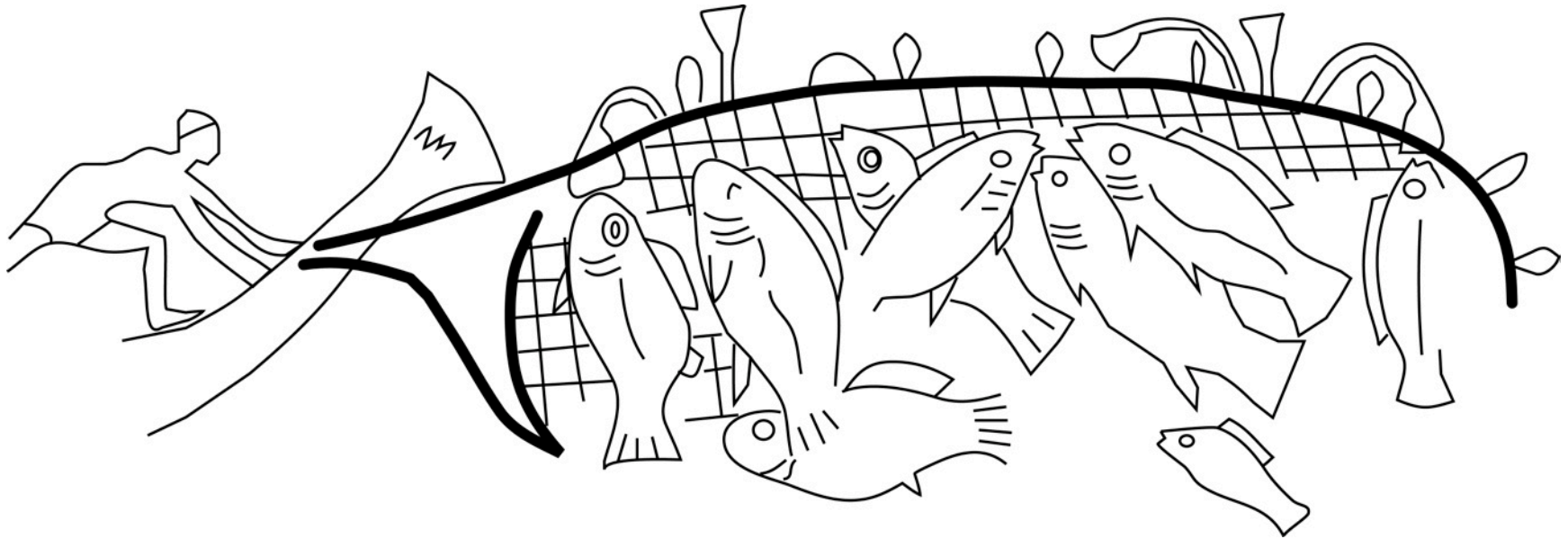


Figure 4.14 - Fish netting scene from the tomb of Sobeknakht at El-Kab (based on Tylor 1896: 6, pl. IV).

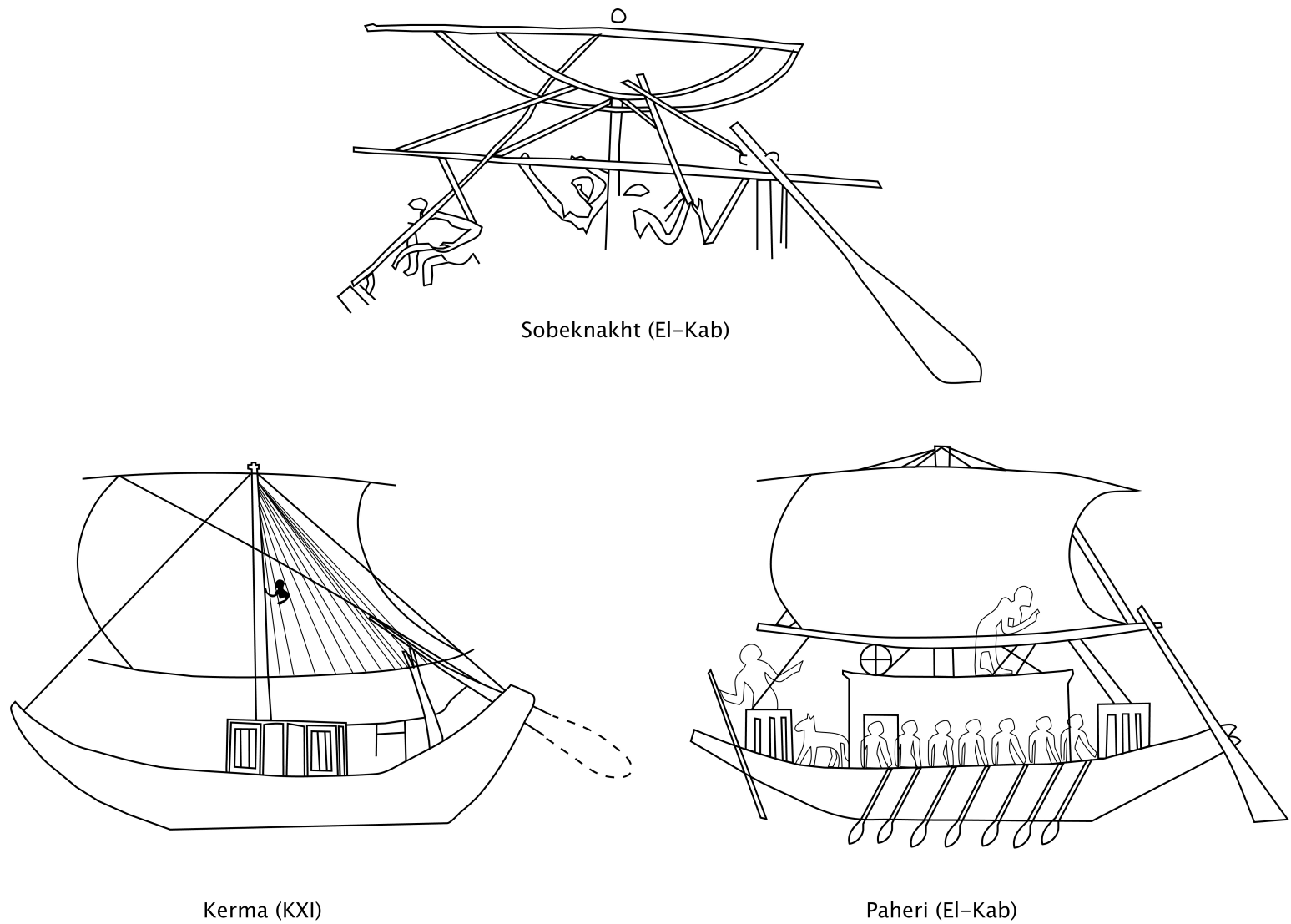


Figure 4.15 - Comparison of sailboat scenes from Kerma wall painting in KXI (adapted from Bonnet and Valbelle 2000: fig. 52), the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab (adapted from Tylor 1895: pl.V), and the tomb of Sobeknakht at El-Kab (adapted from Tylor 1896: 6, pl. IV). Relative scales were adjusted for comparison.



Figure 4.16 - Boats with Nubian goods, Tomb of Huy, Theban Tomb 40 (photograph courtesy Deanna Kiser-Go).



Figure 4.17a - Fleet of boats from Funerary Chapel KII (B2459)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.17b - Fleet of boats from Funerary Chapel KII, severe negative damage (A2027 and Reisner 1923: pl. 4/2)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

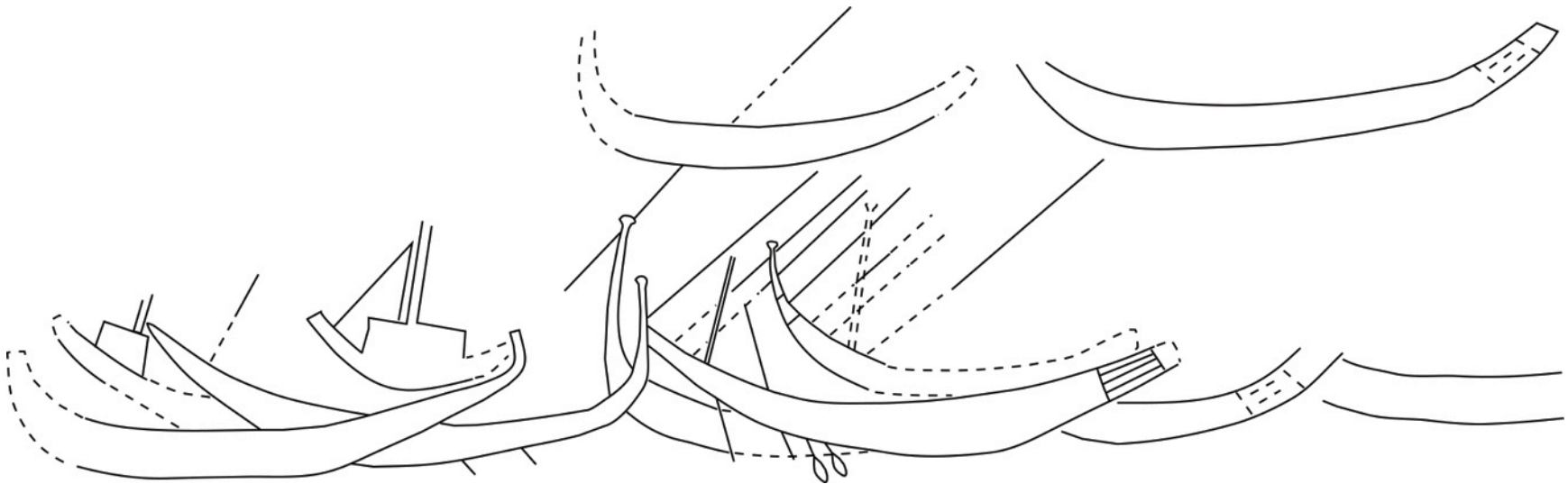


Figure 4.18 - Author's reconstruction of sailboat scene in KII room A, based on overlap in A2027 and B2459 and Lacovara (1986: Figure 7)
Scale unknown, due to lack of scale in field photo



Figure 4.19 - Fighting on Papyrus Skiffs, tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Porter and Moss III.2: 643, author's photograph)

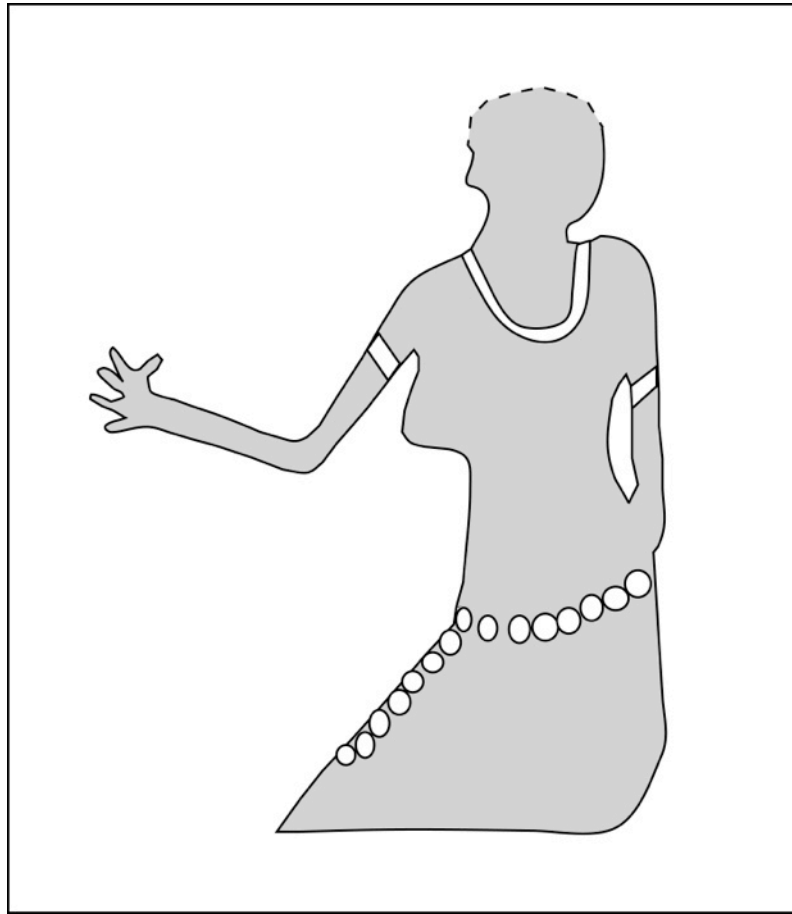


Figure 4.20 - Author's reconstruction based on Reisner field photo of woman in boat (based on C4417)

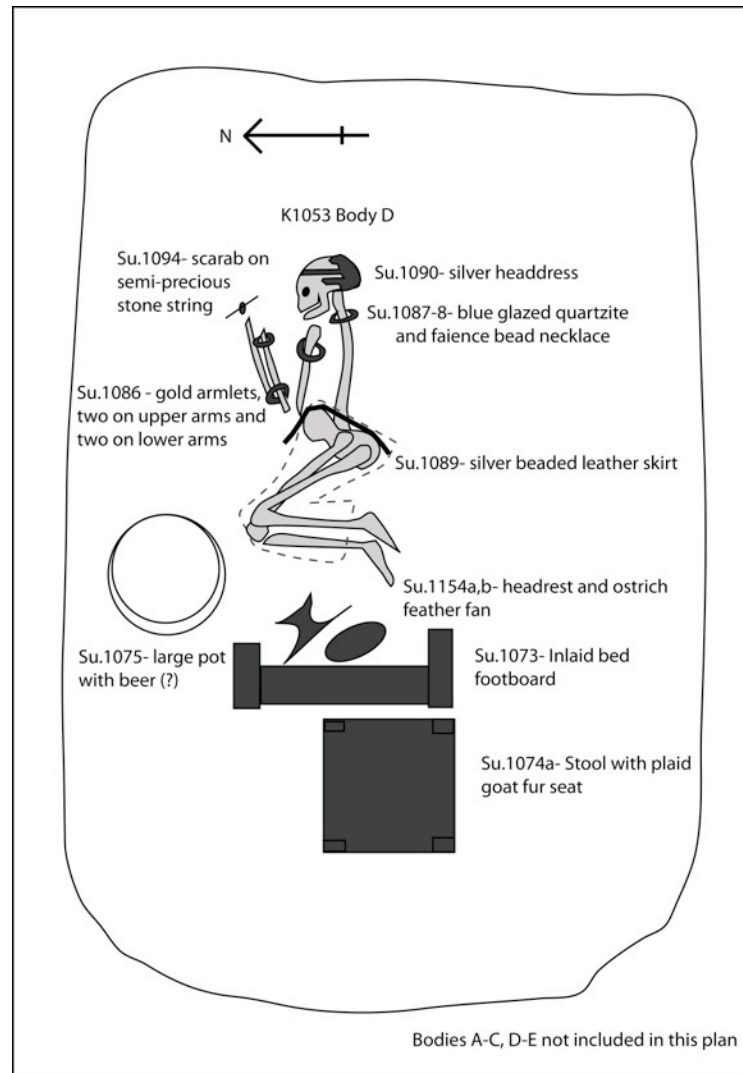


Figure 4.21a - Line drawing of placement of K1053 body D and associated burial goods (based on Reisner 1923a: fig. 111*)

*Note this figure is printed upside-down and with south labeled north in the 1923 publication (versus description in Reisner 1923a: 342)

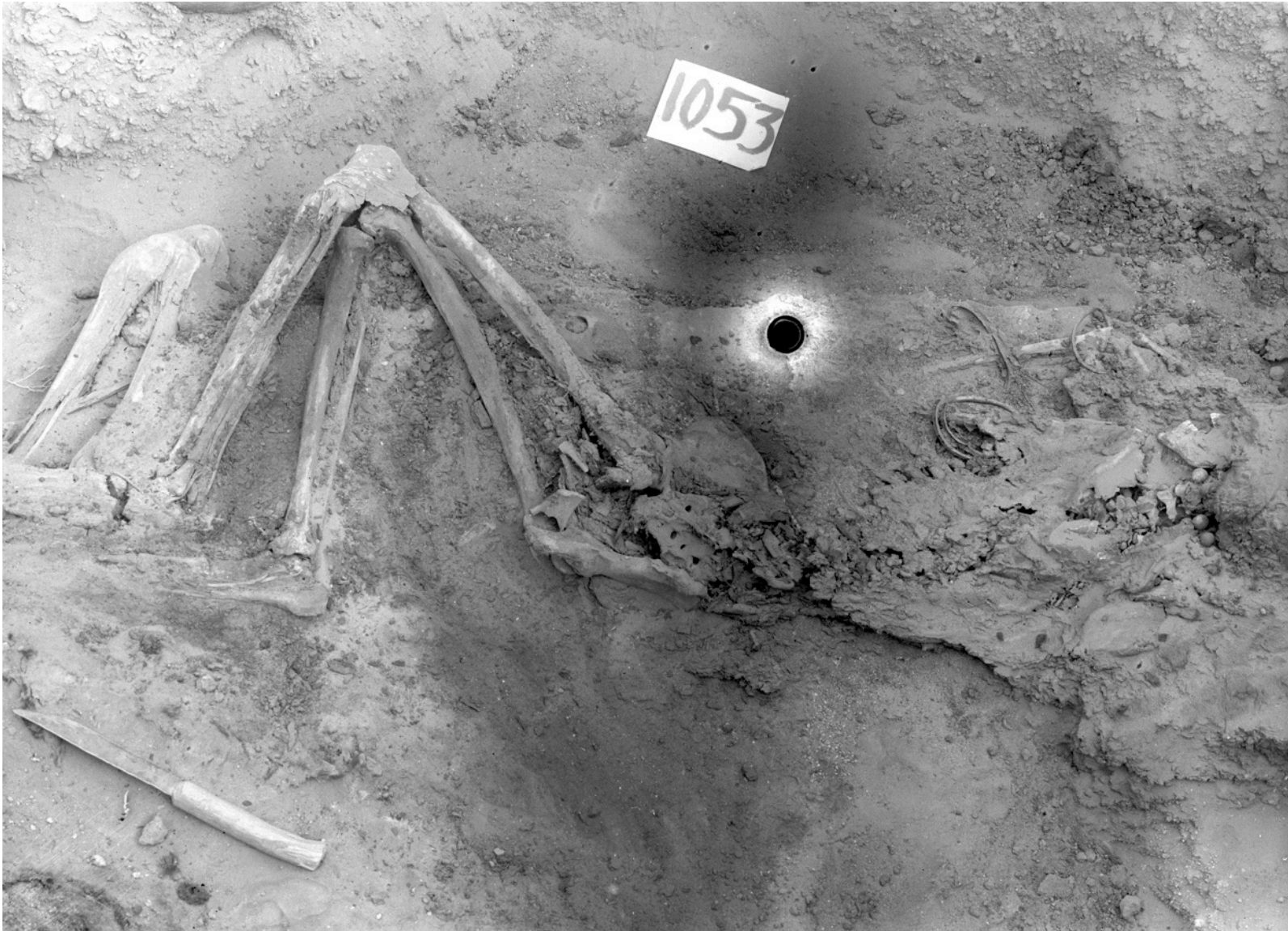


Figure 4.21b - Woman K1053 body D, showing dark stain of long leather skirt, jewelry in situ (C4428)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Note that the black circle is a defect in the negative)



Figure 4.22 - Examples of silver beads from leather skirt drawstrings, lower left with remains of leather skirt (K318, MFA 14-1223 / 14-2-48), stone ring beads in upper right (C6436)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.23 - Field photo of silver cap on skull of woman K1053 body D (MFA 13.4196 / 20.2025 / Su.1090) (A936)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.24 - Punt Huts, Hatshepsut Temple (author's photograph)



Figure 4.25 - Faience tiles from funerary chapel KII, Kerma (Classic Kerma period; MFA 20.1224)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.26 - Rosette petal faience tiles from sandstone ceiling panels, Funerary Chapel KXI (15-2-7 and 15-2-17) (B2638)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.27 - Head of a Nubian man, sectional faience tile from KII (MFA 20.1305a)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.28a - Imported Egyptian faience vessels found in Classic Kerma burials (A2023)

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Figure 4.28c - Some imported Egyptian faience vessels, as well as other unusual forms that are likely Kerman, such as an openwork bird plaque (fifth item from left in second row) (A2175)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 4.29a - Wall painting of winged sun disc in Tumulus KIII burial chamber (C5839)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

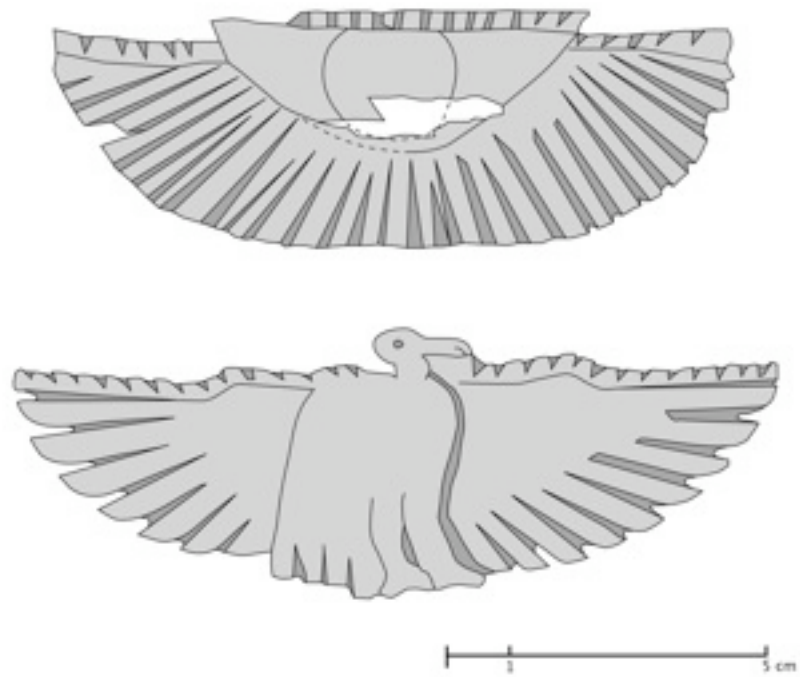


Figure 4.29b - Illustration comparing winged sun disc ivory inlay (MFA 14.1645 / 14-3-1314) and vulture ivory inlay (MFA 20.1354 / 14-1-224)
(based on author's photograph)



Figure 5.1a - Wooden box or coffin (left) and funerary bed (right) in grave K1050 (C4386)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

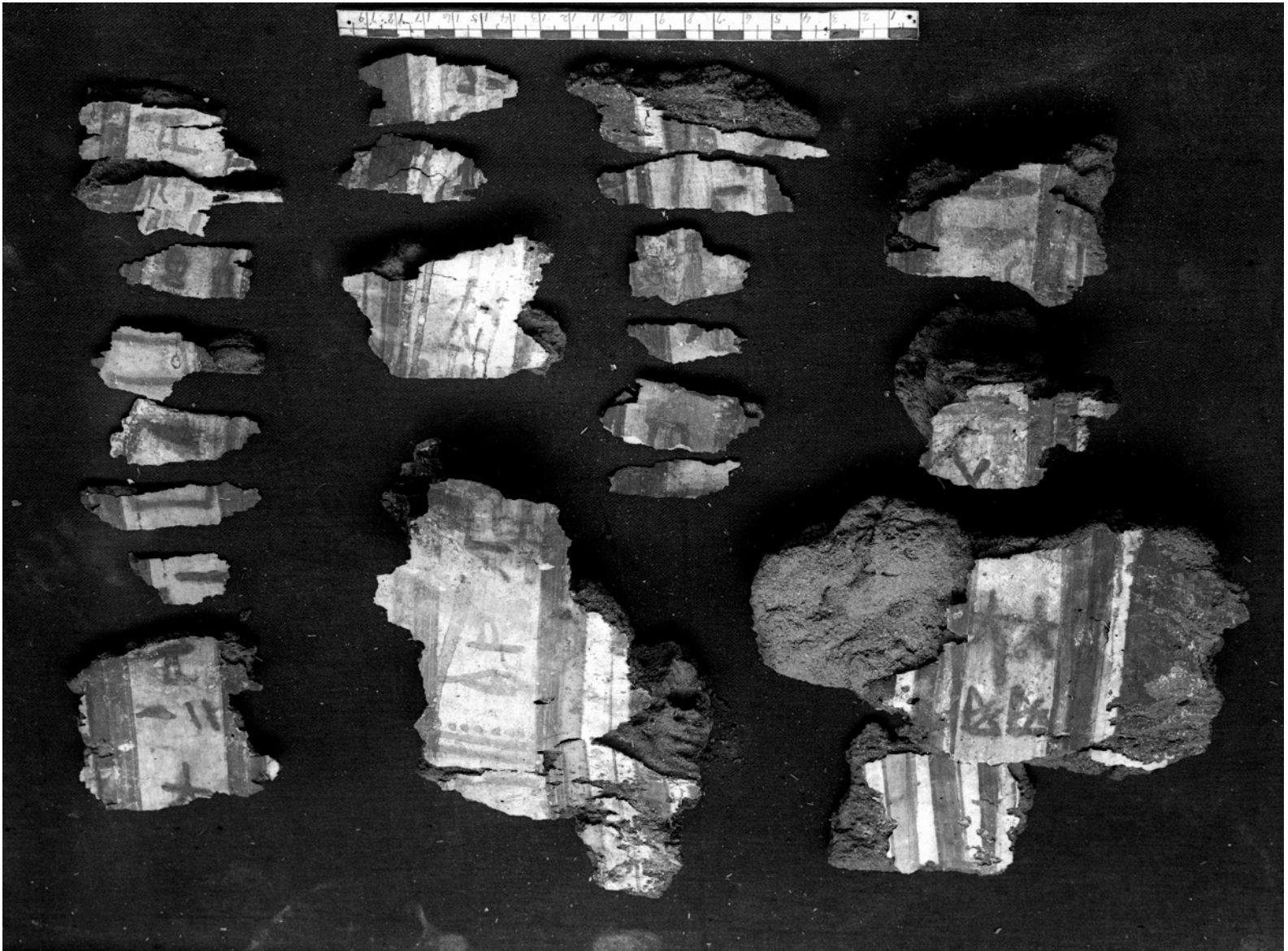


Figure 5.1b - Wooden box or coffin with gesso and painted inscription from K1000B (C6356)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.2 - Lower row: Ram skulls with horn protectors from K1964 and K1042, upper row: Meroitic pottery (B1809)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

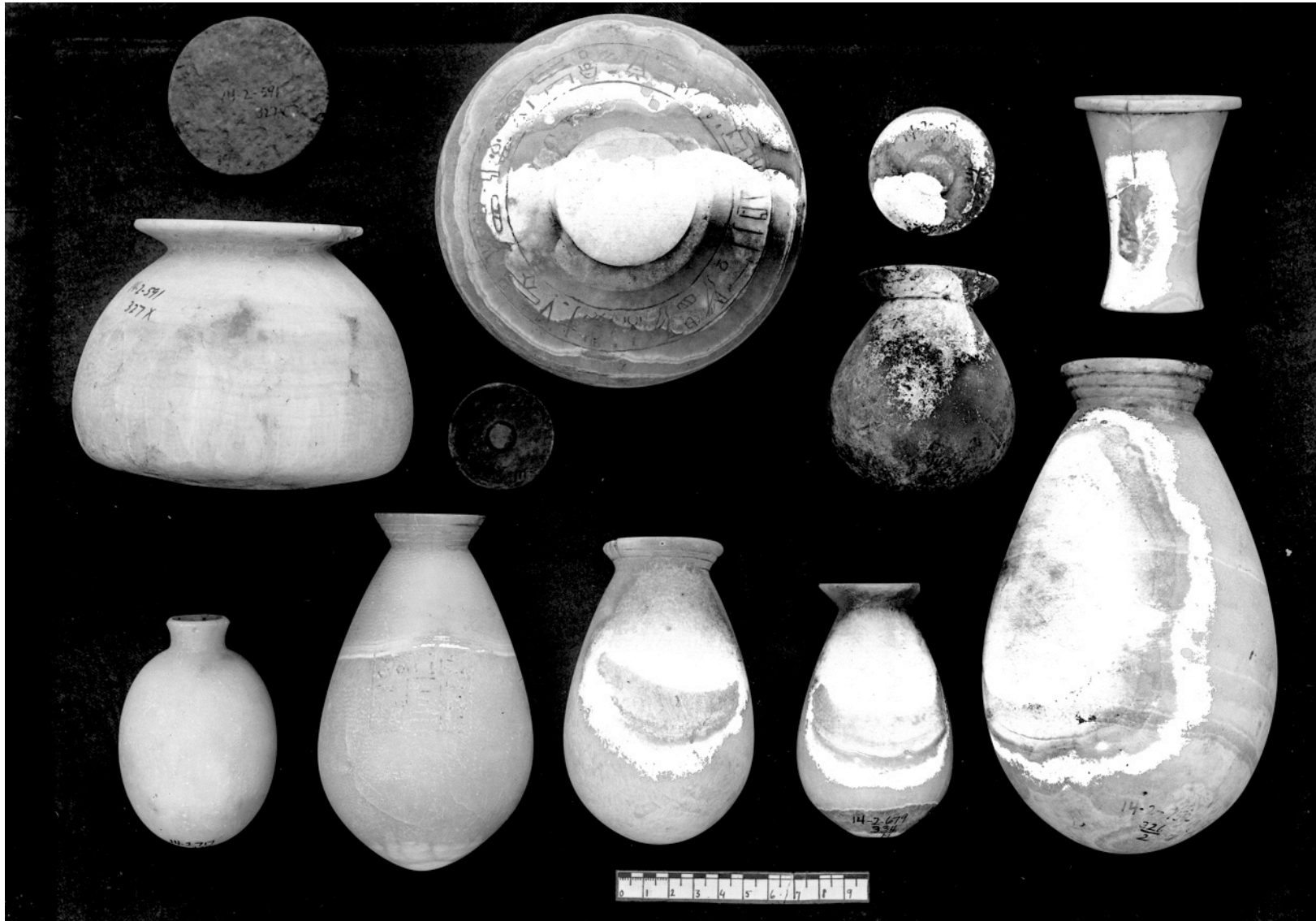


Figure 5.3a - Egyptian stone vessels, center globular: inscribed for Horheriat of El-Kab (K325, MFA 20.1150a,b / 14-2-785), lower row second from left: inscribed for Sobeknakht of El-Kab (K334, 14-2-678) (B2171)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.3b - Egyptian stone vessels, left: inscribed for Horheriat of El-Kab (K325, MFA 20.1150a,b / 14-2-785), right: inscribed for Iymer(u) of El-Kab (KIII debris, 13-12-786) (B2271)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.3c - Egyptian stone vessels, center: inscribed for Sobeknakht of El-Kab (K334, 14-2-678) (B2268)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.4 - Egyptian stone vessel with oil-based contents (K1038, MFA 13.4266 / Su.756)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.5 - Selection of stone kohl pots from Classic Kerma private burials (B2275)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.6 - Scarabs demonstrating Egyptian / 'Hyksos' types and geometric Egyptianizing / Nubian examples (A2041)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.7a - Gold-wrapped scarab held in hand of female burial, K1053 (MFA 13.4111 / Su.1904, Su.1095)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.7b - Line drawing of seal side of scarab MFA 13.4111 (based on photo by author)



Figure 5.8a - Mud door sealing from the royal burial chamber in tumulus KX (MFA 15-2-31)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (original upside-down)



Figure 5.9b- Line drawing of matching scarab from grave K311 (13-12-855) (based on A2041, scarab is second from right on second to last row)

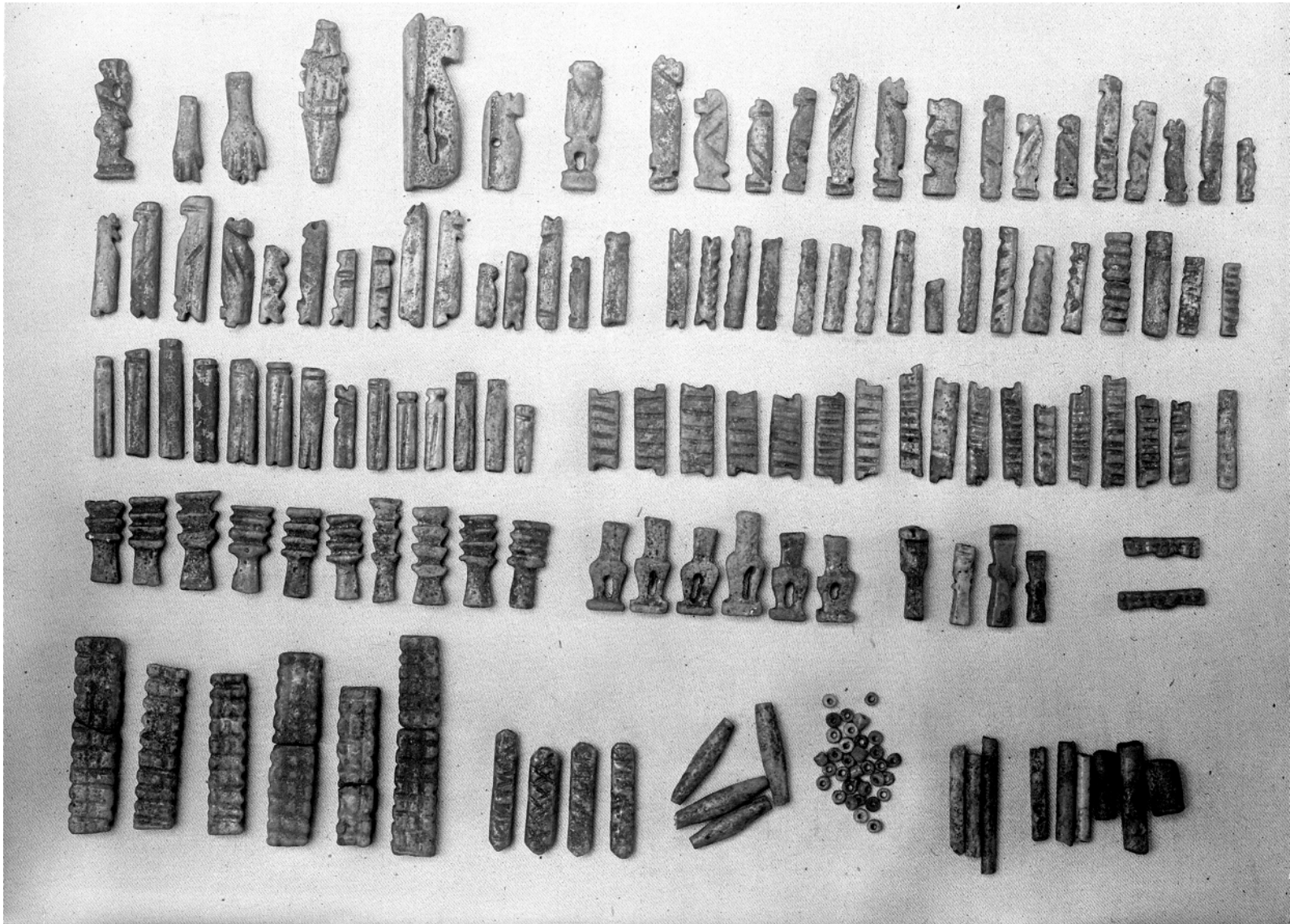


Figure 5.9a - 'Amulet beads' from beaded cloth under the primary deceased individual K444 body A(MFA 14-1-344, 14-1-345) (A2109)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.10 - Large ivory fly amulets from private Classic Kerma burials, lower row: Egyptian magic wands (B2297)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.11 - Preening or resting bustards, from the appliquéd hat worn by body E in K1061 (MFA 13.4281 / Su.980) (B1982)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.12 - Leather, note bottom left is braided leather similar to mirror handles, from Tumulus KX Hall B (MFA 20.1426 / 14-3-295) (A2178).
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

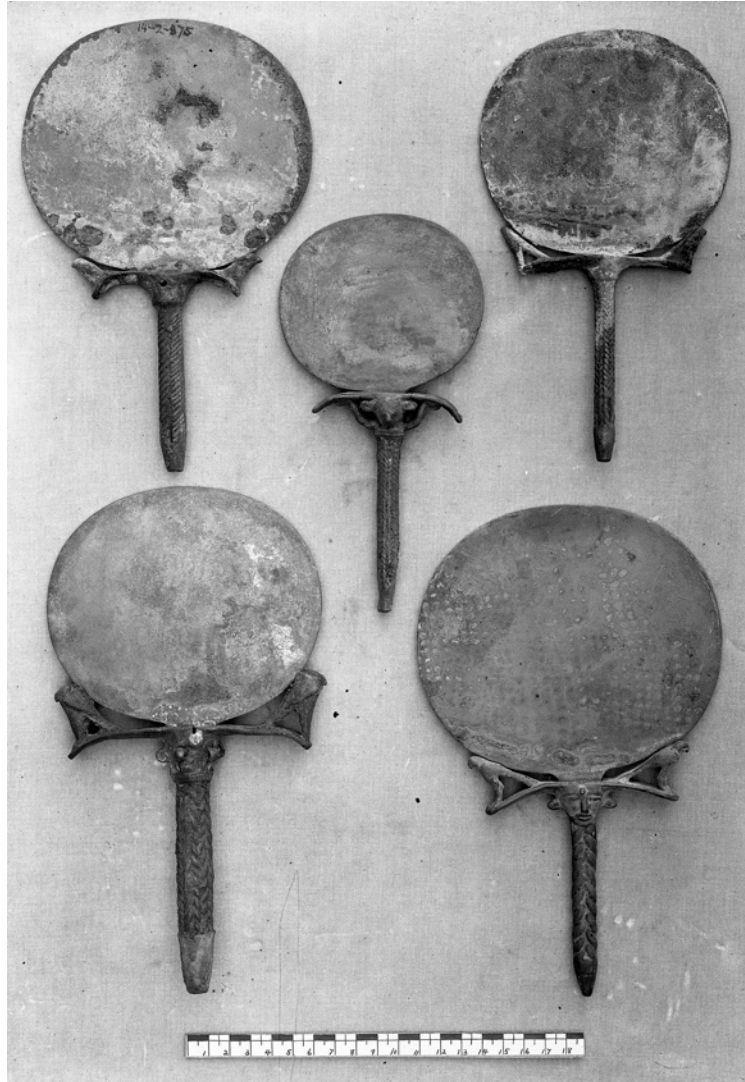


Figure 5.13 - Type II bronze mirrors, braided handles, falcons, schematic Hator heads, center: KIII Hall A, MFA 20.1791 / 14-2-745) (A2154)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.14a - Bronze razors from private Classic Kerma graves (A2155)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

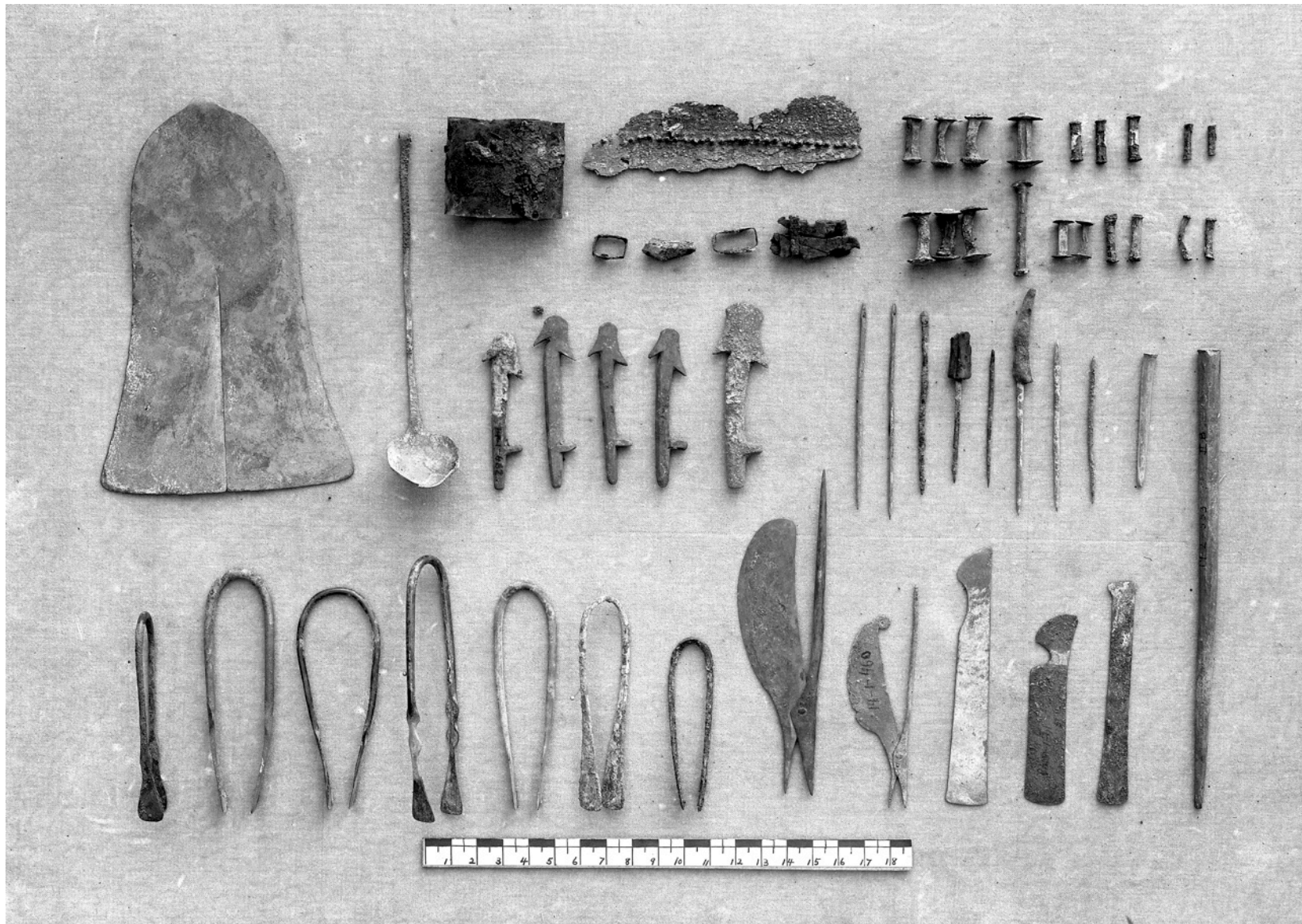


Figure 5.14b - Bronze cosmetic implements from private Classic Kerma graves (A2157)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

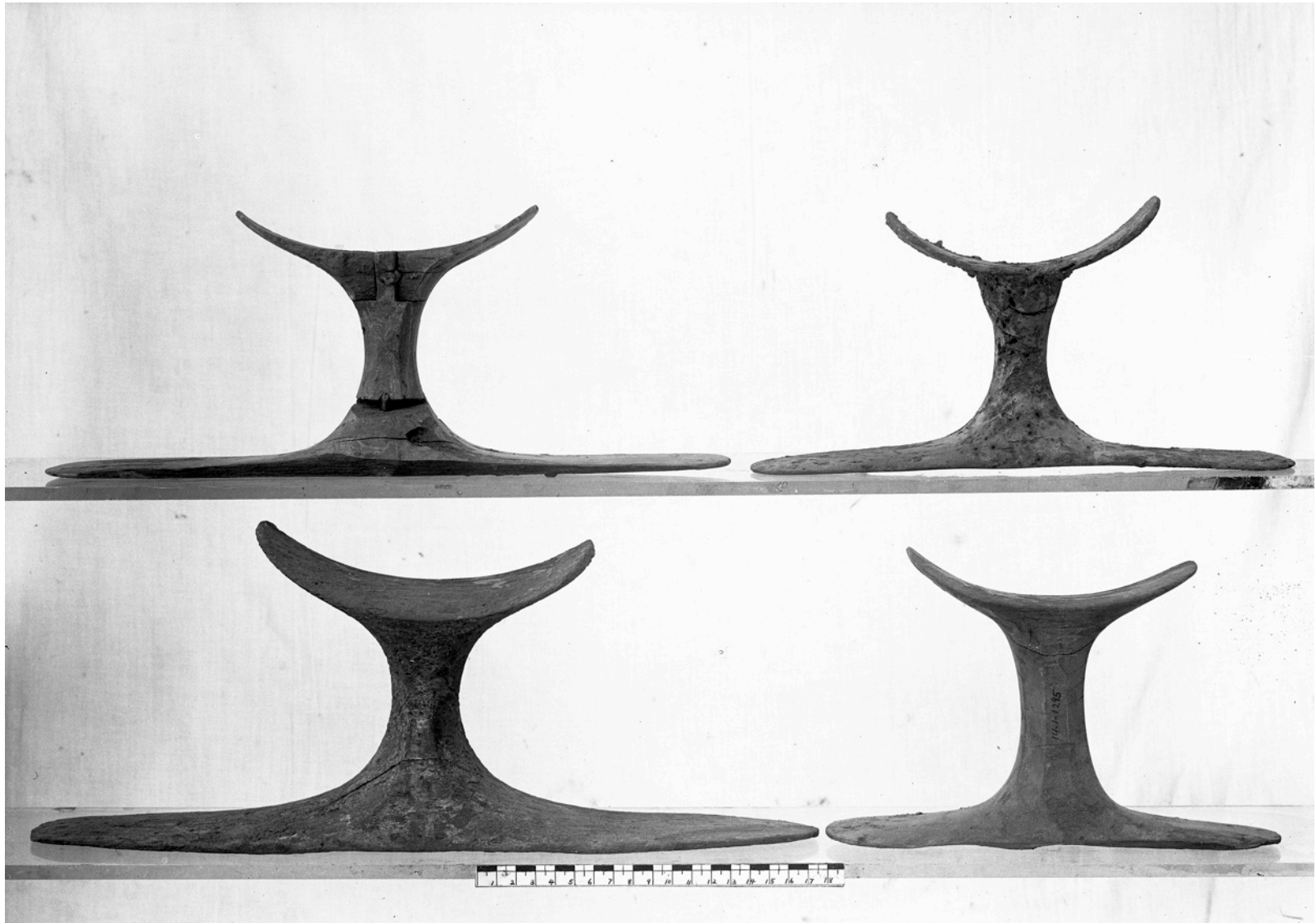


Figure 5.15 - Wooden headrests from private Classic Kerma graves (B2278)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.16 - Ivory apotropaic wand, no decoration on reverse (KIII debris, MFA 20.1780 / 13-12-783)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.17a - Dagger pommel made of ivory magic wand, worn at the hip of a sacrifice in private grave K1096 (MFA 20.1566 / 14-3-704)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

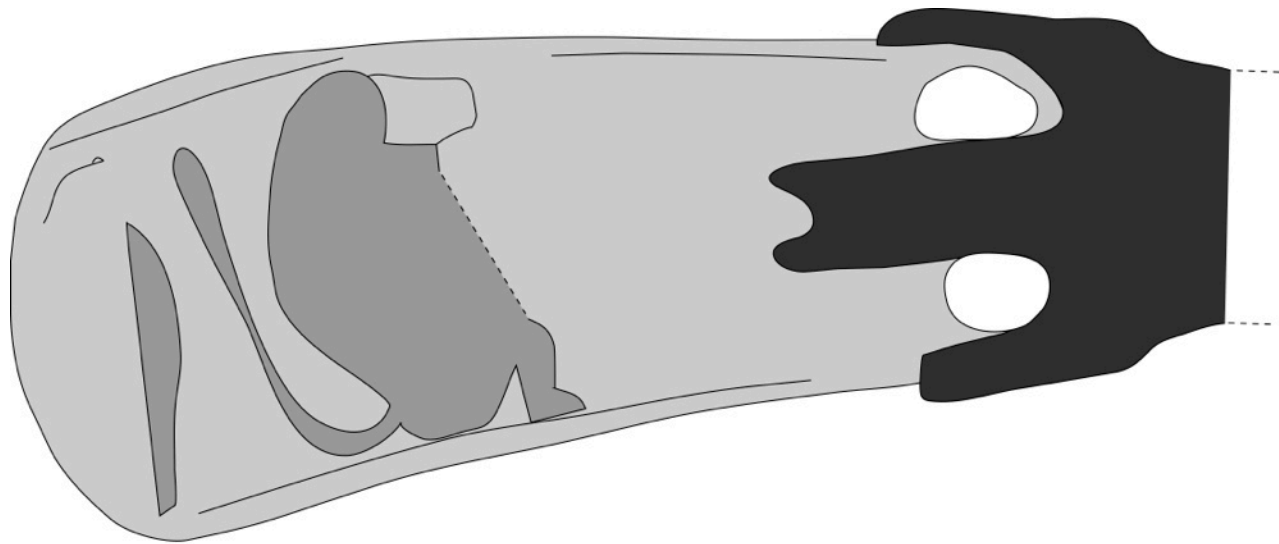


Figure 5.17b - Baboon and knife on obverse side of Egyptian magic wand reused as pommel (MFA 20.1566) (based on author's photograph)



Figure 5.18 - Ivory senet game set (best preserved example from Middle Kerma grave similar to CK examples) (K6002, MFA 15-3-281)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.19a - Ivory casting box (KXXI, MFA 20.1781 / 14-1-603), found in KXXI next to ivory senet set (MFA 20.1447 / 14-1-601, 14-1-602)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.19b - Ivory casting box (KXX, MFA 20.1782 / 14-1-828)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.20 - Leather sandals from Kerma (B2187)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.21a - Painted ceramic vessels from Kerma, left: Nubian hut-shaped pot with chevron pattern, right: vessel with bearded man with red skin (Egyptian?) torn apart by yellow lions (A2025)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.21b - Black polished and white incised wares from Kerma: Imitation beaker stack, cover, two Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware juglets (B2343)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.22 - Classic Kerma Daggers (B2309)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.23 - Combs and other wood and ivory items, rightmost: Egyptian Hathor clapper (A2165)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.24 - Horn protectors, to keep sacrificial rams from goring handlers (B2296)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

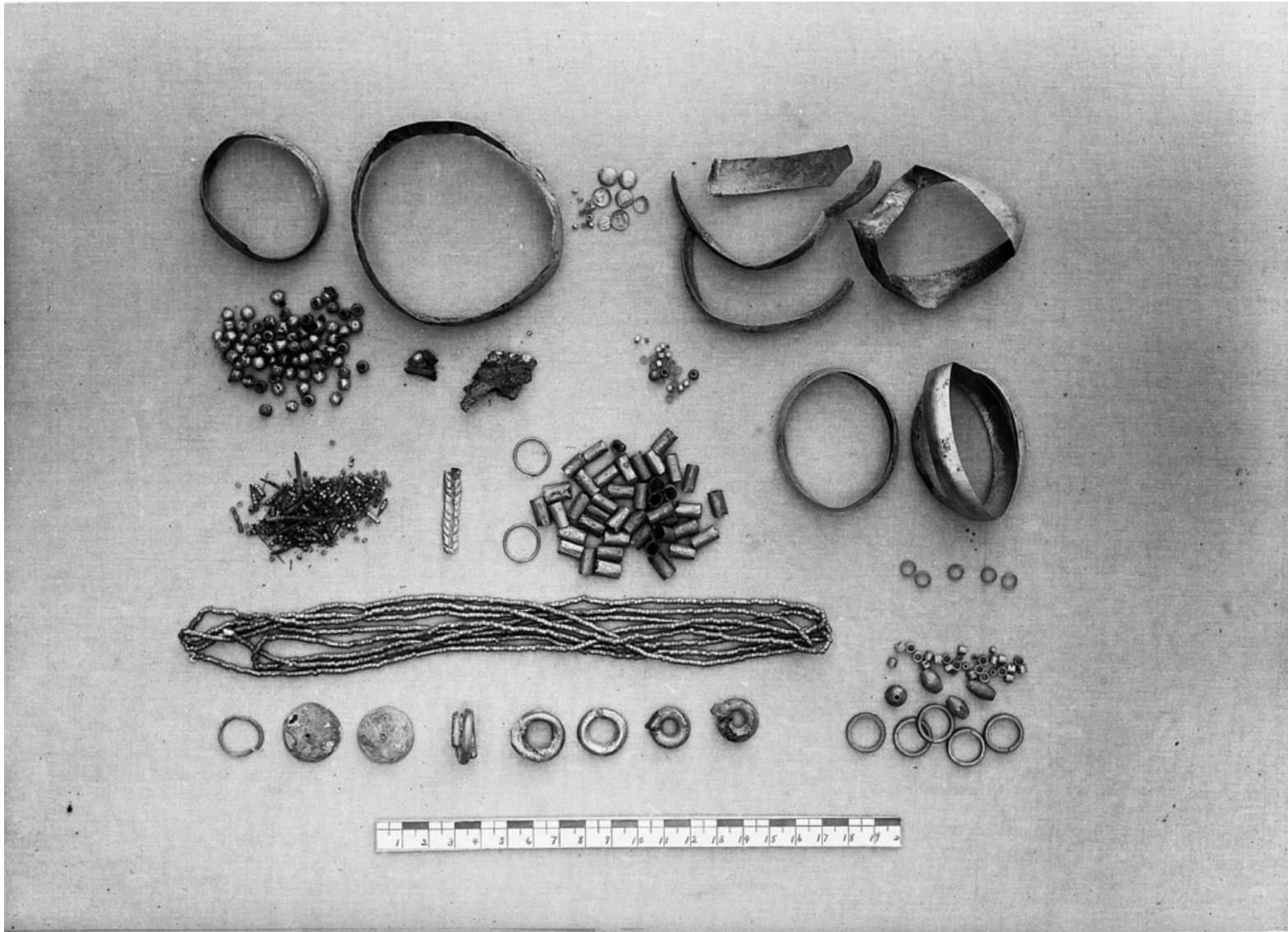


Figure 5.25 - Gold objects from Classic Kerma private graves (A2138)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

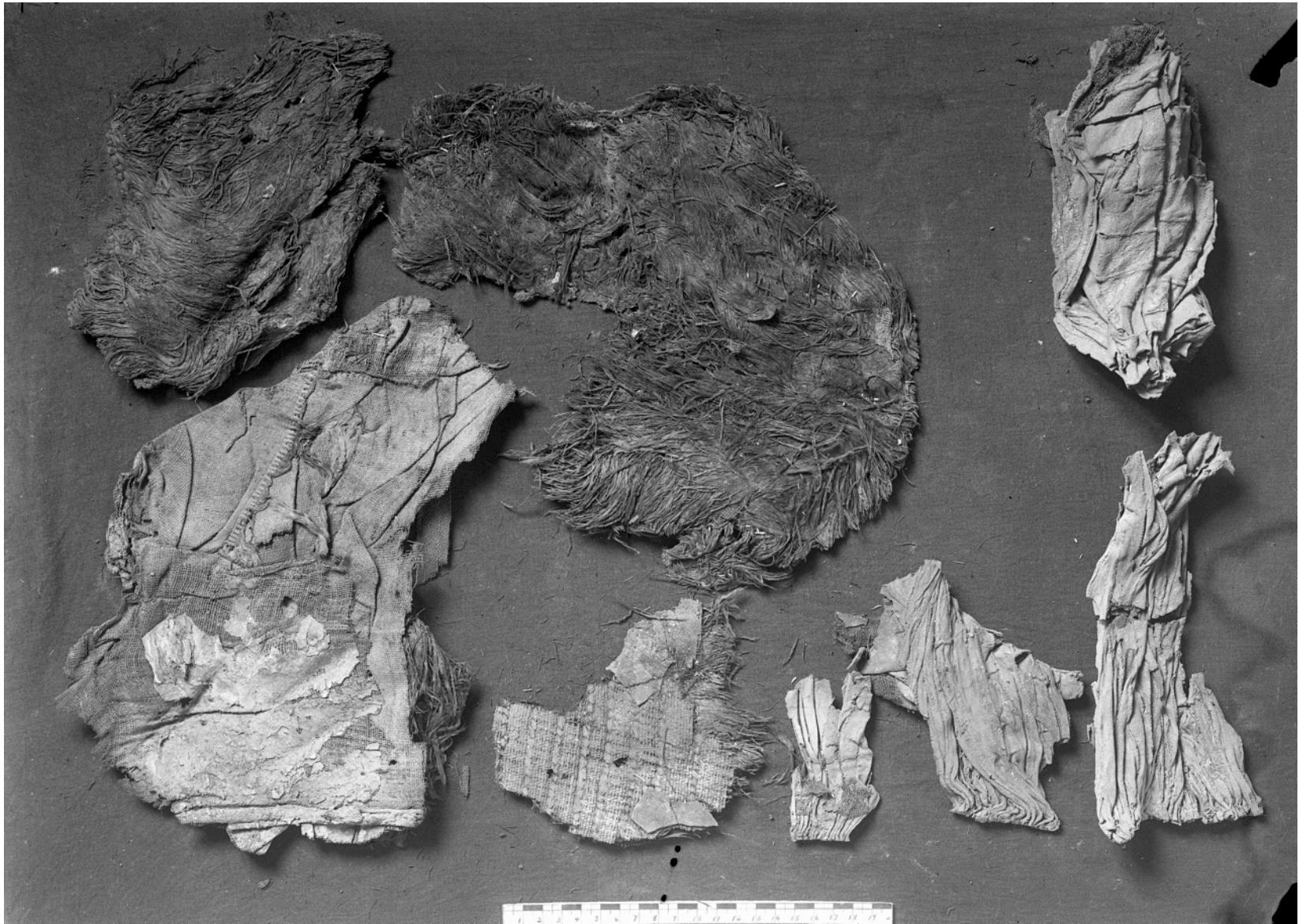


Figure 5.26 - Linen rugs with piling, pleated leather skirts (includes MFA 14-3-365) (B2315)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

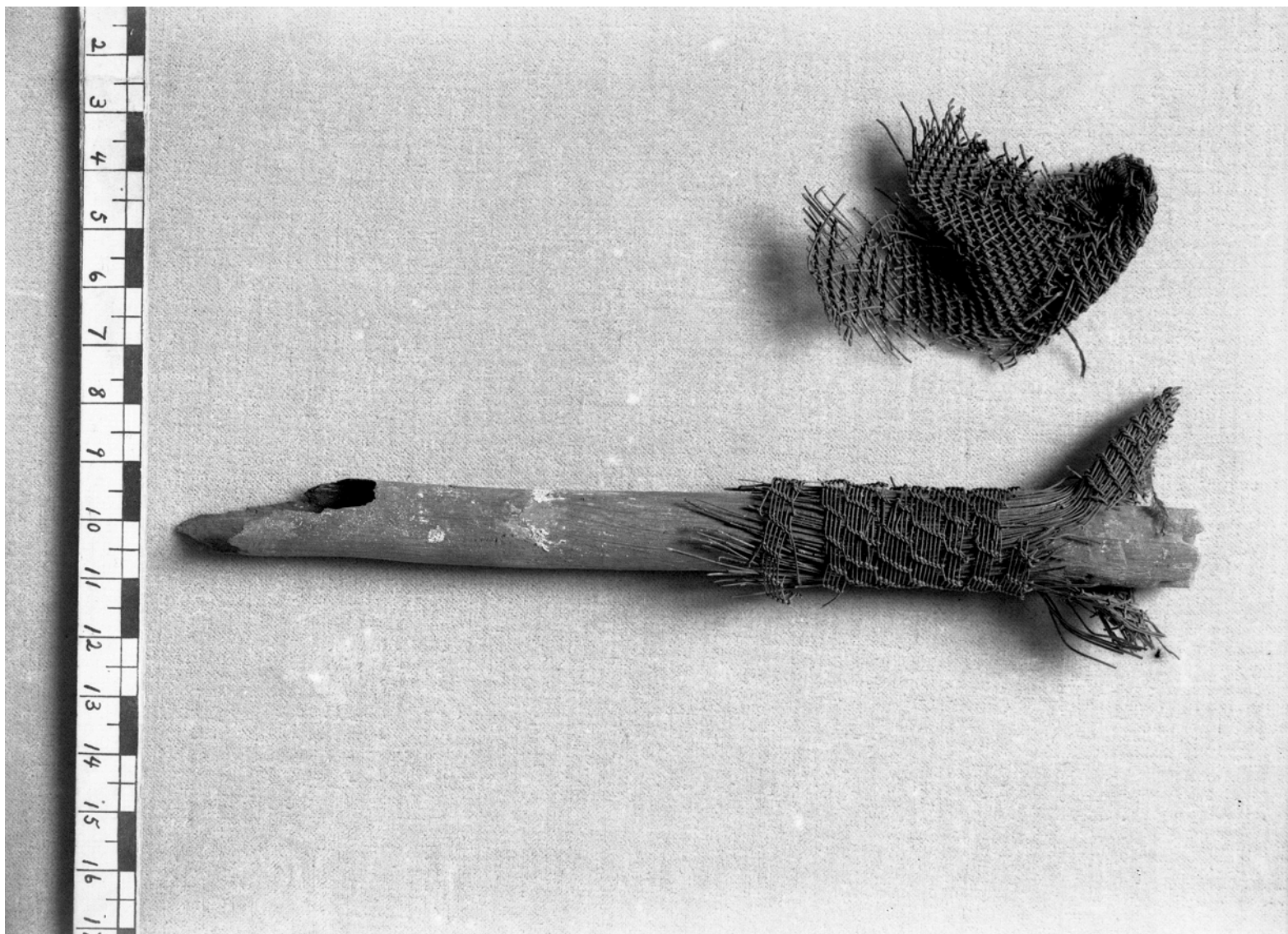


Figure 5.27 - Beer strainer with wooden straw and giraffe hair bulb, from K1000 (C6472)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.28 - hair, cloth, leather, includes 14-2-954 (giraffe hair);14-1-475 (feather rug), 13-12-624 (giraffe hair); 13-12-209 (giraffe hair) (A2179)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.29 - Ostrich feather fan, Su.700 (B1993)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 5.30 - Grave K 318, example of pottery in private grave, including stack of 4 Classic Kerma beakers and imitation stack of beakers (C6004)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

CHAPTER 6 - FIGURES

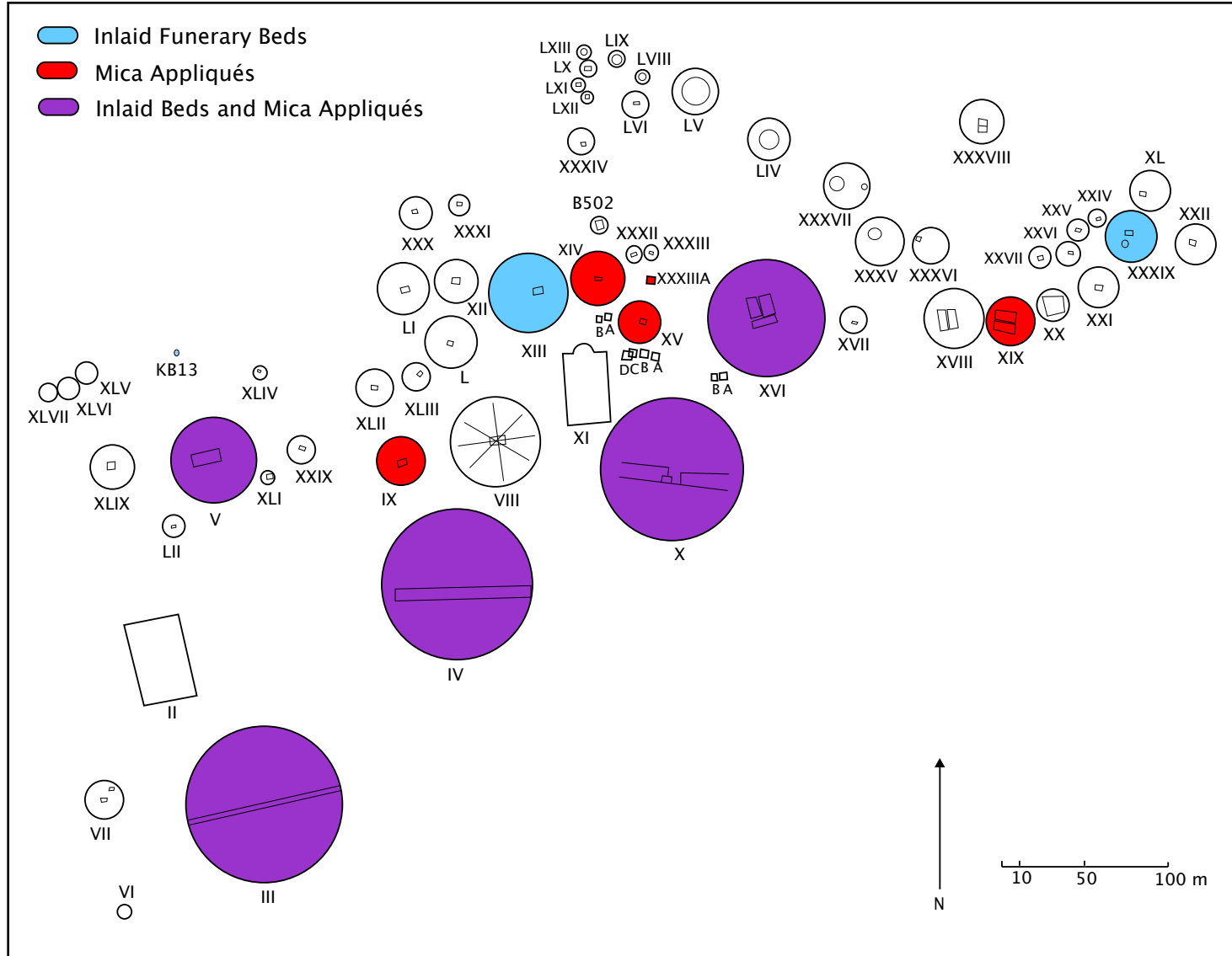


Figure 6.1 - Locations of finds of inlaid funerary beds and hats with mica appliqués in the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma (based on Reisner 1923a: plan III)

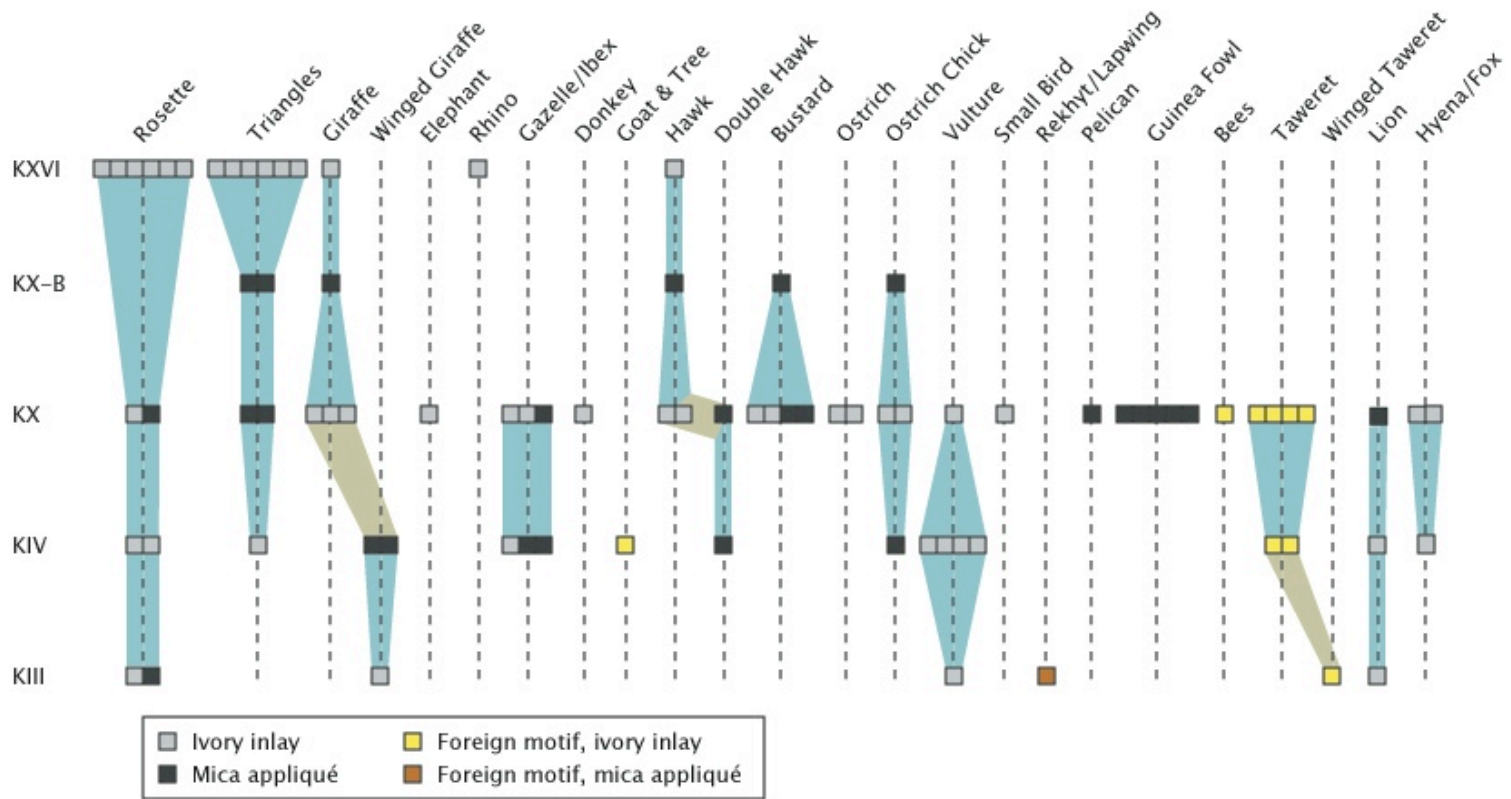


Figure 6.2 - Battleship curve graph illustrating the use of motifs on personalized funerary equipment over the four generations of the Classic Kerma Period

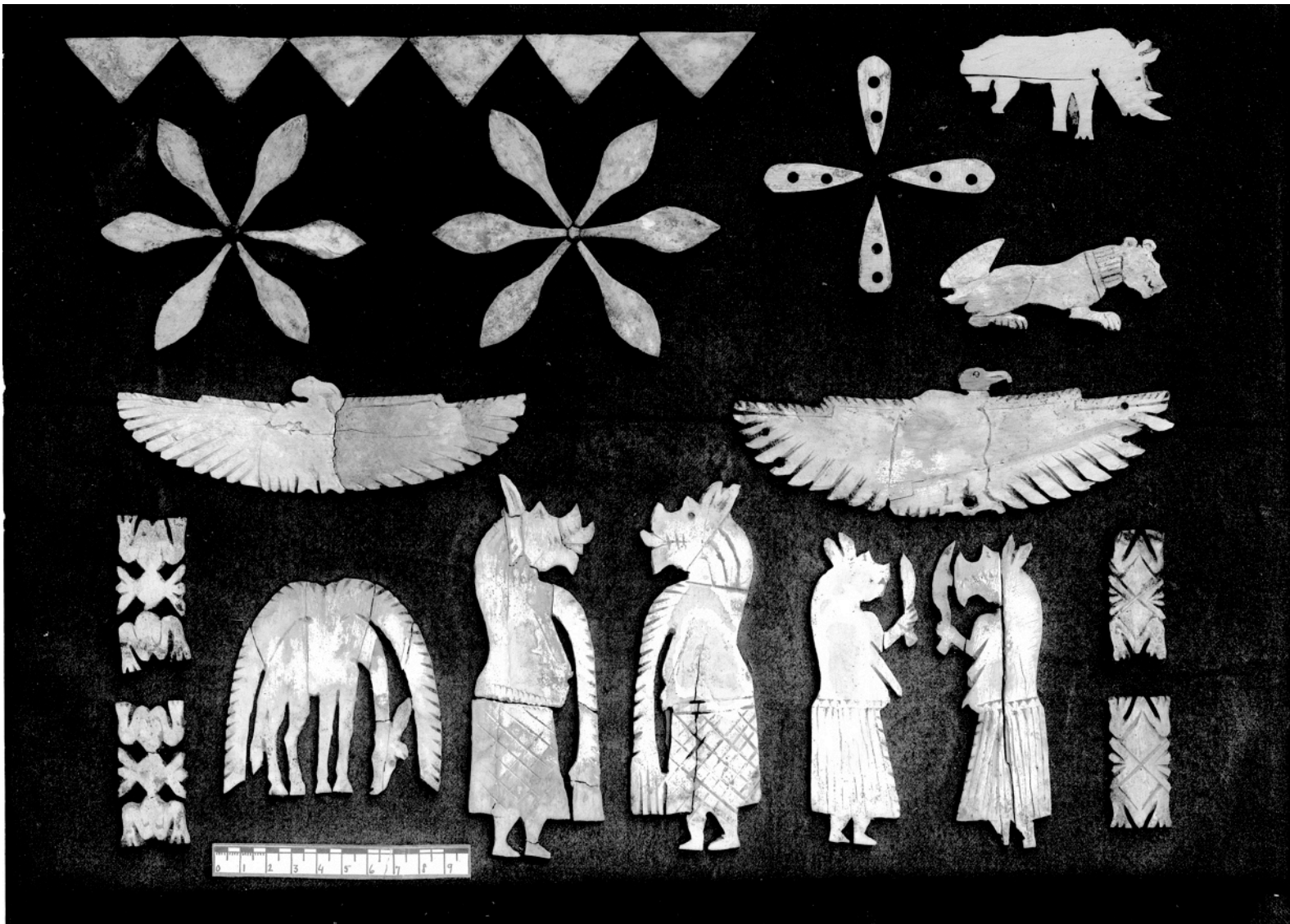


Figure 6.3 - Variety of ivory bed inlays: Rosette and triangle, rhino, lion, vultures, animal skins, winged giraffe, winged Tawerets, Tawerets with skirts, animal skins (A2035)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (some negative damage)

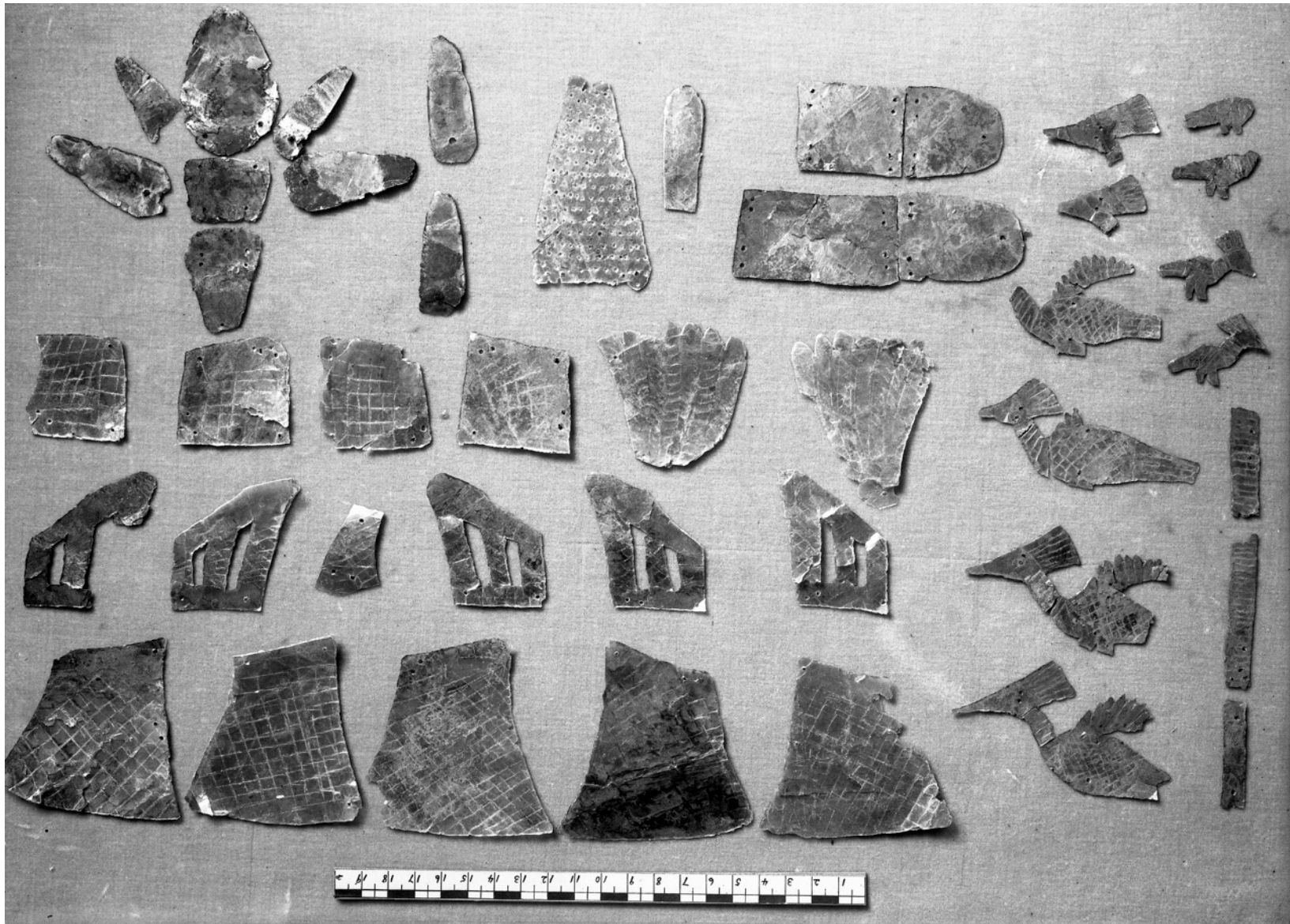


Figure 6.4 - Geometric and bustard mica hat appliqués (A2164)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

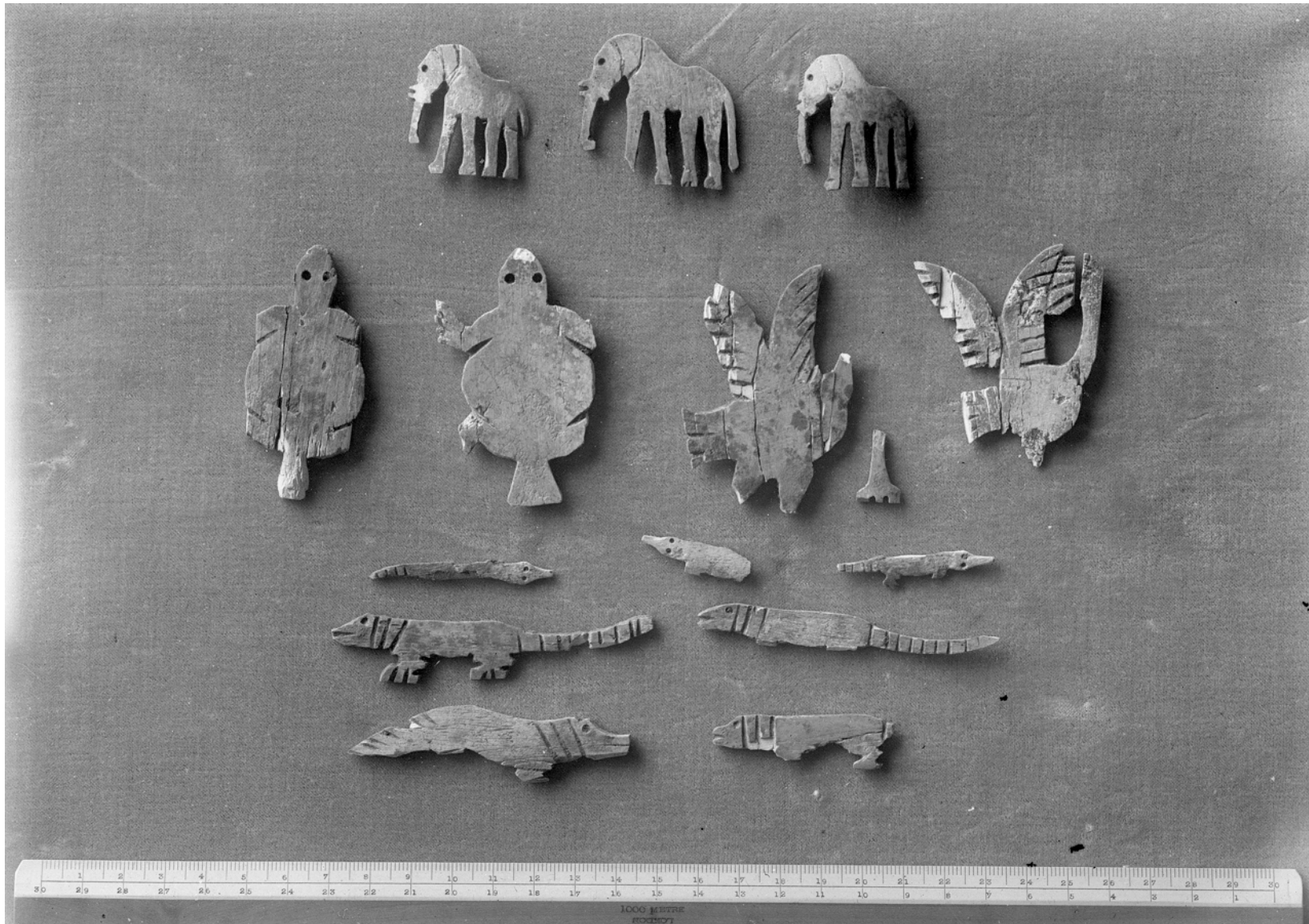


Figure 6.5 - Elephant, turtle, bustard and lizard inlays from KXVD (B2435)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.6 - Ivory bed inlays (A931)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

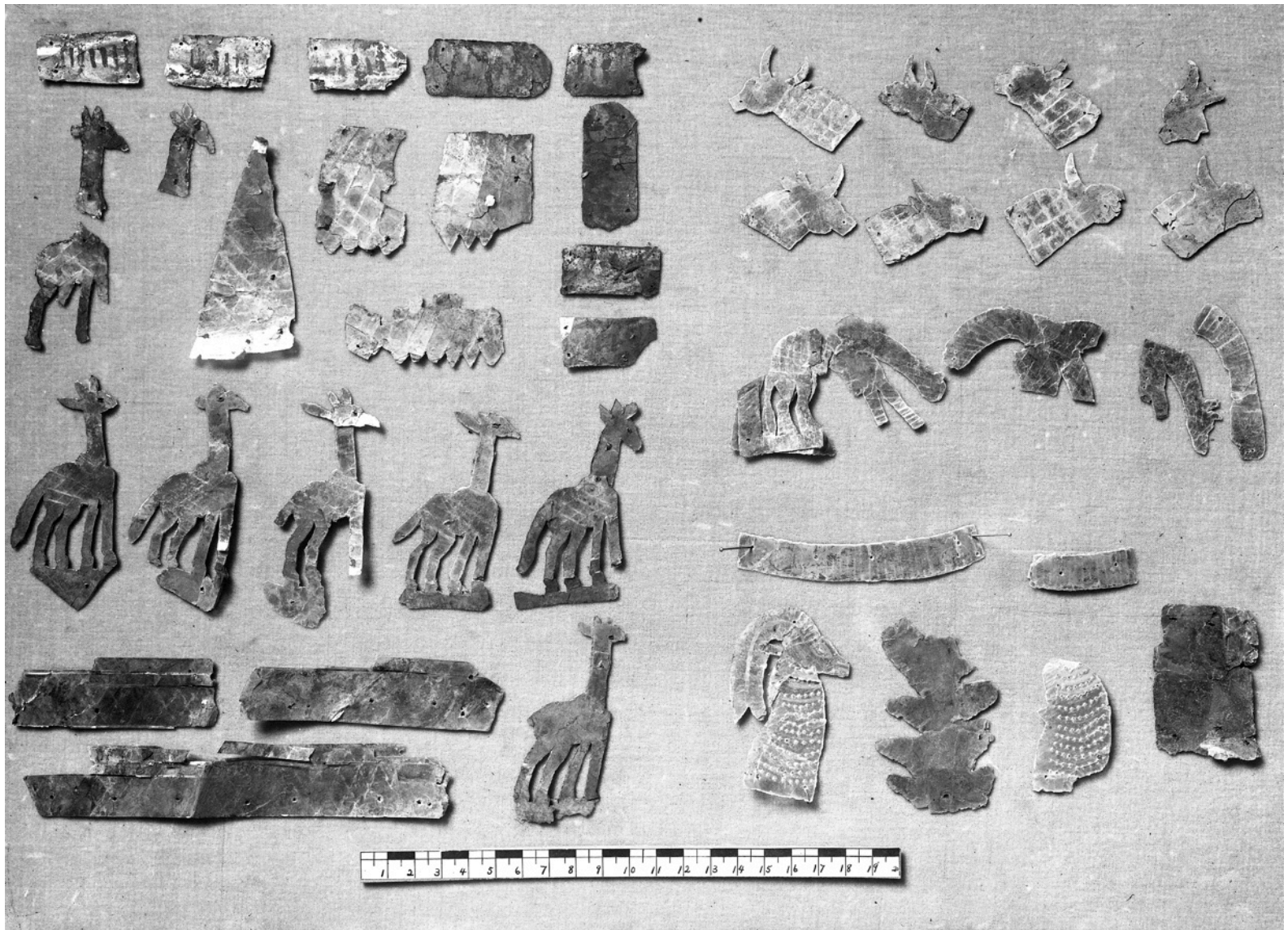


Figure 6.7 - Mica appliques of giraffes and gazelles (A2162)

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Figure 6.8 - Mica appliques of guinea fowl, gazelles, and double-headed bustards (A2163)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

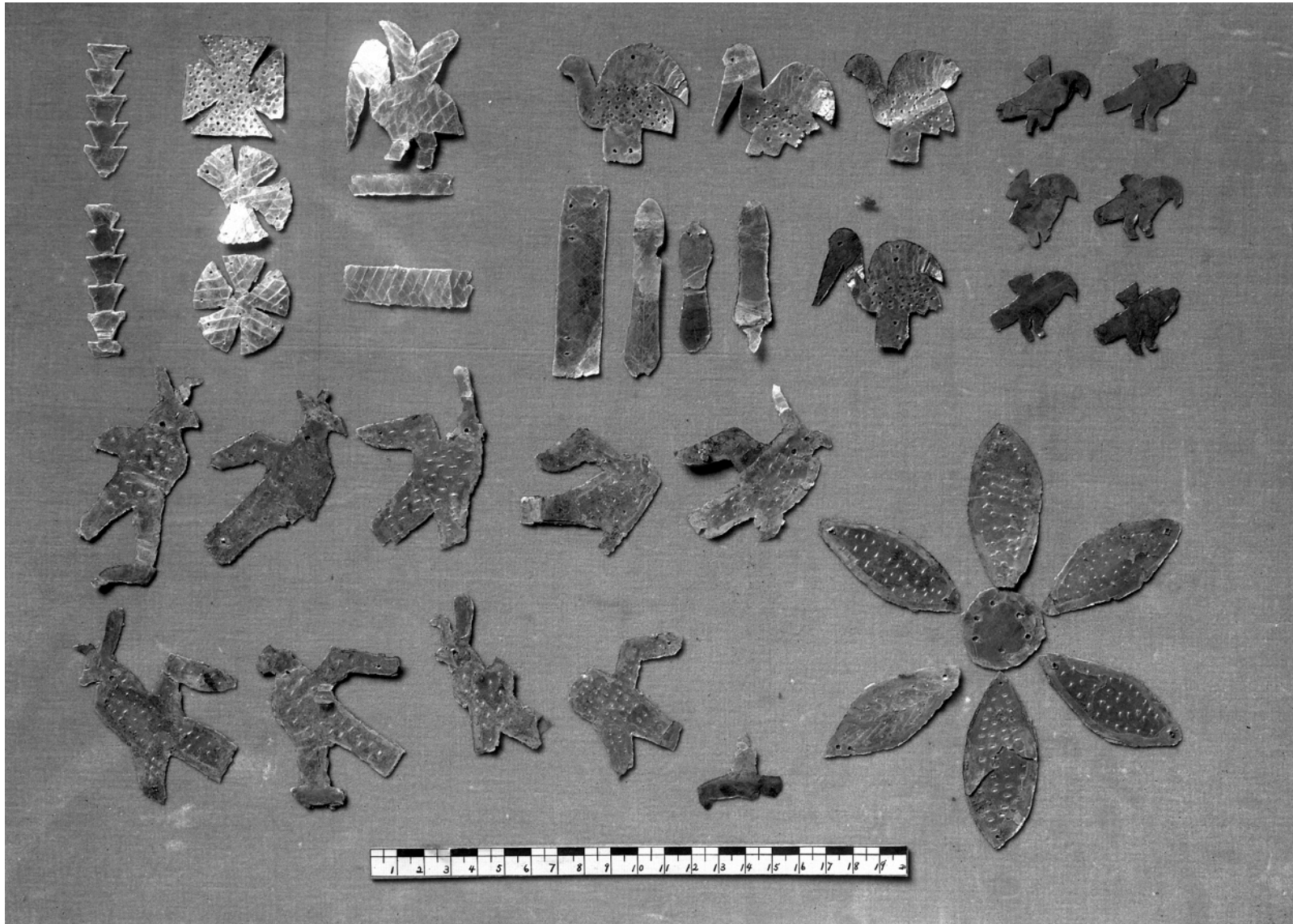


Figure 6.9 - Mica appliques of rosettes, pelicans, small birds (crows?), and rekhyt / lapwing birds (A2160)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

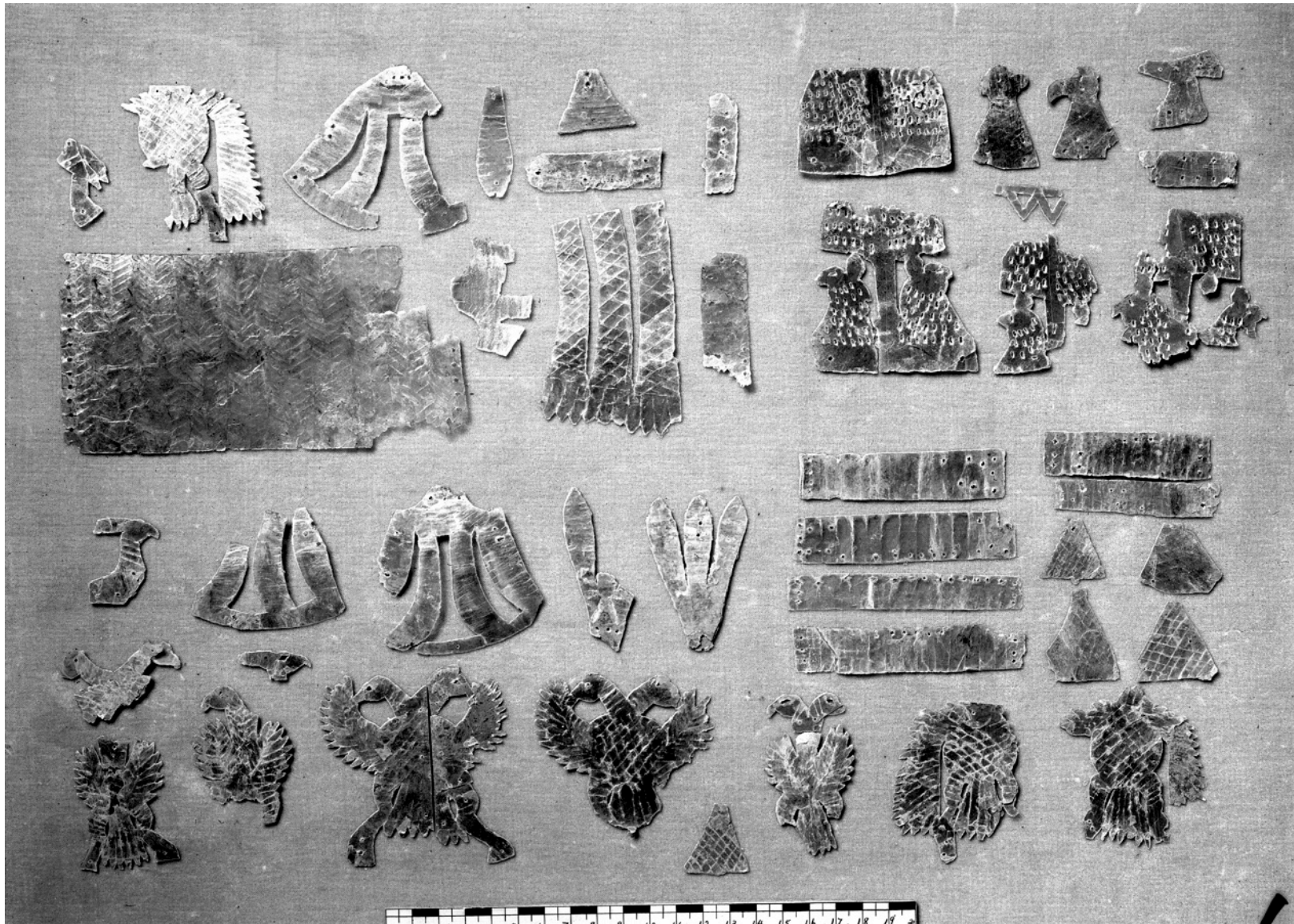


Figure 6.10 - Mica appliques of double headed hawks and gazelles under trees (A2166)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.11 - Field photo showing preserved inlaid bed in K1053 (C4378)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.12a - Gazelle from top row of inlaid bed in K1053 (MFA 13.4219b / Su.1073)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.12b - Taweret from middle row of inlaid bed in K1053 (MFA 13.4220a-h / Su.1073)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.12c - Striped hyena from bottom row of inlaid bed in K1053 (MFA 13.4221e / Su.1073)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.13 - Inlaid funerary bed as found in private Classic Kerma grave K1096: top row of bustards, middle row of ostriches, bottom row of giraffes, braces of ostrich chicks (B2170)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

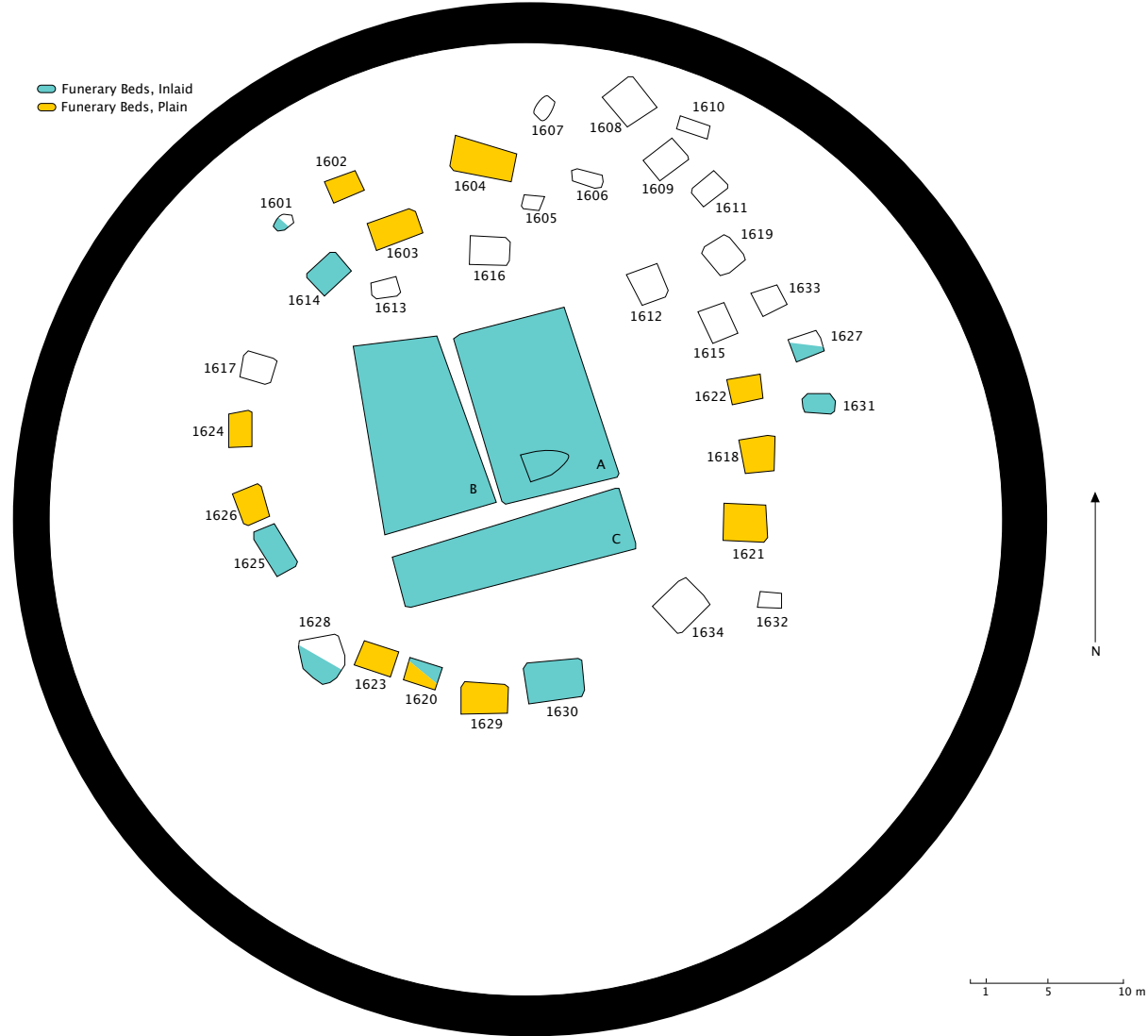


Figure 6.14 - Plan of Tumulus KXVI (Generation 1) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (adapted from Reisner 1923a: plan XXV)



Figure 6.15 - Animal bed inlays from KXVI, upper left: rhinoceros (14-1-1096), upper right: hippopotamus (?) (14-1-1230), lower right: double stylized giraffe (14-1-1172). The lion on lower left is from K407 (MFA 20.2100 / 13-12-94) (C6428)

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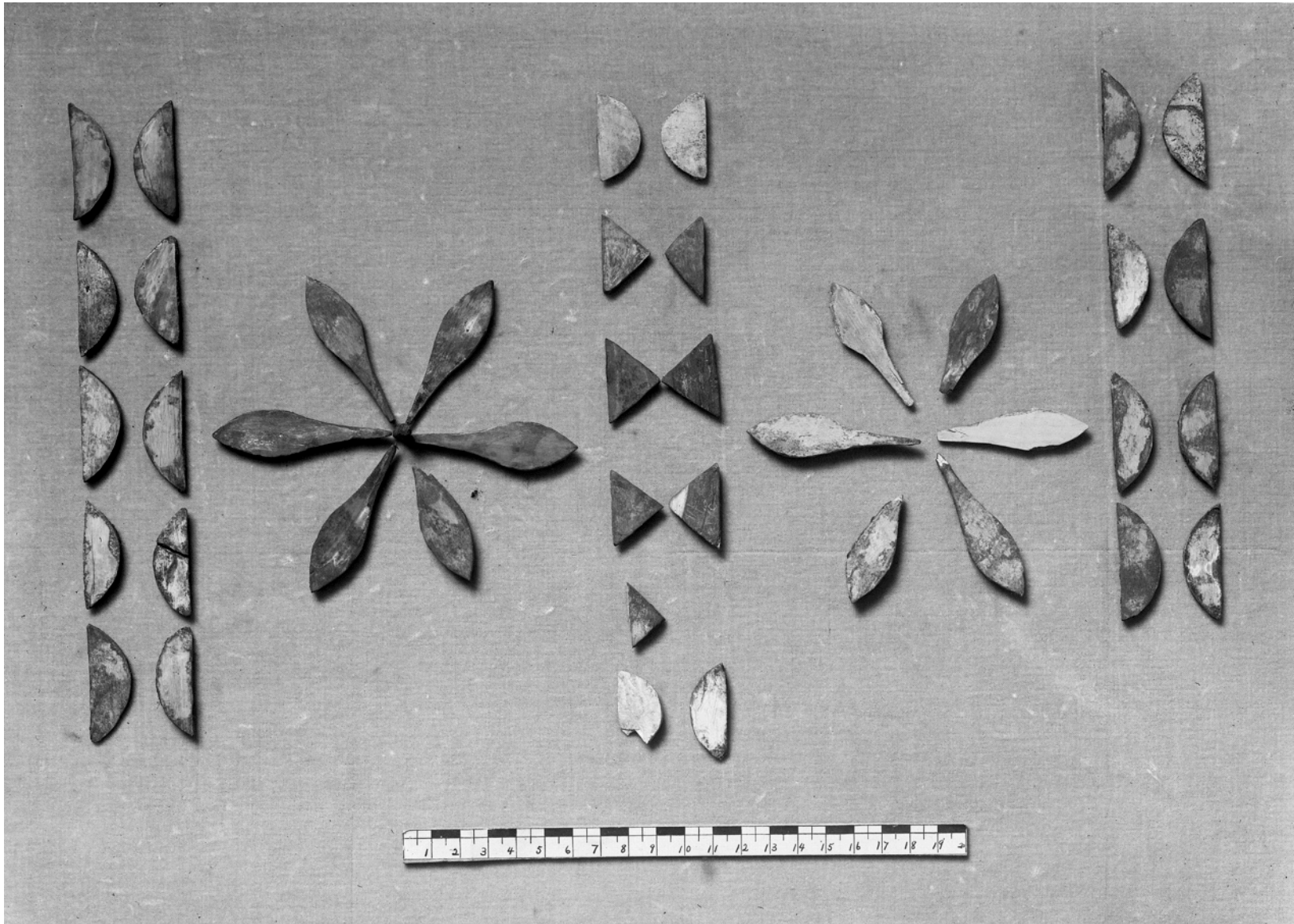


Figure 6.16 - Geometric and rosette ivory inlays from KXVI subsidiary burials (A2182)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

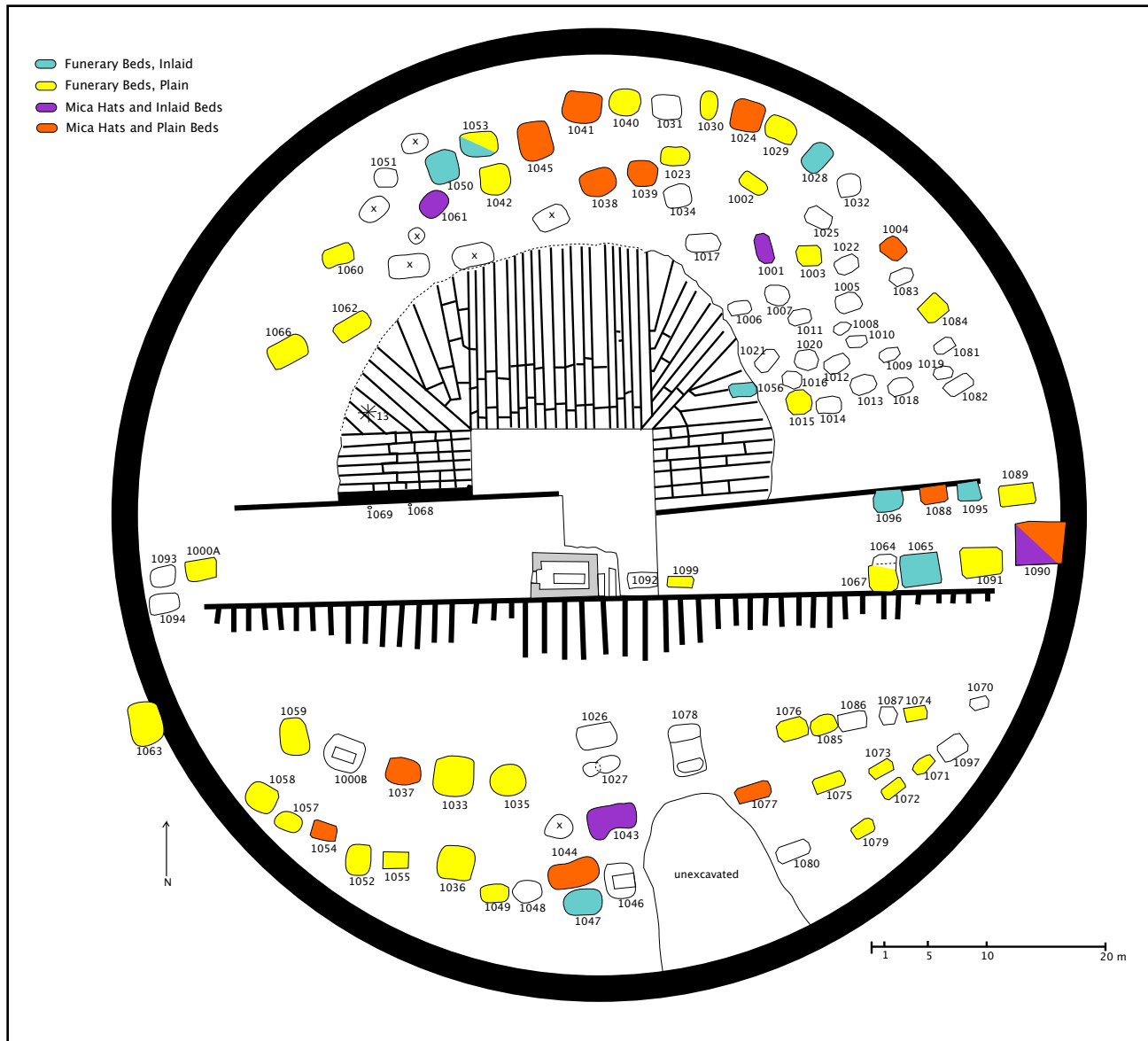


Figure 6.17 - Plan of Tumulus KX (Generation 2) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (based on Reisner 1923a: plate XXI)



Figure 6.18 - Kori bustard inlay from inlaid bed in K1096 (MFA 20.2097 / 20.1323, 14-3-708)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.19 - Ostrich chick inlay from inlaid bed in K1050 (MFA 13.4211 / Su.920)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

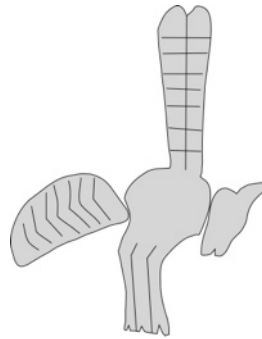


Figure 6.20a - Line drawing of bee inlay (MFA 13.4214c) (based on authors photo)



Figure 6.20b - compared to bee hieroglyph from alabaster jar lid from Nefer-Ka-Ra deposit in KI (MFA 13.4269)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

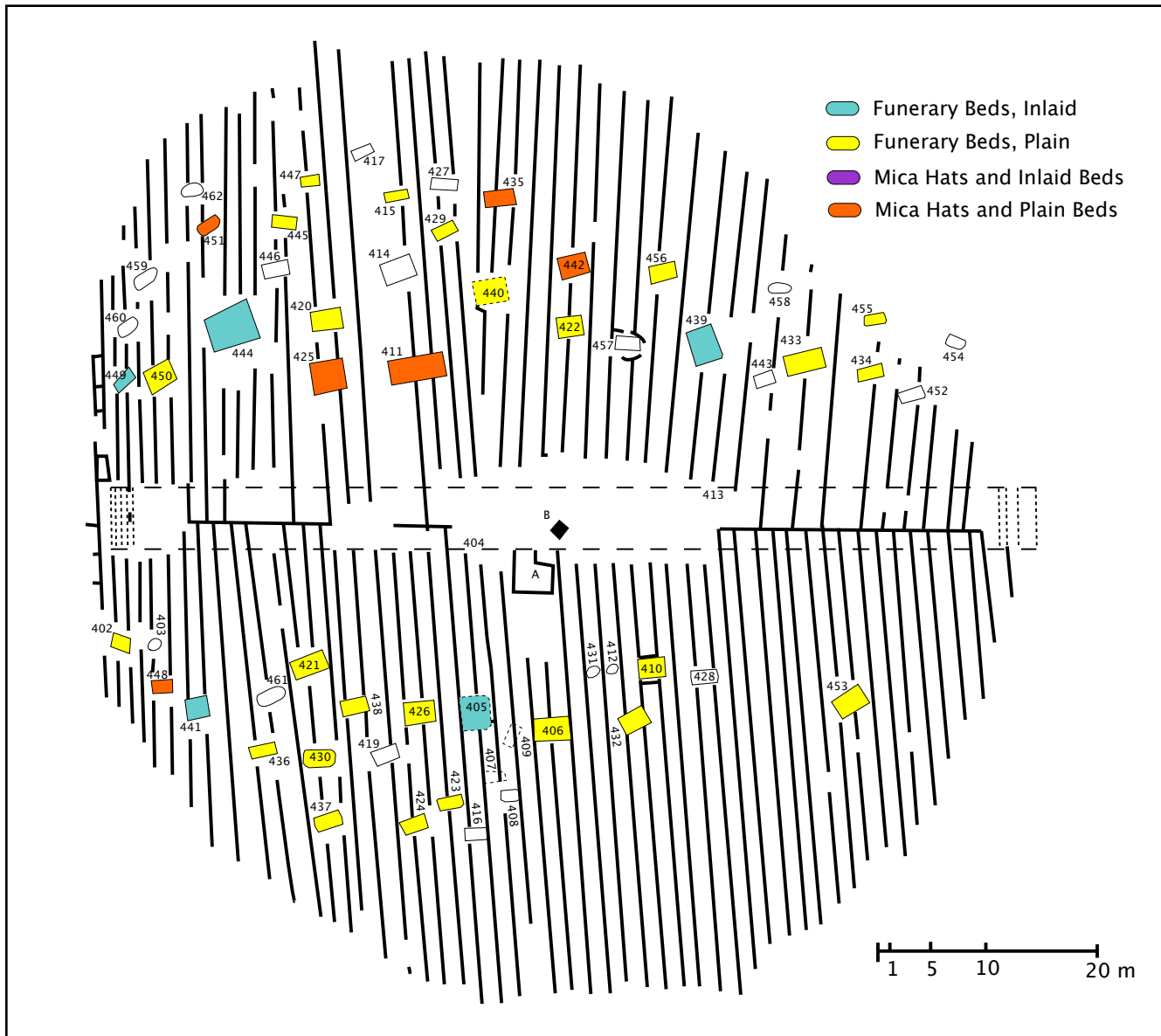


Figure 6.21 - Plan of tumulus KIV (Generation 3) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (based on Reisner 1923a: plan XVII)



Figure 6.22 - Inlaid beds in K439 in situ (C5909)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.23 - Bed inlays from K439 - Bed A had two-winged vultures, skirted Tawerets, and pairs of goats with trees, Bed B had two-winged and one-winged vultures, Bed C had gazelle in running gallop (B2148)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

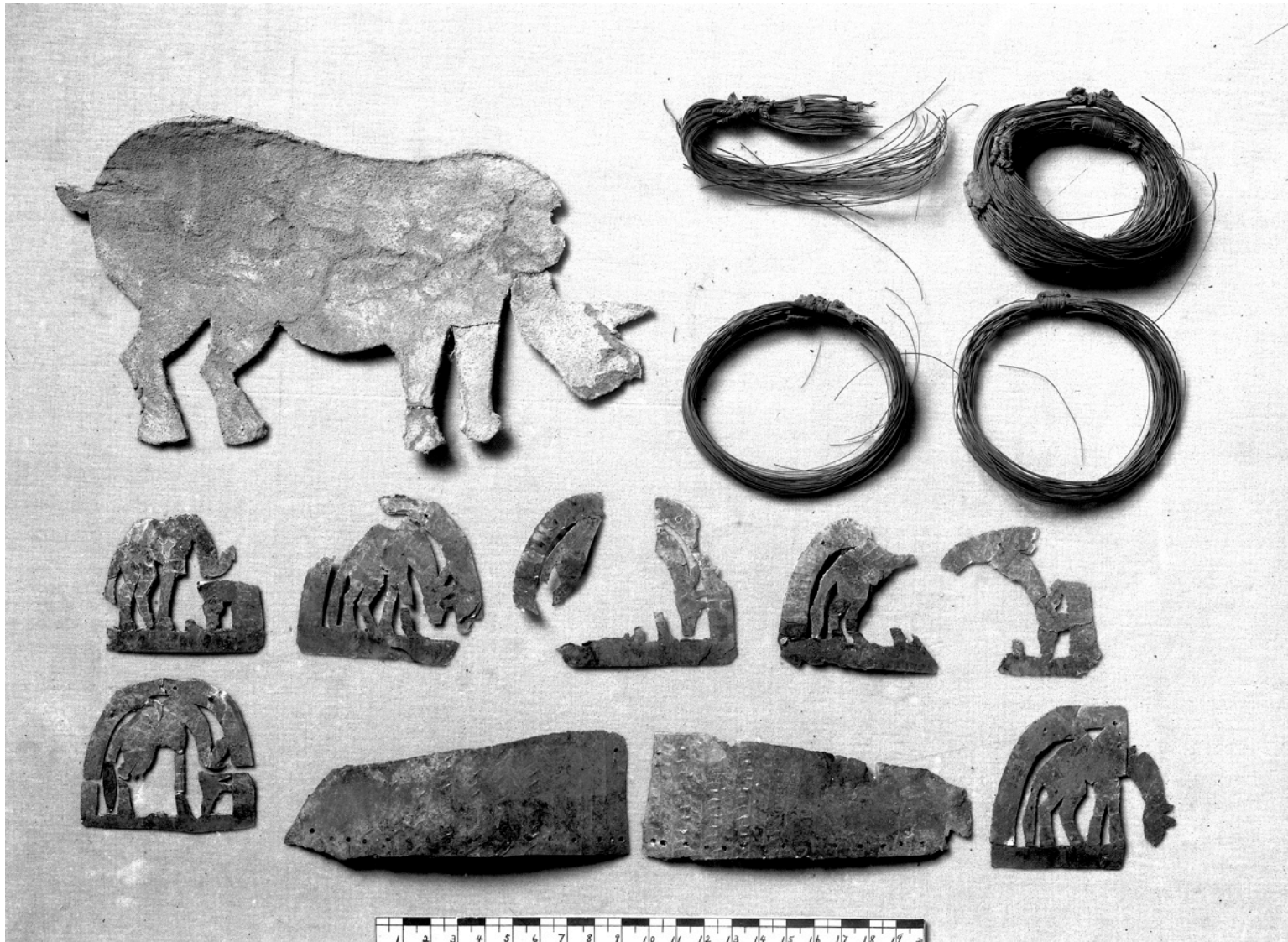


Figure 6.24 - Lower half: Winged giraffe mica appliqués from hat in K435 (14-1-118). Upper left: leather rhinoceros (14-2-542), upper right: giraffe hair bracelets (14-2-296 to 297) (A2169)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.25- Giraffe drinking with bent forelegs for comparison (photo by author)



Figure 6.26 - Wooden footboard with intact ivory inlays, from K449 (MFA 20.1494) (photo by author)

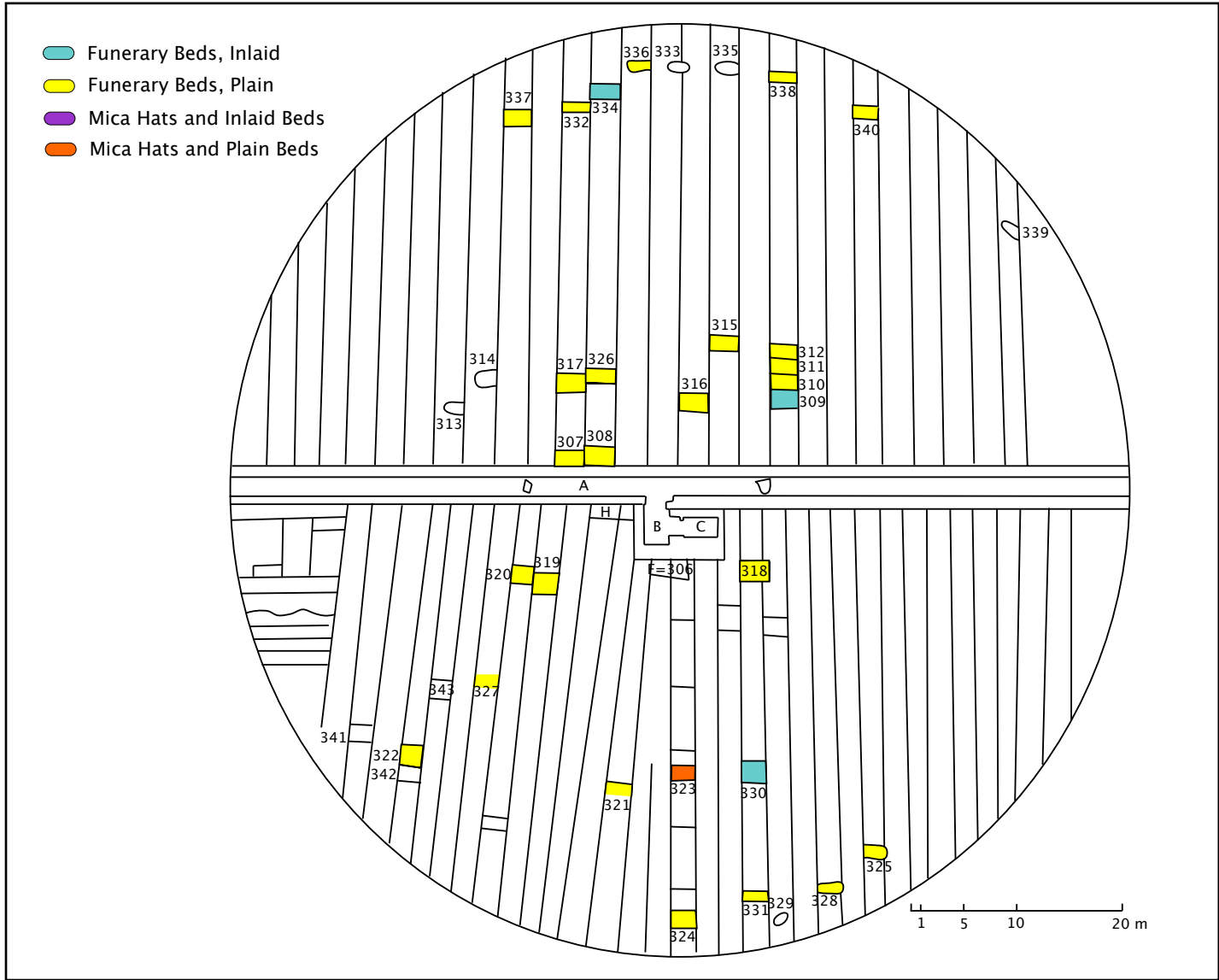


Figure 6.27 - Plan of Tumulus KIII (Generation 4) and finds of inlaid and plain funerary beds (based on Reisner 1923a: plate XV)

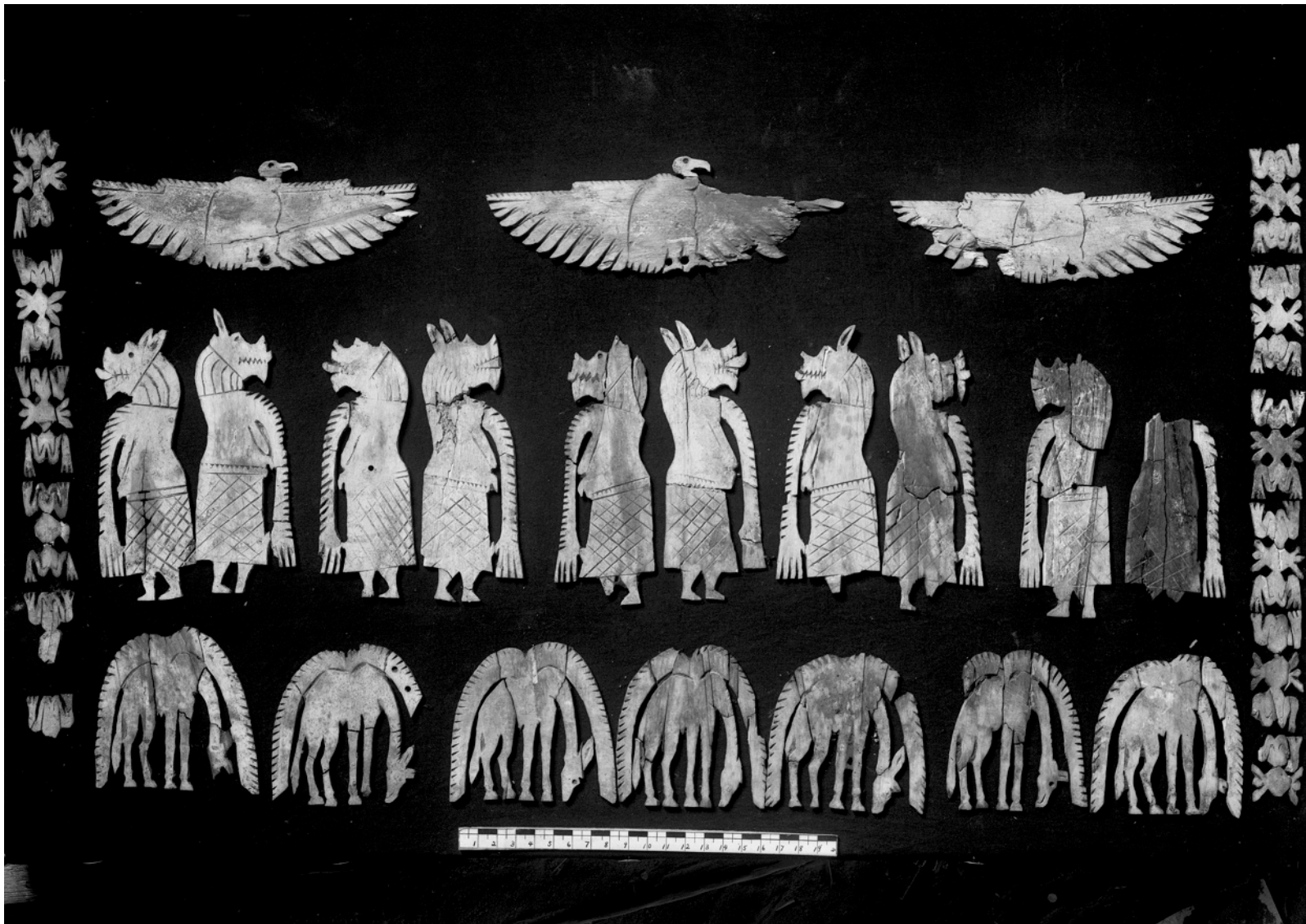


Figure 6.28 - Field photo of inlaid bed from K309, vultures, winged Tawerets, and winged giraffes (MFA 13-12-802 to 846, 13-12-1026, 13-12-1027) (A2180)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

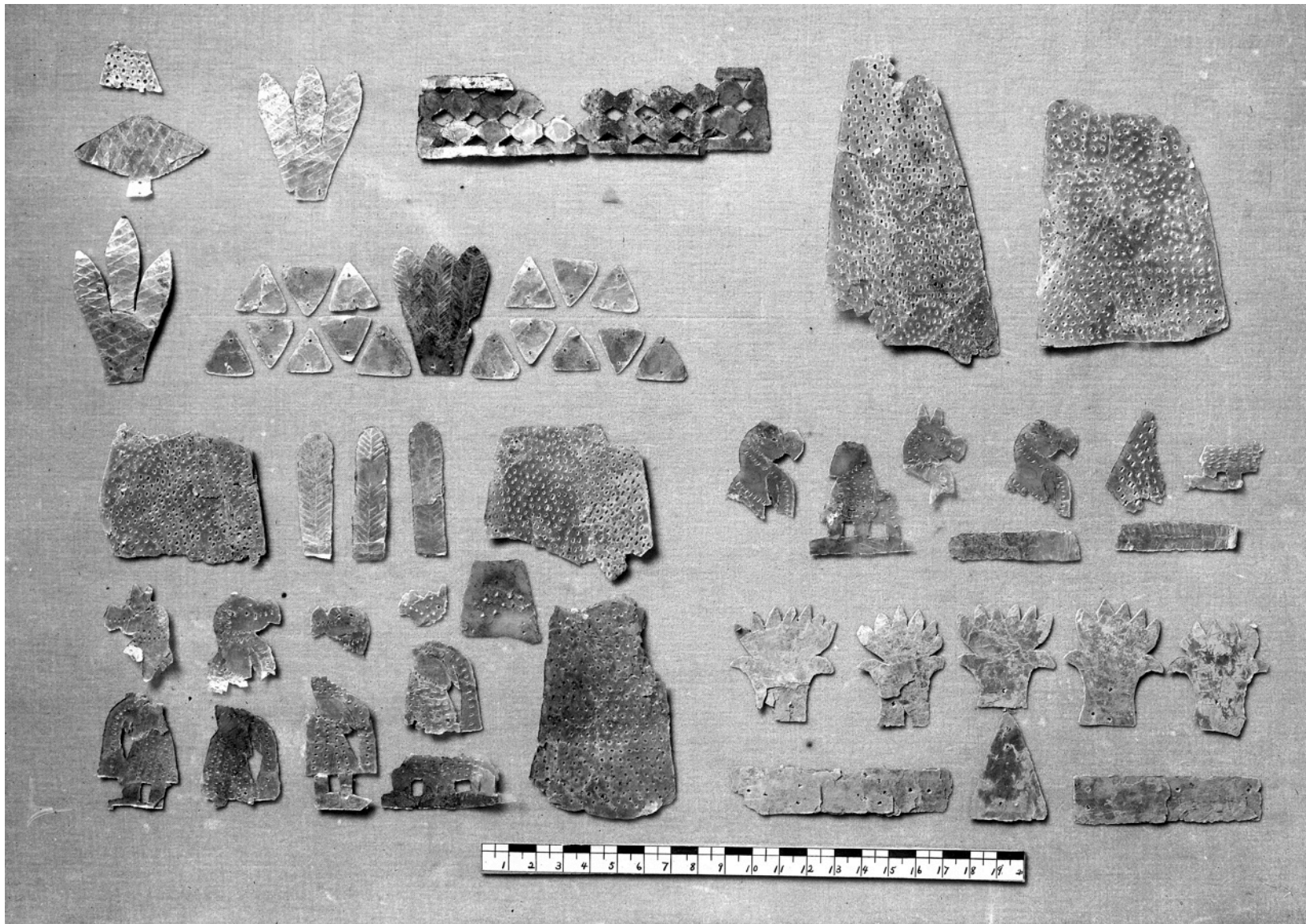


Figure 6.29- Mica appliques including winged Tawerets from KB15 (A2161)

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

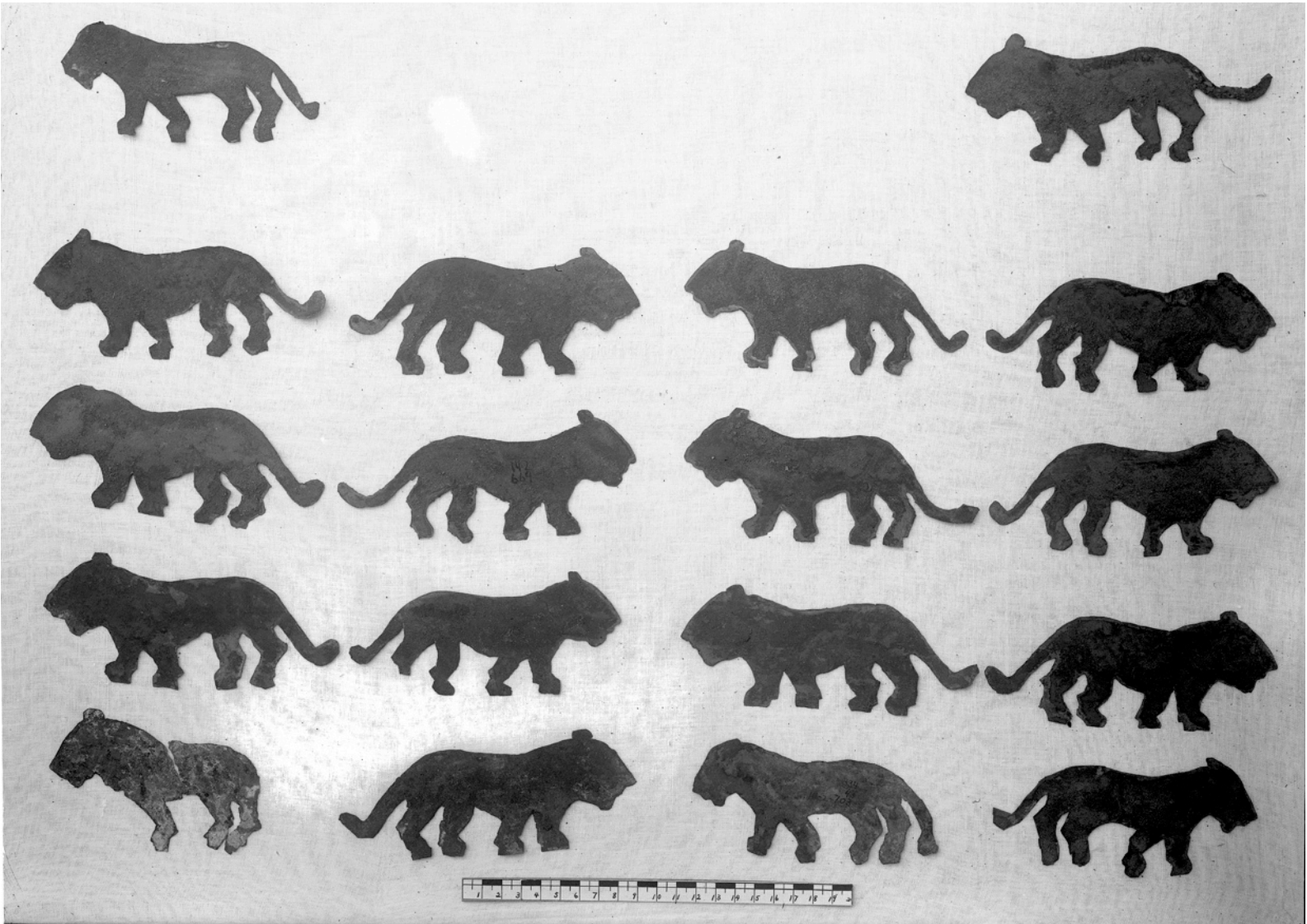


Figure 6.30 - Bronze lion inlays from K334 (14-2-661 to 14-2-674) (A2158)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

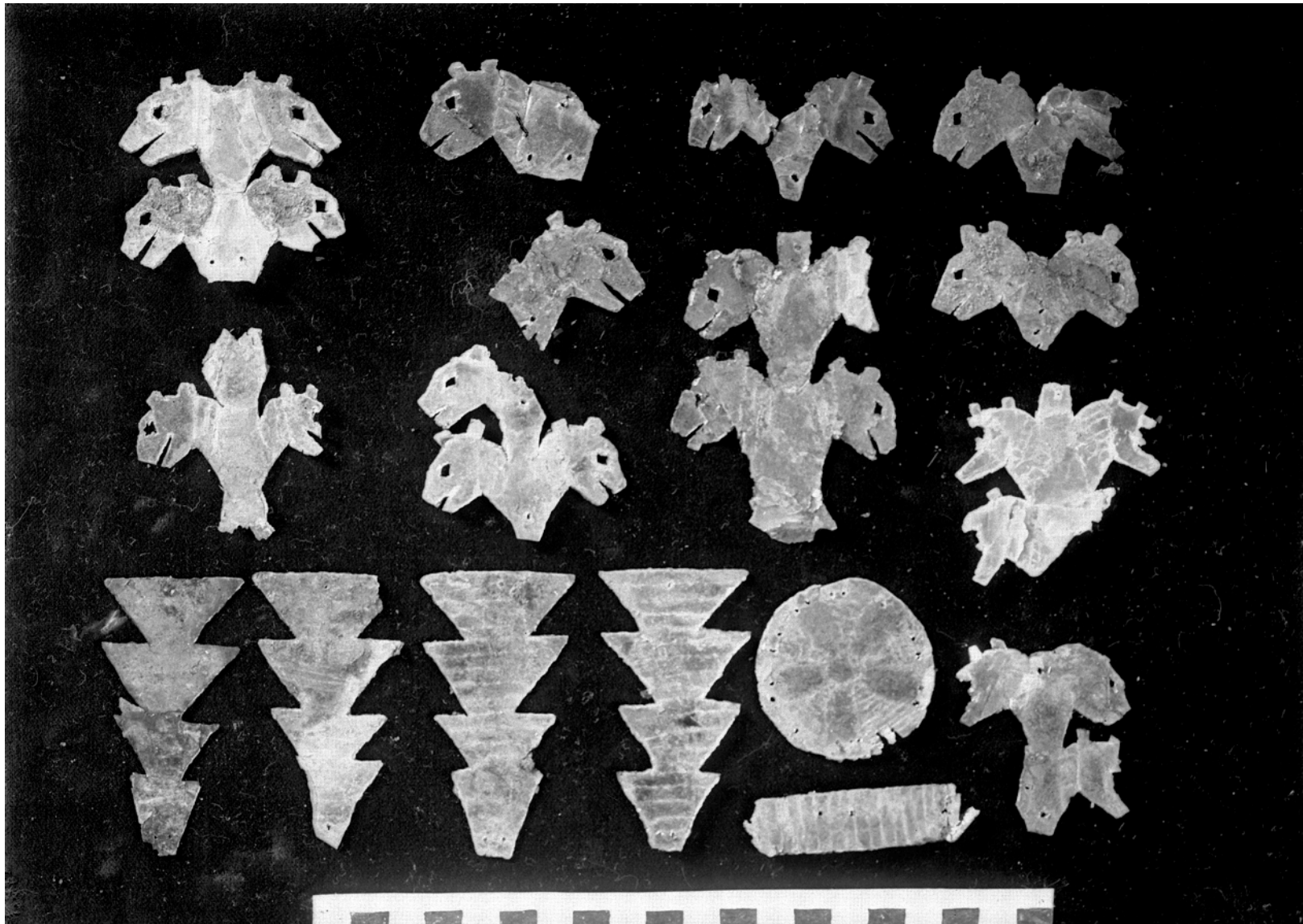


Figure 6.31 - Mica appliqué hat worn by K1044 body E, with stacks of double headed lions (lionesses?), with green paint remaining (B1986)
Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 6.32 - Nubian tribute scene from the tomb of Huy (Theban Tomb 40), note Nubian women in upper right with decorated pleated skirts (photograph courtesy Deanna Kiser-Go)

Appendix 1.1 - Concordance of Reisner Negative Numbers to Figure Numbers

Reisner Neg. No.	Figure No.
A0923	Figure 1.6b
A0931	Figure 6.6
A0936	Figure 4.23
A2023	Figure 4.28a
A2025	Figure 5.21a
A2027	Figure 4.17b
A2035	Figure 6.3
A2041	Figure 5.6
A2049	Figure 1.8b
A2109	Figure 5.9a
A2115	Figure 5.9b
A2138	Figure 5.25
A2154	Figure 5.13
A2155	Figure 5.14a
A2157	Figure 5.14b
A2158	Figure 6.30
A2160	Figure 6.9
A2161	Figure 6.29
A2162	Figure 6.7
A2163	Figure 6.8
A2164	Figure 6.4
A2165	Figure 5.23
A2166	Figure 6.10
A2169	Figure 6.24

A2174	Figure 4.28b
A2175	Figure 4.28c
A2178	Figure 5.12
A2179	Figure 5.28
A2180	Figure 6.28
A2182	Figure 6.16
A2498	Figure 1.10a
A2499	Figure 1.10b
B1809	Figure 5.2
B1982	Figure 5.11
B1986	Figure 6.31
B1993	Figure 5.29
B2143	Figure 3.14
B2148	Figure 6.22
B2166	Figure 1.5b
B2170	Figure 6.13
B2171	Figure 5.3a
B2187	Figure 5.20
B2210	Figure 3.15
B2213	Figure 3.13
B2260	Figure 1.8e
B2261	Figure 1.8d
B2268	Figure 5.3c
B2271	Figure 5.3b
B2275	Figure 5.5
B2278	Figure 5.15
B2296	Figure 5.24
B2297	Figure 5.10
B2309	Figure 5.22
B2315	Figure 5.26

B2343	Figure 5.21b
B2435	Figure 6.5
B2459	Figure 4.17a
B2460	Figure 1.9b
B2638	Figure 4.26
C4297	Figure 1.2
C4378	Figure 6.12b
C4386	Figure 5.1a
C4417	Figure 4.5
C4428	Figure 4.21b
C5173	Figure 4.4
C5175	Figure 4.6b
C5176	Figure 4.6a
C5797	Figure 1.7b
C5839	Figure 4.29a
C5855	Figure 1.11
C5909	Figure 6.23
C6004	Figure 5.30
C6130	Figure 1.5c
C6172	Figure 3.18
C6218	Figure 3.12
C6220	Figure 3.17
C6224	Figure 3.5
C6231	Figure 3.9
C6254	Figure 3.11
C6356	Figure 5.1b
C6417	Figure 3.23
C6428	Figure 6.15
C6436	Figure 4.22
C6472	Figure 5.27

Appendix 1.2 - List of figures from Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

This appendix contains the official Museum of Fine Arts, Boston media descriptions of the archival and current Kerma photographs. More detailed / updated Findspot information is available for these objects in Appendices 3.1, 5.1 and 6.1.

Figure 1.2

C4297

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Tell I men at work on J'

March 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.5b

B2166

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

X B east half toward W

March 6, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.5c

C6130

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K X B body PB towards S

March 1, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.6b

A923

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI B+A towards the N a bit west

March 30, 1013

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.7b

C5797

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Granite boat Room A Kerma IV towards S

December 3, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.8b

A2049

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

III towards the N

April 1, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.8d

B2261

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Frgs. Faience boat models etc. 14-2-314; 14-2-314;
14-2-1083; 14-2-314; 14-2-314; 14-2-314; 14-2-314; 14-2-628;
14-2-618; 14-2-314; 14-1-1084; 14-2-618; 13-12-339

September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.8e

B2260

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Frgs. Faience figures, boatmen etc. 14-2-314; 13-12-695;
 14-2-471; 13-12-40; 13-12-345; 14-2-313; 14-1-313; 14-2-313;
 14-3-978; 13-12-259; 14-2-313; 13-12-469; 14-2-313;
 14-2-638; 14-1-1083; x; 13-12-337; 13-12-409; 14-1-71;
 14-2322; 14-2-314+322; 14-1-
 September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.9b

B2460

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

K II toward N

March 5, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.10a

A2498

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: slate bed: head(?) board (G1).

November 1, 1916

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.10b

A2499

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: slate bed: legs

November 1, 1916

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.11

C5855

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K425 towards E

December 23, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.1

Statue of Lady Sennuwy

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, reign of Senwosret I,
 1971–1926 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Tumulus K III, hall A

Granodiorite

Framed (The object sits on epoxy bed /structural steel pallet
 tubing): 21.6 x 62.2 x 116.2 cm (8 1/2 x 24 1/2 x 45 3/4 in.)

Mount (Steel channel base with cross bracing 3" x 3/16"): 30.5
 x 62.2 x 116.2 cm (12 x 24 1/2 x 45 3/4 in.)

Overall (steel pallet and object, weighed): 170.2 x 116.2 x 47
 cm, 1224.71 kg (67 x 45 3/4 x 18 1/2 in., 2700 lb.)

Weight (Object and steel pallet with attaching steel base,
 estimate): 1319.97 kg (2910 lb.)

Weight (Object (calculated by subtracting estimate of pallet
 weight)): 1079.56 kg (2380 lb.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 14.720

Figure 3.3

Two inscribed side fragments from a thick walled vessel
Nubian, Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, (a)14/1/1107, (b)14/1/1122,
1600 B&C
Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)
Width x length (a): 7 x 11.1 cm (2 3/4 x 4 3/8 in.)
Width x length (b): 7.8 x 11.5 cm (3 1/16 x 4 1/2 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
20.1181a-bb

Figure 3.4

Statue of standing king
Egyptian, Second Intermediate Period, about 1650–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K XVI
Wood
Height: 65.2 cm (25 11/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
20.1821

Figure 3.5

C6224
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: seated granite (?) (incomplete) Su.14-1-1171
July 7, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.6

Fragment of seated statuette
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom
Limestone
Legacy dimension: .33 H.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
14.726

Figure 3.7

Head of a king wearing a nemes
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat
I, 1844–1797 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K X debris
Diorite or Serpentinite
Height: 12 cm (4 3/4 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.3968

Figure 3.9

C6231
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Slate head (female) Su.(1913) no. 814
July 7, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.10

Falcon head fragment
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2040–1640 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma
Granodiorite
Overall: 6.2 x 4.8 x 3.7 cm (2 7/16 x 1 7/8 x 1 7/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.3983

Figure 3.11

C6254
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Shirt and hand with ankh frag. Su.14-1-499
July 11, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.12

C6218
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: seated granite statuette (incomplete) Su.13-12-47+111
July 7, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.13

B2213
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Black granite statuette from K S 13-12-9
July 10, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.14

B2143
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Head of statue 14-1-79
February 3, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.15

B2210
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Black granite statuette from K S 13-12-8
July 8, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.16

Seated statue of Sehetepib Senaib
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, dynasty 13, 1780–1640 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K III 6(1) in loose
undisturbed debris about 80
Granodiorite
Overall: Height 84.5 x Width of base 36 x Length of base 39 cm
(33 1/4 x 14 3/16 x 15 3/8 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
14.721

Figure 3.17

C6220

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: squatting slate scribe (incomplete) Su.13-12-250

July 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.18

C6172

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

K III 2' statuette 14-2-1481 as found toward N

February 6, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.19

Leg of a kneeling figure

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2040–1640 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K III

Serpentinite

Overall: 13.8 x 8 x 8 cm (5 7/16 x 3 1/8 x 3 1/8 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1220

Figure 3.20

Lower portion of a seated figure of Djefaihapi [Hepdjefa]

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, reign of Senwosret I,

1971–1926 B.C.

Object Place: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K III 1(1)

Granodiorite

Width x height x depth: 38.5 x 68 x 58 cm (15 3/16 x 26 3/4 x 22 13/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

14.724

Figure 3.21a

Stele of Amenemhat III

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, year 33 of

Amenemhat, 1811 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Eastern Defufa

Granite

Height x width: 32.5 x 34 cm (12 13/16 x 13 3/8 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

13.3967

Figure 3.22

Right side of head and torso of a king

Egyptian, Early Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11 or early Dynasty

12, 2040–1640 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K II Upper Defuffa room B

near door

Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)

Overall: 13.7 x 5.2 x 3.3 cm (5 3/8 x 2 1/16 x 1 5/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1204

Figure 3.23

C6417

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma bl. gl. quartzite lion (headless) Su.14-12-486

September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.4

C5173

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI wall painting reproduced from C

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.5

C4417

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI C, black ball, boat etc. on E wall, towards SE

March 30, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.6a

C5176

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI wall painting reproduced from C

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.6b

C5175

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI wall painting reproduced from C

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.7

Fragment

Nubian

Findspot: Sudan, Kerma, XB-X

Wood, paint

Legacy dimension: Length: .297

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1485

Figure 4.8

Pottery sherd with incised figures

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, tomb K III, South Cemetery

Pottery

Height x width x depth: 15.5 x 20.5 x 0.8 cm (6 1/8 x 8 1/16 x 5/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.2101

Figure 4.17a

B2459

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

K II A E wall toward E

March 5, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.17b

A2027

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ships on East wall of IIA

February 6, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.21b

C4428

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave 1053 B towards N (I)

March 31, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.22

C6436

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: silver beads etc. (samples of each number) 13-12-723;

14-2-1208 (5); 14-2-52 (12) (some fay); 14-3-316 (quartzite);

14-2-48; 13-12-1017; 14-1-220

October 3, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.23

A936

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Silver cap on head

April 3, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.25

Wall inlay of a lion

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K II

Faience

Height x width: 55 x 120 cm (21 5/8 x 47 1/4 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1224

Figure 4.26

B2638

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Faience Kerma. 15-2-17, 7, 17, 17, 17. 15-2-17 (4). Below:

15-17, 7, 17, 7, 17, 7/7

December 20, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.27

Head of a Nubian
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Findspot: Sudan, Nubia, Kerma, Tumulus II
 Faience
 Height x depth: 7.5 x 2.3 cm (2 7/8 x 7/8 in.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 20.1305a

Figure 4.28a

A2023
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Fragments of blue faience: 14-1-1184, 14-1-1185, 14-1-1186,
 14-1-1109, 14-1-1187, 14-1-1189, 1630x, 14-1-1204,
 14-1-1203, 14-1-1201, 14-1-1197, 14-1-1199, 14-1-1206,
 14-1-1205, 14-1-1202, 14-1-1200, 14-1-1139, K1305x,
 14-1-1140, 14-1-1140, 14-1-1146, 14-1-1120, 14-1-1129,
 1600C5.
 February 5, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.28b

A2174
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Kerma: Faience frags. Scale 1:4. 14-1-598, 14-1-282, 14-1-361,
 14-1-1146, 14-1-1184, 14-2-425, 14-1-696, 14-1-540,
 14-1-1307, 14-1-283, 14-1-1201. 14-1-363 (2), 14-1-1067,
 14-1-361, 14-1-1205, 14-1-1144, 14-1-1140, 14-3-1166,
 14-2-550, 13-12-39, 14-1-502, 14-1-1187+1104+1206,
 14-1-1109+1186.
 September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.28c

A2175
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Kerma: Faience fragments. Scale 1:2. 14-1-1063, 14-1-1209,
 14-3-1476 (2), 14-2-519, 14-3-667, 14-1-597+1063, 14-3-1469,
 14-3-1469, 14-1-1002, 14-2-829, 14-2-234, 14-1-1066,
 13-12-929, 14-3-662, 13-12-929, 14-1-1060, 14-2-1420,
 14-1-353, 14-2-233, 14-1-1076, 14-2-101, 14-1-1276,
 13-12-317, 13-12-929, 13-12-929, 14-3-594, 13-12-929,
 14-1-488+1266, 14-1-1266, 14-2-1256.
 September 17, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.29a

C5839
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Room KIII B towards S
 December 21, 1913
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.1a

C4386
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Grave K1050 towards E
 March 23, 1913
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.1b

C6356

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Inscribed wooden coffin fragments from Kerma, grave K1000B (in Tumulus KX).

July 28, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.2

B1809

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Above pottery, nos.... Below Ram's head from 1064, and one from 1042

March 31, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.3a

B2171

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine) vases is in B 56 photo

March 9, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.3b

B2271

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine) Vessels (inscribed). 14-2-785, 13-12-786

September 18, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.3c

B2268

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Alab. Vessels. 14-2-861;m 14-2-678; 14-2-885

September 18, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.4

Bag-shaped cosmetic jar with lid

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2061–1640 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Su.756

Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)

Length: 11.5 cm (4 1/2 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

13.4266

Figure 5.5

B2275

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kohl pots. 14-3-453, 14-2-157 (wood), 14-2-36, 14-1-717, 14-3-49, 14-2-1144, 14-2-158, 13-12-649, 14-1-45, 14-2-302, 13-12-96, 14-2-383, 14-2-1202, 13-12-294

September 19, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.6

A2041

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Scarabs and Seals, the seal side: 13-12-679, 13-12-266, 14-1-497, 14-1-611, 13-12-227A, 14-2-195, 14-1-665, IIIA, 14-2-113, 13-12-385, 14-1-747, 14-1-347, 13-12-222, 14-1-434, 14-2-148 (big one), 14-1-1094, 14-2-151, 14-1-1211, 14-1-445, 14-1-222, 14-1-612, 14-1-745, 13-12-869, 14-1-359, 13-12-855, 13-12-378, 13-12-451, K319, 13-12-577, III 4, 14-1-1093, 14-1-618, 14-1-217, 14-1-1210, 13-12-93, 13-12-629

February 12, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.7a

String of beads

Nubian, Middle Kerma, about 2050–1700 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053

Amethyst, steatite, gold carnelian

Length: 15.6 cm (6 1/8 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

13.4111

Figure 5.8

Jar sealing

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, BW X

Mud

Height x width x length: 3.5 x 6.5 x 7.0 cm (1 3/8 x 2 9/16 x 2 3/4 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
15-2-31

Figure 5.9a

A2109

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: frag. amulet and beads K444 body A : Su.14-1-344/345

July 20, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.9b

A2115

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: Amulets 1:1. (1) 14-3-636 (18 carn, 1 crystal, 2 stone, 1 agate); 14-3-777 (stone). (2) 14-3-637 (4 gold). (3) 14-3-231 (2 carn, 1 cryst.): 14-1-752 (fay); 14-3-468 (carn): 14-1-1286 (cryst.): 14-1-899 (carn and bronze): 14-1-1095 (agate): 14-3-769 (gold): 14-3-184 (carn). (4) 14-2-750 (2 gold): 14-2-220 (gl. stone): 14-3-754 (fay.); 14-2-27 (fay.): 14-3-299 (electrum wire): 14-3-311 (stone): 14-3-299 (electrum wire). (5) 13-12-75 (2 gold + silver): 14-3-292 (fay.); 14-3-311 (2 agate): 14-1-218 (2 agate).

July 21, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.10

B2297

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory flies and wands. 14-3-788 (2), 14-2-803 (2), 13-12-783 (drawings), 13-12-349 (inscribed)

September 23, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.11

B1982

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Mica ornaments, Kerma SW 980, 624, 1033

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.12

A2178

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: leather and woven leaf. Scale 1:2. 14-3-605 (woven leather), 14-3-592 (leaf), 14-1-573 (greet pot. net), 14-3-330, 14-3-335, 14-3-348, 14-3-957 (woven leather) (2), 14-3-846 (woven leather), 14-3-835 (leather) (2), 14-2-183 (rawhide), 14-3-295 (stone), 14-3-1024 (stone).

September 24, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.13

A2154

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze mirrors (other side). Includes 14-2-745. Same as in A 2152. Scale 1:2

September 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.14a

A2155

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze razor and razor case, scale 1:2. 14-1-552, 14-2-585, 14-2-261, 14-1-474, 14-2-940, 14-2-818, 14-2-878, 14-2-544, 13-12-578, 14-2-858, 14-1-1176 (and wood case), 14-3-35 (bone), 14-2-877, 13-12-580.

September 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.14b

A2157

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze implements, etc. scale 1:2. 13-2-642, 14-3-723, 14-3-9, 14-3-478, 14-3-110 (3), 14-3-1226, 14-2-443 (3), 14-3-314 (2), 14-2-169 (4), 14-3-519 (3), 14-3-1245A, 14-3-112 (4), 14-3-256 (2), 14-1-662 (4), 14-1-649, 14-2-551, 14-2-920, 14-1-1050, 14-1-1049, 14-1-1051, 14-3-986(2), 14-1-985, IIIA, 14-2-309, 14-1-551, 14-2-1036, 14-2-879, 14-2-587, 13-12-175, 13-12-629, 14-1-550, 14-1-460, 14-2-586, 14-1-548, 13-12-451, 14-2-553.

September 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.15

B2278

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Wooden headrests. 13-12-485, 14-3-626, 14-3-575, 14-1-1295

September 19, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.16

Wand

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 13, 1783—about 1640

B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, KIII St. 11 (2)

Ivory

Overall: 1.6 x 2.8 x 18.5 cm (5/8 x 1 1/8 x 7 5/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1780

Figure 5.17a

Dagger with inscribed pommel

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1096 -9

Bronze or copper and ivory

Overall: 24.5 x 4.5 cm (9 5/8 x 1 3/4 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1566

Figure 5.18

Gamepiece set and throwsticks

Nubian, Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia, Kerma, K6002:1

Ivory

Overall (Gamepieces): 3 x 1.3 cm (1 3/16 x 1/2 in.)

Overall (Throwsticks): 14.5 x 0.6 x 0.3 cm (5 11/16 x 1/4 x 1/8

in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

15-3-281

Figure 5.19a

Cylindrical ivory box with inlay

Nubian, Early–Classic Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K2100, SE corner on floor

Ivory

Width x Depth x Length: 6.8 x 0.5 x 6.8 cm (2 11/16 x 3/16 x 2 11/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1781

Figure 5.19b

Cylindrical ivory box

Nubian, Early–Classic Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K2000-63x

Ivory and Faience

Width x Depth x Length x Diameter: 5.6 x 0.3 x 3.6 x 7.5 cm (2 3/16 x 1/8 x 1 7/16 x 2 15/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1782

Figure 5.20

B2187

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Sandals. 14-3-288, 14-3-1073, 14-1-849, 13-12-343

April 4, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.21a

A2025

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Pottery, Painted: 13-12-898, 12-12-395, 13-12-898, K318/4 and

X

February 5, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.21b

B2343

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Pottery WJ (Sides). Same as B2334

October 5, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.22

B2309

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Same as 2308 (reverse) (good)

September 27, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.23

A2165

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: wooden combs, wands, etc. scale 1:2. 14-2-1192 (5), 14/2/54, 14/3/1355, 14/2/543, 14-2-567, 14/2/1035, 14/2/931, 14/1/1053, 14/1/919 (ivory), 14/1/556, 14/1/957, 14/1/921, 14/1/814, 14/1/1283, 14/1/906, 14/3/222.

September 12, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.24

B2296

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory horn protecters, etc. 14-1-664, 14-1-1110, 14-3-11 (2), 14-2-469 (3), 14-1-480, 14-2-584, 14-3-29 (2), 14-2-6157, 14-2-128, 14-2-127, 14-3-770 (3), 14-3-1083, 14-2-395

September 22, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.25

A2138

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: gold bracelets, beads, etc. Scale 1:2. 14-2-18, 14-3-228, 14-3-76+73, 14-3-201 (4), 14-2-26+26, 14-1-1284, 14-3-831, 14-1-29, 14-3-467, 14-2-19 (2), 13-12-434, 14-1-1291 (5), 14-3-596, 14-1-221 (2), 13-12-358 (2), 14-2-746, 14-2-964, 14-1-826.

August 20, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.26

B2315

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Rug cloth and leather Su.14-3-365

September 28, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.27

C6472

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Wooden handle with giraffe hair bulb (?) K1000

November 4, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.28

A2179

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: hair, cloth, leather. Scale 1:2. Human hair: 13-12-627 (2), 14-1-1048 (2), 14-3-319 (2). 14-2-954 (giraffe hair).

14-1-475 (feathers), 14-2-75 (cloth), 13-12-624 (giraffe hair),

13-12-626 (fruit), 14-2-581 (rawhide), 13-12-178 (woven

leather) (3), 13-12-159 (leather), 14-1-669 (cord), 13-12-209

(giraffe hair), 14-3-348 (leather and leaf), 14-3-335 (leather and

string) (4), 14-1-823 (leather).

September 24, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.29

B1993

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ostrich feather fan, Kerma Su.700

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.30

C6004

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K318 Pottery towards E

January 30, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.3

A2035

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory Inlays: 14-1-65, 14-1-66, 14-1-67, 14-1-68, 14-1-69,

14-1-70, 14-1-1096, 14-1-72, 14-1-71, 14-1-59, 13-12-99,

13-12-1027, 13-12-842, 13-12-824, 13-12-809, 13-12-821,

13-12-813, 13-12-833, 13-12-837, 14-1-349, 13-12-823,

14-1-349

February 9, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.4

A2164

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments: scale 1:2. 14-3-806 (9), 13-12-721 (2),

14-3-591 (2), 14-3-591 (13), 13-12-141 (17).

September 11, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.5

B2435

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory inlays (elephant, turtle, bustards, ewes) from XV D

February 28, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.6

A931

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Bone and ivory inlay pieces. On left: Su.946 (7 pieces) and Su.812(1); Middle: Su.1073 (3 pieces); On right: Su.920 (2 pieces),(1), Su.615, Su.618, Su.621, Su.620.

April 2, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.7

A2162

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments: Scale 1:2. 14-3-517 (24), 14-2-1383 (8), 14-3-976 (5), 14-1-476 (6).

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.8

A2163

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments: scale 1:2. 14-3-763 (4), 14-1-65 (8), 14-3-614 (4), 13-12-6 (10), 13-12-1 (7).

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.9

A2160

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments. Scale 1:2. 14-3-1267 (8), 14-3-1665 (8), 14-3-469 (6), 14-2-977 (10 and a wrette) (two rows below)

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.10

A2166

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments. Scale 1:2. 14-1-725 (11), 14-3-1284 (9), 14-1-646 (25) (double eagle).

September 13, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.12b

C4378

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K1053 stool etc. towards W

March 20, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.12c

Ivory inlay of an ibex
Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053
Ivory
Height x width x depth: 6.8 x 7.6 x 0.4 cm (2 11/16 x 3 x 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.4219b

Figure 6.12d

Ivory inlays of Taweret
Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053
Ivory
Overall: 9.7 x 4.4 x 0.4 cm (3 13/16 x 1 3/4 x 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.4220a-h

Figure 6.12e

Ivory inlay of a hyena
Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053
Ivory
Height x width x depth: 11.5 x 4.5 x 0.5 cm (4 1/2 x 1 3/4 x 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.4221e

Figure 6.13

B2170
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Inlaid foot board K1096 toward W
March 8, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.15

C6428
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Ivory inlays. 14-1-1096 (two horned rhino), 14-1-1230 (lion?), 13-12-94 (lion), 14-1-1132 (giraffe heads)
September 26, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.16

A2182
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Ivory inlays K1631 (Khartoum) (scale 1:2). 14-2-360-361, 362-363, 364-365, 366-367, 381-381, (368), 381-3981, 369-x, 370-371, 372-376, 378-x, x-o, x-x, (377, 381), 372-381, 381-381, 381-381, 381-381.
September 25, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.18

Ivory inlay of a bustard
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K 1096
 Ivory
 Height: 9.4 cm (3 11/16 in.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 20.1323

Figure 6.19

Ivory inlay of an ostrich chick
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Object Place: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma
 Ivory
 Height: 3.9 cm (1 9/16 in.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 13.4211

Figure 6.20b

Fragment disc top of offering table (?)
 Egyptian, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6, 2323–2150 B.C.
 Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Su.486
 Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)
 Legacy dimension: .070 Length:
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 13.4269

Figure 6.22

B2148
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory Inlays. 14-1-234, 14-1-230, 14-1-237, 14-1-273,
 14-1-264, 14-1-265, 14-1-247, 14-1-224, 14-1-255, 14-1-256,
 14-1-246a, 14-1-261
 February 9, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.23

C5909
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Grave K439 2 inlaid bed steads towards W
 January 4, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.24

A2169
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Kerma: rawhide, giraffe hair, mica. Scale 1:2. 14-1-542
 (rawhide rhino), 14-2-296 / 7 (giraffe hair bracelets), 14-1-118
 (mica ornaments: 4, 5, 6, x, x, 1-2, 3, 8, 7)
 September 16, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.26

Footboard of bed with inlays
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K449
 Ivory and wood
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 20.1494

Figure 6.28

A2180

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: ivory inlays (Khartoum) K309. Scale 1:2. 13-12-829 to 832 and 846; 13-12-824,844, 1026; 13-12-813 to 822; 13-12-802 to 808; 13-12-823 to 828.

September 24, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.29

A2161

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments. Scale 1:2. 14-3-830 (3), 14-3-667, 14-3-360, 14-3-780 (2), 14-1-528 (18), 14-3-780 (16), 14-3-1324 (8), 14-2-748 (8).

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.30

A2158

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze lion inlays (in order) K334: Su.14-2-66 (etc).

Scale 1:2

September 9, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.31

B1986

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Mica ornaments, Kerma Su.826

Appendix 3.1 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture fragments from Classic Kerma royal tumuli contexts

Order: listed by Museum no., separated by these categories: Royal / Male / Female / Cultic / Other

*Reisner 1923 Nos. are: Sculpture number, Inscription Number (if present), Field Photo Negative Number

Objects in grey provide the latest secure chronological date for the tumulus

Table 3.1.1 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KXVI (Generation 1)

KXVI-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KXVI-1	Royal	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1259 (14-3-143)	-	unknown	-	No. 62, A2090
KXVI-2	Royal	Head, body	Wood	MFA 20.1821 (14-1-1297)	-	Mid-Dynasty 13 to Dynasty 16	-	No. 1, C5998 C5999 C6000
KXVI-3	Female	Lower, Base	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1195 (14-1-1171)	-	Middle Kingdom to 2nd Intermediate Period	Elephantine (?)	No. 34, C6224 C6225
KXVI-4	Basin	-	Alabaster	MFA 20.1181a-b (14-1-1105, 14-1-1107, 14-1-1122)	-ms (in royal cartouche)	Mid-Dynasty 13 to Dynasty 16	-	Misc - no. 8, Inscription no. 34

KXVI - 4 identified objects, 4 registered pieces, MNI=4

Table 3.1.2 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KX (Generation 2)

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-1	Royal	Head	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3968 (Su.814)	-	Dynasty 12 (Amenhotep I?)	Elephantine (?)	No. 10
KX-2	Royal	Base	Graywacke	MFA 20.1208 (14-1-357)	<i>sm3 t3wy</i> “Uniting the two lands”	-	-	No. 14, A2090
KX-3	Royal	Lower, Base	Granodiorite	Berlin 10645 & MFA 13.3985 (Su.696)	“The perfect god, King Khahotepra (Sobekhotep VI), beloved of Satet, Mistress of Elephantine	Mid- to Late Dynasty 13 (25th D13 king)	Satet temple, Elephantine	No. 11, Inscription no. 35 (for upper section, inscription, see Wildung 1997: no. 128)
KX-4	Royal	Shoulder	Graywacke	MFA 14.1039 (14-1-161)	<i>hk3</i> “power”	-	-	No. 89, A2089
KX-5	Royal	Crown	Graywacke	MFA 14.1081 (14-1-513)	-	-	-	No. 13, A2090
KX-6	Royal	Crown	Graywacke	MFA 14.1633 (14-3-1186)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-7	Royal	Lower, Base	Limestone	MFA 14.726 (14-1-521, 14-3-1465)	King Sekhemra Khutawy	Mid-Dynasty 13 (15th D13 king)	-	No. 6, Inscription no. 33

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-8	Royal	Foot, base	Graywacke	MFA 20.1202 (14-1-279)	...nb m3dw mry... “...beloved of [Montu], lord of Maduw”	Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate?	Medamud (?), or toponym present as part of religious epithets	No. 5, Inscription no. 40 (Fig. 344), A2089
KX-9	Male (?)	Limb	Serpentine	MFA 14-1-452	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-10	Male (?)	Foot	Serpentine	MFA 14-1-538a	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-11	Male (?)	Back pillar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 14.1068 (14-1-439) & 20.1176a-e (14-1-449)	illegible (?)			Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-12	Male	Lower body, seated	Granodiorite	MFA Eg.Inv. 1424 (Su.814)	-	MK-SIP	Elephantine (?)	No. 30 (?), A922
KX-13	Male	Torso, R arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-367	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-14	Male	Kilt, Leg, R arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-453	-	-	-	No. 7, A2089

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-15	Male	R hand	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-1135a	Holds a staff	Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-16	Male	Lower body, kilt and leg	Granodiorite	MFA 14-3-654.2	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-17	Male	Kilt	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 14.1067 (14-1-435)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-18	Male	L leg	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1035 (14-1-451) & 14.1060 (14-1-372a)	-	-	-	No. 4, A2088
KX-19	Male	Leg	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1036 (14-1-153)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-20	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1037 (14-1-154)	-	D13-D17	Elephantine (?)	No. 69, B2176
KX-21	Male	Leg, knee	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1044 (14-1-286)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-22	Male	Torso	Graywacke	MFA 14.1055 (14-1-356)	-	-	-	No. 91, A2090

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-23	Male	Kilt	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1057 (14-1-358b)	Inscription illegible	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-24	Male	R arm, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1080 (14-1-512)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 82, A288
KX-25	Male	Head, wig, L ear	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1418 (14-2-1135c)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-26	Male	R hand	Sandstone	MFA 20.1174 (14-1-442)	-	-	-	No. 29
KX-27	Female	Head, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1043 (14-1-285)	Wig with feather patterned headress? Queen's crown?	MK	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-28	Female	Head and torso	Graywacke	MFA 20.1189 (Su.814)	-	MK	-	No. 21, C6231 C6232
KX-29	Female	Wig, tripartite	Granodiorite	MFA Eg.Inv. 1417 (Su.814)	-	MK?	-	No. 30 (?), A922

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-30	Female	Head, wig, R ear	Granodiorite	MFA Eg.Inv. 1417 / Su.815	May go with Su.814 tripartite wig fragment	MK-SIP?	-	No. 30 (?), A922
KX-31	Cultic	Dyad, legs	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3981 (Su.814e)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 3, C4483
KX-32	Cultic	Falcon head	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3983 (Su.814)	-	MK-SIP?	Horus temple (?) (Buhen, El-Kab?)	No. 96
KX-33	Cultic	Falcon head	Graywacke	MFA 14-1-454.2 (14-1-454b)	-	MK-SIP?	Horus temple (?) (Buhen, El-Kab?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-34	Cultic	Lower body, Female	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-499	-	MK-SIP?	Satet temple, Elephantine (?)	No. 24, C6254 B2175
KX-35	Cultic	Hand, bowl	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-1136	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-36	Cultic	Lower, kneeling	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1038 (14-1-159)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-37	Cultic	Base	Alabaster	MFA 20.1176a-e (14-1-447 to 14-1-449)	... <i>btiw ir.f n.f ḥḥ dt...dt mi...</i> “[Min]... of Koptos, may he make for him eternal life..like [Re] forever”	MK-SIP?	Koptos (?), or toponym present as part of religious epithets	No. 3, inscription 39 (Fig. 344).

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-38	-	Base	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-358a	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-39	-	Base	Graywacke	MFA 14-3-655.4	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-40	-	Fragmen tary	Basalt	MFA 14-3-1095.7a,b	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-41	-	Fragmen tary	Anorthosite Gneiss	MFA 20.1219 (14-1-653.1-6)	... <i>dt...</i> , “forever”	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-42	-	Limb	Granodiorite	Su.696.1-3	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KX - 42 identified objects, 82 registered pieces, MNI=25 (1 alabaster, 1 anorthosite gneiss, 1 basalt, 2 royals + 2 crowns + 2 male heads + 2 female heads + 1 dyad + 1 falcon + 1 nw-pot + 1 kneeling in granodiorite, 2 royal crowns + 1 male torso + 1 female torso + 1 falcon in graywacke, 1 limestone, 1 sandstone, 1 serpentine, 2 travertine)

Table 3.1.3 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KIV (Generation 3)

KIV-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIV-1	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-117b.4	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIV-2	Male	R. hand	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5689 (13-12-12)	-	MK-SIP	-	No. 77, A2090
KIV-3	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5696 (13-12-35)	-	MK-SIP	Elephantine (?)	No. 76, B2174
KIV-4	Male	R. hand	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5710 (13-12-214)	-	MK-SIP	-	No. 78, A2090
KIV-5	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1490 (14-3-1211)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIV-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIV-6	Male	Legs, base	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1187a-b (13-12-47)	(1) <i>hṭp di nswt pth-[skr-wsr], [di.f] prt-r-hrw...nb..., n k3 n whmw ᵑnhw, iry n hwyṯ m3ᵑt hrw</i> (2) <i>[di.f] prt-r-hrw wᵑb n k3 n / whmw ᵑnhw iry n / hwyṯ m3ᵑt hrw</i> , “(1) A boon which the kings gives, Ptah-[Sokar-Osiris]; [May he give] funerary offerings...for the <i>ka</i> of the herald, Ankhu, son of Khuwyt, true of voice (2)...[may] he [give] pure funerary offerings, for the <i>ka</i> of the herald, Ankhu, son of Khuwyt, true of voice”	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	No. 26, Inscription no. 50 (Fig. 344), C6218, C6219
KIV-7	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1188 (13-12-88)	<i>iri pᵑt, hᵑti-ᵑ</i> , “...the hereditary prince, the nomarch...”	Middle Kingdom	Elephantine (?)	No. 37, Inscription no. 45 (Fig. 344), C6226, C6227
KIV-8	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1192 (13-12-9)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 38, B2206, B2207

KIV-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIV-9	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1193 (13-12-46)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 36, B2208, B2209
KIV-10	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1194 (13-12-135)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 39, C6233, C6252
KIV-11	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1196a-c (13-12-117b)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 42, C6229, C6230
KIV-12	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1206 (14-1-78)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 68, C6249, C6250, C6145
KIV-13	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1207 (14-1-79)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 66, B2143, C6222, C6242, C6243, C6244, C6245
KIV-14	Female	Legs, base	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1190a (13-12-8)	-	Middle Kingdom	Elephantine (?)	No. 33, B2210, B2211

KIV- 14 securely identified fragments, 31 registered pieces, MNI=14? (7 torsos in granodiorite, 7 distinct statues in other stones)

Table 3.1.4 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KIII (Generation 4)

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-1	Vessel		Alabaster	13-12-786	Iymeru of El-Kab	Mid-Dynasty 16 (King Nebiryau I)	El-Kab	Inscription no. 56 (Fig. 345)
KIII-2	Vessel		Alabaster	14-2-678	Sobekhnakht, nomarch of El-Kab	Mid-Dynasty 16 (King Nebiryau I) to Dynasty 17	El-Kab	Inscription no. 46 (Fig. 344)
KIII-3	Vessel		Alabaster	MFA 20.1150a,b (14-2-785)	Horheriat of El-Kab	Dynasty 13-17?	El-Kab	Inscription no. 55 (Fig. 345)
KIII-4	Stela?	Top of text	Limestone	MFA 20.1664 (13-12-318)	<i>ḥtp ntrw i3[bt] ... / ḥr ḥr it.f... / tw b3/Gb(?)... / m [?]t im... / m33.sn... / ir.n n.k b3/Gb (?) ... / dd wsr ... ,</i>	OK-MK?	-	No. 6, Inscription no. 63
KIII-5	Offering table	-	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 20.1172a-c (13-12-493)	<i>...r^c...wr... , "...Ra...great..."</i>	OK?	-	No. 4, B2264
KIII-6	Male(?)	Knee, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-325	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 85, A2088

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-7	Male(?)	Arm & hand, left	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5722 (13-12-304) & Eg.Inv.1462 (14-2-555)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 84, A2094
KIII-8	Male(?)	Head, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1353 (14-2-613.2)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-9	Male, Royal (?)	Lower body, striding with shendyt kilt and cloth in hand	Graywacke	MFA 14.1354 (14-2-614a) & 14-2-614b	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 2, A2090
KIII-10	Male	Head, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-391	-	MK-SIP	-	No. 93, A2094
KIII-11	Male	Legs, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-495b	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-12	Male	Limb, kilt, frags	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 13.5713 (13-12-324), MFA 13.5724 (13-12-310), MFA 13.5739 (13-12-397), MFA 13.5798 (13-12-926), 14-2-637b, MFA 14.1341 (14.1341)	Very fragmentary, but may belong to same over life sized statue.	OK-MK?	-	13.5724= No. 87 (?), rest not in Reisner 1923 publication.
KIII-13	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5725 (13-12-319)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-14	Male	Head, bag wig, cloak	Yellow limestone	MFA 13.5762 (13-12-500)		D13-D17	-	No. 88, B2164
KIII-15	Male	R Hand, stuck in cloak	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5764 (13-12-506)	-	D13-D17?	-	No. 90, A2090
KIII-16	Male	Head, L ear	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-1078	-	MK-SIP	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-17	Male	Lower body, scribal	Granodiorite	14-2-1481	Statue of Ameny <i>ḥtp di nswt is-ir ḥnty / imntiw nb 3bdw di.f prt-r-ḥrw / iḥw 3pd mnḥt mrḥt iḥt nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t) / ^cnḥ ntrw im n k3 n s^cḥw bity hry d3d3 ^c3 imi-r3 db^c.t imny m3^c ḥrw / iry n imy-r3 pr i3y n nbt-pr m3^c ḥrw,</i> “May the king give an offering, Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, may he give funerary offerings: cattle, fowl, clothing, oil, every good pure thing on which the gods live, for the soul of the king’s noble, the great headman, the overseer of the seal, Ameny, true of voice, son of the steward Yay, born of the mistress of the house, Aket, true of voice.”	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 55, Inscription no. 47 (Fig. 344), C6035, C6172
KIII-18	Male	L ankle	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-555a	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-19	Male	Torso, arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-557.6	-	D13-D17?	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-20	Male	Torso, L arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-557a	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 92, B2176
KIII-21	Male	Lower body, kilt	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-557c	inscription illegible	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-22	Male	Lower body, scribal	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-593.13	...n k3 n..., "for the ka of"	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-23	Male	Lower body, scribal	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-594	Inscription illegible, part of MFA 14-2-593.13?	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-24	Male	Kilt	Basalt (?)	MFA 14-2-607.6	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-25	Male	R leg, scribal	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1086 (14-2-557b)	-	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	No. 58, B2176
KIII-26	Male	R arm, seated	Limestone	MFA 14.1344 (14-2-566)	-	OK-MK?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-27	Male	Head, L ear, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1349 (14-2-593a)	-	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-28	Male	L thumb, staff, monumental scale?	Limestone, black paint	MFA 14.1355 (14-2-616)	-	OK-MK?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-29	Male	Whole, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.721 (14-1-1076)	Statue of Senaa-ib <i>di nswt ḥtp pth-skr-wsr n k3 n wr rsy(?) šḥtp-ib sn^c-ib m3^c ḥrw ms n...</i> , “May the king give an offering, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, for the soul of the chief of the Southern Tens, Sehetep-ib’s son, Senaa-ib, born of...”	Dynasty 13-17	Heka-ib, Elephantine	No. 48, Inscription no. 49 (Fig. 344), B2146
KIII-30	Male	All but base, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.723 (14-2-1)	No inscription (base missing)	D13-D17	Elephantine (?)	No. 49, C6009

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-31	Male	Legs, base	Granodiorite	MFA 14.724 (14-2-1), 13-12-514, and 13-12-687	Statue of Hepdjefa <i>ḥtp di [nswt] wsr md i3bt... / im3ḥ(w) r wpw3wt nb s3wt / iri-p^ct ḥ3ti-^c wr wrw swsn (?) / ḥri tp 3 n / šm^cw smr w^cty imi-r3 gs pr n nswt / ḥ3ti-^c ḥp(ḥ^cpi) df(3) ms idi-^c3t / ^c nb ḥri-tp [] ḥnti [] / ḥ3ti-^c ḥp df,</i> Hetep di niswt offering formula.../ ”honored to Wepwawet, Lord of Assyut / hereditary noble, nomarch, great one of the great (?) / the great head of the South, sole companion, overseer of the workers (Jones 267) of the king / nomarch Hepdjefa son of Idiut / the nomarch ... Hepdjefa.”	Dynasty 12, reign of Senusret I	Assiut? (Elephantine?)	No. 49, Inscription no. 38 (Fig. 343), C6009
KIII-32	Male	Lower legs	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1185a,b (13-12-454, 14-2-523)	<i>ḥtp df(3)w ḥt nbt nfrt w^cbt n k3 n...</i> , “...offerings, all things good and pure for the ka of...”	MK-SIP?	-	No. 75, B2212

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-33	Male	Lower body, sribal	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1191a (13-12-250)	Statue of Ken <i>ḥtp di nswt ḥnmw nb ššḥ / tpt imi-r3 db^ctyw kn iry n snnw-^cnḥ / imi-r3 db^ctyw kn m3^c ḥrw / ḥtp di nswt wsr nb ḏdw</i> , “An offering which the king gives...Khnum, lord of Shash...Ken	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 60, Inscription no. 48 (Fig. 344), C6220, C6221, C6246, C6237
KIII-34	Male	Lower body, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1197 (13-12-322)	-	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	No. 28, C6216, C6217
KIII-35	Male	R leg, striding	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1199 (13-12-247)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-36	Male	R arm, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1200 (13-12-501)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 81, A2088
KIII-37	Male	Torso & Lower body	Serpentine	MFA 20.1205a,b (14-2-609)	-	D13-D17?	Elephantine (?)	No. 46, C6247
KIII-38	Male	Lower body, sribal	Dark brown stone	MFA 20.1218 (14-2-593g)	<i>n k3</i> , “for the ka”	MK-SIP?		Not in Reisner 1923 Publication, A2094
KIII-39	Male	Lower body, sribal	Indurated limestone	MFA 20.1665 (14-1-1082) & 14-1-1086	-	OK-MK?	-	No. 52 (part)

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-40	Female	Head, Hathor wig	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5723 (13-12-309)	-	MK, probably Dynasty 12	-	No. 22, A2094, B2174, B2176
KIII-41	Female	Whole, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.720 (13-12-371)	Lady Sennuwy, series of dedications by Osiris, Tefnut, Nut, Isis, Anubis, Nebthys, Hathor, Neith and Selket (Reisner 1923: 513).	Dynasty 12, reign of Senusret I	Assiut? (Elephantine?)	No. 32, Inscription no. 32 (Fig. 343), B2119, B2120, B2121, B2122, C5831, C5832, C5833
KIII-42	Dyad / Triad	Base, feet (male & female)	Serpentine	MFA 20.1201 (13-12-513)	Inscription illegible	Dynasty 13-17?	-	No. 65, A2088, B2175
KIII-43	Dyad	All but base, standing	Sandstone	MFA 20.1317 (14-2-608)	Anubis first of his hill, lady Nuwt-ib	D13-D17?	Elephantine (?)	No. 64, Inscription no. 53 (Fig. 344), B2259
KIII-44	Cultic (?)	Head, with beard (?)	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1191b (13-12-685)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-45	Cultic	Knees, bowl	Indurated limestone	MFA 14.1184 (14-2-2)	-	OK-MK?	-	No. 19, B2164

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-46	Cultic	Knees, kneeling	Serpentine	MFA 20.1220 (13-12-241)	-	MK?		No. 50, C6255, C6256
KIII-47	Child	Head	Serpentine	MFA 20.1215 (14-2-631)	-	D13-D17?	-	No. 72, C6249, C6250, C6145
KIII-48	-	Base, corner	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5741 (13-12-403)	<i>ḥtp di nswt</i> , “an offering which the king gives...”	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-49	-	Limb?	Serpentine	MFA 14-2-557.32	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-50	-	Base, corner	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-558.3	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-51	-	Fragment	Red-brown stone	MFA 14-2-560.1-2	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-52	-	Base, foot	Limestone	MFA 14-2-608d,e	-			Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-53	-	Back pillar	Graywacke	MFA 20.1214 (14-2-610)	<i>ib hri tp ... m ...</i> , “overseer...”	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-54	-	Base, fragment	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1217a-b (14-2-607a-b)	<i>prt hrw...nfr ntr [wsr(?)], spoken offerings...the good god [Osiris?]</i>	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-55	-	Base, fragment	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1221 (13-12-515)	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII - 52 securely identified fragments, 284 registered pieces, MNI= 37+ (1 basalt, 1 dark brown stone, 18+ granodiorite, 3 graywacke, 5 limestone, 1 red-brown stone, 1 sandstone, 4 serpentine, 2 travertine (Egyptian alabaster), 1 yellow limestone)

Table 3.1.5 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture fragments from other findspots at Kerma

Provenance	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KI	Dyad	Middle	Graywacke	MFA 13.3979 (Su.314)	Hetep di niswt formula, Husband and wife	MK to SIP		No. 63, C4487, C4488
KII	Stela	Intef	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3967 (14-1-25)	Commemorative stela for Intef, overseer of the seal, son of Semib (see Reisner 1923b: 551).	Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat III	Heka-ib sanctuary	No. 2, Inscription no. 30 (Fig. 343), A929, B2153, B2258

Provenance	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KII	Royal	Alabaster statue of a king	Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine)	MFA 20.1204 (14-1-1137)		Dynasty 5 to 6?	Elephantine (?)	No. 9, C6241
KII	Cultic	Alabaster falcon	Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine)	MFA 20.1203 (14-1-680)			Elephantine (?)	No. 95, C6240
KII	Vessel	Alabaster vessel for Dynasty 6 king	Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine)	MFA 20.1170 (14-1-1071)	Merenra	Dynasty 6	Elephantine (?)	Inscription no. 19 (Fig. 343)
Minor tumuli, KXIV and KXV debris	Male	Complete	Serpentine	Khartoum Museum 1132 (14-1-718)	standing statue of Mentuhotep of El-Kab	MK to SIP	El-Kab	No. 35, Inscription no. 62 (Fig. 345), C6417, C6418, C6419, C6420, C6432, C6433, C6434
Minor tumulus, Main chamber KXV	Male	Fragment	Graywacke	MFA 14.1329 (14-2-518)	standing man with hands to his kilt	MK to SIP		No. 38, A2090
Minor tumuli, KXIV and KXV debris	Cultic	Fragment	Slate	MFA 20.1216 (14-2-658)	slate falcon			No. 97, A2090

Provenance	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
Minor tumulus, KXXI	Male	Fragment	Graywacke	MFA 14.1089 (14-1-608)	standing male statuette	MK to SIP		No. 44, A2089
Minor tumulus, K3901 debris	Male	Fragment	Granodiorite	MFA 14-3-964 to 14-3-967	pleated kilt and unidentifiable fragments			No. 18?

Appendix 5.1 - provided at the end of the appendices due to length

Appendix 5.2 - Comparison in percentage of each three types of elite subsidiary burials with main object types (absence/presence).

dark gray=highest %s, medium gray=mid %s, light gray=lowest %, white=none present

Burial type	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Number of burials	21	103	44
Object type			
Egyptian Imports			
Stone Vessel	23.8% (5)	10.7% (11)	0
Total Stone Vessels	33.3% (7)	18.4% (19)	6.8% (3)
Scarabs	28.6% (6)	12.6% (13)	0
Egyptian amulets	9.5% (2)	1.9% (2)	0
E Mirrors	9.5% (2)	0	0
Kohl Pot	14.3% (3)	15.5% (16)	6.8% (3)
K.W.	33.3% (7)	30.1% (31)	13.6% (6)
Toilet implements	0	5.8% (6)	2.3% (1)
Wands	0	1% (1)	0
Games	0	1% (1)	0
W.J. XII (Tell el-Yahudiyeh)	0	3.9% (4)	0
Possible Egyptianizing			
“Amulet Beads”	14.3% (3)	10.7% (11)	6.8% (3)
Ez or N amulets?	4.8% (1)	1.9% (2)	0
Headrest	23.8% (5)	16.5% (17)	11.4% (5)

Burial type	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Number of burials	21	103	44
Object type			
Razors	14.3% (3)	13.6% (14)	2.3% (1)
Flies	9.5% (2)	1% (1)	0
Egyptianizing Scarabs	9.5% (2)	1% (1)	4.5% (2)
Linen	4.8% (1)	8.7% (9)	9.1% (4)
EZ Mirrors	0	4.9% (5)	0
Nubian			
Glazed stone beads	33.3% (7)	12.6% (13)	2.3% (1)
Other faience beads	76.2% (16)	55.3% (57)	47.7% (21)
N Daggers	47.6% (10)	21.4% (22)	13.6% (6)
Ivory jewelry	23.8% (5)	16.5% (17)	9.1% (4)
Gold Ornamentation	23.8% (5)	7.8% (8)	2.3% (1)
Silver Ornamentation	14.3% (3)	4.9% (5)	2.3% (1)
Bone implements	57.1% (12)	29.1% (30)	27.3% (12)
Ostrich feather fans	42.9% (9)	31.1% (32)	29.5% (13)
Pot nets	28.6% (6)	13.6% (14)	9.1% (4)
Paint Palettes	28.6% (6)	3.9% (4)	0
KC Beakers	76.2% (16)	74.8% (77)	61.4% (27)
Bkt. other	57.1% (12)	61.2% (63)	45.5% (20)
Mica appliques	19% (4)	18.4% (19)	2.3% (1)
Beaded cloth	4.8% (1)	7.8% (8)	0
Whisk/Strainer	4.8% (1)	6.8% (7)	2.3% (1)
Leather skirts	19% (4)	8.7% (9)	13.6% (6)
Leather sandals (pairs)	4.8% (1)	17.5% (18)	9.1% (4)
Rugs	0	3.9% (4)	0

Burial type	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Number of burials	21	103	44
Object type			
Combs	0	1% (1)	2.3% (1)
Throwstick	4.8% (1)	1% (1)	2.3% (1)
Horn protectors	19% (4)	7.8% (8)	4.5% (2)
est. rams	38.1% (8)	39.8% (41)	31.8% (14)
Shell beads	9.5% (2)	4.9% (5)	6.8% (3)
Unique	66.7% (14)	40.8% (42)	27.3% (12)

Appendix 5.3 - Comparison in percentage of elite subsidiary graves with main object types (absence/presence) over four generations of the Classic Kerma period, sorted by chronological trends.

Dark gray=highest %, medium dark gray=2nd highest %, medium light gray=lower %, light gray=lowest %, white=none present

Nubian, possibly Nubian, *Egyptian*, *Egyptianizing*, and Hyksos

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
Steady thru KC				
KC beakers	78.3% (18)	64.2% (52)	70.6% (36)	88.9% (32)
Bone implements	4.3% (1)	34.6% (28)	31.4% (16)	27.8% (10)
Steady decrease				
Rams	43.5% (10)	42.0% (34)	39.2% (20)	25% (9)
Horn protectors (pairs)	13.0% (3)	11.1% (9)	7.8% (4)	2.8% (1)
Daggers	52.2% (12)	23.5% (19)	27.5% (14)	13.9% (5)
Circlets	30.4% (7)	25.9% (21)	13.7% (7)	13.9% (5)
Hard stone beads	13.0% (3)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	2.8% (1)
<i>Egyptianizing Scarabs</i>	21.7% (5)	3.7% (3)	3.9% (2)	0% (0)

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
Shell beads	26.1% (6)	4.9% (4)	5.9% (3)	8.3% (3)
Throwsticks	8.7% (2)	2.5% (2)	2.0% (1)	0% (0)
Decrease with peak at end				
Leather skirts	21.7% (5)	18.5% (15)	2.0% (1)	8.3% (3)
Linen	26.1% (6)	9.9% (8)	3.9% (2)	11.1% (4)
Pot nets	17.4% (4)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	33.3% (12)
Palettes and pigments	47.8% (11)	7.4% (6)	3.9% (2)	5.6% (2)
Peak in KX				
Headrests	8.7% (2)	25.9% (21)	7.8% (4)	2.8% (1)
Sandals	4.3% (1)	19.7% (16)	11.8% (6)	2.8% (1)
Gold	8.7% (2)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	5.6% (2)
Mica appliqués	0% (0)	21.0% (17)	11.8% (6)	2.8% (1)
Rugs	0% (0)	2.5% (2)	3.9% (2)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptian amulets</i>	0% (0)	3.7% (3)	2.0% (1)	0% (0)
Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware	0% (0)	4.9% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptianizing or Nubian amulets</i>	0% (0)	2.5% (2)	0% (0)	2.8% (1)

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
<i>Egyptian wands</i>	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptian games</i>	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Peak in KX and KIII?				
<i>Fly amulets</i>	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)
Giraffe hair strainers	0% (0)	7.4% (6)	2.0% (1)	5.6% (2)
Ostrich feather fans	17.4% (4)	43.2% (35)	15.7% (8)	30.6% (11)
Increase to peak in KIV				
Ivory jewelry	17.4% (4)	12.3% (10)	25.5% (13)	8.3% (3)
Steady increase/time				
Silver	4.3% (1)	3.7% (3)	5.9% (3)	8.3% (3)
<i>“Amulet beads”</i>	4.3% (1)	7.4% (6)	9.8% (5)	16.7% (6)
<i>Kenah ware</i>	21.7% (5)	19.7% (16)	27.4% (14)	38.9% (14)
Glazed stones	8.7% (2)	8.7% (7)	15.7% (8)	16.7% (6)
Beaded cloth	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	5.9% (3)	13.9% (5)
Girdles	0% (0)	6.2% (5)	0% (0)	19.4% (7)
Other bronze implements	0% (0)	0% (0)	2.0% (1)	16.7% (6)

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
Sudden increase in KIII				
<i>Egyptian Mirrors</i>	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	5.5% (2)
<i>Egyptianizing Mirrors</i>	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	13.9% (5)
Combs	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)
<i>Scarabs</i>	4.3% (1)	8.6% (7)	5.9% (3)	25% (9)
<i>Bronze razors</i>	17.4% (4)	3.7% (3)	2.0% (1)	38.9% (14)
Other knives	4.3% (1)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)
<i>Stone vessels</i>	4.3% (1)	6.2% (5)	3.9% (2)	25% (9)
<i>Kohl Pots</i>	8.7% (2)	4.9% (4)	7.8% (4)	38.9% (14)

Appendix 5.4 - Statistical significance calculations for Appendices 5.2 and 5.3

Table 5.4.1 - Confidence (%) of statistical significance of the comparison of the distribution of object types by tumulus

Calculated with Drennan 2010: Table 9.1. Student's t Distribution

For significance probability:

-Lower half is significance probability

-Upper half is confidence (%) in comparing pairs

For t:

-Lower half is t value (absolute)

-Upper half is degrees of freedom

For all calculations, see Drennan 2010: 153-4

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
Plain Bed													
KIII	36	69.444	7.677	KIII		80.0	95.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	64.706	6.692	KIV	0.200		50.0	99.9	KIV	1.318		130	72
KX	81	60.494	5.432	KX	0.050	0.500		99.9	KX	2.707	1.282		102
KXVI	23	39.130	10.176	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	6.878	5.541	4.327	
Inlaid Bed													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		<50	99.5	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	>0.5		98.0	99.9	KIV	0.528		130	72
KX	81	16.049	4.078	KX	0.005	0.020		95.0	KX	3.007	2.407		102
KXVI	23	26.087	9.156	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.050		KXVI	5.181	4.463	2.345	
Stone Vessel													
KIII	36	25.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	3.922	2.718	KIV	0.001		50.0	<50	KIV	6.073		130	72
KX	81	6.173	2.674	KX	0.001	0.500		<50	KX	5.892	1.074		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.001	>0.5	>0.5		KXVI	4.852	0.145	0.527	

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
Kohl Pot													
KIII	36	38.889	8.125	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	7.843	3.765	KIV	0.001		50.0	<50	KIV	8.425		130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.001	0.500		50.0	KX	10.021	1.180		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.001	>0.5	0.500		KXVI	6.681	0.246	1.142	
Total Stone Vessels													
KIII	36	44.444	8.282	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	0.001		<50	50.0	KIV	9.308		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	>0.5		<50	KX	9.734	0.504		102
KXVI	23	13.043	7.022	KXVI	0.001	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	6.877	0.889	0.488	
Ezing? Scarabs													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	3.922	2.718	KIV	0.001		<50	99.9	KIV	14.247		130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.001	>0.5		99.9	KX	19.050	0.485		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	37.303	4.560	3.781	
Scarabs													
KIII	36	25.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.001		50.0	50.0	KIV	5.505		130	72
KX	81	8.642	3.122	KX	0.001	0.500		<50	KX	5.116	1.196		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.001	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	3.826	0.868	0.014	
Total Scarabs													
KIII	36	25.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	<50	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	0.001		<50	99.9	KIV	4.371		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	>0.5		99.9	KX	4.342	0.504		102
KXVI	23	26.087	9.156	KXVI	>0.5	0.001	0.001		KXVI	0.254	4.463	3.779	

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
Hard stone beads													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		80.0	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.200		95.0	95.0	KIV	1.442		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	0.050		<50	KX	4.196	2.264		102
KXVI	23	13.043	7.022	KXVI	0.001	0.050	>0.5		KXVI	3.873	2.207	0.488	
Glazed stone beads													
KIII	36	16.667	6.211	KIII		<50	95.0	95.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	15.686	5.092	KIV	>0.5		98.0	90.0	KIV	0.303		130	72
KX	81	8.642	3.122	KX	0.050	0.020		<50	KX	2.704	2.460		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.050	0.100	>0.5		KXVI	2.015	1.738	0.014	
Shell beads													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		50.0	80.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.500		<50	99.9	KIV	0.881		130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.200	>0.5		99.9	KX	1.328	0.410		102
KXVI	23	26.087	9.156	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	5.181	6.215	6.417	
Other faience beads													
KIII	36	77.778	6.929	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	54.902	6.968	KIV	0.001		98.0	<50	KIV	6.692		130	72
KX	81	46.914	5.545	KX	0.001	0.020		50.0	KX	9.817	2.383		102
KXVI	23	52.174	10.416	KXVI	0.001	>0.5	0.500		KXVI	6.109	0.579	1.054	
“Amulet Beads”													
KIII	36	16.667	6.211	KIII		95.0	99.5	99.5	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	0.050		50.0	80.0	KIV	2.126		130	72
KX	81	7.407	2.910	KX	0.005	0.500		50.0	KX	3.121	0.925		102

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.005	0.200	0.500		KXVI	3.118	1.501	0.847	
Ez or N amulets?													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		80.0	<50	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.200		99.9	---	KIV	1.303		130	72
KX	81	2.469	1.724	KX	>0.5	0.001		50.0	KX	0.156	13.409		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.500	---	0.500		KXVI	1.063		0.890	
Egyptian amulets													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		99.9	99.9	---	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		50.0	50.0	KIV	8.429		130	72
KX	81	3.704	2.098	KX	0.001	0.500		50.0	KX	15.304	0.983		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	---	0.500	0.500		KXVI		0.792	1.210	
Flies													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		95.0	90.0	90.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.050		99.9	---	KIV	2.208		130	72
KX	81	1.235	1.227	KX	0.100	0.001		<50	KX	1.860	7.948		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	---	>0.5		KXVI	1.800		0.527	
EZ Mirrors													
KIII	36	13.889	5.764	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.001		---	---	KIV	4.492		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.001	---		---	KX	4.882			102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.001	---	---		KXVI	3.663			
E Mirrors													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		95.0	98.0	90.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.050		---	---	KIV	2.208		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.020	---		---	KX	2.399			102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	---	---		KXVI	1.800			
E Razors													

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KIII	36	38.889	8.125	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		50.0	99.9	KIV	10.040		130	72
KX	81	3.704	2.098	KX	0.001	0.500		99.9	KX	10.390	0.983		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	4.750	6.159	4.449	
E Toilet implements													
KIII	36	16.667	6.211	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		50.0	50.0	KIV	4.570		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.001	0.500		---	KX	5.643	1.113		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.001	0.500	---		KXVI	4.235	0.792		
N Daggers													
KIII	36	13.889	5.764	KIII		99.9	99.8	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	27.451	6.249	KIV	0.001		50.0	99.9	KIV	4.347		130	72
KX	81	23.457	4.708	KX	0.002	0.500		99.9	KX	3.336	1.258		102
KXVI	23	52.174	10.416	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	9.999	5.540	6.244	
Knives (other)													
KIII	36	13.889	5.764	KIII		99.9	99.9	98.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.001		99.9	99.9	KIV	4.492		130	72
KX	81	1.235	1.227	KX	0.001	0.001		80.0	KX	4.438	7.948		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.020	0.001	0.200		KXVI	2.506	15.186	1.324	
Combs													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		95.0	98.0	90.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.050		---	---	KIV	2.208		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.020	---		---	KX	2.399			102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	---	---		KXVI	1.800			
Headrest													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		95.0	99.9	95.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	7.843	3.765	KIV	0.050		99.9	<50	KIV	2.350		130	72

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KX	81	25.926	4.869	KX	0.001	0.001		99.9	KX	11.600	7.315		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.050	>0.5	0.001		KXVI	2.238	0.246	3.689	
Throwstick													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		<50	95.0	KIV	8.429		130	72
KX	81	2.469	1.724	KX	0.001	>0.5		95.0	KX	11.255	0.287		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.001	0.050	0.050		KXVI	21.632	2.697	2.234	
Bone implements													
KIII	36	27.778	7.465	KIII		50.0	95.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	31.373	6.497	KIV	0.500		50.0	99.9	KIV	1.014		130	72
KX	81	34.568	5.284	KX	0.050	0.500		99.9	KX	2.083	0.987		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	5.413	5.958	6.214	
Ivory jewelry													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		99.9	80.0	98.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	25.490	6.103	KIV	0.001		99.9	90.0	KIV	6.139		130	72
KX	81	12.346	3.655	KX	0.200	0.001		50.0	KX	1.565	4.194		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.020	0.100	0.500		KXVI	2.647	1.839	1.245	
Wands/ Games													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		---	99.9	---	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV		---	99.9	---	KIV			130	72
KX	81	1.235	1.227	KX	0.001	0.001		<50	KX	6.671	7.948		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI		---	>0.5		KXVI			0.527	
Mica appliques													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		99.9	99.9	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	11.765	4.512	KIV	0.001		99.9	99.5	KIV	4.159		130	72

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KX	81	20.988	4.525	KX	0.001	0.001		99.9	KX	9.136	3.414		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.500	0.005	0.001		KXVI	1.063	3.119	4.669	
Gold Ornamentation													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		<50	98.0	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	>0.5		95.0	50.0	KIV	0.129		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.020	0.050		<50	KX	2.378	2.264		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.500	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	1.009	0.868	0.610	
Silver Ornamentation													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		50.0	90.0	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.500		50.0	<50	KIV	0.881		130	72
KX	81	3.704	2.098	KX	0.100	0.500		<50	KX	1.812	0.946		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.500	>0.5	>0.5		KXVI	1.170	0.474	0.210	
Paint Palettes													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		<50	50.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	3.922	2.718	KIV	>0.5		90.0	99.9	KIV	0.646		130	72
KX	81	7.407	2.910	KX	0.500	0.100		99.9	KX	0.794	1.662		102
KXVI	23	47.826	10.416	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	13.498	14.822	11.158	
Pot nets													
KIII	36	33.333	7.857	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.001		95.0	99.9	KIV	7.578		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	0.050		80.0	KX	6.661	2.264		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.200		KXVI	3.582	3.544	1.586	
Leather skirts													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		95.0	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.050		99.9	99.9	KIV	2.297		130	72
KX	81	18.519	4.316	KX	0.001	0.001		50.0	KX	3.968	9.275		102
KXVI	23	21.739	8.601	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.500		KXVI	3.915	7.886	0.732	
Leather sandals (pairs)													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII			99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	11.765	4.512	KIV	0.001			99.5	KIV	4.159		130	72
KX	81	19.753	4.424	KX	0.001	0.005		99.9	KX	8.520	2.958		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	>0.5	0.100	0.001		KXVI	0.596	1.960	3.461	
Whisk/Strainer													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII			80.0	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.200			99.5	KIV	1.423		130	72
KX	81	7.407	2.910	KX	0.500	0.005		95.0	KX	0.794	3.064		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	0.500	0.050		KXVI	1.800	0.792	2.055	
Ostrich feather fans													
KIII	36	30.556	7.677	KIII			99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	15.686	5.092	KIV	0.001			99.9	KIV	4.144		130	72
KX	81	43.210	5.504	KX	0.001	0.001		99.9	KX	3.827	9.586		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.005	>0.5	0.001		KXVI	2.992	0.423	5.198	
KC Beakers													
KIII	36	88.889	5.238	KIII			99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	70.588	6.380	KIV	0.001			95.0	KIV	6.147		130	72
KX	81	64.198	5.327	KX	0.001	0.050		99.5	KX	9.013	1.991		102
KXVI	23	78.261	8.601	KXVI	0.005	0.100	0.005		KXVI	2.914	1.703	2.877	
Keneh Ware													
KIII	36	38.889	8.125	KIII			99.5	99.9	KIII		85	115	57

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KIV	51	27.451	6.249	KIV	0.005		98.0	50.0	KIV	3.096		130	72
KX	81	19.753	4.424	KX	0.001	0.020		<50	KX	5.635	2.426		102
KXVI	23	21.739	8.601	KXVI	0.001	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	3.788	1.281	0.446	
W.J. XII (tell el-yahudiyeh)													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		---	99.9	---	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV		---	99.9	---	KIV			130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.001	0.001		80.0	KX	19.050	22.697		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI		---	0.200		KXVI			1.506	
Unique													
KIII	36	75.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	29.412	6.380	KIV	0.001		50.0	99.9	KIV	13.080		130	72
KX	81	32.099	5.187	KX	0.001	0.500		99.9	KX	13.381	0.837		102
KXVI	23	78.261	8.601	KXVI	0.500	0.001	0.001		KXVI	0.764	10.844	9.570	

Table 5.4.2 - Confidence (%) of statistical significance of the comparison of the distribution of object types by burial type

Calculated with Drennan 2010: Table 9.1. Student's t Distribution

For significance probability:

- Lower half is significance probability
- Upper half is confidence (%) in comparing pairs

For t:

- Lower half is t value (absolute)
- Upper half is degrees of freedom

For all calculations, see Drennan 2010: 153-4

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Stone Vessel											
Inlaid	21	23.810	9.294	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	10.680	3.043	Plain	0.001		99.8	Plain	3.995		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.001	0.002		Non-bed	6.584	3.366	
Kohl pots											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		<50	95.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	15.534	3.569	Plain	>0.5		98.0	Plain	0.418		145
Non-bed	44	6.818	3.800	Non-bed	0.050	0.020		Non-bed	2.259	2.532	
Total Stone Vessels											
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	18.447	3.822	Plain	0.001		99.8	Plain	4.301		145
Non-bed	44	6.818	3.800	Non-bed	0.001	0.002		Non-bed	6.926	3.266	
Total Scarabs											
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	13.592	3.377	Plain	0.001		95.0	Plain	5.709		145
Non-bed	44	4.545	3.140	Non-bed	0.001	0.050		Non-bed	7.528	2.703	
Glazed stone beads											
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	12.621	3.272	Plain	0.001		99.5	Plain	5.991		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.005		Non-bed	8.134	3.142	
“Amulet Beads”											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		50.0	95.0	Inlaid		122	63

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Plain	103	10.680	3.043	Plain	0.500		50.0	Plain	1.209		145
Non-bed	44	6.818	3.800	Non-bed	0.050	0.500		Non-bed	2.259	1.215	
Egyptian amulets											
Inlaid	21	9.524	6.406	Inlaid		95.0	99.5	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	1.942	1.360	Plain	0.050		50.0	Plain	2.785		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.005	0.500		Non-bed	3.172	0.916	
Flies											
Inlaid	21	9.524	6.406	Inlaid		99.5	99.5	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	0.971	0.966	Plain	0.005		<50	Plain	3.146		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.005	>0.5		Non-bed	3.172	0.543	
EZ Mirrors											
Inlaid	21	0.000	0.000	Inlaid		99.9	---	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	4.854	5.343	Plain	0.001		50.0	Plain	9.592		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed		0.500		Non-bed		1.155	
E Razors											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		<50	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	13.592	3.377	Plain	>0.5		99.9	Plain	0.232		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	3.647	3.383	
N Daggers											
Inlaid	21	47.619	10.899	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	21.359	4.038	Plain	0.001		95.0	Plain	7.372		145
Non-bed	44	13.636	5.174	Non-bed	0.001	0.050		Non-bed	8.609	2.109	
Headrest											
Inlaid	21	23.810	9.294	Inlaid		95.0	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	16.505	3.658	Plain	0.050		80.0	Plain	2.219		145
Non-bed	44	11.364	4.785	Non-bed	0.001	0.200		Non-bed	3.412	1.475	

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Wands											
Inlaid	21	0.000	0.000	Inlaid		99.9	---	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	0.971	0.966	Plain	0.001		<50	Plain	4.512		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed		>0.5		Non-bed		0.543	
Mica appliques											
Inlaid	21	19.048	8.569	Inlaid		<50	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	18.447	3.822	Plain	>0.5		99.9	Plain	0.190		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	4.810	4.545	
Gold Ornamentation											
Inlaid	21	23.810	9.294	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	7.767	2.637	Plain	0.001		90.0	Plain	4.885		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.100		Non-bed	5.931	1.858	
Silver Ornamentation											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		99.8	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	4.854	2.118	Plain	0.002		50.0	Plain	3.169		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.500		Non-bed	3.647	0.974	
Paint Palettes											
Inlaid	21	28.571	9.858	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	3.883	1.904	Plain	0.001		80.0	Plain	7.314		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.001	0.200		Non-bed	7.672	1.547	
Pot nets											
Inlaid	21	28.571	9.858	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	13.592	3.377	Plain	0.001		80.0	Plain	4.424		145

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Leather skirts											
Non-bed	44	9.091	4.334	Non-bed	0.001	0.200		Non-bed	5.192	1.344	
Inlaid	21	19.048	8.569	Inlaid		99.8	80.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	8.738	2.782	Plain	0.002		80.0	Plain	3.267		145
Leather sandals (pairs)											
Non-bed	44	13.636	5.174	Non-bed	0.200	0.200		Non-bed	1.543	1.610	
Inlaid	21	4.762	4.647	Inlaid		99.9	80.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	17.476	3.742	Plain	0.001		98.0	Plain	5.417		145
Whisk/ Strainer											
Non-bed	44	9.091	4.334	Non-bed	0.200	0.020		Non-bed	1.667	2.379	
Inlaid	21	4.762	4.647	Inlaid		50.0	50.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	6.796	2.480	Plain	0.500		80.0	Plain	0.872		145
Ostrich feather fans											
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.500	0.200		Non-bed	0.966	1.577	
Inlaid	21	42.857	10.799	Inlaid		99.8	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	31.068	4.560	Plain	0.002		<50	Plain	3.321		145
KC Beakers											
Non-bed	44	29.545	6.878	Non-bed	0.001	>0.5		Non-bed	3.379	0.391	
Inlaid	21	76.190	9.294	Inlaid		<50	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	74.757	4.280	Plain	>0.5		99.9	Plain	0.435		145
K.W.											
Non-bed	44	61.364	7.341	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	4.046	3.550	
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		50.0	99.9	Inlaid		122	63

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Plain	103	30.097	4.520	Plain	0.500		99.9	Plain	0.934		145
Non-bed	44	13.636	5.174	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	5.134	4.250	
W.J. XII (tell el-yahudiye h)											
Inlaid	21	0.000	0.000	Inlaid		99.9	---	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	3.883	1.904	Plain	0.001		80.0	Plain	12.857		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed		0.200		Non-bed		1.547	
Unique											
Inlaid	21	66.667	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	40.777	4.842	Plain	0.001		99.8	Plain	7.466		145
Non-bed	44	27.273	6.714	Non-bed	0.001	0.002		Non-bed	10.242	3.367	

Appendix 6.1 - Inlaid beds and mica hat appliqués, distribution and combinations

Table 6.1.1 - Comparison by generation of the percentage of elite subsidiary graves with plain funerary beds, inlaid funerary beds, and hats with mica appliqués.

Generation: Tumulus	% Graves with Plain Beds	% Graves with Inlaid Beds	% Graves with Hats
Gen 1: KXVI (34)	32.3% (11)	14.7-23.5% (5 - 8)	n/a
Gen 2: KX (98)	48.9% (48)	12.2% (12)	15.3% (15)
Gen 3: KIV (58)	53.8% (31)	8.6% (5)	10.3% (6)
Gen 4: KIII (38)	65.8% (25)	7.9% (3)	2.6% (1)

Table 6.1.2 - Comparison by generation of the percentage of elite subsidiary graves with plain funerary beds, inlaid funerary beds, and hats with mica appliqué.

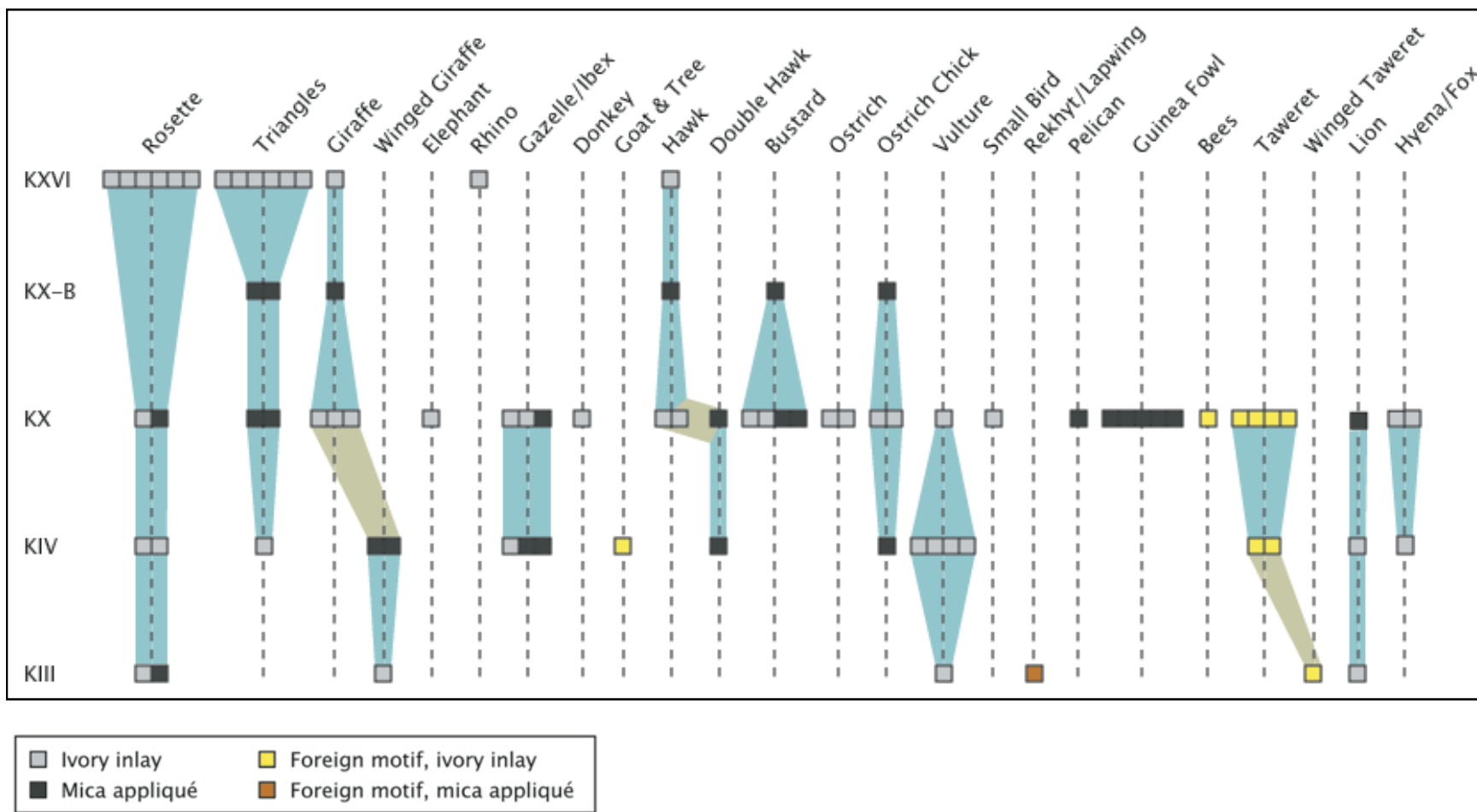


Table 6.1.3 - Inlaid beds from private Classic Kerma burials by tumulus, including museum number and field number concordances

Bed inlays in grey boxes were found *in situ* in the arrangement as presented

Bed inlays in Tumulus KXVI - Generation 1

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1600A, B, C	Hawk	MFA 20.1539 (14-1-1131)	Beak, body, tail= hawk, not vulture	
	Two-horned rhinoceros	MFA 14.1131 (14-1-1250), 14-1-1096, 14-1-1250		A2035, C6428
	Hippopotamus or lion (?)	14-1-1230	Fire damage? Neck folds=hippo?	C6428
	Stylized double giraffe	14-1-1132	Border piece	C6428
	Rosettes	MFA 20.1540 (14-2-89, 14-2-73, 14-2-72, 14-1-1097, 14-1-1130b, 14-2-71)		
	Triangles	MFA 20.1541 (14-1-1130, 14-2-65, 14-2-66, 14-2-67, 14-2-68, 14-2-69, 14-2-70, 14-2-89)		
K1601	Triangle	14-3-1225	Intrusive?	
K1614	Triangle	MFA 14.1290 (14-2-333)	Intrusive?	
K1620	Geometric	14-2-138		
K1623 body B	Rosettes	14-2-59 to 14-2-64		

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1623 body A	Triangles and Rosettes	14-2-65 to 14-2-73, 14-2-89		
K1625	Rosettes	14-2-200		
K1627	Rosettes	14-2-480		
K1628	Triangles and Rosettes	MFA 20.1523	(field number unknown)	
K1630	Triangles	MFA 14.1315 (14-2-445)		
K1631	Triangles	MFA 14.1293 (14-2-369), MFA 14.1294 (14-2-370), MFA 14.1295 (14-2-371), MFA 14.1296 (14-2-372), MFA 14.1297 (14-2-373), MFA 14.1298 (14-2-374)		A2182
	Rosettes	MFA 14.1292 (14-2-368)		A2182

Bed inlays in Tumulus KX - Generation 2

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1001	Bustards and Tawerets	Su.615, Su.618-621	Taweret with skirt	A931
	Bustards	MFA 13.4206 (Su.616), MFA 13.4207 (Su. 617)		
K1028	Vulture	Su.815	2-wings	

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1043	Elephant	MFA 13.4212 (Su.812)		A931
	Hawk	MFA 13.4205 MFA 13.5103 (Su.813)		
K1047	Rosette	MFA 13.4219a-b (Su.850)	(Not K1043 as listed in Object Register, confirmed on tomb card)	
K1050	Bees	MFA 13.4214a-c (Su.920)		A931
	Ostrich Chicks	MFA 13.4211 (Su.920)		
K1053 body D	Ibexes	MFA 13.4219a-g (Su.1073)		A931
	Tawerets	MFA 13.4220a-e (Su.1073)	No skirt, knife, fur/ridge on back	
	Hyenas	MFA 13.4221a-e (Su.1073)	Striped hyenas	
	Animal pelt border	MFA 13.4201 (Su.1073), MFA 13.4223a-f (Su.1073)		
K1056	Tawerets	MFA 13.4203 (Su.946), MFA 13.4210 (Su.946)	Back to back pairs, knife and skirt	A931
	Giraffes	Su.946	3-4 fragmentary	
	Small birds	Su.946	Pigeons or doves?	
K1061	Animal pelt border	MFA 13.4202 (Su.1157)		
	Hawk	MFA 13.4204 (Su.1157)		

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1065	Tawerets	MFA 13.4209 (Su.1158)	With skirt	
	Unidentifiable, border?	MFA 13.4208a-f (Su.1158)	Hourglass shaped	
K1090	Palmette border	MFA 20.1555	(Unknown field number)	
	Gazelles	MFA 20.1554a-e (heads), MFA 20.1556 (14-3-761) (bodies)		
	Donkey	MFA 20.1552 (14-3-759)		
	Hyenas or foxes	MFA 20.1553a-c		
K1095	Palmette border	MFA 20.1551 (14-3-772)		
	Ostriches	MFA 20.1549, MFA 20.1550a-c (14-3-771)		

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1096	Ostrich chicks	MFA 20.2098 / MFA 20.1345 (14-3-729), MFA 20.1346 (14-3-730), MFA 20.1347 (14-3-731), MFA 20.1348 (14-3-732), MFA 20.1349 (14-3-733), MFA 20.1350 (14-3-734), MFA 20.1351 (14-3-735), MFA 20.1352 (14-3-736), MFA 20.1353 (14-3-737), MFA 20.1548a-d (14-3-738,14-3-739, 14-3-740)	Used as border	B2170
	Bustards	MFA 20.1321 (14-3-706), MFA 20.2097 MFA 20.1323 (14-3-708), MFA 20.1324 (14-3-709), MFA 20.1325 (14-3-710), MFA 20.1326 (14-3-741), MFA 20.2028 (14-3-742 ?)		B2170
	Ostriches	MFA 20.1327 (14-3-711), MFA 20.1328 (14-3-712), MFA 20.1329 (14-3-713), MFA 20.1330 (14-3-714), MFA 20.1331 (14-3-715), MFA 20.1332 (14-3-716), MFA 20.1333 (14-3-717), MFA 20.1334 (14-3-718), MFA 20.1335 (14-3-719),		B2170

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
	Giraffes	MFA 20.1336 (14-3-720), MFA 20.1337 (14-3-721), MFA 20.1338 (14-3-722), MFA 20.1339 (14-3-723), MFA 20.1340 (14-3-724), MFA 20.1341 (14-3-725), MFA 20.1342 (14-3-726), MFA 20.1343 (14-3-727), MFA 20.1344 (14-3-728)		B2170

Bed inlays in Tumulus KIV - Generation 3

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K407	Triangles and Rosettes	14-1-65 to 14-1-72	From two beds?	A2035, A2163
	Lion	MFA 20.2100 / MFA 20.1530 (13-12-94)	From two beds?	C6428

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K439 body A	Palmette borders	14.1042 (14-1-272), MFA 20.1531 (14-1-274), MFA 20.1532 (14-1-273), MFA 20.1533 / MFA 20.2044 (14-1-270), MFA 20.1534 / MFA 20.2045 (14-1-271), MFA 20.1535a-b (14-1-268 and 14-1-269), MFA 20.1536 / MFA 20.2043 (14-1-266), MFA 20.1537 (14-1-267), MFA 20.1538a-b (14-1-264 and 14-1-265)		B2148, C5909
	Vultures	MFA 20.1368 (14-1-245), MFA 20.1369 (14-1-246), MFA 20.1370 (14-1-247), MFA 20.1371 (14-1-248)	2-wings	B2148, C5909
	Taweret	MFA 20.2027 / 20.1502 (14-1-249) and MFA 20.1519 (14-1-250, deaccessioned), MFA 20.1504 (14-1-251) and MFA 20.1503 / 20.2040 (14-1-252), 14-1-253 (deaccessioned) and MFA 20.1518 (14-1-254), MFA 20.1517 (14-1-255) and MFA 20.1516 (14-1-256), MFA 20.1515 (14-1-257) and MFA 20.1514 (14-1-258)	Skirts, back to back pairs	B2148, C5909

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
	Pairs of goats with trees	MFA 20.1372 (14-1-259), MFA 20.1373 (14-1-260), MFA 20.2039 / 20.1374 (14-1-261), MFA 20.1375 (14-1-262), MFA 20.1376 (14-1-263)	Ram in the thicket	B2148, C5909
K439 body B	Palmette borders	MFA 14.1041 (14-1-235), MFA 20.1359 , MFA 20.1360 , MFA 20.1361 (14-1-237), MFA 20.1363 (14-1-239 and 14-1-240), MFA 20.2042 / 20.1364 (14-1-241), MFA 20.1366 , MFA 20.2046 / 20.1362 (14-1-238), MFA 20.1365 (14-1-243)		B2148, C5909
	Vultures (2-wings)	MFA 20.1354 (14-1-224), MFA 20.1355 (14-1-225), MFA 20.1356 (14-1-226), MFA 20.1357 (14-1-227), MFA 20.1358 (14-1-228)	Top two rows	B2148, C5909
	Vultures (1-wing)	Facing right: 14-1-232, 14-1-233, MFA 20.1510 (14-1-234); facing left: MFA 20.2108 / 20.1512 , (14-1-229), MFA 20.1513 (14-1-230), MFA 20.1511 (14-1-231)	Bottom row	B2148, C5909
K439 body C (?)	Vultures	MFA 20.1527 (14-1-3), MFA 20.1528 (14-1-2), MFA 20.1529 (14-1-1)	2-wings	
	Gazelle or Ibex	MFA 20.2106 / 20.1377 (14-1-274)	Flying gallop	

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K441	Rosette	14-2-480		
	Palmette borders	14-2-480		
K444	Animal pelt borders	MFA 20.1526 (14-1-349)		A2035
K449 body A	Animal pelt borders	MFA 20.1496a-d (14-3-790, 14-3-791, 14-3-792, 14-3-809), MFA 20.1497a-j (14-3-785, 14-3-786, 14-3-787, 14-3-788, 14-3-789, 14-3-793, 14-3-794, 14-3-795, 14-3-797, 14-3-810)	Footboard preserved whole	
	Vultures	MFA 20.1494 (14-3-784), MFA 20.1494a (14-3-1464), MFA 20.1495b (14-3-784), MFA 20.2107 / 20.1495c (14-3-784),	2-wings	
	Taweret	MFA 20.1494 (14-3-784)	Skirts, all facing right	
	Hyena	MFA 20.1494 (14-3-784)		

Bed inlays in Tumulus KIII- Generation 4

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K309	Animal pelt border	13-12-823 to 13-12-832		A2035, A2180

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
	Vultures	MFA 20.1505 (13-12-1027), MFA 20.1506 (13-12-1026), MFA 20.1507 (13-12-846), MFA 20.1508, 13-12-842 to 13-12-845	2-wings	A2035, A2180
	Winged Tawerets	13-12-813 to 13-12-822	Unknown current location, but identifiable in place in field photos	A2035, A2180
	Winged Giraffes	MFA 20.1544 (13-12-809), MFA 20.1545 (13-12-810), MFA 20.1546 (13-12-811), MFA 20.1547a-c (13-12-846), 13-12-802 to 808, 13-12-812		A2035, A2180
	Tawerets	MFA 20.1641 (13-12-833), MFA 20.1642 (13-12-834), MFA 13.5792 (13-12-835), MFA 20.1643 (13-12-836), MFA 20.1644 (13-12-837), MFA 20.1645 (13-12-839), MFA 13.5793 (13-12-840), MFA 13.5794 (13-12-841), MFA 20.1509 (13-12-821),	On outer surface of footboard, with skirts and knives	A2035, A2180
K330	Rosette	14-2-1164		
K334	Lions	14-2-661 to 14-2-674	Copper and/or electrum, on outer surface of footboard	A2158

Table 6.1.3 - Mica appliqués from hats from private Classic Kerma burials by tumulus, including museum number and field number concordances

Mica hat appliqués in Tumulus KXVI - Generation 1

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
K1600C body L	Unknown, fragmentary	14-2-1450	

Mica hat appliqués in Tumulus KX - Generation 2

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
KX Hall B body EC	Openwork strips with lozenge pattern	MFA 20.1754 (14-3-360)	A2161
KX Hall B body BD	Leaf	14-3-371	
KX Hall B body TD	Leaf	14-3-427	
KX Hall B body DH	Hawks or crows	14-3-469	A2160
KX Hall B body PG	Squares	14-3-488	
KX Hall B body EI	Giraffes and geometric shapes	MFA 20.1770 (14-3-517)	A2162
KX Hall B body ZK	Bustards and geometric shapes	14-3-591	A2164
KX Hall B body HL	Ostrich chicks	14-3-614	A2163
K1001 debris	Geometric	Su.624	B1982
K1004	Gazelle heads and open triangles with serrated tops	MFA 13.4282 (Su.635)	

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
K1024	Bird heads, punctate triangles	Su.721	
K1037	Birds, wings and bottom strip	MFA 13.4285 (Su.753)	
K1038	Leaf	Su.765	
K1039	Strips, bustards, leaves in rosette	MFA 13.4284 (Su.801)	
K1041	Ostrich chicks in squares	MFA 13.4286 (Su.1033)	B1982
K1043	Bird, ostrich chick?	Su.811	
K1044 body A	Stacked double lion heads	MFA 13.4283 (Su.826)	B1986
K1054	Serrated shapes	Su.893	
K1061 body E	Bustards, wings out and preening	MFA 13.4281 (Su.980)	B1982
K1077	Pelicans, palmettes	14-3-1065a	
K1088 body B	Cross hatched lozenges, palmette	MFA 20.1756 (14-3-830)	A2161
K1090	Guinea fowl	MFA 20.1755 (14-3-763, 14-3-1127)	A2163

Mica hat appliquéés in Tumulus KIV - Generation 3

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
KIV center debris	Rectangles, ibex heads, plants	13-12-6	A2163
KIV Room A	Double-headed bustards	MFA 20.1748 (13-12-1)	A2163

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
KIV Room B	Rectangular	14-3-98	
K411	Rhomboids, cross hatched or openwork, and palmettes	MFA 20.1749 (13-12-141)	A2164
K425	Unidentifiable	none	
K435	Winged giraffes	14-1-118	A2169
K442	Cross hatched strips, ostrich chicks / guinea fowl	14-1-65	A2035, A2163
K448	Ibex and bushes, green paint	MFA 20.1751 (14-1-476)	A2162
K451	Winged giraffes, regular giraffes, 2 headed eagles	MFA 20.1757 (14-3-976)	A2162

Mica hat appliqués in Tumulus KIII- Generation 4

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
K323 body A	Rosette, rekhyt birds, punctate, green paint	MFA 20.1769 (14-2-977)	A2160

Appendix 5.1 - Finds from private Classic Kerma graves in tumuli KXVI, KX, KIV and KIII

This appendix presents all of the finds from private Classic Kerma graves in the K1600, K1000, K400 and K300 series. The data is compiled from the Reisner 1923 publication, Reisner Kerma excavation Object Register and Photo Register, and the information contained in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston object database (The Museum System).

The finds are grouped by tumulus, then by grave. Each line contains basic information about the object, especially the concordance between the Reisner field number (referred to in the 1923 publication and all archival material), the current accession number in the MFA or British Museum, and all Reisner field negatives of the object or grave. This concordance between current and archival data is not available elsewhere in published form and is meant to facilitate future studies that wish to draw on both updated and archival sources.

Appendix 1.1 - Concordance of Reisner Negative Numbers to Figure Numbers

Reisner Neg. No.	Figure No.
A0923	Figure 1.6b
A0931	Figure 6.6
A0936	Figure 4.23
A2023	Figure 4.28a
A2025	Figure 5.21a
A2027	Figure 4.17b
A2035	Figure 6.3
A2041	Figure 5.6
A2049	Figure 1.8b
A2109	Figure 5.9a
A2115	Figure 5.9b
A2138	Figure 5.25
A2154	Figure 5.13
A2155	Figure 5.14a
A2157	Figure 5.14b
A2158	Figure 6.30
A2160	Figure 6.9
A2161	Figure 6.29
A2162	Figure 6.7
A2163	Figure 6.8
A2164	Figure 6.4
A2165	Figure 5.23
A2166	Figure 6.10
A2169	Figure 6.24

A2174	Figure 4.28b
A2175	Figure 4.28c
A2178	Figure 5.12
A2179	Figure 5.28
A2180	Figure 6.28
A2182	Figure 6.16
A2498	Figure 1.10a
A2499	Figure 1.10b
B1809	Figure 5.2
B1982	Figure 5.11
B1986	Figure 6.31
B1993	Figure 5.29
B2143	Figure 3.14
B2148	Figure 6.22
B2166	Figure 1.5b
B2170	Figure 6.13
B2171	Figure 5.3a
B2187	Figure 5.20
B2210	Figure 3.15
B2213	Figure 3.13
B2260	Figure 1.8e
B2261	Figure 1.8d
B2268	Figure 5.3c
B2271	Figure 5.3b
B2275	Figure 5.5
B2278	Figure 5.15
B2296	Figure 5.24
B2297	Figure 5.10
B2309	Figure 5.22
B2315	Figure 5.26

B2343	Figure 5.21b
B2435	Figure 6.5
B2459	Figure 4.17a
B2460	Figure 1.9b
B2638	Figure 4.26
C4297	Figure 1.2
C4378	Figure 6.12b
C4386	Figure 5.1a
C4417	Figure 4.5
C4428	Figure 4.21b
C5173	Figure 4.4
C5175	Figure 4.6b
C5176	Figure 4.6a
C5797	Figure 1.7b
C5839	Figure 4.29a
C5855	Figure 1.11
C5909	Figure 6.23
C6004	Figure 5.30
C6130	Figure 1.5c
C6172	Figure 3.18
C6218	Figure 3.12
C6220	Figure 3.17
C6224	Figure 3.5
C6231	Figure 3.9
C6254	Figure 3.11
C6356	Figure 5.1b
C6417	Figure 3.23
C6428	Figure 6.15
C6436	Figure 4.22
C6472	Figure 5.27

Appendix 1.2 - List of figures from Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

This appendix contains the official Museum of Fine Arts, Boston media descriptions of the archival and current Kerma photographs. More detailed / updated Findspot information is available for these objects in Appendices 3.1, 5.1 and 6.1.

Figure 1.2

C4297

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Tell I men at work on J'

March 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.5b

B2166

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

X B east half toward W

March 6, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.5c

C6130

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K X B body PB towards S

March 1, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.6b

A923

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI B+A towards the N a bit west

March 30, 1013

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.7b

C5797

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Granite boat Room A Kerma IV towards S

December 3, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.8b

A2049

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

III towards the N

April 1, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.8d

B2261

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Frgs. Faience boat models etc. 14-2-314; 14-2-314;
14-2-1083; 14-2-314; 14-2-314; 14-2-314; 14-2-314; 14-2-628;
14-2-618; 14-2-314; 14-1-1084; 14-2-618; 13-12-339

September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.8e

B2260

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Frgs. Faience figures, boatmen etc. 14-2-314; 13-12-695;
 14-2-471; 13-12-40; 13-12-345; 14-2-313; 14-1-313; 14-2-313;
 14-3-978; 13-12-259; 14-2-313; 13-12-469; 14-2-313;
 14-2-638; 14-1-1083; x; 13-12-337; 13-12-409; 14-1-71;
 14-2322; 14-2-314+322; 14-1-
 September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.9b

B2460

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

K II toward N

March 5, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.10a

A2498

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: slate bed: head(?) board (G1).

November 1, 1916

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.10b

A2499

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: slate bed: legs

November 1, 1916

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 1.11

C5855

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K425 towards E

December 23, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.1

Statue of Lady Sennuwy

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, reign of Senwosret I,
 1971–1926 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Tumulus K III, hall A

Granodiorite

Framed (The object sits on epoxy bed /structural steel pallet
 tubing): 21.6 x 62.2 x 116.2 cm (8 1/2 x 24 1/2 x 45 3/4 in.)

Mount (Steel channel base with cross bracing 3" x 3/16"): 30.5
 x 62.2 x 116.2 cm (12 x 24 1/2 x 45 3/4 in.)

Overall (steel pallet and object, weighed): 170.2 x 116.2 x 47
 cm, 1224.71 kg (67 x 45 3/4 x 18 1/2 in., 2700 lb.)

Weight (Object and steel pallet with attaching steel base,
 estimate): 1319.97 kg (2910 lb.)

Weight (Object (calculated by subtracting estimate of pallet
 weight)): 1079.56 kg (2380 lb.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 14.720

Figure 3.3

Two inscribed side fragments from a thick walled vessel
Nubian, Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, (a)14/1/1107, (b)14/1/1122,
1600 B&C
Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)
Width x length (a): 7 x 11.1 cm (2 3/4 x 4 3/8 in.)
Width x length (b): 7.8 x 11.5 cm (3 1/16 x 4 1/2 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
20.1181a-bb

Figure 3.4

Statue of standing king
Egyptian, Second Intermediate Period, about 1650–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K XVI
Wood
Height: 65.2 cm (25 11/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
20.1821

Figure 3.5

C6224
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: seated granite (?) (incomplete) Su.14-1-1171
July 7, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.6

Fragment of seated statuette
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom
Limestone
Legacy dimension: .33 H.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
14.726

Figure 3.7

Head of a king wearing a nemes
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat
I, 1844–1797 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K X debris
Diorite or Serpentinite
Height: 12 cm (4 3/4 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.3968

Figure 3.9

C6231
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Slate head (female) Su.(1913) no. 814
July 7, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.10

Falcon head fragment
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2040–1640 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma
Granodiorite
Overall: 6.2 x 4.8 x 3.7 cm (2 7/16 x 1 7/8 x 1 7/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.3983

Figure 3.11

C6254
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Shirt and hand with ankh frag. Su.14-1-499
July 11, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.12

C6218
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: seated granite statuette (incomplete) Su.13-12-47+111
July 7, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.13

B2213
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Black granite statuette from K S 13-12-9
July 10, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.14

B2143
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Head of statue 14-1-79
February 3, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.15

B2210
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Black granite statuette from K S 13-12-8
July 8, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.16

Seated statue of Sehetepib Senaib
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, dynasty 13, 1780–1640 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K III 6(1) in loose
undisturbed debris about 80
Granodiorite
Overall: Height 84.5 x Width of base 36 x Length of base 39 cm
(33 1/4 x 14 3/16 x 15 3/8 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
14.721

Figure 3.17

C6220

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: squatting slate scribe (incomplete) Su.13-12-250

July 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.18

C6172

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

K III 2' statuette 14-2-1481 as found toward N

February 6, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3.19

Leg of a kneeling figure

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2040–1640 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K III

Serpentinite

Overall: 13.8 x 8 x 8 cm (5 7/16 x 3 1/8 x 3 1/8 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1220

Figure 3.20

Lower portion of a seated figure of Djefaihapi [Hepdjefa]

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, reign of Senwosret I,

1971–1926 B.C.

Object Place: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K III 1(1)

Granodiorite

Width x height x depth: 38.5 x 68 x 58 cm (15 3/16 x 26 3/4 x 22 13/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

14.724

Figure 3.21a

Stele of Amenemhat III

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, year 33 of

Amenemhat, 1811 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Eastern Defufa

Granite

Height x width: 32.5 x 34 cm (12 13/16 x 13 3/8 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

13.3967

Figure 3.22

Right side of head and torso of a king

Egyptian, Early Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11 or early Dynasty

12, 2040–1640 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K II Upper Defuffa room B

near door

Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)

Overall: 13.7 x 5.2 x 3.3 cm (5 3/8 x 2 1/16 x 1 5/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1204

Figure 3.23

C6417

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma bl. gl. quartzite lion (headless) Su.14-12-486

September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.4

C5173

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI wall painting reproduced from C

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.5

C4417

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI C, black ball, boat etc. on E wall, towards SE

March 30, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.6a

C5176

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI wall painting reproduced from C

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.6b

C5175

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma XI wall painting reproduced from C

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.7

Fragment

Nubian

Findspot: Sudan, Kerma, XB-X

Wood, paint

Legacy dimension: Length: .297

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1485

Figure 4.8

Pottery sherd with incised figures

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, tomb K III, South Cemetery

Pottery

Height x width x depth: 15.5 x 20.5 x 0.8 cm (6 1/8 x 8 1/16 x 5/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.2101

Figure 4.17a

B2459

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

K II A E wall toward E

March 5, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.17b

A2027

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ships on East wall of IIA

February 6, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.21b

C4428

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave 1053 B towards N (I)

March 31, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.22

C6436

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: silver beads etc. (samples of each number) 13-12-723;

14-2-1208 (5); 14-2-52 (12) (some fay); 14-3-316 (quartzite);

14-2-48; 13-12-1017; 14-1-220

October 3, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.23

A936

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Silver cap on head

April 3, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.25

Wall inlay of a lion

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K II

Faience

Height x width: 55 x 120 cm (21 5/8 x 47 1/4 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1224

Figure 4.26

B2638

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Faience Kerma. 15-2-17, 7, 17, 17, 17. 15-2-17 (4). Below:

15-17, 7, 17, 7, 17, 7/7

December 20, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.27

Head of a Nubian
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Findspot: Sudan, Nubia, Kerma, Tumulus II
 Faience
 Height x depth: 7.5 x 2.3 cm (2 7/8 x 7/8 in.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 20.1305a

Figure 4.28a

A2023
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Fragments of blue faience: 14-1-1184, 14-1-1185, 14-1-1186,
 14-1-1109, 14-1-1187, 14-1-1189, 1630x, 14-1-1204,
 14-1-1203, 14-1-1201, 14-1-1197, 14-1-1199, 14-1-1206,
 14-1-1205, 14-1-1202, 14-1-1200, 14-1-1139, K1305x,
 14-1-1140, 14-1-1140, 14-1-1146, 14-1-1120, 14-1-1129,
 1600C5.
 February 5, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.28b

A2174
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Kerma: Faience frags. Scale 1:4. 14-1-598, 14-1-282, 14-1-361,
 14-1-1146, 14-1-1184, 14-2-425, 14-1-696, 14-1-540,
 14-1-1307, 14-1-283, 14-1-1201. 14-1-363 (2), 14-1-1067,
 14-1-361, 14-1-1205, 14-1-1144, 14-1-1140, 14-3-1166,
 14-2-550, 13-12-39, 14-1-502, 14-1-1187+1104+1206,
 14-1-1109+1186.
 September 17, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.28c

A2175
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Kerma: Faience fragments. Scale 1:2. 14-1-1063, 14-1-1209,
 14-3-1476 (2), 14-2-519, 14-3-667, 14-1-597+1063, 14-3-1469,
 14-3-1469, 14-1-1002, 14-2-829, 14-2-234, 14-1-1066,
 13-12-929, 14-3-662, 13-12-929, 14-1-1060, 14-2-1420,
 14-1-353, 14-2-233, 14-1-1076, 14-2-101, 14-1-1276,
 13-12-317, 13-12-929, 13-12-929, 14-3-594, 13-12-929,
 14-1-488+1266, 14-1-1266, 14-2-1256.
 September 17, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 4.29a

C5839
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Room KIII B towards S
 December 21, 1913
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.1a

C4386
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Grave K1050 towards E
 March 23, 1913
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.1b

C6356

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Inscribed wooden coffin fragments from Kerma, grave K1000B (in Tumulus KX).

July 28, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.2

B1809

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Above pottery, nos.... Below Ram's head from 1064, and one from 1042

March 31, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.3a

B2171

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine) vases is in B 56 photo

March 9, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.3b

B2271

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine) Vessels (inscribed). 14-2-785, 13-12-786

September 18, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.3c

B2268

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Alab. Vessels. 14-2-861;m 14-2-678; 14-2-885

September 18, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.4

Bag-shaped cosmetic jar with lid

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2061–1640 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Su.756

Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)

Length: 11.5 cm (4 1/2 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

13.4266

Figure 5.5

B2275

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kohl pots. 14-3-453, 14-2-157 (wood), 14-2-36, 14-1-717, 14-3-49, 14-2-1144, 14-2-158, 13-12-649, 14-1-45, 14-2-302, 13-12-96, 14-2-383, 14-2-1202, 13-12-294

September 19, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.6

A2041

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Scarabs and Seals, the seal side: 13-12-679, 13-12-266,
 14-1-497, 14-1-611, 13-12-227A, 14-2-195, 14-1-665, IIIA,
 14-2-113, 13-12-385, 14-1-747, 14-1-347, 13-12-222,
 14-1-434, 14-2-148 (big one), 14-1-1094, 14-2-151, 14-1-1211,
 14-1-445, 14-1-222, 14-1-612, 14-1-745, 13-12-869, 14-1-359,
 13-12-855, 13-12-378, 13-12-451, K319, 13-12-577, III 4,
 14-1-1093, 14-1-618, 14-1-217, 14-1-1210, 13-12-93,
 13-12-629

February 12, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.7a

String of beads

Nubian, Middle Kerma, about 2050–1700 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053

Amethyst, steatite, gold carnelian

Length: 15.6 cm (6 1/8 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

13.4111

Figure 5.8

Jar sealing

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, BW X

Mud

Height x width x length: 3.5 x 6.5 x 7.0 cm (1 3/8 x 2 9/16 x 2
 3/4 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 15-2-31

Figure 5.9a

A2109

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: frag. amulet and beads K444 body A : Su.14-1-344/345

July 20, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.9b

A2115

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: Amulets 1:1. (1) 14-3-636 (18 carn, 1 crystal, 2 stone, 1
 agate): 14-3-777 (stone). (2) 14-3-637 (4 gold). (3) 14-3-231 (2
 carn, 1 cryst.): 14-1-752 (fay): 14-3-468 (carn): 14-1-1286
 (cryst.): 14-1-899 (carn and bronze): 14-1-1095 (agate):
 14-3-769 (gold): 14-3-184 (carn). (4) 14-2-750 (2 gold):
 14-2-220 (gl. stone): 14-3-754 (fay.); 14-2-27 (fay.): 14-3-299
 (electrum wire): 14-3-311 (stone): 14-3-299 (electrum wire).
 (5) 13-12-75 (2 gold + silver): 14-3-292 (fay.); 14-3-311 (2
 agate): 14-1-218 (2 agate).

July 21, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.10

B2297

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory flies and wands. 14-3-788 (2), 14-2-803 (2), 13-12-783 (drawings), 13-12-349 (inscribed)

September 23, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.11

B1982

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Mica ornaments, Kerma SW 980, 624, 1033

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.12

A2178

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: leather and woven leaf. Scale 1:2. 14-3-605 (woven leather), 14-3-592 (leaf), 14-1-573 (greet pot. net), 14-3-330, 14-3-335, 14-3-348, 14-3-957 (woven leather) (2), 14-3-846 (woven leather), 14-3-835 (leather) (2), 14-2-183 (rawhide), 14-3-295 (stone), 14-3-1024 (stone).

September 24, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.13

A2154

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze mirrors (other side). Includes 14-2-745. Same as in A 2152. Scale 1:2

September 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.14a

A2155

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze razor and razor case, scale 1:2. 14-1-552, 14-2-585, 14-2-261, 14-1-474, 14-2-940, 14-2-818, 14-2-878, 14-2-544, 13-12-578, 14-2-858, 14-1-1176 (and wood case), 14-3-35 (bone), 14-2-877, 13-12-580.

September 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.14b

A2157

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze implements, etc. scale 1:2. 13-2-642, 14-3-723, 14-3-9, 14-3-478, 14-3-110 (3), 14-3-1226, 14-2-443 (3), 14-3-314 (2), 14-2-169 (4), 14-3-519 (3), 14-3-1245A, 14-3-112 (4), 14-3-256 (2), 14-1-662 (4), 14-1-649, 14-2-551, 14-2-920, 14-1-1050, 14-1-1049, 14-1-1051, 14-3-986(2), 14-1-985, IIIA, 14-2-309, 14-1-551, 14-2-1036, 14-2-879, 14-2-587, 13-12-175, 13-12-629, 14-1-550, 14-1-460, 14-2-586, 14-1-548, 13-12-451, 14-2-553.

September 8, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.15

B2278

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Wooden headrests. 13-12-485, 14-3-626, 14-3-575, 14-1-1295

September 19, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.16

Wand

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 13, 1783—about 1640

B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, KIII St. 11 (2)

Ivory

Overall: 1.6 x 2.8 x 18.5 cm (5/8 x 1 1/8 x 7 5/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1780

Figure 5.17a

Dagger with inscribed pommel

Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1096 -9

Bronze or copper and ivory

Overall: 24.5 x 4.5 cm (9 5/8 x 1 3/4 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1566

Figure 5.18

Gamepiece set and throwsticks

Nubian, Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia, Kerma, K6002:1

Ivory

Overall (Gamepieces): 3 x 1.3 cm (1 3/16 x 1/2 in.)

Overall (Throwsticks): 14.5 x 0.6 x 0.3 cm (5 11/16 x 1/4 x 1/8 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

15-3-281

Figure 5.19a

Cylindrical ivory box with inlay

Nubian, Early–Classic Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K2100, SE corner on floor

Ivory

Width x Depth x Length: 6.8 x 0.5 x 6.8 cm (2 11/16 x 3/16 x 2 11/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1781

Figure 5.19b

Cylindrical ivory box

Nubian, Early–Classic Kerma, 2400–1550 B.C.

Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K2000-63x

Ivory and Faience

Width x Depth x Length x Diameter: 5.6 x 0.3 x 3.6 x 7.5 cm (2 3/16 x 1/8 x 1 7/16 x 2 15/16 in.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

20.1782

Figure 5.20

B2187

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Sandals. 14-3-288, 14-3-1073, 14-1-849, 13-12-343

April 4, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.21a

A2025

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Pottery, Painted: 13-12-898, 12-12-395, 13-12-898, K318/4 and

X

February 5, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.21b

B2343

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Pottery WJ (Sides). Same as B2334

October 5, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.22

B2309

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Same as 2308 (reverse) (good)

September 27, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.23

A2165

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: wooden combs, wands, etc. scale 1:2. 14-2-1192 (5), 14/2/54, 14/3/1355, 14/2/543, 14-2-567, 14/2/1035, 14/2/931, 14/1/1053, 14/1/919 (ivory), 14/1/556, 14/1/957, 14/1/921, 14/1/814, 14/1/1283, 14/1/906, 14/3/222.

September 12, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.24

B2296

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory horn protectors, etc. 14-1-664, 14-1-1110, 14-3-11 (2), 14-2-469 (3), 14-1-480, 14-2-584, 14-3-29 (2), 14-2-6157, 14-2-128, 14-2-127, 14-3-770 (3), 14-3-1083, 14-2-395

September 22, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.25

A2138

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: gold bracelets, beads, etc. Scale 1:2. 14-2-18, 14-3-228, 14-3-76+73, 14-3-201 (4), 14-2-26+26, 14-1-1284, 14-3-831, 14-1-29, 14-3-467, 14-2-19 (2), 13-12-434, 14-1-1291 (5), 14-3-596, 14-1-221 (2), 13-12-358 (2), 14-2-746, 14-2-964, 14-1-826.

August 20, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.26

B2315

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Rug cloth and leather Su.14-3-365

September 28, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.27

C6472

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Wooden handle with giraffe hair bulb (?) K1000

November 4, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.28

A2179

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: hair, cloth, leather. Scale 1:2. Human hair: 13-12-627 (2), 14-1-1048 (2), 14-3-319 (2). 14-2-954 (giraffe hair).

14-1-475 (feathers), 14-2-75 (cloth), 13-12-624 (giraffe hair),

13-12-626 (fruit), 14-2-581 (rawhide), 13-12-178 (woven

leather) (3), 13-12-159 (leather), 14-1-669 (cord), 13-12-209

(giraffe hair), 14-3-348 (leather and leaf), 14-3-335 (leather and

string) (4), 14-1-823 (leather).

September 24, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.29

B1993

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ostrich feather fan, Kerma Su.700

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.30

C6004

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K318 Pottery towards E

January 30, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.3

A2035

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory Inlays: 14-1-65, 14-1-66, 14-1-67, 14-1-68, 14-1-69,

14-1-70, 14-1-1096, 14-1-72, 14-1-71, 14-1-59, 13-12-99,

13-12-1027, 13-12-842, 13-12-824, 13-12-809, 13-12-821,

13-12-813, 13-12-833, 13-12-837, 14-1-349, 13-12-823,

14-1-349

February 9, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.4

A2164

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments: scale 1:2. 14-3-806 (9), 13-12-721 (2),

14-3-591 (2), 14-3-591 (13), 13-12-141 (17).

September 11, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.5

B2435

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory inlays (elephant, turtle, bustards, ewes) from XV D

February 28, 1915

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.6

A931

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Bone and ivory inlay pieces. On left: Su.946 (7 pieces) and Su.812(1); Middle: Su.1073 (3 pieces); On right: Su.920 (2 pieces),(1), Su.615, Su.618, Su.621, Su.620.

April 2, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.7

A2162

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments: Scale 1:2. 14-3-517 (24), 14-2-1383 (8), 14-3-976 (5), 14-1-476 (6).

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.8

A2163

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments: scale 1:2. 14-3-763 (4), 14-1-65 (8), 14-3-614 (4), 13-12-6 (10), 13-12-1 (7).

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.9

A2160

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments. Scale 1:2. 14-3-1267 (8), 14-3-1665 (8), 14-3-469 (6), 14-2-977 (10 and a wrette) (two rows below)

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.10

A2166

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments. Scale 1:2. 14-1-725 (11), 14-3-1284 (9), 14-1-646 (25) (double eagle).

September 13, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.12b

C4378

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Grave K1053 stool etc. towards W

March 20, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.12c

Ivory inlay of an ibex
Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053
Ivory
Height x width x depth: 6.8 x 7.6 x 0.4 cm (2 11/16 x 3 x 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.4219b

Figure 6.12d

Ivory inlays of Taweret
Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053
Ivory
Overall: 9.7 x 4.4 x 0.4 cm (3 13/16 x 1 3/4 x 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.4220a-h

Figure 6.12e

Ivory inlay of a hyena
Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K1053
Ivory
Height x width x depth: 11.5 x 4.5 x 0.5 cm (4 1/2 x 1 3/4 x 3/16 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
13.4221e

Figure 6.13

B2170
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Inlaid foot board K1096 toward W
March 8, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.15

C6428
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Ivory inlays. 14-1-1096 (two horned rhino), 14-1-1230 (lion?), 13-12-94 (lion), 14-1-1132 (giraffe heads)
September 26, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.16

A2182
Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
Kerma: Ivory inlays K1631 (Khartoum) (scale 1:2). 14-2-360-361, 362-363, 364-365, 366-367, 381-381, (368), 381-3981, 369-x, 370-371, 372-376, 378-x, x-o, x-x, (377, 381), 372-381, 381-381, 381-381, 381-381.
September 25, 1914
Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.18

Ivory inlay of a bustard
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K 1096
 Ivory
 Height: 9.4 cm (3 11/16 in.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 20.1323

Figure 6.19

Ivory inlay of an ostrich chick
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Object Place: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma
 Ivory
 Height: 3.9 cm (1 9/16 in.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 13.4211

Figure 6.20b

Fragment disc top of offering table (?)
 Egyptian, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6, 2323–2150 B.C.
 Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, Su.486
 Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)
 Legacy dimension: .070 Length:
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 13.4269

Figure 6.22

B2148
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Ivory Inlays. 14-1-234, 14-1-230, 14-1-237, 14-1-273,
 14-1-264, 14-1-265, 14-1-247, 14-1-224, 14-1-255, 14-1-256,
 14-1-246a, 14-1-261
 February 9, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.23

C5909
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Grave K439 2 inlaid bed steads towards W
 January 4, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.24

A2169
 Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)
 Kerma: rawhide, giraffe hair, mica. Scale 1:2. 14-1-542
 (rawhide rhino), 14-2-296 / 7 (giraffe hair bracelets), 14-1-118
 (mica ornaments: 4, 5, 6, x, x, 1-2, 3, 8, 7)
 September 16, 1914
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.26

Footboard of bed with inlays
 Nubian, Classic Kerma, about 1700–1550 B.C.
 Findspot: Nubia (Sudan), Kerma, K449
 Ivory and wood
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
 20.1494

Figure 6.28

A2180

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: ivory inlays (Khartoum) K309. Scale 1:2. 13-12-829 to 832 and 846; 13-12-824,844, 1026; 13-12-813 to 822; 13-12-802 to 808; 13-12-823 to 828.

September 24, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

July 1, 1913

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.29

A2161

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: mica ornaments. Scale 1:2. 14-3-830 (3), 14-3-667, 14-3-360, 14-3-780 (2), 14-1-528 (18), 14-3-780 (16), 14-3-1324 (8), 14-2-748 (8).

September 10, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.30

A2158

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Kerma: bronze lion inlays (in order) K334: Su.14-2-66 (etc).

Scale 1:2

September 9, 1914

Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6.31

B1986

Kerma, Sudan (Nubia)

Mica ornaments, Kerma Su.826

Appendix 3.1 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture fragments from Classic Kerma royal tumuli contexts

Order: listed by Museum no., separated by these categories: Royal / Male / Female / Cultic / Other

*Reisner 1923 Nos. are: Sculpture number, Inscription Number (if present), Field Photo Negative Number

Objects in grey provide the latest secure chronological date for the tumulus

Table 3.1.1 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KXVI (Generation 1)

KXVI-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KXVI-1	Royal	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1259 (14-3-143)	-	unknown	-	No. 62, A2090
KXVI-2	Royal	Head, body	Wood	MFA 20.1821 (14-1-1297)	-	Mid-Dynasty 13 to Dynasty 16	-	No. 1, C5998 C5999 C6000
KXVI-3	Female	Lower, Base	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1195 (14-1-1171)	-	Middle Kingdom to 2nd Intermediate Period	Elephantine (?)	No. 34, C6224 C6225
KXVI-4	Basin	-	Alabaster	MFA 20.1181a-b (14-1-1105, 14-1-1107, 14-1-1122)	-ms (in royal cartouche)	Mid-Dynasty 13 to Dynasty 16	-	Misc - no. 8, Inscription no. 34

KXVI - 4 identified objects, 4 registered pieces, MNI=4

Table 3.1.2 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KX (Generation 2)

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-1	Royal	Head	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3968 (Su.814)	-	Dynasty 12 (Amenhotep I?)	Elephantine (?)	No. 10
KX-2	Royal	Base	Graywacke	MFA 20.1208 (14-1-357)	<i>sm3 t3wy</i> “Uniting the two lands”	-	-	No. 14, A2090
KX-3	Royal	Lower, Base	Granodiorite	Berlin 10645 & MFA 13.3985 (Su.696)	“The perfect god, King Khahotepra (Sobekhotep VI), beloved of Satet, Mistress of Elephantine	Mid- to Late Dynasty 13 (25th D13 king)	Satet temple, Elephantine	No. 11, Inscription no. 35 (for upper section, inscription, see Wildung 1997: no. 128)
KX-4	Royal	Shoulder	Graywacke	MFA 14.1039 (14-1-161)	<i>hk3</i> “power”	-	-	No. 89, A2089
KX-5	Royal	Crown	Graywacke	MFA 14.1081 (14-1-513)	-	-	-	No. 13, A2090
KX-6	Royal	Crown	Graywacke	MFA 14.1633 (14-3-1186)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-7	Royal	Lower, Base	Limestone	MFA 14.726 (14-1-521, 14-3-1465)	King Sekhemra Khutawy	Mid-Dynasty 13 (15th D13 king)	-	No. 6, Inscription no. 33

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-8	Royal	Foot, base	Graywacke	MFA 20.1202 (14-1-279)	...nb m3dw mry... “...beloved of [Montu], lord of Maduw”	Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate?	Medamud (?), or toponym present as part of religious epithets	No. 5, Inscription no. 40 (Fig. 344), A2089
KX-9	Male (?)	Limb	Serpentine	MFA 14-1-452	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-10	Male (?)	Foot	Serpentine	MFA 14-1-538a	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-11	Male (?)	Back pillar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 14.1068 (14-1-439) & 20.1176a-e (14-1-449)	illegible (?)			Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-12	Male	Lower body, seated	Granodiorite	MFA Eg.Inv. 1424 (Su.814)	-	MK-SIP	Elephantine (?)	No. 30 (?), A922
KX-13	Male	Torso, R arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-367	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-14	Male	Kilt, Leg, R arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-453	-	-	-	No. 7, A2089

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-15	Male	R hand	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-1135a	Holds a staff	Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-16	Male	Lower body, kilt and leg	Granodiorite	MFA 14-3-654.2	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-17	Male	Kilt	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 14.1067 (14-1-435)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-18	Male	L leg	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1035 (14-1-451) & 14.1060 (14-1-372a)	-	-	-	No. 4, A2088
KX-19	Male	Leg	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1036 (14-1-153)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-20	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1037 (14-1-154)	-	D13-D17	Elephantine (?)	No. 69, B2176
KX-21	Male	Leg, knee	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1044 (14-1-286)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-22	Male	Torso	Graywacke	MFA 14.1055 (14-1-356)	-	-	-	No. 91, A2090

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-23	Male	Kilt	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1057 (14-1-358b)	Inscription illegible	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-24	Male	R arm, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1080 (14-1-512)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 82, A288
KX-25	Male	Head, wig, L ear	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1418 (14-2-1135c)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-26	Male	R hand	Sandstone	MFA 20.1174 (14-1-442)	-	-	-	No. 29
KX-27	Female	Head, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1043 (14-1-285)	Wig with feather patterned headress? Queen's crown?	MK	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-28	Female	Head and torso	Graywacke	MFA 20.1189 (Su.814)	-	MK	-	No. 21, C6231 C6232
KX-29	Female	Wig, tripartite	Granodiorite	MFA Eg.Inv. 1417 (Su.814)	-	MK?	-	No. 30 (?), A922

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-30	Female	Head, wig, R ear	Granodiorite	MFA Eg.Inv. 1417 / Su.815	May go with Su.814 tripartite wig fragment	MK-SIP?	-	No. 30 (?), A922
KX-31	Cultic	Dyad, legs	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3981 (Su.814e)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 3, C4483
KX-32	Cultic	Falcon head	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3983 (Su.814)	-	MK-SIP?	Horus temple (?) (Buhen, El-Kab?)	No. 96
KX-33	Cultic	Falcon head	Graywacke	MFA 14-1-454.2 (14-1-454b)	-	MK-SIP?	Horus temple (?) (Buhen, El-Kab?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-34	Cultic	Lower body, Female	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-499	-	MK-SIP?	Satet temple, Elephantine (?)	No. 24, C6254 B2175
KX-35	Cultic	Hand, bowl	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-1136	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-36	Cultic	Lower, kneeling	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1038 (14-1-159)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-37	Cultic	Base	Alabaster	MFA 20.1176a-e (14-1-447 to 14-1-449)	... <i>btiw ir.f n.f ḥḥ dt...dt mi...</i> “[Min]... of Koptos, may he make for him eternal life..like [Re] forever”	MK-SIP?	Koptos (?), or toponym present as part of religious epithets	No. 3, inscription 39 (Fig. 344).

KX-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KX-38	-	Base	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-358a	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-39	-	Base	Graywacke	MFA 14-3-655.4	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-40	-	Fragmen tary	Basalt	MFA 14-3-1095.7a,b	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-41	-	Fragmen tary	Anorthosite Gneiss	MFA 20.1219 (14-1-653.1-6)	... <i>dt...</i> , “forever”	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KX-42	-	Limb	Granodiorite	Su.696.1-3	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KX - 42 identified objects, 82 registered pieces, MNI=25 (1 alabaster, 1 anorthosite gneiss, 1 basalt, 2 royals + 2 crowns + 2 male heads + 2 female heads + 1 dyad + 1 falcon + 1 nw-pot + 1 kneeling in granodiorite, 2 royal crowns + 1 male torso + 1 female torso + 1 falcon in graywacke, 1 limestone, 1 sandstone, 1 serpentine, 2 travertine)

Table 3.1.3 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KIV (Generation 3)

KIV-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIV-1	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-117b.4	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIV-2	Male	R. hand	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5689 (13-12-12)	-	MK-SIP	-	No. 77, A2090
KIV-3	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5696 (13-12-35)	-	MK-SIP	Elephantine (?)	No. 76, B2174
KIV-4	Male	R. hand	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5710 (13-12-214)	-	MK-SIP	-	No. 78, A2090
KIV-5	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1490 (14-3-1211)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIV-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIV-6	Male	Legs, base	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1187a-b (13-12-47)	(1) <i>hṭp di nswt pth-[skr-wsr], [di.f] prt-r-hrw...nb..., n k3 n whmw ᵑnhw, iry n ḥwyt m3ᵑt ḥrw</i> (2) <i>[di].f prt-r-hrw wᵑb n k3 n / whmw ᵑnhw iry n / ḥwyt m3ᵑt ḥrw</i> , “(1) A boon which the kings gives, Ptah-[Sokar-Osiris]; [May he give] funerary offerings...for the <i>ka</i> of the herald, Ankhu, son of Khuwyt, true of voice (2)...[may] he [give] pure funerary offerings, for the <i>ka</i> of the herald, Ankhu, son of Khuwyt, true of voice”	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	No. 26, Inscription no. 50 (Fig. 344), C6218, C6219
KIV-7	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1188 (13-12-88)	<i>iri pᵑt, hᵑti-ᵑ</i> , “...the hereditary prince, the nomarch...”	Middle Kingdom	Elephantine (?)	No. 37, Inscription no. 45 (Fig. 344), C6226, C6227
KIV-8	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1192 (13-12-9)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 38, B2206, B2207

KIV-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIV-9	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1193 (13-12-46)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 36, B2208, B2209
KIV-10	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1194 (13-12-135)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 39, C6233, C6252
KIV-11	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1196a-c (13-12-117b)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 42, C6229, C6230
KIV-12	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1206 (14-1-78)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 68, C6249, C6250, C6145
KIV-13	Male	Head (bald)	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1207 (14-1-79)	-	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 66, B2143, C6222, C6242, C6243, C6244, C6245
KIV-14	Female	Legs, base	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1190a (13-12-8)	-	Middle Kingdom	Elephantine (?)	No. 33, B2210, B2211

KIV- 14 securely identified fragments, 31 registered pieces, MNI=14? (7 torsos in granodiorite, 7 distinct statues in other stones)

Table 3.1.4 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture found in Tumulus KIII (Generation 4)

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-1	Vessel		Alabaster	13-12-786	Iymeru of El-Kab	Mid-Dynasty 16 (King Nebiryau I)	El-Kab	Inscription no. 56 (Fig. 345)
KIII-2	Vessel		Alabaster	14-2-678	Sobekhnakht, nomarch of El-Kab	Mid-Dynasty 16 (King Nebiryau I) to Dynasty 17	El-Kab	Inscription no. 46 (Fig. 344)
KIII-3	Vessel		Alabaster	MFA 20.1150a,b (14-2-785)	Horheriat of El-Kab	Dynasty 13-17?	El-Kab	Inscription no. 55 (Fig. 345)
KIII-4	Stela?	Top of text	Limestone	MFA 20.1664 (13-12-318)	<i>ḥtp ntrw i3[bt] ... / ḥr ḥr it.f... / tw b3/Gb(?)... / m [?]t im... / m33.sn... / ir.n n.k b3/Gb (?) ... / dd wsr ... ,</i>	OK-MK?	-	No. 6, Inscription no. 63
KIII-5	Offering table	-	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 20.1172a-c (13-12-493)	<i>...r^c...wr... , "...Ra...great..."</i>	OK?	-	No. 4, B2264
KIII-6	Male(?)	Knee, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-325	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 85, A2088

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-7	Male(?)	Arm & hand, left	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5722 (13-12-304) & Eg.Inv.1462 (14-2-555)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 84, A2094
KIII-8	Male(?)	Head, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1353 (14-2-613.2)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-9	Male, Royal (?)	Lower body, striding with shendyt kilt and cloth in hand	Graywacke	MFA 14.1354 (14-2-614a) & 14-2-614b	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 2, A2090
KIII-10	Male	Head, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-391	-	MK-SIP	-	No. 93, A2094
KIII-11	Male	Legs, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 13-12-495b	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-12	Male	Limb, kilt, frags	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA 13.5713 (13-12-324), MFA 13.5724 (13-12-310), MFA 13.5739 (13-12-397), MFA 13.5798 (13-12-926), 14-2-637b, MFA 14.1341 (14.1341)	Very fragmentary, but may belong to same over life sized statue.	OK-MK?	-	13.5724= No. 87 (?), rest not in Reisner 1923 publication.
KIII-13	Male	Torso	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5725 (13-12-319)	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-14	Male	Head, bag wig, cloak	Yellow limestone	MFA 13.5762 (13-12-500)		D13-D17	-	No. 88, B2164
KIII-15	Male	R Hand, stuck in cloak	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5764 (13-12-506)	-	D13-D17?	-	No. 90, A2090
KIII-16	Male	Head, L ear	Granodiorite	MFA 14-1-1078	-	MK-SIP	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-17	Male	Lower body, scribal	Granodiorite	14-2-1481	Statue of Ameny <i>ḥtp di nswt is-ir ḥnty / imntiw nb 3bdw di.f prt-r-ḥrw / iḥw 3pd mnḥt mrḥt iḥt nb(t) nfr(t) w^cb(t) / ^cnḥ ntrw im n k3 n s^cḥw bity hry d3d3 ^c3 imi-r3 db^c.t imny m3^c ḥrw / iry n imy-r3 pr i3y n nbt-pr m3^c ḥrw,</i> “May the king give an offering, Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, may he give funerary offerings: cattle, fowl, clothing, oil, every good pure thing on which the gods live, for the soul of the king’s noble, the great headman, the overseer of the seal, Ameny, true of voice, son of the steward Yay, born of the mistress of the house, Aket, true of voice.”	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 55, Inscription no. 47 (Fig. 344), C6035, C6172
KIII-18	Male	L ankle	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-555a	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-19	Male	Torso, arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-557.6	-	D13-D17?	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-20	Male	Torso, L arm	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-557a	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 92, B2176
KIII-21	Male	Lower body, kilt	Granodiorite	MFA 14-2-557c	inscription illegible	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-22	Male	Lower body, scribal	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-593.13	...n k3 n..., "for the ka of"	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-23	Male	Lower body, scribal	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-594	Inscription illegible, part of MFA 14-2-593.13?	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-24	Male	Kilt	Basalt (?)	MFA 14-2-607.6	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-25	Male	R leg, scribal	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1086 (14-2-557b)	-	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	No. 58, B2176
KIII-26	Male	R arm, seated	Limestone	MFA 14.1344 (14-2-566)	-	OK-MK?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-27	Male	Head, L ear, wig	Granodiorite	MFA 14.1349 (14-2-593a)	-	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-28	Male	L thumb, staff, monumental scale?	Limestone, black paint	MFA 14.1355 (14-2-616)	-	OK-MK?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-29	Male	Whole, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.721 (14-1-1076)	Statue of Senaa-ib <i>di nswt ḥtp pth-skr-wsr n k3 n wr rsy(?) šḥtp-ib sn^c-ib m3^c ḥrw ms n...</i> , “May the king give an offering, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, for the soul of the chief of the Southern Tens, Sehetep-ib’s son, Senaa-ib, born of...”	Dynasty 13-17	Heka-ib, Elephantine	No. 48, Inscription no. 49 (Fig. 344), B2146
KIII-30	Male	All but base, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.723 (14-2-1)	No inscription (base missing)	D13-D17	Elephantine (?)	No. 49, C6009

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-31	Male	Legs, base	Granodiorite	MFA 14.724 (14-2-1), 13-12-514, and 13-12-687	Statue of Hepdjefa <i>ḥtp di [nswt] wsr md i3bt... / im3ḥ(w) r wpw3wt nb s3wt / iri-p^ct ḥ3ti-^c wr wrw swsn (?) / ḥri tp 3 n / šm^cw smr w^cty imi-r3 gs pr n nswt / ḥ3ti-^c ḥp(ḥ^cpi) df(3) ms idi-^c3t / ^c nb ḥri-tp [] ḥnti [] / ḥ3ti-^c ḥp df,</i> Hetep di niswt offering formula.../ ”honored to Wepwawet, Lord of Assyut / hereditary noble, nomarch, great one of the great (?) / the great head of the South, sole companion, overseer of the workers (Jones 267) of the king / nomarch Hepdjefa son of Idiut / the nomarch ... Hepdjefa.”	Dynasty 12, reign of Senusret I	Assiut? (Elephantine?)	No. 49, Inscription no. 38 (Fig. 343), C6009
KIII-32	Male	Lower legs	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1185a,b (13-12-454, 14-2-523)	<i>ḥtp df(3)w ḥt nbt nfrt w^cbt n k3 n...</i> , “...offerings, all things good and pure for the ka of...”	MK-SIP?	-	No. 75, B2212

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-33	Male	Lower body, scribal	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1191a (13-12-250)	Statue of Ken <i>ḥtp di nswt ḥnmw nb ššḥ / tpt imi-r3 db^ctyw kn iry n snnw-^cnḥ / imi-r3 db^ctyw kn m3^c ḥrw / ḥtp di nswt wsr nb ḏdw</i> , “An offering which the king gives...Khnum, lord of Shash...Ken	Dynasty 13-17	Elephantine (?)	No. 60, Inscription no. 48 (Fig. 344), C6220, C6221, C6246, C6237
KIII-34	Male	Lower body, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1197 (13-12-322)	-	MK-SIP?	Elephantine (?)	No. 28, C6216, C6217
KIII-35	Male	R leg, striding	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1199 (13-12-247)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-36	Male	R arm, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1200 (13-12-501)	-	MK-SIP?	-	No. 81, A2088
KIII-37	Male	Torso & Lower body	Serpentine	MFA 20.1205a,b (14-2-609)	-	D13-D17?	Elephantine (?)	No. 46, C6247
KIII-38	Male	Lower body, scribal	Dark brown stone	MFA 20.1218 (14-2-593g)	<i>n k3</i> , “for the ka”	MK-SIP?		Not in Reisner 1923 Publication, A2094
KIII-39	Male	Lower body, scribal	Indurated limestone	MFA 20.1665 (14-1-1082) & 14-1-1086	-	OK-MK?	-	No. 52 (part)

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-40	Female	Head, Hathor wig	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5723 (13-12-309)	-	MK, probably Dynasty 12	-	No. 22, A2094, B2174, B2176
KIII-41	Female	Whole, seated	Granodiorite	MFA 14.720 (13-12-371)	Lady Sennuwy, series of dedications by Osiris, Tefnut, Nut, Isis, Anubis, Nebthys, Hathor, Neith and Selket (Reisner 1923: 513).	Dynasty 12, reign of Senusret I	Assiut? (Elephantine?)	No. 32, Inscription no. 32 (Fig. 343), B2119, B2120, B2121, B2122, C5831, C5832, C5833
KIII-42	Dyad / Triad	Base, feet (male & female)	Serpentine	MFA 20.1201 (13-12-513)	Inscription illegible	Dynasty 13-17?	-	No. 65, A2088, B2175
KIII-43	Dyad	All but base, standing	Sandstone	MFA 20.1317 (14-2-608)	Anubis first of his hill, lady Nuwt-ib	D13-D17?	Elephantine (?)	No. 64, Inscription no. 53 (Fig. 344), B2259
KIII-44	Cultic (?)	Head, with beard (?)	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1191b (13-12-685)	-	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-45	Cultic	Knees, bowl	Indurated limestone	MFA 14.1184 (14-2-2)	-	OK-MK?	-	No. 19, B2164

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-46	Cultic	Knees, kneeling	Serpentine	MFA 20.1220 (13-12-241)	-	MK?		No. 50, C6255, C6256
KIII-47	Child	Head	Serpentine	MFA 20.1215 (14-2-631)	-	D13-D17?	-	No. 72, C6249, C6250, C6145
KIII-48	-	Base, corner	Granodiorite	MFA 13.5741 (13-12-403)	<i>ḥtp di nswt</i> , “an offering which the king gives...”	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-49	-	Limb?	Serpentine	MFA 14-2-557.32	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-50	-	Base, corner	Graywacke	MFA 14-2-558.3	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-51	-	Fragment	Red-brown stone	MFA 14-2-560.1-2	-	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-52	-	Base, foot	Limestone	MFA 14-2-608d,e	-			Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-53	-	Back pillar	Graywacke	MFA 20.1214 (14-2-610)	<i>ib hri tp ... m ...</i> , “overseer...”	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII-ID #	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KIII-54	-	Base, fragment	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1217a-b (14-2-607a-b)	<i>prt hrw...nfr ntr [wsr(?)], spoken offerings...the good god [Osiris?]</i>	MK-SIP?	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication
KIII-55	-	Base, fragment	Granodiorite	MFA 20.1221 (13-12-515)	Inscription illegible	-	-	Not in Reisner 1923 publication

KIII - 52 securely identified fragments, 284 registered pieces, MNI= 37+ (1 basalt, 1 dark brown stone, 18+ granodiorite, 3 graywacke, 5 limestone, 1 red-brown stone, 1 sandstone, 4 serpentine, 2 travertine (Egyptian alabaster), 1 yellow limestone)

Table 3.1.5 - Identifiable Egyptian sculpture fragments from other findspots at Kerma

Provenance	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KI	Dyad	Middle	Graywacke	MFA 13.3979 (Su.314)	Hetep di niswt formula, Husband and wife	MK to SIP		No. 63, C4487, C4488
KII	Stela	Intef	Granodiorite	MFA 13.3967 (14-1-25)	Commemorative stela for Intef, overseer of the seal, son of Semib (see Reisner 1923b: 551).	Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat III	Heka-ib sanctuary	No. 2, Inscription no. 30 (Fig. 343), A929, B2153, B2258

Provenance	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
KII	Royal	Alabaster statue of a king	Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine)	MFA 20.1204 (14-1-1137)		Dynasty 5 to 6?	Elephantine (?)	No. 9, C6241
KII	Cultic	Alabaster falcon	Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine)	MFA 20.1203 (14-1-680)			Elephantine (?)	No. 95, C6240
KII	Vessel	Alabaster vessel for Dynasty 6 king	Alabaster (Egyptian Travertine)	MFA 20.1170 (14-1-1071)	Merenra	Dynasty 6	Elephantine (?)	Inscription no. 19 (Fig. 343)
Minor tumuli, KXIV and KXV debris	Male	Complete	Serpentine	Khartoum Museum 1132 (14-1-718)	standing statue of Mentuhotep of El-Kab	MK to SIP	El-Kab	No. 35, Inscription no. 62 (Fig. 345), C6417, C6418, C6419, C6420, C6432, C6433, C6434
Minor tumulus, Main chamber KXV	Male	Fragment	Graywacke	MFA 14.1329 (14-2-518)	standing man with hands to his kilt	MK to SIP		No. 38, A2090
Minor tumuli, KXIV and KXV debris	Cultic	Fragment	Slate	MFA 20.1216 (14-2-658)	slate falcon			No. 97, A2090

Provenance	Type	Part	Material	Museum no. (Field Number)	Inscription & Notes	Date range	Source in Egypt	Reisner 1923 Nos.*
Minor tumulus, KXXI	Male	Fragment	Graywacke	MFA 14.1089 (14-1-608)	standing male statuette	MK to SIP		No. 44, A2089
Minor tumulus, K3901 debris	Male	Fragment	Granodiorite	MFA 14-3-964 to 14-3-967	pleated kilt and unidentifiable fragments			No. 18?

Appendix 5.1 - provided at the end of the appendices due to length

Appendix 5.2 - Comparison in percentage of each three types of elite subsidiary burials with main object types (absence/presence).

dark gray=highest %s, medium gray=mid %s, light gray=lowest %, white=none present

Burial type	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Number of burials	21	103	44
Object type			
Egyptian Imports			
Stone Vessel	23.8% (5)	10.7% (11)	0
Total Stone Vessels	33.3% (7)	18.4% (19)	6.8% (3)
Scarabs	28.6% (6)	12.6% (13)	0
Egyptian amulets	9.5% (2)	1.9% (2)	0
E Mirrors	9.5% (2)	0	0
Kohl Pot	14.3% (3)	15.5% (16)	6.8% (3)
K.W.	33.3% (7)	30.1% (31)	13.6% (6)
Toilet implements	0	5.8% (6)	2.3% (1)
Wands	0	1% (1)	0
Games	0	1% (1)	0
W.J. XII (Tell el-Yahudiyeh)	0	3.9% (4)	0
Possible Egyptianizing			
“Amulet Beads”	14.3% (3)	10.7% (11)	6.8% (3)
Ez or N amulets?	4.8% (1)	1.9% (2)	0
Headrest	23.8% (5)	16.5% (17)	11.4% (5)

Burial type	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Number of burials	21	103	44
Object type			
Razors	14.3% (3)	13.6% (14)	2.3% (1)
Flies	9.5% (2)	1% (1)	0
Egyptianizing Scarabs	9.5% (2)	1% (1)	4.5% (2)
Linen	4.8% (1)	8.7% (9)	9.1% (4)
EZ Mirrors	0	4.9% (5)	0
Nubian			
Glazed stone beads	33.3% (7)	12.6% (13)	2.3% (1)
Other faience beads	76.2% (16)	55.3% (57)	47.7% (21)
N Daggers	47.6% (10)	21.4% (22)	13.6% (6)
Ivory jewelry	23.8% (5)	16.5% (17)	9.1% (4)
Gold Ornamentation	23.8% (5)	7.8% (8)	2.3% (1)
Silver Ornamentation	14.3% (3)	4.9% (5)	2.3% (1)
Bone implements	57.1% (12)	29.1% (30)	27.3% (12)
Ostrich feather fans	42.9% (9)	31.1% (32)	29.5% (13)
Pot nets	28.6% (6)	13.6% (14)	9.1% (4)
Paint Palettes	28.6% (6)	3.9% (4)	0
KC Beakers	76.2% (16)	74.8% (77)	61.4% (27)
Bkt. other	57.1% (12)	61.2% (63)	45.5% (20)
Mica appliques	19% (4)	18.4% (19)	2.3% (1)
Beaded cloth	4.8% (1)	7.8% (8)	0
Whisk/Strainer	4.8% (1)	6.8% (7)	2.3% (1)
Leather skirts	19% (4)	8.7% (9)	13.6% (6)
Leather sandals (pairs)	4.8% (1)	17.5% (18)	9.1% (4)
Rugs	0	3.9% (4)	0

Burial type	Inlaid bed	Plain bed	Non-bed
Number of burials	21	103	44
Object type			
Combs	0	1% (1)	2.3% (1)
Throwstick	4.8% (1)	1% (1)	2.3% (1)
Horn protectors	19% (4)	7.8% (8)	4.5% (2)
est. rams	38.1% (8)	39.8% (41)	31.8% (14)
Shell beads	9.5% (2)	4.9% (5)	6.8% (3)
Unique	66.7% (14)	40.8% (42)	27.3% (12)

Appendix 5.3 - Comparison in percentage of elite subsidiary graves with main object types (absence/presence) over four generations of the Classic Kerma period, sorted by chronological trends.

Dark gray=highest %, medium dark gray=2nd highest %, medium light gray=lower %, light gray=lowest %, white=none present

Nubian, possibly Nubian, *Egyptian*, *Egyptianizing*, and Hyksos

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
Steady thru KC				
KC beakers	78.3% (18)	64.2% (52)	70.6% (36)	88.9% (32)
Bone implements	4.3% (1)	34.6% (28)	31.4% (16)	27.8% (10)
Steady decrease				
Rams	43.5% (10)	42.0% (34)	39.2% (20)	25% (9)
Horn protectors (pairs)	13.0% (3)	11.1% (9)	7.8% (4)	2.8% (1)
Daggers	52.2% (12)	23.5% (19)	27.5% (14)	13.9% (5)
Circlets	30.4% (7)	25.9% (21)	13.7% (7)	13.9% (5)
Hard stone beads	13.0% (3)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	2.8% (1)
<i>Egyptianizing Scarabs</i>	21.7% (5)	3.7% (3)	3.9% (2)	0% (0)

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
Shell beads	26.1% (6)	4.9% (4)	5.9% (3)	8.3% (3)
Throwsticks	8.7% (2)	2.5% (2)	2.0% (1)	0% (0)
Decrease with peak at end				
Leather skirts	21.7% (5)	18.5% (15)	2.0% (1)	8.3% (3)
Linen	26.1% (6)	9.9% (8)	3.9% (2)	11.1% (4)
Pot nets	17.4% (4)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	33.3% (12)
Palettes and pigments	47.8% (11)	7.4% (6)	3.9% (2)	5.6% (2)
Peak in KX				
Headrests	8.7% (2)	25.9% (21)	7.8% (4)	2.8% (1)
Sandals	4.3% (1)	19.7% (16)	11.8% (6)	2.8% (1)
Gold	8.7% (2)	11.1% (9)	5.9% (3)	5.6% (2)
Mica appliqués	0% (0)	21.0% (17)	11.8% (6)	2.8% (1)
Rugs	0% (0)	2.5% (2)	3.9% (2)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptian amulets</i>	0% (0)	3.7% (3)	2.0% (1)	0% (0)
Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware	0% (0)	4.9% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptianizing or Nubian amulets</i>	0% (0)	2.5% (2)	0% (0)	2.8% (1)

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
<i>Egyptian wands</i>	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
<i>Egyptian games</i>	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Peak in KX and KIII?				
<i>Fly amulets</i>	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)
Giraffe hair strainers	0% (0)	7.4% (6)	2.0% (1)	5.6% (2)
Ostrich feather fans	17.4% (4)	43.2% (35)	15.7% (8)	30.6% (11)
Increase to peak in KIV				
Ivory jewelry	17.4% (4)	12.3% (10)	25.5% (13)	8.3% (3)
Steady increase/time				
Silver	4.3% (1)	3.7% (3)	5.9% (3)	8.3% (3)
<i>“Amulet beads”</i>	4.3% (1)	7.4% (6)	9.8% (5)	16.7% (6)
<i>Keneh ware</i>	21.7% (5)	19.7% (16)	27.4% (14)	38.9% (14)
Glazed stones	8.7% (2)	8.7% (7)	15.7% (8)	16.7% (6)
Beaded cloth	0% (0)	1.2% (1)	5.9% (3)	13.9% (5)
Girdles	0% (0)	6.2% (5)	0% (0)	19.4% (7)
Other bronze implements	0% (0)	0% (0)	2.0% (1)	16.7% (6)

Burial Type	KXVI	KX	KIV	KIII
Number of burials	23	82	51	36
Object Type				
Sudden increase in KIII				
<i>Egyptian Mirrors</i>	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	5.5% (2)
<i>Egyptianizing Mirrors</i>	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	13.9% (5)
Combs	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)
<i>Scarabs</i>	4.3% (1)	8.6% (7)	5.9% (3)	25% (9)
<i>Bronze razors</i>	17.4% (4)	3.7% (3)	2.0% (1)	38.9% (14)
Other knives	4.3% (1)	1.2% (1)	0% (0)	5.6% (2)
<i>Stone vessels</i>	4.3% (1)	6.2% (5)	3.9% (2)	25% (9)
<i>Kohl Pots</i>	8.7% (2)	4.9% (4)	7.8% (4)	38.9% (14)

Appendix 5.4 - Statistical significance calculations for Appendices 5.2 and 5.3

Table 5.4.1 - Confidence (%) of statistical significance of the comparison of the distribution of object types by tumulus

Calculated with Drennan 2010: Table 9.1. Student's t Distribution

For significance probability:

- Lower half is significance probability
- Upper half is confidence (%) in comparing pairs

For t:

- Lower half is t value (absolute)
- Upper half is degrees of freedom

For all calculations, see Drennan 2010: 153-4

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
Plain Bed													
KIII	36	69.444	7.677	KIII		80.0	95.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	64.706	6.692	KIV	0.200		50.0	99.9	KIV	1.318		130	72
KX	81	60.494	5.432	KX	0.050	0.500		99.9	KX	2.707	1.282		102
KXVI	23	39.130	10.176	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	6.878	5.541	4.327	
Inlaid Bed													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		<50	99.5	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	>0.5		98.0	99.9	KIV	0.528		130	72
KX	81	16.049	4.078	KX	0.005	0.020		95.0	KX	3.007	2.407		102
KXVI	23	26.087	9.156	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.050		KXVI	5.181	4.463	2.345	
Stone Vessel													
KIII	36	25.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	3.922	2.718	KIV	0.001		50.0	<50	KIV	6.073		130	72
KX	81	6.173	2.674	KX	0.001	0.500		<50	KX	5.892	1.074		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.001	>0.5	>0.5		KXVI	4.852	0.145	0.527	

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
Kohl Pot													
KIII	36	38.889	8.125	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	7.843	3.765	KIV	0.001		50.0	<50	KIV	8.425		130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.001	0.500		50.0	KX	10.021	1.180		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.001	>0.5	0.500		KXVI	6.681	0.246	1.142	
Total Stone Vessels													
KIII	36	44.444	8.282	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	0.001		<50	50.0	KIV	9.308		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	>0.5		<50	KX	9.734	0.504		102
KXVI	23	13.043	7.022	KXVI	0.001	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	6.877	0.889	0.488	
Ezing? Scarabs													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	3.922	2.718	KIV	0.001		<50	99.9	KIV	14.247		130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.001	>0.5		99.9	KX	19.050	0.485		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	37.303	4.560	3.781	
Scarabs													
KIII	36	25.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.001		50.0	50.0	KIV	5.505		130	72
KX	81	8.642	3.122	KX	0.001	0.500		<50	KX	5.116	1.196		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.001	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	3.826	0.868	0.014	
Total Scarabs													
KIII	36	25.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	<50	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	0.001		<50	99.9	KIV	4.371		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	>0.5		99.9	KX	4.342	0.504		102
KXVI	23	26.087	9.156	KXVI	>0.5	0.001	0.001		KXVI	0.254	4.463	3.779	

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
Hard stone beads													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		80.0	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.200		95.0	95.0	KIV	1.442		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	0.050		<50	KX	4.196	2.264		102
KXVI	23	13.043	7.022	KXVI	0.001	0.050	>0.5		KXVI	3.873	2.207	0.488	
Glazed stone beads													
KIII	36	16.667	6.211	KIII		<50	95.0	95.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	15.686	5.092	KIV	>0.5		98.0	90.0	KIV	0.303		130	72
KX	81	8.642	3.122	KX	0.050	0.020		<50	KX	2.704	2.460		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.050	0.100	>0.5		KXVI	2.015	1.738	0.014	
Shell beads													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		50.0	80.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.500		<50	99.9	KIV	0.881		130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.200	>0.5		99.9	KX	1.328	0.410		102
KXVI	23	26.087	9.156	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	5.181	6.215	6.417	
Other faience beads													
KIII	36	77.778	6.929	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	54.902	6.968	KIV	0.001		98.0	<50	KIV	6.692		130	72
KX	81	46.914	5.545	KX	0.001	0.020		50.0	KX	9.817	2.383		102
KXVI	23	52.174	10.416	KXVI	0.001	>0.5	0.500		KXVI	6.109	0.579	1.054	
“Amulet Beads”													
KIII	36	16.667	6.211	KIII		95.0	99.5	99.5	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	9.804	4.164	KIV	0.050		50.0	80.0	KIV	2.126		130	72
KX	81	7.407	2.910	KX	0.005	0.500		50.0	KX	3.121	0.925		102

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.005	0.200	0.500		KXVI	3.118	1.501	0.847	
Ez or N amulets?													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		80.0	<50	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.200		99.9	---	KIV	1.303		130	72
KX	81	2.469	1.724	KX	>0.5	0.001		50.0	KX	0.156	13.409		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.500	---	0.500		KXVI	1.063		0.890	
Egyptian amulets													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		99.9	99.9	---	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		50.0	50.0	KIV	8.429		130	72
KX	81	3.704	2.098	KX	0.001	0.500		50.0	KX	15.304	0.983		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	---	0.500	0.500		KXVI		0.792	1.210	
Flies													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		95.0	90.0	90.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.050		99.9	---	KIV	2.208		130	72
KX	81	1.235	1.227	KX	0.100	0.001		<50	KX	1.860	7.948		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	---	>0.5		KXVI	1.800		0.527	
EZ Mirrors													
KIII	36	13.889	5.764	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.001		---	---	KIV	4.492		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.001	---		---	KX	4.882			102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.001	---	---		KXVI	3.663			
E Mirrors													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		95.0	98.0	90.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.050		---	---	KIV	2.208		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.020	---		---	KX	2.399			102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	---	---		KXVI	1.800			
E Razors													

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KIII	36	38.889	8.125	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		50.0	99.9	KIV	10.040		130	72
KX	81	3.704	2.098	KX	0.001	0.500		99.9	KX	10.390	0.983		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	4.750	6.159	4.449	
E Toilet implements													
KIII	36	16.667	6.211	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		50.0	50.0	KIV	4.570		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.001	0.500		---	KX	5.643	1.113		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.001	0.500	---		KXVI	4.235	0.792		
N Daggers													
KIII	36	13.889	5.764	KIII		99.9	99.8	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	27.451	6.249	KIV	0.001		50.0	99.9	KIV	4.347		130	72
KX	81	23.457	4.708	KX	0.002	0.500		99.9	KX	3.336	1.258		102
KXVI	23	52.174	10.416	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	9.999	5.540	6.244	
Knives (other)													
KIII	36	13.889	5.764	KIII		99.9	99.9	98.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.001		99.9	99.9	KIV	4.492		130	72
KX	81	1.235	1.227	KX	0.001	0.001		80.0	KX	4.438	7.948		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.020	0.001	0.200		KXVI	2.506	15.186	1.324	
Combs													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		95.0	98.0	90.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV	0.050		---	---	KIV	2.208		130	72
KX	81	0.000	0.000	KX	0.020	---		---	KX	2.399			102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	---	---		KXVI	1.800			
Headrest													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		95.0	99.9	95.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	7.843	3.765	KIV	0.050		99.9	<50	KIV	2.350		130	72

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KX	81	25.926	4.869	KX	0.001	0.001		99.9	KX	11.600	7.315		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.050	>0.5	0.001		KXVI	2.238	0.246	3.689	
Throwstick													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.001		<50	95.0	KIV	8.429		130	72
KX	81	2.469	1.724	KX	0.001	>0.5		95.0	KX	11.255	0.287		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.001	0.050	0.050		KXVI	21.632	2.697	2.234	
Bone implements													
KIII	36	27.778	7.465	KIII		50.0	95.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	31.373	6.497	KIV	0.500		50.0	99.9	KIV	1.014		130	72
KX	81	34.568	5.284	KX	0.050	0.500		99.9	KX	2.083	0.987		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	5.413	5.958	6.214	
Ivory jewelry													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		99.9	80.0	98.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	25.490	6.103	KIV	0.001		99.9	90.0	KIV	6.139		130	72
KX	81	12.346	3.655	KX	0.200	0.001		50.0	KX	1.565	4.194		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.020	0.100	0.500		KXVI	2.647	1.839	1.245	
Wands/ Games													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		---	99.9	---	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV		---	99.9	---	KIV			130	72
KX	81	1.235	1.227	KX	0.001	0.001		<50	KX	6.671	7.948		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI		---	>0.5		KXVI			0.527	
Mica appliques													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII		99.9	99.9	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	11.765	4.512	KIV	0.001		99.9	99.5	KIV	4.159		130	72

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KX	81	20.988	4.525	KX	0.001	0.001		99.9	KX	9.136	3.414		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.500	0.005	0.001		KXVI	1.063	3.119	4.669	
Gold Ornamentation													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		<50	98.0	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	>0.5		95.0	50.0	KIV	0.129		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.020	0.050		<50	KX	2.378	2.264		102
KXVI	23	8.696	5.875	KXVI	0.500	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	1.009	0.868	0.610	
Silver Ornamentation													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		50.0	90.0	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.500		50.0	<50	KIV	0.881		130	72
KX	81	3.704	2.098	KX	0.100	0.500		<50	KX	1.812	0.946		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	0.500	>0.5	>0.5		KXVI	1.170	0.474	0.210	
Paint Palettes													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII		<50	50.0	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	3.922	2.718	KIV	>0.5		90.0	99.9	KIV	0.646		130	72
KX	81	7.407	2.910	KX	0.500	0.100		99.9	KX	0.794	1.662		102
KXVI	23	47.826	10.416	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.001		KXVI	13.498	14.822	11.158	
Pot nets													
KIII	36	33.333	7.857	KIII		99.9	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	5.882	3.295	KIV	0.001		95.0	99.9	KIV	7.578		130	72
KX	81	11.111	3.492	KX	0.001	0.050		80.0	KX	6.661	2.264		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.200		KXVI	3.582	3.544	1.586	
Leather skirts													
KIII	36	8.333	4.606	KIII		95.0	99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.050		99.9	99.9	KIV	2.297		130	72
KX	81	18.519	4.316	KX	0.001	0.001		50.0	KX	3.968	9.275		102
KXVI	23	21.739	8.601	KXVI	0.001	0.001	0.500		KXVI	3.915	7.886	0.732	
Leather sandals (pairs)													
KIII	36	2.778	2.739	KIII			99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	11.765	4.512	KIV	0.001			99.5	KIV	4.159		130	72
KX	81	19.753	4.424	KX	0.001	0.005		99.9	KX	8.520	2.958		102
KXVI	23	4.348	4.252	KXVI	>0.5	0.100	0.001		KXVI	0.596	1.960	3.461	
Whisk/Strainer													
KIII	36	5.556	3.818	KIII			80.0	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	1.961	1.941	KIV	0.200			99.5	KIV	1.423		130	72
KX	81	7.407	2.910	KX	0.500	0.005		95.0	KX	0.794	3.064		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI	0.100	0.500	0.050		KXVI	1.800	0.792	2.055	
Ostrich feather fans													
KIII	36	30.556	7.677	KIII			99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	15.686	5.092	KIV	0.001			99.9	KIV	4.144		130	72
KX	81	43.210	5.504	KX	0.001	0.001		99.9	KX	3.827	9.586		102
KXVI	23	17.391	7.903	KXVI	0.005	>0.5	0.001		KXVI	2.992	0.423	5.198	
KC Beakers													
KIII	36	88.889	5.238	KIII			99.9	99.9	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	70.588	6.380	KIV	0.001			95.0	KIV	6.147		130	72
KX	81	64.198	5.327	KX	0.001	0.050		99.5	KX	9.013	1.991		102
KXVI	23	78.261	8.601	KXVI	0.005	0.100	0.005		KXVI	2.914	1.703	2.877	
Keneh Ware													
KIII	36	38.889	8.125	KIII			99.5	99.9	KIII		85	115	57

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI	t	KIII	KIV	KX	KXVI
KIV	51	27.451	6.249	KIV	0.005		98.0	50.0	KIV	3.096		130	72
KX	81	19.753	4.424	KX	0.001	0.020		<50	KX	5.635	2.426		102
KXVI	23	21.739	8.601	KXVI	0.001	0.500	>0.5		KXVI	3.788	1.281	0.446	
W.J. XII (tell el-yahudiyeh)													
KIII	36	0.000	0.000	KIII		---	99.9	---	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	0.000	0.000	KIV		---	99.9	---	KIV			130	72
KX	81	4.938	2.407	KX	0.001	0.001		80.0	KX	19.050	22.697		102
KXVI	23	0.000	0.000	KXVI		---	0.200		KXVI			1.506	
Unique													
KIII	36	75.000	7.217	KIII		99.9	99.9	50.0	KIII		85	115	57
KIV	51	29.412	6.380	KIV	0.001		50.0	99.9	KIV	13.080		130	72
KX	81	32.099	5.187	KX	0.001	0.500		99.9	KX	13.381	0.837		102
KXVI	23	78.261	8.601	KXVI	0.500	0.001	0.001		KXVI	0.764	10.844	9.570	

Table 5.4.2 - Confidence (%) of statistical significance of the comparison of the distribution of object types by burial type

Calculated with Drennan 2010: Table 9.1. Student's t Distribution

For significance probability:

- Lower half is significance probability
- Upper half is confidence (%) in comparing pairs

For t:

- Lower half is t value (absolute)
- Upper half is degrees of freedom

For all calculations, see Drennan 2010: 153-4

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Stone Vessel											
Inlaid	21	23.810	9.294	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	10.680	3.043	Plain	0.001		99.8	Plain	3.995		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.001	0.002		Non-bed	6.584	3.366	
Kohl pots											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		<50	95.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	15.534	3.569	Plain	>0.5		98.0	Plain	0.418		145
Non-bed	44	6.818	3.800	Non-bed	0.050	0.020		Non-bed	2.259	2.532	
Total Stone Vessels											
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	18.447	3.822	Plain	0.001		99.8	Plain	4.301		145
Non-bed	44	6.818	3.800	Non-bed	0.001	0.002		Non-bed	6.926	3.266	
Total Scarabs											
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	13.592	3.377	Plain	0.001		95.0	Plain	5.709		145
Non-bed	44	4.545	3.140	Non-bed	0.001	0.050		Non-bed	7.528	2.703	
Glazed stone beads											
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	12.621	3.272	Plain	0.001		99.5	Plain	5.991		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.005		Non-bed	8.134	3.142	
“Amulet Beads”											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		50.0	95.0	Inlaid		122	63

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Plain	103	10.680	3.043	Plain	0.500		50.0	Plain	1.209		145
Non-bed	44	6.818	3.800	Non-bed	0.050	0.500		Non-bed	2.259	1.215	
Egyptian amulets											
Inlaid	21	9.524	6.406	Inlaid		95.0	99.5	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	1.942	1.360	Plain	0.050		50.0	Plain	2.785		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.005	0.500		Non-bed	3.172	0.916	
Flies											
Inlaid	21	9.524	6.406	Inlaid		99.5	99.5	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	0.971	0.966	Plain	0.005		<50	Plain	3.146		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.005	>0.5		Non-bed	3.172	0.543	
EZ Mirrors											
Inlaid	21	0.000	0.000	Inlaid		99.9	---	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	4.854	5.343	Plain	0.001		50.0	Plain	9.592		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed		0.500		Non-bed		1.155	
E Razors											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		<50	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	13.592	3.377	Plain	>0.5		99.9	Plain	0.232		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	3.647	3.383	
N Daggers											
Inlaid	21	47.619	10.899	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	21.359	4.038	Plain	0.001		95.0	Plain	7.372		145
Non-bed	44	13.636	5.174	Non-bed	0.001	0.050		Non-bed	8.609	2.109	
Headrest											
Inlaid	21	23.810	9.294	Inlaid		95.0	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	16.505	3.658	Plain	0.050		80.0	Plain	2.219		145
Non-bed	44	11.364	4.785	Non-bed	0.001	0.200		Non-bed	3.412	1.475	

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Wands											
Inlaid	21	0.000	0.000	Inlaid		99.9	---	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	0.971	0.966	Plain	0.001		<50	Plain	4.512		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed		>0.5		Non-bed		0.543	
Mica appliques											
Inlaid	21	19.048	8.569	Inlaid		<50	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	18.447	3.822	Plain	>0.5		99.9	Plain	0.190		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	4.810	4.545	
Gold Ornamentation											
Inlaid	21	23.810	9.294	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	7.767	2.637	Plain	0.001		90.0	Plain	4.885		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.100		Non-bed	5.931	1.858	
Silver Ornamentation											
Inlaid	21	14.286	7.636	Inlaid		99.8	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	4.854	2.118	Plain	0.002		50.0	Plain	3.169		145
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.001	0.500		Non-bed	3.647	0.974	
Paint Palettes											
Inlaid	21	28.571	9.858	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	3.883	1.904	Plain	0.001		80.0	Plain	7.314		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed	0.001	0.200		Non-bed	7.672	1.547	
Pot nets											
Inlaid	21	28.571	9.858	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	13.592	3.377	Plain	0.001		80.0	Plain	4.424		145

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Leather skirts											
Non-bed	44	9.091	4.334	Non-bed	0.001	0.200		Non-bed	5.192	1.344	
Inlaid	21	19.048	8.569	Inlaid		99.8	80.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	8.738	2.782	Plain	0.002		80.0	Plain	3.267		145
Leather sandals (pairs)											
Non-bed	44	13.636	5.174	Non-bed	0.200	0.200		Non-bed	1.543	1.610	
Inlaid	21	4.762	4.647	Inlaid		99.9	80.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	17.476	3.742	Plain	0.001		98.0	Plain	5.417		145
Whisk/ Strainer											
Non-bed	44	9.091	4.334	Non-bed	0.200	0.020		Non-bed	1.667	2.379	
Inlaid	21	4.762	4.647	Inlaid		50.0	50.0	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	6.796	2.480	Plain	0.500		80.0	Plain	0.872		145
Ostrich feather fans											
Non-bed	44	2.273	2.247	Non-bed	0.500	0.200		Non-bed	0.966	1.577	
Inlaid	21	42.857	10.799	Inlaid		99.8	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	31.068	4.560	Plain	0.002		<50	Plain	3.321		145
KC Beakers											
Non-bed	44	29.545	6.878	Non-bed	0.001	>0.5		Non-bed	3.379	0.391	
Inlaid	21	76.190	9.294	Inlaid		<50	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	74.757	4.280	Plain	>0.5		99.9	Plain	0.435		145
K.W.											
Non-bed	44	61.364	7.341	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	4.046	3.550	
Inlaid	21	33.333	10.287	Inlaid		50.0	99.9	Inlaid		122	63

	Count	% of graves	StDv	Significance probability	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed	t	Inlaid	Plain	Non-bed
Plain	103	30.097	4.520	Plain	0.500		99.9	Plain	0.934		145
Non-bed	44	13.636	5.174	Non-bed	0.001	0.001		Non-bed	5.134	4.250	
W.J. XII (tell el-yahudiye h)											
Inlaid	21	0.000	0.000	Inlaid		99.9	---	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	3.883	1.904	Plain	0.001		80.0	Plain	12.857		145
Non-bed	44	0.000	0.000	Non-bed		0.200		Non-bed		1.547	
Unique											
Inlaid	21	66.667	10.287	Inlaid		99.9	99.9	Inlaid		122	63
Plain	103	40.777	4.842	Plain	0.001		99.8	Plain	7.466		145
Non-bed	44	27.273	6.714	Non-bed	0.001	0.002		Non-bed	10.242	3.367	

Appendix 6.1 - Inlaid beds and mica hat appliqués, distribution and combinations

Table 6.1.1 - Comparison by generation of the percentage of elite subsidiary graves with plain funerary beds, inlaid funerary beds, and hats with mica appliqués.

Generation: Tumulus	% Graves with Plain Beds	% Graves with Inlaid Beds	% Graves with Hats
Gen 1: KXVI (34)	32.3% (11)	14.7-23.5% (5 - 8)	n/a
Gen 2: KX (98)	48.9% (48)	12.2% (12)	15.3% (15)
Gen 3: KIV (58)	53.8% (31)	8.6% (5)	10.3% (6)
Gen 4: KIII (38)	65.8% (25)	7.9% (3)	2.6% (1)

Table 6.1.2 - Comparison by generation of the percentage of elite subsidiary graves with plain funerary beds, inlaid funerary beds, and hats with mica appliqué.

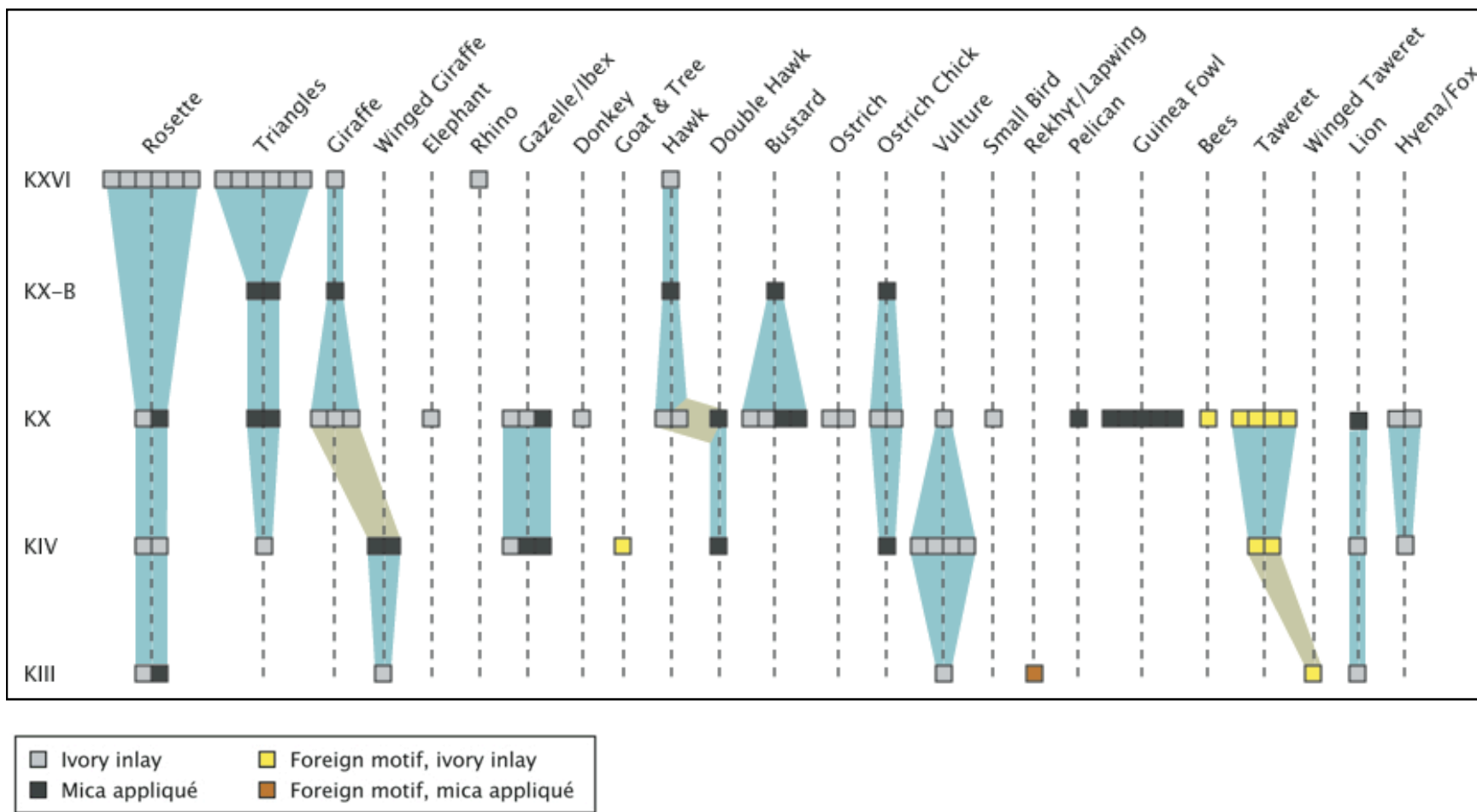


Table 6.1.3 - Inlaid beds from private Classic Kerma burials by tumulus, including museum number and field number concordances

Bed inlays in grey boxes were found *in situ* in the arrangement as presented

Bed inlays in Tumulus KXVI - Generation 1

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1600A, B, C	Hawk	MFA 20.1539 (14-1-1131)	Beak, body, tail= hawk, not vulture	
	Two-horned rhinoceros	MFA 14.1131 (14-1-1250), 14-1-1096, 14-1-1250		A2035, C6428
	Hippopotamus or lion (?)	14-1-1230	Fire damage? Neck folds=hippo?	C6428
	Stylized double giraffe	14-1-1132	Border piece	C6428
	Rosettes	MFA 20.1540 (14-2-89, 14-2-73, 14-2-72, 14-1-1097, 14-1-1130b, 14-2-71)		
	Triangles	MFA 20.1541 (14-1-1130, 14-2-65, 14-2-66, 14-2-67, 14-2-68, 14-2-69, 14-2-70, 14-2-89)		
K1601	Triangle	14-3-1225	Intrusive?	
K1614	Triangle	MFA 14.1290 (14-2-333)	Intrusive?	
K1620	Geometric	14-2-138		
K1623 body B	Rosettes	14-2-59 to 14-2-64		

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1623 body A	Triangles and Rosettes	14-2-65 to 14-2-73, 14-2-89		
K1625	Rosettes	14-2-200		
K1627	Rosettes	14-2-480		
K1628	Triangles and Rosettes	MFA 20.1523	(field number unknown)	
K1630	Triangles	MFA 14.1315 (14-2-445)		
K1631	Triangles	MFA 14.1293 (14-2-369), MFA 14.1294 (14-2-370), MFA 14.1295 (14-2-371), MFA 14.1296 (14-2-372), MFA 14.1297 (14-2-373), MFA 14.1298 (14-2-374)		A2182
	Rosettes	MFA 14.1292 (14-2-368)		A2182

Bed inlays in Tumulus KX - Generation 2

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1001	Bustards and Tawerets	Su.615, Su.618-621	Taweret with skirt	A931
	Bustards	MFA 13.4206 (Su.616), MFA 13.4207 (Su. 617)		
K1028	Vulture	Su.815	2-wings	

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1043	Elephant	MFA 13.4212 (Su.812)		A931
	Hawk	MFA 13.4205 MFA 13.5103 (Su.813)		
K1047	Rosette	MFA 13.4219a-b (Su.850)	(Not K1043 as listed in Object Register, confirmed on tomb card)	
K1050	Bees	MFA 13.4214a-c (Su.920)		A931
	Ostrich Chicks	MFA 13.4211 (Su.920)		
K1053 body D	Ibexes	MFA 13.4219a-g (Su.1073)		A931
	Tawerets	MFA 13.4220a-e (Su.1073)	No skirt, knife, fur/ridge on back	
	Hyenas	MFA 13.4221a-e (Su.1073)	Striped hyenas	
	Animal pelt border	MFA 13.4201 (Su.1073), MFA 13.4223a-f (Su.1073)		
K1056	Tawerets	MFA 13.4203 (Su.946), MFA 13.4210 (Su.946)	Back to back pairs, knife and skirt	A931
	Giraffes	Su.946	3-4 fragmentary	
	Small birds	Su.946	Pigeons or doves?	
K1061	Animal pelt border	MFA 13.4202 (Su.1157)		
	Hawk	MFA 13.4204 (Su.1157)		

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1065	Tawerets	MFA 13.4209 (Su.1158)	With skirt	
	Unidentifiable, border?	MFA 13.4208a-f (Su.1158)	Hourglass shaped	
K1090	Palmette border	MFA 20.1555	(Unknown field number)	
	Gazelles	MFA 20.1554a-e (heads), MFA 20.1556 (14-3-761) (bodies)		
	Donkey	MFA 20.1552 (14-3-759)		
	Hyenas or foxes	MFA 20.1553a-c		
K1095	Palmette border	MFA 20.1551 (14-3-772)		
	Ostriches	MFA 20.1549, MFA 20.1550a-c (14-3-771)		

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K1096	Ostrich chicks	MFA 20.2098 / MFA 20.1345 (14-3-729), MFA 20.1346 (14-3-730), MFA 20.1347 (14-3-731), MFA 20.1348 (14-3-732), MFA 20.1349 (14-3-733), MFA 20.1350 (14-3-734), MFA 20.1351 (14-3-735), MFA 20.1352 (14-3-736), MFA 20.1353 (14-3-737), MFA 20.1548a-d (14-3-738,14-3-739, 14-3-740)	Used as border	B2170
	Bustards	MFA 20.1321 (14-3-706), MFA 20.2097 MFA 20.1323 (14-3-708), MFA 20.1324 (14-3-709), MFA 20.1325 (14-3-710), MFA 20.1326 (14-3-741), MFA 20.2028 (14-3-742 ?)		B2170
	Ostriches	MFA 20.1327 (14-3-711), MFA 20.1328 (14-3-712), MFA 20.1329 (14-3-713), MFA 20.1330 (14-3-714), MFA 20.1331 (14-3-715), MFA 20.1332 (14-3-716), MFA 20.1333 (14-3-717), MFA 20.1334 (14-3-718), MFA 20.1335 (14-3-719),		B2170

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
	Giraffes	MFA 20.1336 (14-3-720), MFA 20.1337 (14-3-721), MFA 20.1338 (14-3-722), MFA 20.1339 (14-3-723), MFA 20.1340 (14-3-724), MFA 20.1341 (14-3-725), MFA 20.1342 (14-3-726), MFA 20.1343 (14-3-727), MFA 20.1344 (14-3-728)		B2170

Bed inlays in Tumulus KIV - Generation 3

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K407	Triangles and Rosettes	14-1-65 to 14-1-72	From two beds?	A2035, A2163
	Lion	MFA 20.2100 / MFA 20.1530 (13-12-94)	From two beds?	C6428

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K439 body A	Palmette borders	14.1042 (14-1-272), MFA 20.1531 (14-1-274), MFA 20.1532 (14-1-273), MFA 20.1533 / MFA 20.2044 (14-1-270), MFA 20.1534 / MFA 20.2045 (14-1-271), MFA 20.1535a-b (14-1-268 and 14-1-269), MFA 20.1536 / MFA 20.2043 (14-1-266), MFA 20.1537 (14-1-267), MFA 20.1538a-b (14-1-264 and 14-1-265)		B2148, C5909
	Vultures	MFA 20.1368 (14-1-245), MFA 20.1369 (14-1-246), MFA 20.1370 (14-1-247), MFA 20.1371 (14-1-248)	2-wings	B2148, C5909
	Taweret	MFA 20.2027 / 20.1502 (14-1-249) and MFA 20.1519 (14-1-250, deaccessioned), MFA 20.1504 (14-1-251) and MFA 20.1503 / 20.2040 (14-1-252), 14-1-253 (deaccessioned) and MFA 20.1518 (14-1-254), MFA 20.1517 (14-1-255) and MFA 20.1516 (14-1-256), MFA 20.1515 (14-1-257) and MFA 20.1514 (14-1-258)	Skirts, back to back pairs	B2148, C5909

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
	Pairs of goats with trees	MFA 20.1372 (14-1-259), MFA 20.1373 (14-1-260), MFA 20.2039 / 20.1374 (14-1-261), MFA 20.1375 (14-1-262), MFA 20.1376 (14-1-263)	Ram in the thicket	B2148, C5909
K439 body B	Palmette borders	MFA 14.1041 (14-1-235), MFA 20.1359 , MFA 20.1360 , MFA 20.1361 (14-1-237), MFA 20.1363 (14-1-239 and 14-1-240), MFA 20.2042 / 20.1364 (14-1-241), MFA 20.1366 , MFA 20.2046 / 20.1362 (14-1-238), MFA 20.1365 (14-1-243)		B2148, C5909
	Vultures (2-wings)	MFA 20.1354 (14-1-224), MFA 20.1355 (14-1-225), MFA 20.1356 (14-1-226), MFA 20.1357 (14-1-227), MFA 20.1358 (14-1-228)	Top two rows	B2148, C5909
	Vultures (1-wing)	Facing right: 14-1-232, 14-1-233, MFA 20.1510 (14-1-234); facing left: MFA 20.2108 / 20.1512 , (14-1-229), MFA 20.1513 (14-1-230), MFA 20.1511 (14-1-231)	Bottom row	B2148, C5909
K439 body C (?)	Vultures	MFA 20.1527 (14-1-3), MFA 20.1528 (14-1-2), MFA 20.1529 (14-1-1)	2-wings	
	Gazelle or Ibex	MFA 20.2106 / 20.1377 (14-1-274)	Flying gallop	

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K441	Rosette	14-2-480		
	Palmette borders	14-2-480		
K444	Animal pelt borders	MFA 20.1526 (14-1-349)		A2035
K449 body A	Animal pelt borders	MFA 20.1496a-d (14-3-790, 14-3-791, 14-3-792, 14-3-809), MFA 20.1497a-j (14-3-785, 14-3-786, 14-3-787, 14-3-788, 14-3-789, 14-3-793, 14-3-794, 14-3-795, 14-3-797, 14-3-810)	Footboard preserved whole	
	Vultures	MFA 20.1494 (14-3-784), MFA 20.1494a (14-3-1464), MFA 20.1495b (14-3-784), MFA 20.2107 / 20.1495c (14-3-784),	2-wings	
	Taweret	MFA 20.1494 (14-3-784)	Skirts, all facing right	
	Hyena	MFA 20.1494 (14-3-784)		

Bed inlays in Tumulus KIII- Generation 4

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
K309	Animal pelt border	13-12-823 to 13-12-832		A2035, A2180

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Notes	Reisner Negative No.
	Vultures	MFA 20.1505 (13-12-1027), MFA 20.1506 (13-12-1026), MFA 20.1507 (13-12-846), MFA 20.1508, 13-12-842 to 13-12-845	2-wings	A2035, A2180
	Winged Tawerets	13-12-813 to 13-12-822	Unknown current location, but identifiable in place in field photos	A2035, A2180
	Winged Giraffes	MFA 20.1544 (13-12-809), MFA 20.1545 (13-12-810), MFA 20.1546 (13-12-811), MFA 20.1547a-c (13-12-846), 13-12-802 to 808, 13-12-812		A2035, A2180
	Tawerets	MFA 20.1641 (13-12-833), MFA 20.1642 (13-12-834), MFA 13.5792 (13-12-835), MFA 20.1643 (13-12-836), MFA 20.1644 (13-12-837), MFA 20.1645 (13-12-839), MFA 13.5793 (13-12-840), MFA 13.5794 (13-12-841), MFA 20.1509 (13-12-821),	On outer surface of footboard, with skirts and knives	A2035, A2180
K330	Rosette	14-2-1164		
K334	Lions	14-2-661 to 14-2-674	Copper and/or electrum, on outer surface of footboard	A2158

Table 6.1.3 - Mica appliqués from hats from private Classic Kerma burials by tumulus, including museum number and field number concordances

Mica hat appliqués in Tumulus KXVI - Generation 1

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
K1600C body L	Unknown, fragmentary	14-2-1450	

Mica hat appliqués in Tumulus KX - Generation 2

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
KX Hall B body EC	Openwork strips with lozenge pattern	MFA 20.1754 (14-3-360)	A2161
KX Hall B body BD	Leaf	14-3-371	
KX Hall B body TD	Leaf	14-3-427	
KX Hall B body DH	Hawks or crows	14-3-469	A2160
KX Hall B body PG	Squares	14-3-488	
KX Hall B body EI	Giraffes and geometric shapes	MFA 20.1770 (14-3-517)	A2162
KX Hall B body ZK	Bustards and geometric shapes	14-3-591	A2164
KX Hall B body HL	Ostrich chicks	14-3-614	A2163
K1001 debris	Geometric	Su.624	B1982
K1004	Gazelle heads and open triangles with serrated tops	MFA 13.4282 (Su.635)	

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
K1024	Bird heads, punctate triangles	Su.721	
K1037	Birds, wings and bottom strip	MFA 13.4285 (Su.753)	
K1038	Leaf	Su.765	
K1039	Strips, bustards, leaves in rosette	MFA 13.4284 (Su.801)	
K1041	Ostrich chicks in squares	MFA 13.4286 (Su.1033)	B1982
K1043	Bird, ostrich chick?	Su.811	
K1044 body A	Stacked double lion heads	MFA 13.4283 (Su.826)	B1986
K1054	Serrated shapes	Su.893	
K1061 body E	Bustards, wings out and preening	MFA 13.4281 (Su.980)	B1982
K1077	Pelicans, palmettes	14-3-1065a	
K1088 body B	Cross hatched lozenges, palmette	MFA 20.1756 (14-3-830)	A2161
K1090	Guinea fowl	MFA 20.1755 (14-3-763, 14-3-1127)	A2163

Mica hat appliquéés in Tumulus KIV - Generation 3

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
KIV center debris	Rectangles, ibex heads, plants	13-12-6	A2163
KIV Room A	Double-headed bustards	MFA 20.1748 (13-12-1)	A2163

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
KIV Room B	Rectangular	14-3-98	
K411	Rhomboids, cross hatched or openwork, and palmettes	MFA 20.1749 (13-12-141)	A2164
K425	Unidentifiable	none	
K435	Winged giraffes	14-1-118	A2169
K442	Cross hatched strips, ostrich chicks / guinea fowl	14-1-65	A2035, A2163
K448	Ibex and bushes, green paint	MFA 20.1751 (14-1-476)	A2162
K451	Winged giraffes, regular giraffes, 2 headed eagles	MFA 20.1757 (14-3-976)	A2162

Mica hat appliqués in Tumulus KIII- Generation 4

Grave and body	Motif	Museum number	Reisner Negative No.
K323 body A	Rosette, rekhyt birds, punctate, green paint	MFA 20.1769 (14-2-977)	A2160

Appendix 5.1 - Finds from private Classic Kerma graves in tumuli KXVI, KX, KIV and KIII

This appendix presents all of the finds from private Classic Kerma graves in the K1600, K1000, K400 and K300 series. The data is compiled from the Reisner 1923 publication, Reisner Kerma excavation Object Register and Photo Register, and the information contained in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston object database (The Museum System).

The finds are grouped by tumulus, then by grave. Each line contains basic information about the object, especially the concordance between the Reisner field number (referred to in the 1923 publication and all archival material), the current accession number in the MFA or British Museum, and all Reisner field negatives of the object or grave. This concordance between current and archival data is not available elsewhere in published form and is meant to facilitate future studies that wish to draw on both updated and archival sources.

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
KXVI							
K1601							
	14-3-1222	14-3-1222	Vessels	Potsherds, three or more beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1223	14-3-1223	Vessels	Fragments of a bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-3-1224	14.1637	Vessels	Alabaster saucer fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1224	14.1637	Vessels	Alabaster saucer fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1225	14-3-1225	Furniture	Ivory bed inlay, triangle	Ivory	Unknown	
debris	14-3-1226	14.1638	Tools & Equipment	Bronze rivet	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2176 A2177 A2157
debris	14-3-1226	14.1638	Tools & Equipment	Bronze rivet	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2176 A2177 A2157
	14-3-1227	14-3-1227	Raw materials and by-products	Lump of red coloring matter	Unspecified coloring matter/ pigment	Unknown	
K1603							C5980 C6015
	14-2-387	14-2-387	Vessels	Large baggy jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-388	14-2-388	Vessels	Large baggy jar	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-389	20.1450	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory, organics/wood ?	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-389	20.1450	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory, organics/wood ?	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-390	14.1299	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2295
	14-2-390	14.1299	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2295
	14-2-391	14.1300	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Shell	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-391	14.1300	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads from leather skirt	Shell	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-392	14.1301	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Amethyst, faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-392	14.1301	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads from necklace or circlet	Amethyst, faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-393	14.1302	Unclassifiable objects	Two pieces of stone	Stone	MFA, Boston	B2327
	14-2-393	14.1302	Unclassifiable objects	Two pieces of stone	Stone	MFA, Boston	B2327
E	14-2-394	14-2-394	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Serpentine	Unknown	A2147 A2148 A2150 B2181 B2182

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
E	14-2-394	14-2-394	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Serpentine	Unknown	A2147
							A2148
							A2150
							B2181
							B2182
	14-2-395	14-2-395	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn-protector	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-396	14.1303	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2295
	14-2-396	14.1303	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2295
	14-2-397	14.1304	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
D	14-2-397	14.1304	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads from circlet or beaded cap	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-398	14-2-398	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1604							C5975
							C5976
							C5981
							C5984
							C6277
	14-2-10	20.3733	Vessels	Black-topped red polished bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-10	20.3733	Vessels	Black-topped red polished bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-11	14-2-11	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2352
	14-2-12	20.3677	Vessels	Small wide-mouthed jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-12	20.3677	Vessels	Small wide-mouthed jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-13	20.1463	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger - blade, pommel, rivets	Bronze or Copper	MFA, Boston	B2304
	14-2-13 Other number: a&b / HU-MFA 14-2-13	20.1463	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger - blade, pommel, rivets	Bronze or Copper	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-14	14.1194	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-14	20.4742	Vessels	Incised black-topped red polished bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
E	14-2-14	14.1194	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads from necklace, circlet or cap	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-14?	20.4742	Vessels	Incised black-topped red polished bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-15	14-2-15	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Disk beads from a leather garment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
D	14-2-15 (and 14-2-24?)	14-2-15	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Disk beads from a leather garment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-16	14-2-16	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
C	14-2-17 (now 20.1723?)	14.1197	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet, including amulet beads	Faience, gold	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-17 Kerma	14.1197	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	String of beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-18	20.1723	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelets	Electrum	MFA, Boston	
C	14-2-18	20.1723	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelets	Electrum	MFA, Boston	
C	14-2-18, 14 -2-19	20.1724a	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Gold	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-18, 19	20.1724a	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Gold	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-19	20.1724b	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet with concave sides	Electrum	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-19	20.1724c	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Electrum	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-19	20.1724d	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Electrum	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
C	14-2-19	20.1724b	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet with concave sides	Electrum	MFA, Boston	
C	14-2-19	20.1724c	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Electrum	MFA, Boston	
C	14-2-19	20.1724d	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Electrum	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-20	14-2-20	Vessels	Redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-21	20.1569a-c	Vessels	Pot and bead net	Pottery, faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-21	20.1569g	Vessels	Bead pot net	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-21	20.1569a-c	Vessels	Bead potnet containing 14-2-20, lozenge pattern	Pottery, faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-21	20.1569g	Vessels	Bead pot net	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-22	20.3631	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-22	20.3631	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-23	20.1725	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Gold, Electrum, Leather	MFA, Boston	
C	14-2-23	20.1725	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from leather skirt	Gold, Electrum, Leather	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-25	20.1747	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Faience and gold necklace	Faience, gold	MFA, Boston	C6277

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
C	14-2-25	14.1203	Tools & Equipment-Recreational	Cone shaped amulet	Faience	MFA, Boston	C6277
C	14-2-25	20.1747	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Faience and gold necklace	Faience, gold	MFA, Boston	C6277
	14-2-25 Kerma	14.1203	Tools & Equipment-Recreational	Cone shaped amulet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
C	14-2-26	14-2-26	Costumes	Leather skirt, beaded	Leather	Unknown	A2133 A2138
	14-2-28	14-2-28	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger pommel	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-29	20.2606	Vessels	Redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-29	14-2-29	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Flint flake	Flint	Unknown	
	14-2-29?	20.2606	Vessels	Redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-30	14-2-30	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-5	14-2-5	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-6	14-2-6	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-7	14-2-7	Vessels	Pot with neck	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-8	14-2-8	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-9	14.1190	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
B	14-2-9	14.1190	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads from circlet	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
K1606							
	14-2-173	20.4982	Vessels	Fragments of a wide-mouthed black-topped red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-173	20.4982	Vessels	Fragments of a wide-mouthed black-topped red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
debris	14-2-174	20.3647	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
debris	14-2-174	20.3647	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
debris	14-2-175	14.1264	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-175	14.1264	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-176	14-2-176	Vessels	Fragment	Blue and black faience	Unknown	
	14-2-177	20.4988	Vessels	Fragment of a red polished bowl with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	14-2-177	20.4988	Vessels	Fragment of a red polished bowl with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	14-2-178	14-2-178	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	B2352
K1608							
	14-2-240	20.4989	Vessels	Fragment of red polished bowl with painted cross decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6468
	14-2-240	20.4989	Vessels	Fragment of red polished bowl with painted cross decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6468
debris	14-2-241	14.1276	Seals	Seal fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	C6427
debris	14-2-241	14.1276	Seals	Plaque seal fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	C6427

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-242	14.1277	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ear plugs	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-242	14.1277	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ear studs	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-243	20.1298	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Fragment of a bracelet	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2313
debris	14-2-243	20.1298	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Fragment of a bracelet	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2313
	14-2-244	14-2-244	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
B	K1608-1	K1608-1	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
K1609							C5979
debris	14-1-1174	20.1801	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2155 A2156 B2149
debris	14-1-1174	20.1801	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-237	14-2-237	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-238	14-2-238	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-239	20.4743	Vessels	Incised black-topped red polished bowl fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	14-2-239	20.4990	Vessels	Fragment of red polished bowl with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	14-2-239	20.4743	Vessels	Incised black-topped red polished bowl fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-239	20.4990	Vessels	Fragment of red polished bowl with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
K1610							
	14-2-179	20.3338	Vessels	Incised bag-shaped jar with contents	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2347
	14-2-179	20.3338	Vessels	Incised bag-shaped jar with contents	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2347
debris	14-2-180	20.1407	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Feather	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-180	20.1407	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Feather	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-181	14-2-181	Organic remains	Decayed fragment of wood	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-182	14-2-182	Vessels	Disc-lid	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-183	20.1418	Tools & Equipment	Coiled thong	Leather	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-183	20.1418	Tools & Equipment	Coiled thong	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-184	14-2-184	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1611							
V	14-1-1175	14.1148	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear stud	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-1175	14.1148	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear stud	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-1176	14-1-1176	Tools & Equipment- Knives, Blades, Scrapers	Razor	Bronze	Unknown	A2155 A2156 B2149

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-1176b	14-1-1176b	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Razor-case	Wood	Unknown	
	14-1-1176c	14-1-1176c	Textiles	Fragments of linen cloth	Linen	Unknown	
	14-2-245	20.3780	Vessels	Fragments of a large redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-245	20.3780	Vessels	Fragments of a large redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-246	14.1278	Unclassifiable objects	Half disc	Gray stone	MFA, Boston	B2332
debris	14-2-246	14.1278	Unclassifiable objects	Half disc	Gray stone	MFA, Boston	B2332
K1612							C5978
	14-2-100	14-2-100	Vessels	Potsherd	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-101	14-2-101	Vessels	Fragments of vessels	Faience	Unknown	A2175
debris	14-2-113	14-2-113	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid or plaque seal	Stone	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150 B2322
debris	14-2-113	14-2-113	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid or plaque seal	Stone	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150 B2322

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-114	20.1398a-b	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Archery, Spears, Javelins	Stick	Wood	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-114	20.1398a-b	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Archery, Spears, Javelins	Stick	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-94	14-2-94	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-95	14-2-95	Vessels	Wide-mouthed globular pot, smashed	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-96	20.4941	Vessels	Fragments of a black-topped red polished jar with textured lower body	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-96	20.4941	Vessels	Fragments of a black-topped red polished jar with textured lower body	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-97	14-2-97	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-98	14-2-98	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-99	14-2-99	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1613							C5982 C6010
	14-2-334	20.3391	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar with three handles	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6325 C6334 C6335
	14-2-334	20.3391	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar with three handles	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6325 C6334 C6335
	14-2-335	14-2-335	Vessels	Large Jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-336	20.3744	Vessels	Black-topped red polished jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6325

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-336	20.3744	Vessels	Black-topped red polished jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6325
	14-2-337	14-2-337	Vessels	Wide pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-338	14-2-338	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2295
	14-2-339	14-2-339	Vessels	Very large jar with ridge around the neck	Pottery	Unknown	B2295
	14-2-340	14-2-340	Vessels	Wide pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-341	14-2-341	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-342	20.3387	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6322
	14-2-342	20.3387	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6322
	14-2-343	14-2-343	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-344	14-2-344	Vessels	Globular jar with neck	Pottery	Unknown	C6322 C6332
	14-2-345	14-2-345	Vessels	Small pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6325
	14-2-346	14-2-346	Vessels	Wide-mouthed pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-347	20.3413	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6337
	14-2-347	20.3413	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6337
	14-2-348	14-2-348	Vessels	Small pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-349	14-2-349	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-350	14-2-350	Vessels	Small pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-351	14-2-351	Vessels	Globular pot with neck	Pottery	Unknown	C6325 C6338
	14-2-352	14.1291	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-352	14.1291	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-353	20.3680	Vessels	Small wide-mouthed jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6322
	14-2-353	20.3680	Vessels	Small wide-mouthed jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6322
	14-2-354	14-2-354	Vessels	Wide-mouthed pot with neck	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-355	20.3545	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-355	20.3545	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-356	14-2-356	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	B2158
	14-2-357	20.3807	Vessels	Black polished vessel fragments with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2160 B2344 B2346
	14-2-357	20.3807	Vessels	Black polished vessel fragments with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2160 B2344 B2346
K1614							C6023
B	14-2-327	14-2-327	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-328	14-2-328	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette	Stone?	Unknown	B2333
	14-2-330	14-2-330	Raw materials and by-products	Coloring materials	Coloring matter	Unknown	
	14-2-331	14-2-331	Vessels	Fragments bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-332	14.1289	Vessels	Stone vessel body fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-332	14.1289	Vessels	Stone vessel body fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-333	14.1290	Furniture	Triangular inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-333	14.1290	Furniture	Triangular inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K1615							
	14-2-	20.5007	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-102	14-2-102	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2173
	14-2-103	14-2-103	Vessels	Wide-mouthed pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-104	20.2600	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-2-104	20.2600	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-2-105	14-2-105	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger-butt	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-106	20.3806	Vessels	Black polished vessel fragments with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2335 B2338 B2339
	14-2-106	20.3806	Vessels	Black polished vessel fragments with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2335 B2338 B2339
	14-2-107	20.3610	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-2-107	20.3610	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-2-108	20.3746	Vessels	Black-topped red polished bowl & jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-108	20.3746	Vessels	Black-topped red polished bowl & jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-109	14-2-109	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	B2351

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-110	14-2-110	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2351
	14-2-111	20.5007	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-112	14-2-112	Vessels	Misc. coarse potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1618							C5985 C5994 C5995
		Eg.Inv.3737	Furniture	Triangular inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-144	14-2-114	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl-pot containing black kohl powder, made of faience with patched ceramic base	Blue and black faience	Unknown	B2276
	14-2-145	14-2-145	Organic remains	Lump of resin with print of basket container	Resin	Unknown	B2330
	14-2-146	20.2591	Vessels	Bowl with impressed decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-146	20.2591	Vessels	Bowl with impressed decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	14-2-147	14-2-147	Vessels	Small drab ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
B	14-2-148	14-2-148	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Ivory	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
B	14-2-148	14-2-148	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Ivory	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
B	14-2-148b	14-2-148b	Textiles	Fragment of linen	Linen	Unknown	
B	14-2-148c	14-2-148c	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
	14-2-149	14-2-149	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2352
	14-2-150	14-2-150	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Disc beads, small ring beads	Blue faience and shell	Unknown	
debris	14-2-151	20.1767	Seals	Seal	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
debris	14-2-151	20.1767	Seals	Plaque seal	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
	14-2-152	14-2-152	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger pommel	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-153	14-2-153	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-154	20.3810	Vessels	Fragments of a black polished bowl with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2160 B2345
	14-2-154	20.3810	Vessels	Fragments of a black polished bowl with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2160 B2345
	14-2-155	14-2-155	Organic remains	Lump of resin with print of basket	Resin	Unknown	B2330

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-156	14-2-156	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette	Hematite	Unknown	
	14-2-157	14-2-157	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Two kohl-sticks	Wood	Unknown	B2275 B2276 B2189 B2190
	14-2-158	14-2-158	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl-pot with disc lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	B2275
K1619							
	14-2-454	14-2-454	Tools & Equipment-Household	Mortar	Sandstone	Unknown	B2327
	14-2-455	14-2-455	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6447
	14-2-456	14-2-456	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-457	14-2-457	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6447
	14-2-458	14-2-458	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6447
	14-2-459	20.3113	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6447
	14-2-459	20.3113	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6447
	14-2-460	14-2-460	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	C6447
debris	14-2-461	14-2-461	Sculpture	Statue fragments	Granodiorite	Unknown	
debris	14-2-462	14.1317	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-2-462	14.1317	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-463	14.1318	Furniture	Basket fragment	Straw?	MFA, Boston	A2170

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
intrusive debris	14-2-463	14.1318	Furniture	Basket fragment	Straw?	MFA, Boston	A2170
K1620							C6005
possibly		Eg.Inv.3774	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory and shell	MFA, Boston	
B	14-2-124	14-2-124	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger with linen scabbard	Bronze or copper, Ivory, tortoise	Unknown	B2308 B2309
	14-2-125	20.3337	Vessels	Slender ovoid jar with rim applique	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2354
	14-2-125	20.3337	Vessels	Slender ovoid jar with rim applique, organic residue	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2354
	14-2-126	14.1255	Unclassifiable objects-Fragments	Vegetable matter fragments	Vegetable matter	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-126	14.1255	Organic remains	Vegetable matter fragments, contents of 14-2-125	Vegetable matter	MFA, Boston	
possibly	14-2-127? 14-2-128?	13.4197	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory, wood?	MFA, Boston	
possibly	14-2-127? 14-2-128?	Eg.Inv.3774	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory and shell	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-129	14-2-129	Personal accessories	Fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-2-130	20.3803	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2173
	14-2-130	20.3803	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2173
	14-2-131	14-2-131	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-132	20.3741	Vessels	Fragments of a large black-topped red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-132	20.3741	Vessels	Fragments of a large black-topped red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-133	20.2778	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2354
	14-2-133	20.2778	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2354
	14-2-134	14-2-134	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-135	14.1256	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
B	14-2-135	14.1256	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads from circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-136	14-2-136	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
C	14-2-136	14-2-136	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
D	14-2-136b	14-2-136b	Costumes	Remains of cloth garment	Cloth	Unknown	
	14-2-137	14-2-137	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-138	14-2-138	Furniture	Fragments, ivory bed inlays	Ivory	Unknown	
debris	14-2-139	14.1257	Vessels	Two alabaster rim fragments	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2333
debris	14-2-139	14.1257	Vessels	Two alabaster rim fragments	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2333
	14-2-140	14.1258	Vessels	Fragment of a vessel	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-140	14.1258	Vessels	Fragment of a vessel	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-141	14-2-141	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette	Hematite	Unknown	B2333
debris	14-2-143	14.1259	Sculpture	King wearing a jubilee or heb sed cloak	Graywacke	MFA, Boston	A2090
debris	14-2-469	20.1451a-b	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory, organic remains	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-469	20.1451a-b	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory, organic remains	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-551	14.1334	Tools & Equipment-Textile & Costume-making	Copper needle	Copper	MFA, Boston	A2157
	14-2-551	14.1334	Tools & Equipment-Textile & Costume-making	Copper needle	Copper	MFA, Boston	A2157
possibly	noc, 14-2-127 or 14-2-128	13.4197	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory, wood?	MFA, Boston	
K1621							C5987
	14-2-212	14-2-212	Personal accessories	Fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-2-213	20.2597	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-213	20.2597	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-214	14.1269	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2295

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-214	14.1269	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2295
	14-2-215	20.2785	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-215	20.2785	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-216	20.3424	Vessels	Globular black-topped red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-216	20.3424	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-217	20.3835	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-217	20.3835	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-218	20.2774	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-218	20.2774	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-219	14.1270	Organic remains	Vegetable matter	Vegetable	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-219	14.1270	Organic remains	Vegetable matter, contents of 14-2-217, 14-2-218	Vegetable	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-220	14.1271	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience, carnelian, white shell	MFA, Boston	A2115 A2116
	14-2-220	20.1742	Jewelry / Adornment-Amulets	Amulet of a fly	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2115 A2116
B	14-2-220	14.1271	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads including amulet beads	Faience, carnelian, white shell	MFA, Boston	A2115 A2116
B	14-2-220	20.1742	Jewelry / Adornment-Amulets	Amulet of a fly	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2115 A2116

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
C	14-2-221	14-2-221	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads; 1 ball, many small blue ring beads	Blue glazed quartzite and blue faience	Unknown	
debris	14-2-222	14.1272	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Leather, blue faience, shell	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-222a	14-2-222a	Costumes	Fragments of beaded leather skirt	Leather and shell	Unknown	
debris	14-2-222b	14.1272	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Leather, blue faience, shell	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-223	14-2-223	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger butt	Ivory	Unknown	
debris	14-2-224	20.1637	Tools & Equipment	Tool	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-224	20.1637	Tools & Equipment	Tool or casing from bed frame	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-225	14-2-225	Furniture	Fragments of wooden headrest?	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-226	20.3842	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-226	20.3842	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6363
	14-2-227	14-2-227	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-229	20.4675	Vessels	Large fragment of a buffware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157 C6363
	14-2-229	20.4740	Vessels	Incised redware vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157 C6363

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-229	20.4675	Vessels	Large fragment of a buffware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157 C6363
	14-2-229	20.4740	Vessels	Incised redware vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157 C6363
	14-2-230	14-2-230	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-231	14-2-231	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Fragment, wooden razor case	Wood	Unknown	
debris	14-2-232	14.1274	Vessels	Two fragments of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2266
intrusive debris	14-2-232	14.1274	Vessels	Two fragments of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2266
intrusive debris	14-2-233	14-2-233	Vessels	Fragment black background faience vessel	Faience	Unknown	A2175
intrusive debris	14-2-234	14-2-234	Vessels	Fragment black background faience vessel	Faience	Unknown	A2175
debris	14-2-235	14.1275	Vessels	Fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-235	14.1275	Vessels	Fragment of faience vessel	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-236	14-2-236	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette	Hematite	Unknown	
	14-3-782	20.2058	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2312

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-782	20.2058	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2312
K1622							C5988
	14-2-247	14-2-247	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	B2336 B2337 B2340
	14-2-248	14.1279	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Vegetable matter fragments	Vegetable matter	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-248	14.1279	Organic remains	Vegetable matter fragments, contents of 14-2-247	Vegetable matter	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-249	20.3675	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6457
	14-2-249	20.3675	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6457
	14-2-250	20.3787	Vessels	Redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6457
	14-2-250	20.3787	Vessels	Redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6457
	14-2-251	20.4590	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6457
	14-2-251	20.3751	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6457
	14-2-251	20.3751	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6457
	14-2-252	14-2-252	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-253	14-2-253	Vessels	Disc lid for pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-254	14-2-254	Vessels	Disc lid for pot	Sandstone	Unknown	
debris	14-2-255	20.1655	Tools & Equipment	Micascious stone palette	Stone	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-255	20.1655	Tools & Equipment	Ferricrete sandstone stone palette	Stone	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-256	14-2-256	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette with bevelled edge on botton	Hematite	Unknown	B2333
debris	14-2-257	14.1280	Furniture	Small fragment of a headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-257	14.1280	Unclassifiable objects-Fragments	Small fragment of a headrest or throwstick	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-258	14-2-258	Personal accessories	Concave cylindrical box; decorated with black filled incised lines	Bone	Unknown	B2151
debris	14-2-259	20.1638	Tools & Equipment	Tool	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-259	20.1638	Tools & Equipment	Tool or part of bed casing	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-260	14.1281	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-260	14.1281	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-261	20.1802	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-261	20.1802	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-262	14-2-262	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Bronze knife, fragments of wooden handle and three rivets	Bronze and wood	Unknown	A2145

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-263	14-2-263	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab seals	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149 B2181
K1623							C5991 C5992 C5996 C6001
	14-2-58	14-2-58	Vessels	Small jug with handle	Pottery	Unknown	C6453
	14-2-59 / 60 / 61 / 63	20.1543a-d	Furniture	Drop-shaped inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-59, 14 -2-60, 14-2 -61, 14-2-63	20.1543a-d	Furniture	Drop-shaped inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-62 & 64	20.1542a-b	Furniture	Drop-shaped inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-62 & 64	20.1542a-b	Furniture	Drop-shaped inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-65	14-2-65	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-66	14-2-66	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	A2158
	14-2-67	14-2-67	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-68	14-2-68	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-69	14-2-69	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-70	14-2-70	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-71	14-2-71	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-72	14-2-72	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-73	14-2-73	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-74	14-2-74	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger with remains of leather scabbard	Bronze or copper, Ivory, tortoise	Unknown	B2310
	14-2-75	20.1434	Textiles	Cloth	Cloth	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-75	20.1434	Textiles	Cloth	Cloth	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-76	14.1241	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience and hair	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-76	14.1241	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience and hair	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-77a	14-2-77a	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette	Hematite	Unknown	
	14-2-77b	14-2-77b	Raw materials and by-products	Small lump of graphite	Graphite	Unknown	
	14-2-78	20.1417	Tools & Equipment	Cord	Cord	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-78	20.1417	Tools & Equipment	Cord	Cord	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-79	14-2-79	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6453
	14-2-80	20.4981	Vessels	Fragments of an ovoid redware jar with ribbed neck	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-80	20.4981	Vessels	Fragments of an ovoid redware jar with ribbed neck	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-81	20.2776	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-81	20.2776	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-82	20.1703	Vessels	Black-polished bowl with white-filled, incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2335 B2338 B2339
	14-2-82	20.1703	Vessels	Black-polished bowl with white-filled, incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2335 B2338 B2339
	14-2-83	14-2-83	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-84	20.3665	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-84	20.5022	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-84	20.3665	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-84	20.5022	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-85	14-2-85	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-86	20.1701	Vessels	Black-polished bowl with white-filled, incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2335 B2338 B2339
	14-2-86	20.1701	Vessels	Black-polished bowl with white-filled, incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2335 B2338 B2339
	14-2-87	20.2780	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-87	20.2780	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6453
	14-2-88	14-2-88	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-88	14-2-88	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-89	14-2-89	Furniture	Bed inlays, triangles and rosettes	Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-90	14-2-90	Textiles	Fragment of thin leather, hair on one side	Leather	Unknown	
debris	14-2-91	20.1524	Furniture	Ivory bar possibly from a chair	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-91	20.1524	Furniture	Ivory bar possibly from a chair	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-93	14-2-93	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1624							C5989
	14-2-115	20.3667	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2360
	14-2-115	20.3667	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2360
	14-2-116	14-2-116	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette	Hematite	Unknown	B2333
	14-2-117	20.1140	Vessels	Tall shoulder jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2267
	14-2-117	20.1140	Vessels	Tall shoulder jar, kohl-pot?	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2267
	14-2-118	20.4714	Vessels	Red polished vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2360
	14-2-118	20.4714	Vessels	Red polished vessel fragment, cloth stuck to base	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2360
	14-2-119	20.3749	Vessels	Fragments of a black-topped redware jar with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2360
	14-2-119	20.3749	Vessels	Fragments of a black-topped redware jar with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2360
debris	14-2-120	14-2-120	Vessels	Alabaster vessel fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-120	14-2-120	Vessels	Alabaster vessel fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-121	14-2-121	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Fragment coarse ferricrete sandstone	Sandstone	Unknown	
K1625							C5990
	14-2-185	20.1702	Vessels	Black-polished bowl with white-filled, incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-186	20.3511	Vessels	Squat globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349 C6351
	14-2-186	20.5005	Vessels	Dish-shaped lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349 C6351
	14-2-186	20.3511	Vessels	Squat globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349 C6351
	14-2-186	20.5005	Vessels	Dish-shaped lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349 C6351
	14-2-187	20.2592	Vessels	Bowl with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345 C6346
	14-2-187	20.2592	Vessels	Bowl with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345 C6346
	14-2-188	14-2-188	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-189	20.3419	Vessels	Globular black-topped red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6348
	14-2-189	20.3419	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6348
	14-2-190	20.3737	Vessels	Black-topped red polished bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349
	14-2-190	20.3737	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
E	14-2-191	14-2-191	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Small blue ring beads from circlet	Blue faience	Unknown	
B	14-2-192	14-2-192	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Small blue ring beads from circlet	Blue faience	Unknown	
G	14-2-193	14.1265	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads from circlet	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-194	14-2-194	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	3 gold ring beads, 3 gold cylindrical beads	Gold	Unknown	
	14-2-194b	14-2-194b	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet, fragment of gold bracelet	Gold	Unknown	
debris	14-2-195	14-2-195	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Ivory	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150 B2181 B2182

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-195	14-2-195	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Ivory	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150 B2181 B2182
	14-2-196	14.1266	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Shell, faience, carnelian	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-196	14.1266	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads, including blue glazed crystal pendant	Shell, faience, carnelian	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-197	20.1800	Tools & Equipment	Knife blade	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-197	20.1800	Tools & Equipment	Knife blade	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-198	14-2-198	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Ivory dagger butt	Ivory	Unknown	
debris	14-2-199	14.1267	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Rivet from dagger	Bronze, shell	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-199	14.1267	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Rivet from dagger	Bronze, shell	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-200	14-2-200	Furniture	Bed inlays with rosettes	Ivory	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-201	20.2781	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345
debris	14-2-201	20.2781	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345
debris	14-2-202	20.2769	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349
debris	14-2-202	20.2769	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349
	14-2-203	14-2-203	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-204	14-2-204	Vessels	Disc-lid for jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-204	14-2-204	Vessels	Many potsherds, beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-205	20.3845	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345
	14-2-205	20.3845	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345
debris	14-2-206	20.2772	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349
debris	14-2-206	20.2772	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349
	14-2-207	20.3841	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345
	14-2-207	20.3841	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6345
	14-2-208	20.3846	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349
	14-2-208	20.3846	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349
debris	14-2-209	20.3679	Vessels	Small wide-mouthed jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309 C6345
debris	14-2-209	20.3679	Vessels	Small wide-mouthed jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309 C6345
	14-2-210	20.3333	Vessels	Ovoid jar with incised neck	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349 C6350

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-210	20.3333	Vessels	Ovoid jar with incised neck	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6349 C6350
	See alternate number remarks: 14-2-185 Other number: K 1625/1	20.1702	Vessels	Black-polished bowl with white-filled, incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1626							C6002
	14-2-147	20.5021	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-147?	20.5021	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-159	20.3674	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6458
	14-2-159	20.3674	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6458
	14-2-160	20.3507	Vessels	Squat marl jar and disc lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6458
	14-2-160	20.3507	Vessels	Squat marl jar and disc lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6458
	14-2-160	14-2-160	Tools & Equipment-Cordage	String pot net	Fiber	Unknown	C6458
	14-2-161	14.1260	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2134
C	14-2-161	14.1260	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads from circlet and necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2134
	14-2-162	14.1261	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
B	14-2-162	14.1261	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-163	14.1262	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
A	14-2-163	14.1262	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-164	14-2-164	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger with ivory butt	Bronze and ivory	Unknown	B2311
	14-2-164a	14-2-164a	Textiles	Cloth, perhaps scabard	Cloth	Unknown	
	14-2-165	14.1263	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
E	14-2-165	14.1263	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-166	14-2-166	Vessels	Very large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-167	20.3334	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6458
	14-2-167	20.3334	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6458
	14-2-168	14-2-168	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-169	14-2-169	Jewelry / Adornment	17 copper bands, each wrapped once around wood	Copper	Unknown	A2157
debris	14-2-170	14-2-170	Tools & Equipment	Palette	Stone	MFA, Boston	B2328
debris	14-2-170	14-2-170	Tools & Equipment	Palette	Stone	MFA, Boston	B2328
	14-2-171	14-2-171	Warfare, hunting, & fishing	Throwstick	Wood	Unknown	B2303

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-172	14-2-172	Raw materials and by-products	Coloring matter, three large and eight small lumps of yellow	Coloring matter	Unknown	B2332
debris	14-2-228	14.1273	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Shell, faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-228	14.1273	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Shell, faience	MFA, Boston	
K1627							
		Eg.Inv.6569	Organic remains	Animal bone fragments	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-480	14-2-480	Furniture	Ivory bed inlay, one lobe of a rosette	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-481	14-2-181	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	B2335 B2338 B2339
	14-3-1228	14-3-1228	Vessels	Wide mouthed pot	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-3-1229	20.2820	Vessels	Rough redware bowl with blackened rim	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2361
debris	14-3-1229	20.2820	Vessels	Rough redware bowl with blackened rim	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2361
	14-3-1229b	14-3-1229b	Vessels	Wide-mouthed pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1257	14-3-1257	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1628							
	14-2-520	20.1523	Furniture	Inlay pieces and dagger handle	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-520	20.1523	Furniture	Inlay pieces and dagger handle	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-521	14.1331	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience and shell	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-521	14.1331	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience and shell	MFA, Boston	
K1629							C6007
	14-2-1248	14-3-1248	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2244
	14-2-193	14.1265	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-550	20.1266	Vessels	Faience vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2174 B2172
	14-3-1247	14-3-1247	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
K1630							C6025
	14-2-1437	20.3809	Vessels	Fragments of a black polished bowl with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-1441	14.1437	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-426	14-2-426	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-427	20.3615	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-427	20.3615	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-428	14-2-428	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2366
B	14-2-428	14-2-428	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from girdle?	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2366
	14-2-429	14-2-429	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
A	14-2-429	14-2-429	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-430	14-2-430	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
D	14-2-430	14-2-430	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-431a-c	20.1464	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger - blade, rivets	Bronze or Copper	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-431a-c	20.1464	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger - blade, rivets	Bronze or Copper	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-432	14-2-432	Vessels	Rilled beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-433	14-2-433	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-434	14-2-434	Vessels	Heap of potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-435	14-2-435	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-436	20.1299	Vessels	Ring stand	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2262
debris	14-2-436	20.1299	Vessels	Ring stand	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2262
	14-2-437	20.3809	Vessels	Fragments of a black polished bowl with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2341 B2342
debris	14-2-438	20.1265	Vessels	Bowl fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-2-438	20.1265	Vessels	Bowl fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-439	14.1311	Unclassifiable objects	Fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-2-439	14.1311	Unclassifiable objects	Fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-440	14.1312	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Bead	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2325
intrusive debris	14-2-440	14.1312	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Bead	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2325
debris	14-2-441	14.1313	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-2-441	14.1313	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-2-441?	14.1437	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-442	14-2-442	Furniture	Wooden headrest	Wood	Unknown	
debris	14-2-443	14.1314	Vessels	Slate vessel fragment	Slate	MFA, Boston	B2157
debris	14-2-443	14.1314	Vessels	Slate vessel fragment or whetstone	Slate	MFA, Boston	B2157
debris	14-2-444	20.1525	Furniture	Ivory bar	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-445	14.1315	Furniture	Triangular inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-445	14.1315	Furniture	Triangular inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-446	20.1660	Tools & Equipment	Mortar	Stone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-446	20.1660	Tools & Equipment	Mortar	Stone	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-447	14-2-447	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Paint palette	Hematite	Unknown	
	14-2-448	14-2-448	Raw materials and by-products	Coloring matter, red lump and white lump	Coloring matter	Unknown	
	14-2-449	14-2-449	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-3-444	20.1525	Furniture	Ivory bar	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1631							C6014
	14-2-360	14-2-360	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-361	14-2-361	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-362	14-2-362	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-363	14-2-363	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-364	14-2-364	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-365	14-2-365	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-366	14-2-366	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-367	14-2-367	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-368	14.1292	Furniture	Rosette inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2182
	14-2-368	14.1292	Furniture	Rosette inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2182
	14-2-369	14.1293	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2182
	14-2-369	14.1293	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2182
	14-2-370	14.1294	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-370	14.1294	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-371	14.1295	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2182
	14-2-371	14.1295	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2182
	14-2-372	14.1296	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-372	14.1296	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-373	14.1297	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-373	14.1297	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-374	14.1298	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-374	14.1298	Furniture	Triangular inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-375	14-2-375	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	
	14-2-376	14-2-376	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-377	14-2-377	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	
	14-2-378	14-2-378	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-379	14-2-379	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-2-380	20.4991	Vessels	Fragment of a red polished bowl with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	14-2-380	20.4991	Vessels	Fragment of a red polished bowl with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	14-2-381	14-2-381	Furniture	Bed inlays, rosettes, triangles and semi-circles	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2182
	14-2-382	14-2-382	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Ivory dagger butt	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-382a	14-2-382a	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Ivory dagger butt	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-2-382b	14-2-382b	Jewelry / Adornment-Bracelets, Armllets	Fragments of three or more bracelets	Ivory	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-383	14-2-383	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-383	14-2-383	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-384	14-2-384	Vessels	Medium jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-385	14-2-385	Vessels	Slender, pear-shaped jar with plain neck	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-386	14-2-386	Vessels	Slender, pear-shaped jar with plain neck	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-3-1253	20.1636	Tools & Equipment	Tool	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1254 / 1631 X	20.1166a-d	Vessels	Alabaster bowl fragments	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1255	14.1642	Vessels	Alabaster vessel fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1256	20.1303	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Vessel cover (?)	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2175
K1633							
intrusiv e debris	14-2-1250	14-2-1250	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	B2244
intrusiv e debris	14-3-1251	14-3-1251	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
intrusiv e debris	14-3-1252	14-3-1252	Vessels	Disc lid	Pottery	Unknown	
intrusiv e debris	14-3-1253	20.1636	Tools & Equipment	Tool	Bone	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
intrusive debris	14-3-1254	20.1166a-d	Vessels	Alabaster bowl fragments	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-3-1255	14.1642	Vessels	Alabaster vessel fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-3-1256	20.1303	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Vessel cover (?)	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2175
K1634							
	14-3-1257	14-3-1257	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
KX							
K1000A							C6161
debris	14-3-1081	14-3-1081	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
	14-3-1152	14-3-1152	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1153	20.3904	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1154	14-3-1154	Vessels	Black topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1155	14-3-1155	Vessels	Black topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1156	14-3-1156	Vessels	Black topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2353
	14-3-1157	20.2973	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
	14-3-1157	14-3-1157	Vessels	Black topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2353
	14-3-1158	14-3-1158	Vessels	Black topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1159	14-3-1159	Vessels	Black topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1160	14-3-1160	Vessels	Black topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1161	20.3921	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1162	20.4622	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-1163	20.3651	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
B	14-3-1164	14-3-1164	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1164 (?)	20.3924	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
C	14-3-1165	14-3-1165	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
D	14-3-1166	14-3-1166	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2174
	14-3-1167	20.3441	Vessels	Globular red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
	14-3-1168	20.4673	Vessels	Buffware globular jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
	14-3-1168	20.5027	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1169	14-3-1169	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1170	20.2904	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1171	20.2935	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1172	20.2969	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1173	14-3-1173	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1174	14-3-1174	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1175	20.2972	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1176	20.2967	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1177	14-3-1177	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1177	20.5270	Vessels	Mixed Black-topped redware beaker & redware vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1178	20.2930	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2353
debris	14-3-1179	14-3-1179	Vessels	Black-topped bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-3-1180	20.3943	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker & red polished vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1182	14-3-1182	Vessels	Black-topped pot sherds	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1183	14.1630	Vessels	Fragments of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	A2176 A2177 B2265
debris	14-3-1184	14.1631	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Unknown	20.3944	Vessels	redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Unknown	20.3816	Vessels	Incised blackware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1000B							
debris	K1000B-coffin	K1000B-	Religious and cult objects	Fragments of coffin or box	Wood	Unknown	
K1001							
	Su.612	Su.612	Sculpture	Faience hippo	Faience	Unknown	A0930 A0920 A0921
	Su.613	20.2053	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.614	20.2052	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.616	13.4206	Furniture	Ivory inlay of bird	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1014
	Su.617	13.4207	Furniture	Bustard/ostrich inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1014
	Su.631	20.3906	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Unknown	13.4121	Sculpture	Hippopotamus figurine	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Unknown	13.4138	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Unknown	13.4157	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Bead	Carnelian	MFA, Boston	
K1002							C4338
	Su.1118	13.4055	Tools & Equipment	Roller	Stone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.627	13.4066	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.628	Su.628	Tools & Equipment	Bone Awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.628a	Su.628a	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.628b	13.4200	Furniture	Chair seat	Raw hide	MFA, Boston	
	Su.679	Su.679	Tools & Equipment	Bone Awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.680	Su.680	Tools & Equipment	Bone Awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.681	13.4122	Costumes	Beaded skirt	Shell	MFA, Boston	
K1003							
	Su.1119	Su.1119	Tools & Equipment	Pestle	granite	Unknown	
	Su.629	20.3879	Vessels	Fragments of large jar with incised decoration, studded neck, and applied rim	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.672	Su.672	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	A0919 A0999 A1000

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.673	Su.673	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	B1810 A0919 A0999 A1000
	Su.674	Su.674	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	A0919 A0999 A1000
K1004							
	Su.633	13.4086	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.634	20.3449	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	Su.635	13.4282	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1981
	Su.636	Su.636	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads and organic material	Blue faience, organic material	MFA, Boston	
	Su.675	Su.675	Tools & Equipment	Bone Awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.676	Su.676	Tools & Equipment	Bone Awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.677	Su.677	Tools & Equipment	Bone Awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.678	Su.678	Vessels	Disc lid	Pottery	Unknown	
K1005							
	Su.637	20.2891	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.638	20.2921	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.639	20.2897	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.640	Su.640	Vessels	Black-topped red Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.641	20.2906	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.642	Su.642	Vessels	String pot-net	Fiber	Unknown	A1004 A0924
	Su.643	Su.643	Furniture	Headrest	wood	Unknown	A0998
K1006							
	Su 632	20.2970	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1009							
	Su.681	Su.681	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Fragments of ring beads	Shell (or bone)	MFA, Boston	
K1012							
	Su.644	Su.644	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C4339
	Su.644a	Su.644a	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.644b	Su.644b	Costumes	Linen cloth	Fiber	Unknown	
K1014							
	Su.645	Su.645	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.645a	Su.645a	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.645b	Su.645b	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
K1015							
	Su.646	Su.646	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.647	20.2898	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.648	20.3932	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.649	Su.649	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	A0919 A0999 A1000

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.650	Su.650	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	A0919 A0999 A1000
	Su.650a	Su.650a	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
K1017							C4342 C4349
	Su.651	20.2917	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2005
	Su.652	Su.652	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.653	20.2907	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2005
	Su.654	13.4081	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2005
	Su.655	20.5053	Vessels	Jar fragments and vessel contents	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A1004 A0924 B2005
	Su.656	Su.656	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.657	Su.657	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.658	20.2920	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2005
	Su.659	Su.659	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.659b	Su.659b	Tomb equipment	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	Su.683	Su.683	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
K1023							C4344
	Su.684	Su.684	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.685	20.2911	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.686	20.3853	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.687	Su.687	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.688	Su.688	Furniture	Bed legs	Wood	Unknown	
K1024							C4345 C4350
	Su.660	20.2916	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2001
	Su.661	Su.661	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2001
	Su.662a,b	Su.662a,b	Vessels	redware pot with pot net	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.663	20.2919	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2001
	Su.664	Su.664	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2001
	Su.665	20.3854	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2001
	Su.666	20.2908	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2001
	Su.667	20.2910	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2001
	Su.668	Su.668	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2001
	Su.669 / 13.4074	20.2909	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.669 / 20.2909	13.4074	Vessels	Cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.670	20.2905	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2001
	Su.671	Su.671	Vessels	Red polished small jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2001
	Su.689	Su.689	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	B1810
	Su.690	Su.690	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Ivory, Bronze, Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.691	13.4125	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.691	Su.691	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience, organic material	MFA, Boston	
	Su.720	Su.720	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather and shell	Unknown	A0930
	Su.721	Su.721	Costumes	Mica fragments	Mica	Unknown	
	Su.722	20.2915	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2001
	Su.723	Su.723	Tools & Equipment- Recreational	Throw sticks	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.724	Su.724	Tools & Equipment	Handle cover	Leather	MFA, Boston	A1004 A0924
K1025							C4346
	Su.1096	Su.1096	Vessels	Small jar Keneh ware	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1097	20.2918	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.816	20.4719	Vessels	Fragments of a small globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.817	Su.817	Vessels	Black-topped bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.817a	Su.817a	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.817b	Su.817b	Tools & Equipment	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1026							C4347 C4351 C4381
	Su.1107	13.4180	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1155	Su.1155	Tomb equipment	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	Su.692	20.3794	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.693	13.4069	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
B	Su.695	13.4124	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A1009 A1010
B	Su.695	13.4149	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A1009 A1010
	Su.695a	Su.695a	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience, organic material	MFA, Boston	
B	Su.695b	13.4147	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Earring	Shell	MFA, Boston	
B	Su.695b	13.4148	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Earring	Shell	MFA, Boston	
B	Su.695c	Su.695c	Costumes	Sandals	Shell	Unknown	
debris	Su.696	13.3985	Sculpture	Inscribed base fragment of a king	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	Su.696.1	Su.696.1	Sculpture	Arm or leg fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	Su.696.2	Su.696.2	Sculpture	Arm or leg fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	Su.696.3	Su.696.3	Sculpture	Arm or leg fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
K1026?							
	Su.1162?	20.4974	Vessels	Fragments of a jar with creamy buff-colored slip	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1027							C4348
	Su.697	Su.697	Vessels	redware Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.698	Su.698	Vessels	Black-topped Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
K1028							C4352
	Su.682a	Su.682a	Furniture	Bed legs	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.682b	13.4199	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan		MFA, Boston	
	Su.682c	Su.682c	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Ivory, Bronze, Wood	Unknown	
	Su.699	13.4160	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.815	Su.815	Furniture	Flying vulture bed inlay	Ivory	Unknown	A1014
K1029							C4353 C4359
	Su.1147 (?)	13.4363	Furniture	Wooden bed	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	Su.700a	Su.700a	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	Su.700b	Su.700b	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.700c	Su.700c	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.701	Su.701	Vessels	Coarse redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.702	Su.702	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A0933 A0934 A1009 A1010
	Su.703, Su.704	13.4130	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience and carnelian	MFA, Boston	
K1030							C4354 C4360 C4367
	Su.705	Su.705	Tools & Equipment- Knives, Blades, Scrapers	Razor	Bronze (or bronze/copper alloy?)	Unknown	A0927
	Su.706	Su.706	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.707	13.4153	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.707a	Su.707a	Furniture	Gazelle skin rug	Leather and hair	Unknown	
	Su.725	13.4106	Vessels	Spouted vessel	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.732	Su.732	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.733a	Su.733a	Vessels	White slipped redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.733b / Eg. Inv.4180?	Su.733b	Tools & Equipment	White slipped redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.734	13.4095	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.735	20.3930	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.736	Su.736	Vessels	Black-topped red bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.737	Su.737	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	Su.738	13.3998	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Unknown object	Wood	MFA, Boston	B1810
K1031							C4355
	Su.708	13.4005	Vessels	Bowl	Wood	MFA, Boston	B1810
	Su.709	20.4679	Vessels	redware jar fragments (at least 2 vessels) and token	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.710	13.4259a-b	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Armlet	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.711	Su.711	Tools & Equipment	Braided strap	Leather	MFA, Boston	A1004 A0924
	Su.712	13.3972	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Faience	MFA, Boston	A0930 A1006
	Su.712	13.3973	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Faience	MFA, Boston	A0930 A1006
	Su.712	13.4114	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	A0930 A1006

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1032							C4356
	Su.713	Su.713	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Bone scaraboid	Bone	Unknown	A0933 A0934 A1009 A1010
B	Su.713a	Su.713a	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
C	Su.713b	Su.713b	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.714	Su.714	Tools & Equipment	Bone threader	Bone	Unknown	A0924 A1003
	Su.715	Su.715	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.716	Su.716	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Traps, Nets, Hooks	One fragment of a throw stick	Wood	MFA, Boston	B1810
	Su.726	Su.726	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
K1033							C4357 C4361 C4384 C4398
	Su.1108	Su.1108	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Plaque seal	Bone	Unknown	A1009 A1010
	Su.1111	Su.1111	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Earring	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A1009 A1010
	Su.717	13.4014	Furniture	Angle brace for bed	Bronze or copper	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.718	Su.718	Furniture	Angle brace for bed	Bronze (or copper)	Unknown	
	Su.719	Su.719	Vessels	Black-topped bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.719a	Su.719a	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.719b	Su.719b	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.719c	Su.719c	Furniture	Angle brace for bed	Bronze (or copper) and gold	Unknown	
	Su.727	Su.727	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.728 or Su.1109	Su.728	Organic remains	Shells	Shell	MFA, Boston	
middle	Su.728a	13.3976	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Two strings of tiny beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.728a	13.4127	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.728a	Su.728a	Costumes	Sandal	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.729	Su.729	Tools & Equipment	Bone awls	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.730	20.2056	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.731	13.4088	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1034							
	Unknown	13.4152	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
K1034?							
		Eg.Inv.3276	Organic remains	Organic fragments		MFA, Boston	
K1035							C4391
	Su.739	13.3987	Furniture	Foot decoration from a funerary bed	Gold	MFA, Boston	A0926
	Su.739	Su.739	Vessels	Black-topped beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	A0926
K1036							C4363 C4385
	Su.1112	20.3702	Vessels	Small globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1113	13.4077	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1114	13.4182	Tools & Equipment	Threader	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1114	13.4184	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.242	Su.242	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.243	Su.243	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.244	Su.244	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.740	13.4103	Vessels	Spouted red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.740	Su.740	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
A	Su.741	20.2057	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.741a	Su.741a	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.746(?)	Eg.Inv.5066	Furniture	Base of a headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	Su.746(?)	Eg.Inv.5067	Furniture	Top fragment of a headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	
C	Su.747	13.4007	Tools & Equipment	Knife blade	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A0927
	Su.748	13.4163	Jewelry / Adornment	Cylinder	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B and C	Su.749 (?)	13.4112	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
B	Su.749b	Su.749b	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
K1037							C4362 C4399
	Su.1136	Su.1136	Furniture	Bed legs with metal casing	wood and bronze and gold	Unknown	
	Su.1137	13.4140	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1152	Su.1152	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Feathers	MFA, Boston	
	Su.750	Su.750	Vessels	Keneh ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.751	Su.751	Vessels	Keneh ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.752	13.3999	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Unknown object	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	Su.753	13.4285	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1981

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	Su.754	13.4129	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience and quartzite	MFA, Boston	A0930
							A1007
							A1008
K1038							C4364
	Su.1148	Su.1148	Furniture	Bed	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.755	Su.755	Vessels	Kohl pot	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	
	Su.756	13.4266	Vessels	Bag-shaped cosmetic jar with lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	Su.757	Su.757	Vessels	Black-topped jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.758	20.2914	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.759	Su.759	Vessels	Black-topped red beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.760	20.2912	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.761	20.2913	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
on surface nearby	Su.761b	Su.761b	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
	Su.761c	Su.761c	Tools & Equipment- Cordage	Leather thong	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.762	Su.762	Vessels	Black-topped red pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.763	Su.763	Organic remains	Pot contents	Organic (?)	MFA, Boston	
	Su.763	Su.763	Vessels	Keneh ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.764	Su.764	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Feather	MFA, Boston	
	Su.765	Su.765	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	Unknown	A1009 A1010

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.766	Su.766	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Earstud	Ivory	Unknown	
	Su.767	13.4131	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.767b	Su.767b	Vessels	Footed wooden bowl	Wood	Unknown	
on surface near grave	Su.768	Su.768	Vessels	Vessel (?) fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	A0920 A0921
	Su.769	Su.769	Vessels	Jar lid	Serpentine	Unknown	
	Su.770	20.2055	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K1039							C4365
	Su.771	Su.771	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.772	Su.772	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.773	13.4072	Vessels	Deep cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.774	Su.774	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.775	Su.775	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.776	Su.776	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1997
	Su.777	Su.777	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1997
	Su.778	13.4075	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.779	20.3359	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar with contents	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.780	20.3893	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.781	Su.781	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1997
	Su.782	20.2936	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.783	20.2937	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.784	20.2951	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.785	Su.785	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1997
	Su.786	20.2939	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.787	Su.787	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1997
	Su.788	20.2938	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.789	20.2962	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.790	20.2934	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.791	20.3945	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.792	20.3855	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.793	20.2933	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.794	13.4084	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.795	20.2956	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1997
	Su.796	Su.796	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1997
	Su.797	13.4089	Vessels	Cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.798	Su.798	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Feathers	MFA, Boston	
	Su.799	Su.799	Tools & Equipment	Handle cover / beer strainer	Giraffe hair	Unknown	A1004 A0924
	Su.800	Su.800	Tools & Equipment	Bone awls	Bone	Unknown	
debris	Su.801	13.4284	Costumes	Decorative figures	Mica	MFA, Boston	A1005

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.802	13.4159	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
K1040							C4366
	Su.803	13.4064	Vessels	Deep cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.804	20.2952	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.804a	Su.804a	Furniture	Bed boards	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.804b	Su.804b	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.804c	Su.804c	Costumes	Sandal	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.804d	Su.804d	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Armlet fragment	Ivory	Unknown	
K1041							C4368 C4400
D or E	Su.1033	13.4286	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1982 B1985
	Su.1138	Su.1138	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads, organic matter and potsherds	Faience, wood, pottery, organic matter	MFA, Boston	A1006
A	Su.908	13.4017	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze, ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	Su.909	13.3974	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	A0930

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	Su.910, Su.911, or Su.912	13.4150	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
A or B	Su.913	Su.913	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.914	20.2609	Vessels	Textured coarseware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.915	Su.915	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.915a	Su.915a	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.952	13.4107a-b	Vessels	Globular jar with lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	Su.953	20.3661	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
B	Su.954	13.4183	Tools & Equipment	Threader	Bone	MFA, Boston	A1003
B	Su.954	13.4189	Tools & Equipment	Threader	Bone	MFA, Boston	A1003
	Su.955	13.4179	Tools & Equipment	Threader	Bone	MFA, Boston	A1003
K1042							C4369
	Su.1149	Su.1149	Furniture	Wooden bed	Wood	Unknown	
Ram	Su.923	Su.923	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory	Unknown	
	Su.924	20.2960	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2002
	Su.924a	Su.924a	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.925	20.3929	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2002
	Su.926	Su.926	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.927	Su.927	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
	Su.928	20.2961	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2002
	Su.929	Su.929	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
	Su.930	Su.930	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
	Su.931	Su.931	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
	Su.932	20.2931	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2002
	Su.933	Su.933	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
	Su.933	Su.933	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
	Su.934	13.4083	Vessels	Large cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2002
	Su.935	Su.935	Vessels	Red polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
	Su.936	20.3764	Vessels	Large Tell el-Yahudiya juglet fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2002
Ram	Su.936	Su.936	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	B2002
	Su.937	Su.937	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2002
K1043							
	Su.805	Su.805	Furniture	Wooden bed	Wood	Unknown	B1810
	Su.806	Su.806	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A0933 A0934 A1009 A1010
	Su.807	13.4146	Jewelry / Adornment-Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.808	20.2067	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.809	Su.809	Organic remains	Dom-nut kernels	nut	Unknown	
	Su.809b	Su.809b	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.810	13.4162	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.810	Su.810	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Ivory fragments of horn protector	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.811	Su.811	Costumes	Mica fragments	Mica	MFA, Boston	
	Su.812	13.4212	Furniture	Fragment of bed inlay in the form of an elephant	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931
debris	Su.813	13.4205	Furniture	Bed inlay in the form of a flying falcon	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.813	13.5103	Furniture	Falcon inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.813	Su.813	Furniture	Ivory fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
surface N of grave	Su.814	20.1189	Sculpture	Head and shoulders of a deity [woman]	Graywacke	MFA, Boston	C6231
debris near grave	Su.814	Eg.Inv.1111	Sculpture	Pleated kilt fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	C6231
debris near grave	Su.814	Eg.Inv.1417	Sculpture	Wig or pleated kilt fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	C6231
upper debris, near grave	Su.814	Eg.Inv.1418	Sculpture	Plaited lappet of wig	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	C6231

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris near grave	Su.814	Eg.Inv.1424	Sculpture	Hip and throne fragment of a seated figure	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	C6231
surface N of grave	Su.814e	13.3981	Sculpture	Legs of a dyad	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
K1044							C4370 C4382
	Su.819	13.4080	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1999
	Su.820	20.3925	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1999
	Su.821	Su.821	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1999
	Su.822	20.2959	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1999
	Su.823	Su.823	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1999
	Su.824	Su.824	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1999
	Su.825	Su.825	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1999
E	Su.826	13.4283.1	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.2	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.3	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.4	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.5	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.6	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.7	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.8	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.9	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.10	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
E	Su.826	13.4283.11	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.12	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.13	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.14	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.15	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.16	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.17	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.18	Costumes	Decorative figures	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.19	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.20	Costumes	Decorative figures	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	13.4283.21	Costumes	Decorative figures	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1986
E	Su.826	Su.826	Costumes	Silver appliques	Silver	Unknown	B1986
E	Su.827	Su.827	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
	Su.828	Su.828	Tools & Equipment	Awls	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.829	Su.829	Tools & Equipment	Awls	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.830	Su.830	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ball beads	Glazed Quartzite	Unknown	A0930 A1007 A1008
	Su.831	13.4060	Tools & Equipment	Palette or sharpening stone	Haematite	MFA, Boston	
F	Su.834	13.4145	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience and Shell	MFA, Boston	A1009 A1010

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
F	Su.834 and Su.837	13.4258	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience and ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.835	Su.835	Vessels	redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	B1999
F	Su.836	Su.836	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Faience	Unknown	A0933 A0934 A1009 A1010
	Su.838	Su.838	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1999
K1045							C4397
M	14-3-1105	20.3535	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6463
	14-3-1105	20.4996	Vessels	Disc-shaped lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6463
M	14-3-1105a	14-3-1105a	Vessels	Potnet	Fiber	Unknown	
M	14-3-1106	20.2983	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6463
M	14-3-1107	20.1388a-b	Furniture	Base and top of headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1108	14-3-1108	Vessels	redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6463
	14-3-1108a	14-3-1108a	Vessels	Potnet	Fiber	Unknown	
	14-3-1109	14-3-1109	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1110	20.3714	Vessels	Small globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1110	20.4748	Vessels	Black polished jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1111	20.4733	Vessels	Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1112	20.4642	Vessels	Red polished jar/bowl fragment with large tab leg	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6463
	14-3-1113	14-3-1113	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-3-1114	20.2089	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger and pommel	Bronze or copper and Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1114	14-3-1114	Tools & Equipment	Horn casing	Horn	Unknown	
	14-3-1115	14-3-1115	Tools & Equipment	Handle-cover or strainer	Giraffe hair	Unknown	
	14-3-836	14-3-836	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	Unknown	
	14-3-836	14-3-836	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Earstud	Faience	Unknown	
E	Su.1098	Su.1098	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Horn bracelets	Horn	Unknown	
B	Su.1099	Su.1099	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Girdle	Faience	Unknown	
B	Su.1100	Su.1100	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A0933 A0934 A1009 A1010
	Su.1101	Su.1101	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A0933 A0934 A1009 A1010

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1102	Su.1102	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A0933 A0934 A1009 A1010
C	Su.1103 (?)	20.2054	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Fragment of ivory dagger pommel k1045	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
F	Su.1104	13.4020	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze, ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1105	Su.1105	Tomb equipment	Awls	Bone	Unknown	A0924
E	Su.1134	Su.1134	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
B	Su.1135	Su.1135	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
	Su.1146	Su.1146	Jewelry / Adornment- Amulets	Crocodile amulet	Gold	Unknown	A1009 A1010
K1046							
	Su.839	13.3971	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	String of beads	Quartz	MFA, Boston	A0930 A1006

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.839	Su.839	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Quartz	MFA, Boston	A0930 A1006
	Su.839a	Su.839a	Costumes	Mica applique fragment	Mica	Unknown	
	Su.839b	Su.839b	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	Su.840	Su.840	Tools & Equipment	Bone awls	Bone	Unknown	
K1047							B2054 C4371 C4376
	Su.841	Su.841	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	Su.842	13.4059	Tools & Equipment	Palette or sharpening stone	Haematite	MFA, Boston	A0927
	Su.842a	Su.842a	Organic remains	Coloring matter	Unspecified coloring matter/ pigment	MFA, Boston	
	Su.843	Su.843	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.844	Su.844	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.845	Su.845	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.846	Su.846	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.847	20.3931	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.848	13.4058	Tools & Equipment	Rubber	Lead	MFA, Boston	
	Su.849	Su.849	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.850	13.4213a-b	Furniture	Leaf-shaped inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1049							C4372
	Su.851	20.4747	Vessels	Stem and foot fragment of a blackware vessel	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.852	Su.852	Vessels	Black-topped redware polished beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.853	20.3926	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.854	Su.854	Vessels	Black-topped redware polished beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.855	13.4090	Vessels	Deep cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1050							C4386
	K1050-3	K1050-3	Furniture	Wooden coffin	Wood	Unknown	
	K1050-iv	K1050-iv	Costumes	Rawhide sandals	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.916	20.4037	Vessels	Large shouldered jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.917	20.2958	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.918	Su.918	Vessels	Black-topped redware sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.919	13.4141	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.920	13.4211	Furniture	Inlays from funerary beds or other furniture: ostrich chick	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931
	Su.920	13.4214a	Furniture	Inlay of bee	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931
	Su.920	13.4214b	Furniture	Inlay of bee or wasp	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931
	Su.920	13.4214c	Furniture	Inlay of bee or wasp	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931
	Su.921	Su.921	Furniture	Wooden bed parts	Wood	Unknown	B1810 A0999 A1000
	Su.922	Su.922	Furniture	Footstool	Wood	Unknown	B1810

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1051							C4373
	Su.856	Su.856	Vessels	redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.857	20.3962	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.858	Su.858	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	Su.859	13.4156	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
K1052							C4374
	K1052-29	K1052-29	Furniture	Bed legs	Wood	Unknown	
	K1052-i	K1052-i	Furniture	Mica applique fragment	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.860	Su.860	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1996
	Su.861	20.3228	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.862	Su.862	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1996
	Su.863	13.4071	Vessels	Deep cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.864	20.2950	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.865	20.2953	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.867	20.2954	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.868	20.2925	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.869	Su.869	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1996
	Su.870	Su.870	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1996
	Su.871	13.4096	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.872	13.4068	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.873	Su.873	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1996

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.874	13.4082	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.875	13.4097	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.876	13.4102	Vessels	Spouted black-topped red-polished vessel	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1996
	Su.877	Su.877	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1996
	Su.878	20.2926	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1810 B1996
	Su.879	Su.879	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.880	13.4105	Vessels	Bowl with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.881	Su.881	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.882	13.4067	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.883	Su.883	Vessels	Keneh ware disc cover	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.884	20.3548	Vessels	Globular jar with contents	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.885	13.4070	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.886	Su.886	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1053							A1052 A2518 B1810 B2004 B2055 C4377 C4378 C4402 C4427 C4428 C4457
D	Su.1073	13.4201	Furniture	Figural inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4219a	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ibex	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4219b	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ibex	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4219c	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ibex	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4219d	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ibex	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4219e	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ibex	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4219f	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ibex	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4219g	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ibex	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
D	Su.1073	13.4220a-h	Furniture	Taweret inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4221a	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a hyena	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4221b	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a hyena	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4221c	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a hyena	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4221d	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a hyena	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4221e	Furniture	Hyena inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4222a-g	Furniture	Ivory inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4223a	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4223b	Furniture	Ivory inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4223c	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4223d	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4223e	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810
D	Su.1073	13.4223f	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 B1810

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1074a	13.3997a-d	Furniture	Legs of a folding stool	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1074b	Su.1074b	Furniture	Stool	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.1074c	Su.1074c	Furniture	Stool	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.1075	Su.1075	Organic remains	Pot contents	Organic (?)	MFA, Boston	B2004
	Su.1075	Su.1075	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	B2004
	Su.1076	Su.1076	Vessels	Keneh ware jar with disc lid	Pottery	Unknown	B2004
	Su.1077	13.4265a	Vessels	Bag-shaped flask	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1077	13.4265b	Vessels	Lid from bag-shaped flask	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1078	Su.1078	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1079	13.4008	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A0927
	Su.1080	13.4057	Tools & Equipment	Palette	Stone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1081	13.4101	Vessels	Spouted Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A1004 B2004
	Su.1081	Su.1081	Vessels	Pot-net fragment	String or thread	MFA, Boston	A1004 B2004
	Su.1082	20.2929	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2004
	Su.1083	20.3967	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2004
	Su.1084	20.3953	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2004
	Su.1085	Su.1085	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	B2004

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
D	Su.1086	Su.1086	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Gold armlets	Gold	Unknown	A0926 A0933 A0934
D	Su.1086, Su.1093	13.3988	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Gold	MFA, Boston	
D	Su.1086, Su.1093	13.3989	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Gold	MFA, Boston	
D	Su.1086, Su.1093	13.3990	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Gold	MFA, Boston	
D	Su.1086, Su.1093	13.3991	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Gold	MFA, Boston	
D	Su.1087	13.3970	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	String of blue-glazed quartz beads	Blue-glazed quartz	MFA, Boston	A0930 A0933 A0934 A1006
D	Su.1088	13.3977	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	A1006
D	Su.1088	Su.1088	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Barrel bead	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	A1006
D	Su.1089	Su.1089	Costumes	Leather skirt with beads	Leather and silver	MFA, Boston	A1004

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
D	Su.1090, 13.4196	20.2025	Costumes	Silver headdress	Silver	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1091	Su.1091	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
G	Su.1092	Su.1092	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Ivory bracelet	Ivory	Unknown	
D	Su.1093	Su.1093	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Gold armlets	Gold	Unknown	A0926
D	Su.1094, Su.1095	13.4111	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	String of beads and scarab	Amethyst, steatite, gold carnelian	MFA, Boston	
D	Su.1154	Su.1154	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
D	Su.1154b	Su.1154b	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
K1054							C4379
	Su.887	13.4094	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.887a	Su.887a	Furniture	Wooden bed	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.888	20.2948	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.889	Su.889	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.890	20.2923	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.891	Su.891	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.892	Su.892	Tools & Equipment- Cordage	Plaited thong	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.893	Su.893	Costumes	Mica applique	Mica	Unknown	B1981

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.894	13.4191	Tools & Equipment	Piercer	Bone	MFA, Boston	A0924
	Su.895	20.4615	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.895a	Su.895a	Costumes	Mass of linen	Linen	Unknown	
K1055							C4380
	K1055-5	K1055-5	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.896	13.4078	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.897	Su.897	Vessels	Black-topped bowl	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.898	13.3994	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	A0998
	Su.899	Su.899	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Feathers	MFA, Boston	
K1056							
	Su.938	Su.938	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.939	Su.939	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.940	Su.940	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.941	13.4091	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2005
	Su.942	Su.942	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.943	13.4079	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2005
	Su.943a	Su.943a	Furniture	Footstool	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.944	20.2924	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2005
	Su.945	Su.945	Vessels	Red polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2005
	Su.946	13.4203	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 A1015
	Su.946	13.4210	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0931 A1015

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.947	Su.947	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring and beads	Faience and glazed crystal	MFA, Boston	
	Su.948	13.4181	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	A0924
	Su.949	Su.949	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	Su.950	Su.950	Tools & Equipment	Palette	Haematite	Unknown	A0927
	Su.951	Su.951	Raw materials and by-products	Lead lump	Lead	Unknown	A0927
K1057							B2053 B2056 C4387 C4392
	K1057-1	K1057-1	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	
	K1057-2	K1057-2	Furniture	Wooden bed	Wood	Unknown	
K1058							C4388
	Su.1116	13.4135	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1117	13.4188	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.900	20.3660	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.901	20.4680	Vessels	Miniature jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.902	20.3713	Vessels	Small shouldered squat black polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.903	Su.903	Vessels	Keneh ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.904a-b	Su.904a-b	Personal accessories	Two ostrich feather fans	Feather	MFA, Boston	
K1059							C4389
	Su.905	13.4225	Furniture	Band	Gold	MFA, Boston	
	Su.905a	Su.905a	Tomb equipment	Wooden coffin	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.906	13.4226	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads	Shell, Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.906a	13.4217	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear stud	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.907	Su.907	Tools & Equipment	Awls	Bone	Unknown	
K1060							C4390
	Su.1106	Su.1106	Tools & Equipment- Household	Giraffe-hair handle-cover or strainer	Giraffe hair	Unknown	A1004
	Su.956	20.2622	Vessels	Keneh ware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.957	20.2932	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.958	Su.958	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.959	20.3958	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.960	13.4099	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.961	Su.961	Vessels	Red polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.961a	Su.961a	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	
	Su.962	13.4262	Vessels	Cylindrical bowl	Marble	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.963	Su.963	Vessels	redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
A	Su.964	13.4136	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.965	13.4198	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	MFA, Boston	A0925 B1992
	Su.966	Su.966	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	Unknown	A0924 A1003
	Su.967	13.4193	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	A1003
	Su.968	13.4009	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A0927
K1061							C4393 C4403
	Su.1034	Su.1034	Tools & Equipment	Knife sharpener	Horn	Unknown	
	Su.1034b	Su.1034b	Costumes	Linen	Linen	Unknown	
	Su.1037	13.4110	Seals	Seal	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1009 A1010
	Su.1038	13.4061	Tools & Equipment	Palette	Stone	MFA, Boston	
F	Su.1139	13.4119	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience and carnelian	MFA, Boston	B1811
	Su.1150	Su.1150	Furniture	Wooden bed legs	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.1153	Su.1153	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1157	13.4202	Furniture	Inlay from funerary beds or other furniture: symmetrical animal form	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1015
debris	Su.1157	13.4204	Furniture	Inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1015
E	Su.969a	Su.969a	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	Unknown	
	Su.969b	20.2059	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.970	20.2957	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.971	20.2997	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.972	20.3955	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.973	13.4263a-b	Vessels	Kohl jar with lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.974	20.3613	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A1003 B2003
	Su.975	20.3954	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.976	13.4108a-b	Vessels	Jar	Pottery, bronze, sandstone, and cloth	MFA, Boston	
	Su.976a	Su.976a	Vessels	Pot net	Fiber	Unknown	
B	Su.977	13.4132	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A0930 A1007 A1008

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
P	Su.977 (?)	13.4134	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
E	Su.978	Su.978	Jewelry / Adornment- Pendants	Fly pendant	Bronze	Unknown	A0927
E	Su.979	13.4006	Jewelry / Adornment- Pendants	Fly pendant	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A0927
	Su.980	13.4281	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	B1982 B1985
	Su.980	20.3950	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1982 B1985
	Su.981	13.4011	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A0927
	Su.982	13.4115	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Amethyst, carnelian, faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.983	13.4013	Tools & Equipment- Household	Large spoon/scoop	Wood	MFA, Boston	A0927
	Su.984	Su.984	Vessels	Keneh ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2003
	Su.985	Su.985	Tools & Equipment	Awls	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.986a	20.3957	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.986a	Su.986a	Vessels	Basket cover	Fiber	Unknown	B2003

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.986b	20.2928	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.986c	20.2922	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.986d	20.3949	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
possibly	Su.986e	20.3947	Vessels	Fragments of: Black-topped redware beaker; red polished ribbed vessel; black-topped redware, blackware, and clay stoppers	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2003
	Su.987	13.3992	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Choker	Gold and carnelian	MFA, Boston	A0926
	Su.987a	Su.987a	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
	Su.988	13.4164	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory, organic remains	MFA, Boston	A1003
	Su.988	13.4165	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory, organic remains	MFA, Boston	A1003
	Su.989	13.4215a-b	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Ornament	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.989	13.4216	Furniture	Ivory inlay in shape of lizard	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Su.990 (?)	13.4151	Jewelry / Adornment-Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.991	Su.991	Tools & Equipment	Awls	Bone	Unknown	
K1062							
	Su.1035	Su.1035	Vessels	White-filled black-ware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1036	13.4012	Furniture	One small fragment of headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	A0927
	Su.1036	Su.1036	Furniture	Curved brace with inlay depression	Wood	Unknown	A0927
	Su.1037	Su.1037	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	A1009 A1010
	Su.992	Su.992	Furniture	Bed-leg	Wood	Unknown	B1810 A0999 A1000
	Su.993	Su.993	Vessels	Black-ware pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.994	13.4227	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience, ivory	MFA, Boston	
K1063							C4394
	Su.1039	13.3993a	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	B1810 A0998
	Su.1039	13.3993b	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	B1810 A0998
	Su.1115	Su.1115	Tools & Equipment	Bone awls	Bone	Unknown	
	Su.995	Su.995	Vessels	Fine drab-ware	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.996	20.3948	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.996a	Su.996a	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
C	Su.997	13.3978	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience and amethyst	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
C	Su.997	13.4117	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
C	Su.997	13.4118	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
D	Su.998	Su.998	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
K1064							B2050 B2052 C4395 C4404
B	K1064-14	K1064-14	Costumes	Linen fragments	Linen	Unknown	
	Su.1000	Su.1000	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1001 (?)	13.3995a-b	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1002 (?)	13.3996	Furniture	Headrest		MFA, Boston	
	Su.1003	Su.1003	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fans	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	B1991
	Su.1004	13.4178	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	A1003
	Su.1005	13.4186	Tools & Equipment	Bodkin	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A0924 A1003
A	Su.1006	13.4137	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
B	Su.1007	13.4158	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads		MFA, Boston	
A	Su.1008	Su.1008	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Ivory and copper	Unknown	A0927
	Su.1009	Su.1009	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ostrich shell and wood	Unknown	
	Su.999	20.2942	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1065							C4396 C4429
A	Su.1010	13.4016	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Bronze dagger with wood and ivory handle	Bronze, ivory	MFA, Boston	A0927
A	Su.1011	Su.1011	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	A0998
	Su.1012	Su.1012	Tools & Equipment- Household	Giraffe hair cover or strainer	Giraffe hair	Unknown	A1004
	Su.1013	13.4104	Vessels	Spouted Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1013	20.2940	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1013	20.2945	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1014	20.3512	Vessels	Globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1014a	Su.1014a	Tools & Equipment- Cordage	Pot net	Fiber	Unknown	
	Su.1015	20.3533	Vessels	Globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1015a	Su.1015a	Tools & Equipment-Cordage	Pot net	Fiber	Unknown	
	Su.1016	20.4628	Vessels	Fragments of a small coarseware jar with textured base	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1017	Su.1017	Vessels	Black-ware pot	Pottery	Unknown	B1998
	Su.1018	Su.1018	Vessels	Red-ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1019	20.5010	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
A	Su.1020	13.4120	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
A	Su.1020	13.4123	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1020	13.4126	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1020	Su.1020	Vessels	Stone jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	
	Su.1022	Su.1022	Vessels	Black-ware pot	Pottery	Unknown	B1998
	Su.1023	13.4093	Vessels	Vase	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1024	Su.1024	Vessels	Black-topped red-ware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1998
	Su.1025	13.4098	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1026	13.4100	Vessels	Black-topped red-polished bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1027	Su.1027	Vessels	Black-topped red-ware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1998
	Su.1028	20.2943	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1029	Su.1029	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	A0999 A1000
	Su.1030 (?)	20.4739	Vessels	Fragments of a small polished buffware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1055	Su.1055	Vessels	Red polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	B1998
	Su.1056	Su.1056	Vessels	Black-topped red-ware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1998
	Su.1057	13.4065	Vessels	Deep cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1058	20.2947	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B1998
	Su.1059	Su.1059	Vessels	Black-topped red-ware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B1998
	Su.1060	Su.1060	Organic remains	Woven hair fragments	Hair	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1061 and/or Su.1115	13.4185	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1061 and/or Su.1115	13.4187	Tools & Equipment	Piercer	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1061 and/or Su.1115	13.4192	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1061 and/or Su.1115	Eg.Inv.3756	Tools & Equipment	Fragment of awls	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1156	Su.1156	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
debris	Su.1158	13.4208a-f	Furniture	Ivory inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1014
	Su.1158	13.4209	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1014
	Su.1159	13.4224	Jewelry / Adornment-Bracelets, Armllets	Ivory bracelet	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A1014

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	Su.1160	13.4218	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Ivory or horn	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1161	Su.1161	Organic remains	Shell	Shell	MFA, Boston	
K1066							C4401
	Su.1040	13.4076	Vessels	Miniature beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2000
	Su.1041	Su.1041	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	B2000
	Su.1042	Su.1042	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2000
	Su.1043	Su.1043	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2000
	Su.1044	Su.1044	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2000
	Su.1045	Su.1045	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1046a,b	Su.1046a,b	Vessels	Drab-ware jar with red pot net	Pottery, fiber	Unknown	
	Su.1047	Su.1047	Vessels	Red-polished jar with stone disc-lid	Pottery, stone	Unknown	B2000
	Su.1047a	Su.1047a	Vessels	Red-polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1047b	Su.1047b	Vessels	Red-polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1047c	Su.1047c	Vessels	Keneh-ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1048	Su.1048	Vessels	Red-ware white slipped jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2000
	Su.1049	13.4073	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2000
	Su.1050	13.4092	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2000
	Su.1051	13.4085	Vessels	Deep cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2000
	Su.1052	13.4087	Vessels	Deep cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2000
	Su.1053	13.4063	Vessels	Cup	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2000
	Su.1054	20.2944	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2000
	Su.1124	13.4190	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1124	13.4194	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
floor debris	Su.1143	Su.1143	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Blue glaze, quartzite	Unknown	A1009 A1010
floor debris	Su.1144	Su.1144	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A1009 A1010
floor debris	Su.1145	Su.1145	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Cylinder bead	Silver	Unknown	A1009 A1010
K1067							B2048 B2049 B2051 C4425 C4426
A	K1067-1a	K1067-1a	Personal accessories	Fan and sandals	Leather, ostrich feathers	Unknown	
A	K1067-1b	K1067-1b	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
A	K1067-1c	K1067-1c	Furniture	Bed	Wood	Unknown	
A	Su.1062	Su.1062	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Ivory, wood, bronze	Unknown	
	Su.1063	20.2941	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1064	20.3940	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1065	20.3951	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	Su.1066	20.3963	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1067	20.2949	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1068	20.2946	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Su.1069	Su.1069	Vessels	Red-ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1070	Su.1070	Vessels	Red-ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
A	Su.1071	Su.1071	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beaded girdle	Faience	Unknown	
	Su.1138	13.3969	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace with cylinder amulet case	Crystal, agate, faience, silver	MFA, Boston	A1006
E	Su.1141	13.4139	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
E	Su.1141	Su.1141	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
D	Su.1142	13.4133	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
K1070							C6100
debris	14-3-1046	14.1626	Architectural elements-Tile and inlays	Tile fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-4	14-3-4	Vessels	Red polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2347
	14-3-5	20.2995	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2347
	14-3-6Kerma	14-3-6	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Blue faience and brown faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1072							C6099
	14-3-1000	14-3-1000	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6460
	14-3-1001	20.1430	Textiles	String net		MFA, Boston	B2285
	14-3-1002	20.3960	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6460
	14-3-1003	14-3-1003	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6460
	14-3-1004	14-3-1004	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6460
	14-3-1005	14-3-1005	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1006b	14-3-1006b	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-3-997	20.3445	Vessels	Globular red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6460
	14-3-998	20.2927	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6460
	14-3-999	20.2999	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6460
	15-3-469	15-3-469	Costumes	Leather fragments	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	15-3-470	15-3-470	Costumes	Sandal	Leather	MFA, Boston	
K1073							C6101
	14-3-1	14-3-1	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	A2183
	14-3-2	20.2610	Vessels	Textured coarse ware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2347
	K1073-i	K1073-i	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1074							C6102
	14-3-1007a	14-3-1007a	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-3-1008	14-3-1008	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
	14-3-1009	14-3-1009	Furniture	Bed with thong stringing	Wood, leather	Unknown	
	14-3-1010	14-3-1010	Costumes	Linen sheet and fiber rug	Linen and fiber	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-1011	20.1428	Tools & Equipment-Cordage	Thongs	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	15-3-468	15-3-468	Costumes	Pair of leather women's sandals	Leather	MFA, Boston	
K1075							C6103
	14-3-11	14-3-11	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory	Unknown	B2296
B	14-3-12	14-3-12	Warfare, hunting, & fishing	Throwstick	Wood	Unknown	A2181 A2171 A2172
	14-3-13	20.2993	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6464
B	14-3-14	20.5048	Vessels	Palette fragment	Black stone	MFA, Boston	B2321
B	14-3-15	20.4698	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-16a	14.1449.1	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-16b	14.1449.2	Furniture	One bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-16c	14.1449.3	Furniture	One bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-16d	14.1449.4	Furniture	One bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-18	20.4692	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-19	14-3-19	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6464
	14-3-20	14-3-20	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6464
	14-3-21	20.3037	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6464
	14-3-22	14-3-22	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers fragments	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1076							C6113
	14-3-1013	20.2986	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-3-1014	20.2991	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-3-1015	14-3-1015	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2351
	14-3-1017	20.1387	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2280
	14-3-1018	14-3-1018	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	B2281
	14-3-1018 or 14-3-16	20.2996	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1019	14-3-1019	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2351
	14-3-1020	20.2127	Vessels	Kerma beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-3-1021	14-3-1021	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	
	14-3-1022	14-3-1022	Vessels	Flat basket	Fiber	Unknown	
	14-3-1023	14-3-1023	Costumes	Coarse linen	Linen	Unknown	B2189 B2190
	14-3-1024	14-3-1024	Tools & Equipment- Cordage	Plaited thong	Leather	Unknown	A2178
	14-3-1025	14-3-1025	Vessels	Black-topped sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1026	14-3-1026	Vessels	Black-topped sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	Su.1013 or 14-2-1012	20.2988	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1077							C6111 C6119
	14-3-1047	20.4986	Vessels	Fragments of large jar(s)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6461
	14-3-1048	14-3-1048	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6461
	14-3-1049	14-3-1049	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6461

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-1050	14-3-1050	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6461
	14-3-1051	14-3-1051	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6461
	14-3-1052	14-3-1052	Furniture	Funerary bed	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-1053	14-3-1053	Furniture	Headrest top fragment	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-1054	14-3-1054	Furniture	Foot stool	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-1054a	14-3-1054a	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-3-1055	14-3-1055	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1056	14-3-1056	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1057	14-3-1057	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1058	14-3-1058	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1059	14-3-1059	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1060	14-3-1060	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1061	14-3-1061	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1062	14-3-1062	Vessels	Beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1063	14-3-1063	Vessels	Disc lids	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1064	14-3-1064	Vessels	Black-topped pottery	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1065a	14-3-1065a	Costumes	Mica appliqués	Mica	Unknown	
K1078							C6104
	14-2-1110	20.4594	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2308 B2309
	14-2-1115	20.4977	Vessels	Buff polished globular jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6451
	14-2-1116	14-2-1116	Vessels	Black-topped wide pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1117	14.1416	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience, red stone, white stone, porphyry, fruit	MFA, Boston	A2130

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-1118	14-2-1118	Vessels	Kohl pot	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	B2267
	14-2-1119	14.1417	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1122	20.2989	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6451
	14-2-1123	14-2-1123	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6451
	14-2-1124	20.3965	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1125	20.3966	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1126	14-2-1126	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1127	14-2-1127	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1128	14-2-1128	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6451
	14-2-1129	14-2-1129	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1130	14-2-1130	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1131	14-2-1131	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1132	14-2-1132	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1133	14-2-1133	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1134	14-2-1134	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
Surface debris	14-2-1135.1	14-2-1135.1	Sculpture	Fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
Surface debris	14-2-1135.2	14-2-1135.2	Sculpture	Elbow fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
Surface debris	14-2-1135.3	14-2-1135.3	Sculpture	Miscellaneous fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
Surface debris	14-2-1135.4	14-2-1135.4	Sculpture	Corner fragment of a statue	Graywacke	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
Surface debris	14-2-1135.5	14-2-1135.5	Sculpture	Miscellaneous fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
Surface debris	14-2-1135a	14-2-1135a	Sculpture	Right fist holding staff	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
Surface debris	14-2-1135b	14-2-1135b	Sculpture	Leg fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
Surface debris	14-2-1135c	14.1418	Sculpture	Wig and left ear fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
Surface debris	14-2-1136	14-2-1136	Sculpture	Vessel fragment of an offering statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
K1079							C6105
	14-3-1027	20.3697	Vessels	Small bag-shaped blackware jar with polished red slip	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6462
	14-3-1028	20.2990	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6462
	14-3-1029	14-3-1029	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1040	14-3-1040	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1041	20.3000	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6462
	14-3-1042	20.2998	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6462
	14-3-1043	14-3-1043	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6462
	14-3-1044	14-3-1044	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6462
	14-3-1045	14-3-1045	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Faience	Unknown	
K1080							
	14-3-1067	14-3-1067	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6462
	14-3-1068	20.3001	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6462

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
B	14-3-1069	14-3-1069	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Faience	Unknown	
	14-3-1070	14-3-1070	Vessels	Black-topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
K1081							C6098
	14-3-1067	20.3422	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6462
K1082							
debris	14-3-10	14.1447	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-7	20.4701	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-9	14.1446	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Copper band	Copper	MFA, Boston	A2157
	K1082-i	K1082-i	Vessels	redware jar and black-topped beaker sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1084							C6112
	14-3-23	20.1700	Vessels	Tell el-Yahudiya juglet	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2334 B2343
	14-3-24	20.1705	Vessels	Black-polished bowl with white-filled, incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2341 B2342 C6368
	14-3-25	20.2978	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-26	14-3-26	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	C6368
	14-3-27	20.1385a-b	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2280
	14-3-28	20.1454a-b	Tools & Equipment	Horn protectors	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-29	20.1455	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2296
	14-3-30	14-3-30	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	B2321
A	14-3-31	14-3-31	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads (girdle?)	Faience	Unknown	
	14-3-32	20.1390a-b	Furniture	Bed legs (2)	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2302
	14-3-33	14-3-33	Vessels	Black-topped redware basin	Pottery	Unknown	C6368
	14-3-34	20.2994	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-35	20.2976	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2155 A2156 C6367
	14-3-36	20.3923	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-37	20.2974	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-38	20.3922	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6368
	14-3-39	20.2966	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6368
	14-3-40	14-3-40	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6367
	14-3-41	14-3-41	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6368
	14-3-42	20.2977	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-43	14-3-43	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6367
	14-3-44	20.2975	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-45	20.2963	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-46	20.2979	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-47	20.3623	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6367
	14-3-48	14-3-48	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6367
debris	14-3-49	20.1156	Vessels	Kohl jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2275
	14-3-51	14-3-51	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6367
	14-3-52	14-3-52	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-53	14-3-53	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-54	14-3-54	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-55	20.3961	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker and red polished jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-56	14-3-56	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6368
	14-3-56	14-3-56	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl stick	Wood	Unknown	C6368
	14-3-57	20.4979	Vessels	Globular redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6368
	Unknown	20.4608	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1085							C5971 C6109
A	14-2-1110	20.1558	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze	MFA, Boston	B2308 B2309
B	14-2-1111	20.1439	Textiles	Cloth	Cloth	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1112	20.1709	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2347
	14-2-1113	20.1567	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Feathers	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1094	14-3-1094	Furniture	Base of headrest	Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095	14-3-1095.1	Sculpture	Worked fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095.2	14-3-1095.2	Sculpture	Miscellaneous fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095.3	14-3-1095.3	Sculpture	Worked fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095.4	14-3-1095.4	Sculpture	Worked fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095.5	14-3-1095.5	Sculpture	Interior fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095.6	14-3-1095.6	Sculpture	Interior fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095.7a	14-3-1095.7a	Sculpture	Worked fragment of a statue	Basalt	MFA, Boston	
on surface, intrusive	14-3-1095.7b	14-3-1095.7b	Sculpture	Worked fragment of a statue	Basalt	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1097	14-3-1097	Furniture	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-1098	14-3-1098	Furniture	Wooden funerary bed	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-1114	20.1568	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	MFA, Boston	
K1086							
	14-3-1087	20.2971	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-3-1088	20.2980	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-3-1089	14-3-1089	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger pommel and rivets	Bronze, ivory	Unknown	
	14-3-1090	14-3-1090	Vessels	Potsherds, various types	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-3-1093	20.1457	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ostrich shell and wood	MFA, Boston	B2296
K1087							
	14-3-1099	14-3-1099	Furniture	Bed legs	Wood	Unknown	
Intrusive debris	14-3-1100	14.1628	Sculpture	Arm or leg fragment	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1100	14-3-1100	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K1088							C6131
	14-3-815	14-3-815	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6371
	14-3-815 / 1955,0212.12	EA65588	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-816	14.1598	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6371
	14-3-817	20.3416	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6373
	14-3-818	14.1599	Vessels	Black topped beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6371
	14-3-819	20.3388	Vessels	Globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6371

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-820	14-3-820	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6373
	14-3-821	14.1600	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6371
	14-3-822	14-3-822	Tools & Equipment	Giraffe-hair strainer	Giraffe hair	Unknown	
	14-3-823	14.1601	Vessels	Round bottom pot	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6371
A	14-3-824	14-3-824	Costumes	Sandals	Raw hide	Unknown	A2183
B	14-3-825	14-3-825	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze, ivory, wood, leather	Unknown	B2311
	14-3-826	14.1602	Vessels	Globular jar with incised neck	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6371
B	14-3-827	20.1458a-b	Costumes	Pair of sandals	Elephant hide	MFA, Boston	B2318
A	14-3-828	14-3-828	Jewelry / Adornment	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
B	14-3-829	14.1603	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience, copper, mica, wood, organic fiber/textile	MFA, Boston	
B	14-3-830	20.1756	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	A2161
B	14-3-831	20.1740	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Gold ring beads	Gold	MFA, Boston	A2133 A2138
B	14-3-832	14-3-832	Jewelry / Adornment	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
B	14-3-833	14-3-833	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	B2321 B2322
	14-3-834	14.1604	Organic remains	Grain husks	Grain	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-834?	Eg.Inv.3788	Tools & Equipment	Leather net	Leather	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	K1088-20	K1088-20	Costumes	Funerary bed	Bronze, ivory, wood, leather	Unknown	
A	K1088-none	K1088-none	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Giraffe-hair necklace	Giraffe hair	Unknown	
K1089							C6133
	14-3-1102	14-3-1102	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-1103	20.3540	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1103a	14-3-1103a	Furniture	Funerary bed	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-1104	20.4643	Vessels	redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K1090							
	14-3-1118	20.4725	Vessels	Fragments of a small globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6464
	14-3-1119	14-3-1119	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6464
B	14-3-1120	14-3-1120	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
E, head	14-3-1121	14-3-1121	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1122	20.4677	Vessels	Buffware vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1122 or 14-3-1125	20.4644	Vessels	redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1123	14-3-1123	Vessels	Black-topped jar with spout	Pottery	Unknown	C6464
	14-3-1124	14-3-1124	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1125	14-3-1125	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-3-1126	20.1480	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger - blade	Bronze and Copper	MFA, Boston	B2307 B2312
debris	14-3-1128	14.1629	Vessels	Alabaster vessel fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2266
	14-3-758	20.1553a	Furniture	Fox inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-758	20.1553b	Furniture	Fox inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-758	20.1553c	Furniture	Fox inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-758	20.2099	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-758, 14-3-759, 14-3-760, 14-3-761, 14-3-762	20.1554a-e	Furniture	Inlay pieces	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-758, 14-3-759, 14-3-760, 14-3-761, 14-3-762	20.1555	Furniture	Tree inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-759	20.1552 /	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-761	20.1556	Furniture	Gazelle and donkey inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-763, 14-3-1127	20.1755	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	
K1091							C6132
	14-3-1129	14-3-1129	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-3-1130	20.3715	Vessels	Small globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2364

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-1131	14-3-1131	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
B	14-3-1132	14-3-1132	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
C	14-3-1133	14-3-1133	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Circlet	Faience	Unknown	
C	14-3-1133a	14-3-1133a	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
D	14-3-1133b	14-3-1133b	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
E	14-3-1133c	14-3-1133c	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather	Unknown	
K1092							C6134
	14-3-1134	14-3-1134	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1135	20.3418	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1137	14-3-1137	Vessels	Large pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1138	14-3-1138	Vessels	Large pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1139	14-3-1139	Vessels	Large pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1140	20.5051	Vessels	Conical jar stopper	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1141	20.5050	Vessels	Conical jar stopper	Clay/mud	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1142	14-3-1142	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1143	14-3-1143	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1144	14-3-1144	Vessels	Large pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-1145	14-3-1145	Vessels	Enormous basin	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1093							C6135 C6138
	14-3-1075	14-3-1075	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger pommel	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-3-1076	14-3-1076	Vessels	Black-topped jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6459
B	14-3-1077	14-3-1077	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Awl	Ivory	Unknown	B2329
B	14-3-1078	14-3-1078	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-1079	20.2982	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
	14-3-1080	20.2987	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
	14-3-1081	20.2985	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
	14-3-1082	20.3628	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
K1094							
	14-3-1146	20.2992	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2351
	14-3-1147	14-3-1147	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2351
	14-3-1148	14-3-1148	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2351
K1095							
debris	14-3-1149	14-3-1149	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience and shell	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-3-1150	20.1399	Tools & Equipment	Horn sharpener	Wood	MFA, Boston	A2181 A2171 A2172
debris	14-3-1150a	14-3-1150a	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
debris	14-3-1150b	14-3-1150b	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Round stela	Stone	Unknown	
debris	14-3-770	20.1456	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector cap	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2296
debris	14-3-770	14-3-770	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector pair	Wood, ostrich eggshell	Unknown	B2296
	14-3-771	20.1549	Furniture	Ostrich inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-771	20.1550a-c	Furniture	Ostrich inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-772	20.1551	Furniture	Tree inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K1096							C6136 C6137 C6144
	14-3-696	14-3-696	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6370
	14-3-697 / 1922,0513.2 1	EA55432	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-698 / 1922,0513.7	EA55418	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-699	14-3-699	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6372
	14-3-700	14-3-700	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6372

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-701 / 1922,0513.6	EA55417	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
C	14-3-702 / 1922,0513.20	EA55431	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-703	14.1593	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Leather fragments and ring beads	Shell and leather	MFA, Boston	C6372
	14-3-703	14-3-703	Vessels	Cup	Pottery	Unknown	C6372
	14-3-704	20.1566	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger with inscribed pommel	Bronze or copper and ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-705	14-3-705	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-3-706	20.1321	Furniture	Bird inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-707	20.1322	Furniture	Bird inlay	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-3-708	20.1323	Furniture	Bustard inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-708, 20.1323	20.2097	Architectural elements	Ivory Inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-709	20.1324	Furniture	Bustard inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-710	20.1325	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-711	20.1327	Furniture	Ostrich inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-712	20.1328	Furniture	Ostrich inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-713	20.1329	Furniture	Inlay in the form of an ostrich	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-714	20.1330	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-715	20.1331	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-716	20.1332	Furniture	Bed inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-717	20.1333	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-718	20.1334	Furniture	Ostrich inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-719	20.1335	Furniture	Ostrich inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-720	20.1336	Furniture	Giraffe inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-721	20.1337	Furniture	Giraffe inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-722	20.1338	Furniture	Giraffe inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-723	20.1339	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2157
	14-3-724	20.1340	Furniture	Giraffe inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-725	20.1341	Furniture	Giraffe inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-726	20.1342	Furniture	Giraffe inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-727	20.1343	Furniture	Inlay piece, Giraffe	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-728	20.1344	Furniture	Bed inlay, giraffe	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-729, 20.1345	20.2098	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-729, 20.2098	20.1345	Furniture	Bed inlay in the form of an ostrich chick	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-730	20.1346	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-731	20.1347	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-732	20.1348	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-733	20.1349	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-734	20.1350	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-735	20.1351	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-736	20.1352	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-737	20.1353	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-738, 14-3-739, 14-3-740, 14-3-742, 14-3-743	20.1548a-d	Furniture	Ostrich chick inlays and fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-741	20.1326	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-744	20.1157	Vessels	Concave-sided beaker	Stone	MFA, Boston	B2269
	14-3-745	14-3-745	Furniture	Wooden chair leg	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-746	14-3-746	Furniture	Wooden chair leg	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-747	20.1482	Organic remains	Leather chair seat	Leather	MFA, Boston	B2317
D	14-3-748, 14.1593	14-3-748	Costumes	Leather skirt	Leather and shell	Unknown	
	14-3-749	14-3-749	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan fragments	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-3-750	14-3-750	Furniture	Wooden chair legs (2)	Wood	Unknown	
	14-3-751	14-3-751	Seals	Double crocodile seal	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	B2181 B2182
	14-3-752	14-3-752	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience and glazed quartzite	Unknown	A2121 A2124 A2128
debris	14-3-753	14.1594	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Glass	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-754	20.1738	Jewelry / Adornment-Amulets	Claw amulet	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2115 A2116
	14-3-755	14-3-755	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6370
	14-3-756	14-3-756	Vessels	Black topped redware sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-757	14-3-757	Seals	Jar stopper	Mud	Unknown	
	See alternate number remarks: 14-3-706 to 14-3-743	20.2028	Furniture	Bustard inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K1097							
A	14-3-1071	20.2964	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
A	14-3-1072	20.2611	Vessels	Textured coarse ware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
	14-3-1073	20.2984	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459 B2187
	14-3-1074	20.3602	Vessels	Squat jar with string pot net	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6459
K1099							
debris	14-3-1185	14.1549	Vessels	Fragment of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1185	14.1632	Vessels	Fragments of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1186	14.1633	Sculpture	White crown(?) fragment	Graywacke	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1187	14-3-1187	Furniture	Wooden bed leg	Wood	Unknown	
debris	14-3-1188	20.3621	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1199	20.4617	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar and beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2366
debris	14-3-1202, 14-3-1203	20.4730	Vessels	Black-topped redware vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1204	20.3878	Vessels	Fragments of a black polished vessel with incised white-filled decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1205	20.4664	Vessels	Buffware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1205a	20.5037	Vessels	Lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1209a	14.1634.1	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1209b	14.1634.2	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-3-1209c	14.1634.3	Architectural elements-Tile and inlays	Tile fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-1209d / 1922,0513.50	EA55460	Vessels	Faience Vessel	Faience	British Museum	
KIV							
K402							C5802
	13-12-108	20.3939	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K403							C5801 C5803
A	13-12-177	13-12-177	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
A	13-12-177a	13-12-177a	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Leather skirt	Faience	Unknown	
	13-12-178	20.1409	Costumes	Woven ring	Leather	MFA, Boston	
K405							C5807
B	13-12-112	20.3417	Vessels	Large globular redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
B	13-12-113	20.3009	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6211
debris	13-12-114	20.4578	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6211
debris	13-12-115	13-12-115	Vessels	Alabaster jar fragment	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	B2131

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	13-12-116	20.1229	Vessels	Bowl	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2176 A2177 A2017 A2018
debris	13-12-117b.1	13-12-117b.1	Sculpture	Base fragment of a statue	Graywacke	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-117b.2	13-12-117b.2	Sculpture	Right foot of a striding figure	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-117b.3	13-12-117b.3	Sculpture	Corner fragment of a statue	Granodiorite or diorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-117b.4	13-12-117b.4	Sculpture	Head or back of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-117b.5 (?)	20.1196c	Sculpture	Left arm of a striding figure	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-117b.6	13.5700	Sculpture	Inscribed corner fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-118	13-12-118	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-93	13-12-93	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Plaque seal	Steatite, glazed	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149
K406							C5804
	13-12-100	13-12-100	Vessels	redware pot	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-102	13-12-102	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Glazed Quartzite	Unknown	A2118
	13-12-103	13.5703	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-104	13-12-104	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-106	13-12-106	Vessels	Faience vessel fragment	Faience	Unknown	A2019 A2020 A2173
	13-12-97	13-12-97	Vessels	Black-topped redware pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6212
	13-12-98	20.3003	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6212
	13-12-99	20.4901	Vessels	Mixed black-topped redware and red polished vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2035 C6212
K407							C5808
	13-12-119	13-12-119	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-120	13-12-120	Vessels	Blackware pot	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6185
	13-12-121	13-12-121	Vessels	Blackware pot	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6185
debris	13-12-122	20.1501	Furniture	Inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-94 / 20.1530	20.2100	Furniture	Lion inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-94 / 20.2100	20.1530	Furniture	Lion inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-95	13.5701	Furniture	Inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-95	13-12-95	Furniture	rosette inlay			

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K409							
	13-12-123	20.3020	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6185
debris	13-12-125	13.5704	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-126	13-12-126	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-127	13-12-127	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	13-12-128	13-12-128	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	Unknown	
K410							C5813
	13-12-164	13-12-164	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6187
	13-12-165	13-12-165	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6187
	13-12-166	13-12-166	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6187
	13-12-167	20.3013	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6187
	13-12-168	20.3004	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6187
	13-12-169	13-12-169	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6187
	13-12-170	20.3005	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6187
	13-12-171	13-12-169	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6187
	13-12-172	20.3368	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6187 C6197
body A, under head	13-12-173	13-12-173	Jewelry / Adornment-Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ring beads	Faience	Unknown	
body A, under head	13-12-174	20.1784	Jewelry / Adornment-Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Two ear studs	Ivory	MFA, Boston	C6427

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
body A, under head	13-12-175	20.1810	Tools & Equipment	Tweezers	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2036 A2157
	13-12-176	13.5707	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
K411							C5812 C5825
debris, E end	13-12-140	13-12-140	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience	Unknown	A2126
debris, E end	13-12-141	20.1749	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	A2164
	13-12-142	20.3015	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-143	20.3972	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-144	13-12-144	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2198
	13-12-145	20.3008	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-145	20.4647	Vessels	Fragments of a globular red polished jar with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-146	13-12-146	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6184
	13-12-147	13-12-147	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6184
	13-12-148	20.3006	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6184
	13-12-149	13-12-149	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6184
	13-12-150	20.3971	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-151	20.3012	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-152	20.3011	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-153	20.3876	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-154	20.3007	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-155	20.3016	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-156	20.3014	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
	13-12-157	20.3010	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198
debris, E end	13-12-158	13.5705	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
debris, E end	13-12-160	13.5706	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2022
	13-12-263	20.3779	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-264	20.3775	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2198 C6188
debris, E end	13-12-265	13-12-265	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience	Unknown	A2118
debris, E end	13-12-266	20.1760	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Stone	MFA, Boston	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
K412							C5810
	13-12-179	13-12-179	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K414							C5814 C5815 C5821 C5822
	13-12-184	20.3640	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-185	20.2955	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-186	20.3053	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-187	20.3030	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-188	20.3051	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-189	20.3029	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-190	20.3049	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2118 B2201
	13-12-191	20.3050	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-192	20.3052	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-193	20.3031	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-194	20.3054	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-195	13-12-195	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2201
	13-12-196	20.3048	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2201
	13-12-197	13-12-197	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2173
	13-12-198	13-12-198	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	Unknown	
13-12-199	13-12-199	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear stud	Ivory	Unknown	C6427	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	13-12-200	13-12-200	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear stud	Faience	Unknown	C6427
E	13-12-201	13-12-201	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Beads	Faience and shell	Unknown	
	13-12-202	13.5708	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Leather object	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-203	13.5709	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Shell, faience	MFA, Boston	A2140
	13-12-204	13-12-204	Vessels	Keneh ware and other pot sherds	Pottery	Unknown	B2145
B	13-12-221	EA55446	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	British Museum	
B	13-12-221	EA55447	Tools & Equipment	Bone tool	Bone	British Museum	
K415							C5816 C5820
	13-12-207	20.3394	Vessels	Globular Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
B	13-12-207a	13-12-207a	Costumes	Beaded circlet	Faience	Unknown	
	13-12-208	13-12-208	Furniture	Bed stringing	Raw hide	Unknown	
	13-12-209	20.1410	Textiles	Cloth or beer strainer	Giraffe hair?	MFA, Boston	A2179 B2189 B2190
	13-12-210	13-12-210	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	13-12-211	13-12-211	Costumes	Sandals	Raw hide	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-212	13-12-212	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	
	13-12-213	13-12-213	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	
K416							C5817
A	13-12-205	20.3269	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
A	13-12-206	13-12-206	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
K417							C5819
A	13-12-222	13-12-222	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid or plaque seal	Ivory	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
A	13-12-223	EA55448	Tools & Equipment	Bone tool	Bone	British Museum	
A	13-12-224	20.1715	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded necklace (?)	Faience and amethyst	MFA, Boston	A2130
A	13-12-225	20.4659	Vessels	Red polished jar fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2347
A	13-12-226	20.4518	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K420							C5826
	13-12-267 / 1955,0212.1	EA65577	Vessels	Spouted jar	Pottery	British Museum	
	13-12-268	20.3916	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker and black polished jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-269	20.4523	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-270	20.3022	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-271	20.4519	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-272	20.3023	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-273	20.3036	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-274	20.3017	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-275	20.3367	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202 C6201
	13-12-276	20.3585	Vessels	Squat bag-shaped marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202 C6198
	13-12-277	20.3024	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-278	20.3968	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-279	20.4525	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-280	20.3974	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-281	13-12-281	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2202
	13-12-282	20.3018	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-283	20.3027	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-284	20.3021	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6268
	13-12-285	20.3026	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6268
	13-12-286	20.3055	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-286	20.4520	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-287	20.3934	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-288	20.4528	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6189
	13-12-289	20.3019	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6189
	13-12-290	20.4585	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-291	13-12-291	Vessels	Wide pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6265 C6384
	13-12-292	20.4527	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-293	20.4532	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2202
	13-12-295	20.3025	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6268
	13-12-296	20.3973	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6268
debris	13-12-298	20.1460a-b	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze or copper and wood	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-299	13.5720	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Mud object	Mud	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-300	13-12-300	Unclassifiable objects-Fragments	Horn fragment	Horn	Unknown	
	13-12-301	13.5721	Architectural elements-Tile and inlays	Tile fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
legs of A, from B?	13-12-302	13-12-302	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
C	13-12-303	13-12-303	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-12-297	20.1683	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Bracelet	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K421							B2239 C5828
	13-12-421	13-12-421	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2224
	13-12-422	20.3045	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-423	20.3038	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-424	20.3044	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-425	20.3062	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-426	20.3032	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-427	20.3041	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-428	2000.817	Vessels	Tulip beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-429	20.3046	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-430	20.3039	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-431	20.3042	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-432	13-12-432	Vessels	Large jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2173
inside find 12	13-12-433	20.3033	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
debris	13-12-434	20.3856	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2133 A2138 B2224
debris	13-12-435	20.3040	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-436	20.4529	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
debris	13-12-437	20.3043	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
debris	13-12-438	20.3034	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
debris	13-12-438	20.4522	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-439	20.3756	Vessels	Tall beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
	13-12-440	20.3366	Vessels	Globular jar with contents	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2224
debris	13-12-441	20.4631	Vessels	redware jar fragments (with white wash/slip)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-441	20.4646	Vessels	Fragments of incised black-topped redware jar with textured base	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	13-12-443	13.5749	Vessels	Fragment of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-444	13-12-444	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Gold beads from beaded tunic?	Gold	Unknown	
	13-12-445	13-12-445	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Glazed crystal balls from beaded tunic (?)	Crystal, glazed	Unknown	B2239
possibly K421	13-12-446 (?)	Eg.Inv.1984	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads from beaded tunic?	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-447	13-12-447	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Shell beads from beaded tunic?	Shell	Unknown	
debris	13-12-448	13.5750	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads and amulet	Carnelian, faience, garnet	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-449	13-12-449	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Earstud	Faience	Unknown	C6427 A2140
	13-12-485	13-12-485	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	B2278
	K421-i	K421-i	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Parts of wooden bed	Wood	Unknown	
K422							C5827
	13-12-380	13-12-380	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery and travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	C6385
	13-12-381	13-12-381	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Faience	Unknown	A2168
	13-12-382	13-12-382	Furniture	Bed legs	Wood	Unknown	
	13-12-383	13-12-383	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	A2030
	13-12-384	13-12-384	Personal accessories	Miscellaneous sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K423							C5852
	13-12-731	20.3799	Vessels	Large Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2365
inside 1 (pot)	13-12-732	20.3047	Vessels	Incised Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2365
	13-12-733	20.1717	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Quartz crystal	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-734	13-12-734	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory	Unknown	B2295

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K424							C5851
	13-12-698	20.2602	Vessels	redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6270
	13-12-699	20.2598	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6270
	13-12-700	20.3601	Vessels	Polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6270
	13-12-701	20.3059	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6270
	13-12-702	20.3035	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6270
	13-12-703	13.5780	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-730	13-12-730	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-972	13-12-972	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze and ivory and wood	MFA, Boston	B2310
K425							C5855
	13-12-759	13-12-759	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	
A	13-12-760	20.1564a-b	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze, wood or bone, ivory, cloth and possibly hair	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-761	13-12-761	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-762	13-12-762	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-763	13-12-763	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-764	13-12-764	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-765	13-12-765	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-766	13-12-766	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-767	13-12-767	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-768	13-12-768	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-769	13-12-769	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-770	20.3056	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2225
	13-12-771	13-12-771	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-772	13-12-772	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-773	13-12-773	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-774	13-12-774	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-775	13-12-775	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-776	13-12-776	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-777	13-12-777	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2225
	13-12-778	20.3105	Vessels	Miniature Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2225
D	13-12-779	13-12-779	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze, Ivory, Wood	Unknown	B2310
	13-12-780	20.1392a-b	Furniture	Pair of bed legs	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2301
	13-12-781	20.1393	Furniture	One bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2301
K426							C5856
	13-12-704	13-12-704	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-705	20.3504	Vessels	Globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-706	13-12-706	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2223
	13-12-707	20.3084	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-708	20.3060	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-709	20.3087	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-710	20.3080	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-711	20.3058	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-712	20.3066	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-713	20.3836	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-714	20.4548	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-715	20.3086	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-716	20.3028	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-717	20.4531	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-718	20.4530	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
A	13-12-719	13-12-719	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze and ivory and wood	Unknown	B2311
A	13-12-719a	13-12-719a	Jewelry / Adornment-Bracelets, Armlets	Ivory armlets	Ivory	Unknown	
A	13-12-720	20.1750	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	
A	13-12-721	13-12-721	Costumes	Mica ornaments	Mica	Unknown	A2164
	13-12-722	13.5781	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
A	13-12-723	20.1668	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace of disk beads	Silver	MFA, Boston	C6436
	13-12-724	13-12-724	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	B2223

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-725	20.3081	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-726	20.3075	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-727	20.3085	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-728	20.4524	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
	13-12-729	20.4526	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2223
K427							C5857
B	13-12-751	13-12-751	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze and ivory and wood	Unknown	B2310
	13-12-752	13-12-752	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6269
	13-12-753	13-12-753	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6269
	13-12-754	13-12-754	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6269
B	13-12-755	13-12-755	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	MFA, Boston	
B	13-12-755	20.1406	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	MFA, Boston	
A	13-12-756	13-12-756	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beaded necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-757	13.5784	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beaded necklace	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
B	13-12-758	13.5785	Jewelry / Adornment-Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Earstud	Ivory	MFA, Boston	C6427 A2140

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K428							C5858
	13-12-735	20.1559	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Bronze dagger	Bronze and ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-736	13-12-736	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-737	13-12-737	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-738	13-12-738	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-739	13-12-739	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-740	13-12-740	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-741	13-12-741	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-742	13-12-742	Vessels	Black-topped redware spouted beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-743	13-12-743	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-744	13-12-744	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-745	13-12-745	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-746	13-12-746	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-747	13-12-747	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6285
	13-12-748	13.5782	Tools & Equipment	Awls	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-749	13.5783	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-750	13-12-750	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	Unknown	
K429							C5872
	13-12-1009	13-12-1009	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ball beads	Blue glazed quartz	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-1010	13-12-1010	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	B2303
	13-12-1011	13-12-1011	Costumes	Sandal thong	Leather	Unknown	
	13-12-949	13-12-949	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-950	13-12-950	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6284
	13-12-951	13-12-951	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283 C6288
	13-12-952	13-12-952	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6284
	13-12-953	13-12-953	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-954	13-12-954	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-955	13-12-955	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283 C6288
	13-12-956	13-12-956	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-957	13-12-957	Vessels	Alabaster jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	A2030 B2267
	13-12-958	13-12-958	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-959	13-12-959	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-960	13-12-960	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6263
	13-12-961	20.1131	Vessels	Tall shouldered jar with neck and lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	A2030 B2267
	13-12-962	13-12-962	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-963	13-12-963	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-964	13-12-964	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283 C6288
	13-12-965 / 1922,0513.5	EA55416	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	British Museum	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-966	13-12-966	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6284
	13-12-967	13-12-967	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-968	13-12-968	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	A2024 C6283
	13-12-969	13.5104	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-969	13-12-969	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-970	13-12-970	Vessels	Bowl	Pottery	Unknown	C6283
	13-12-971	13-12-971	Vessels	Spouted bowl	Pottery	Unknown	C6284 C6288
K430							C5870 C5871 C5873 C5878 C5890
	13-12-1000	20.4549	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-1001	20.4547	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-1002	20.3083	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-1003	13-12-1003	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
debris	13-12-1004	13-12-1004	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beaded tunic (?) fragments	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-1005	13-12-1005	Tools & Equipment	Giraffe hair handle cover / beer strainer ?	Giraffe hair	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	13-12-1006	13.5799	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2291
debris	13-12-1007	13-12-1007	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet fragments	Ivory	Unknown	B2291
debris	13-12-1008	13-12-1008	Tomb equipment	Bone awls	Bone	Unknown	
	13-12-973	20.1565a-c	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Fragments of dagger	Bronze and ivory and wood	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-973a	13-12-973a	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded tunic (?) fragments	Faience	Unknown	
	13-12-974	13-12-974	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	B2314
	13-12-975	20.1491	Organic remains	Coiled hair mass / beer strainer ?	Giraffe hair	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-976	13-12-976	Costumes	Pair of sandals	Raw hide	Unknown	A2167
	13-12-977	20.4550	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-978	20.4554	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-979	13-12-979	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2231
	13-12-980	20.4612	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6259 C6266 C6276
	13-12-981	20.3076	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-982	20.4545	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-983	20.3061	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-984	20.3078	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-985	20.3072	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-986(?)	20.3073	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-987	20.3074	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-988	20.4546	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-989	13-12-989	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6276
	13-12-990	20.4553	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-991	20.3077	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-992	20.3071	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-993	20.3079	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-994	20.4551	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2031 B2231
	13-12-995	20.4544	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-996	20.3082	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-997	20.4552	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2231
	13-12-998	13-12-998	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-999	20.4667	Vessels	Fragment of redware vessel with buff slip	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-1-68	14.1016	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2035
K431							C5874
A	13-12-1018	13-12-1018	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6298
A	13-12-1019	13-12-1019	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6298
K432							C5875
A	13-12-1020	13-12-1020	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze and ivory	Unknown	B2311
A	13-12-1020a	13-12-1020a	Costumes	Cloth fragments	Cloth	Unknown	
A	13-12-1021	13-12-1021	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-1022	20.3700	Vessels	Small squat bag-shaped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
	13-12-1023	20.3495	Vessels	Globular red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2352
A	13-12-1024	13-12-1024	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
A	13-12-1025	13-12-1025	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2352
K433							C5876 C5879 C5889
	14-1-43	20.4682	Vessels	Fragments of a small squat globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6273
	14-1-44	14-1-44	Raw materials and by-products	Lump of mineral color	Unspecified coloring matter/ pigment	Unknown	A2031

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-45	20.1134a-c	Vessels	Kohl jar, lid and stick	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2275 A2030
	14-1-46	14.995	Raw materials and by-products	Cosmetic matter fragments (kohl?)	Unclassified cosmetic material	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-47	20.3065	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-48	20.2981	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-49	20.4540	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-50	20.3070	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-51	20.4589	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-52	20.2965	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-54	20.3063	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-55	20.3068	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6272
	14-1-56	20.3069	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6273
	14-1-57	20.3064	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6273
	14-1-58	20.1445	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protector fragments	Ivory, wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-59	14-1-59	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Horn protector fragment	Ostrich shell	MFA, Boston	A2035
	14-1-60	14-1-60	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-61	14.1007	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-62	14-1-62	Tools & Equipment	Palette	Stone	MFA, Boston	A2031 B2327

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-63	14-1-63	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger pommel	Ivory	Unknown	
K434							C5877
	13-12-1012	20.3328	Vessels	Globular redware jar with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6275
	13-12-1013	20.1163	Vessels	Cover	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	C6275
	13-12-1013	20.3515	Vessels	Shouldered marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6275
	13-12-1014	20.1391a-d	Furniture	Four legs of a chair	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-1015	13-12-1015	Tools & Equipment	Bone point	Bone	Unknown	
	13-12-1016	20.3964	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6275
	13-12-1017	13-12-1017	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Silver or copper	Unknown	C6436
K435							C5880 C5881 C5888 C5896
	14-1-104	14-1-104	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-105	14-1-105	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-106	14-1-106	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-1-107	14-1-107	Costumes	Sandals	Leather	Unknown	
	14-1-108	14-1-108	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-109	14-1-109	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6354
	14-1-110	14-1-110	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-111	14-1-111	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6354
	14-1-112	14-1-112	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-113	14-1-113	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6354
	14-1-114	14-1-114	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-115	14-1-115	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-116	14-1-116	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-117	14-1-117	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6354
	14-1-118	14-1-118	Costumes	Giraffe mica ornaments	Mica		A2169
A	14-1-119	14-1-119	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded circlet	Faience	Unknown	
B	14-1-120	14-1-120	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-121	14-1-121	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6262 C6352
	14-1-122	14-1-122	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-123	14-1-123	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6352
	14-1-124	14-1-124	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Bronze plate	Bronze	Unknown	
debris	14-1-125	14.1032	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	B2319
	14-1-126	14-1-126	Textiles	Ostrich feather textile	Cloth and ostrich feathers	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-127	14-1-127	Costumes	Sandals	Raw hide	Unknown	
debris	14-1-128	14.1033	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Amulet bead	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
K436							C5883
	14-1-30	20.3652	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6353
	14-1-31	14-1-31	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6353
	14-1-32	14-1-32	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6353
	14-1-33	20.3959	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6353
	14-1-34	14-1-34	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6353
	14-1-35	20.3104	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6353
	14-1-36	14-1-36	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers, fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6353
	14-1-37	20.3158	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6353
	14-1-38	20.4619	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6353
	14-1-39	20.1443a-b	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Two bracelets	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K437							C5884 C5891
	14-1-41	EA55440	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	British Museum	
	14-1-41	EA55438	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	British Museum	
	14-1-42	14-1-42	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear studs	Ivory	Unknown	A2140

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	K437-ii	K437-ii	Personal accessories	Plaited fiber	Fiber	Unknown	
K438							C5882 C5897
	14-1-100	20.3089	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-101	20.3092	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-102	20.3101	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-103	20.3103	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-103	14-1-103	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2230
A	14-1-129	14-1-129	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-80	14-1-80	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze and ivory	Unknown	B2311
	14-1-81	20.3908	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-82	14-1-82	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2230
	14-1-83	20.4586	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-84	14-1-84	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2230
	14-1-85	20.3094	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-86	14-1-86	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-87	20.3800	Vessels	Large Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6274
	14-1-88	20.3099	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-89	14-1-89	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-90	20.3095	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-91	20.3088	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-92	20.3093	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-93	20.3097	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-94	20.3100	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-95	20.3091	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-96	20.3096	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-97	20.3098	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-98	20.3090	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
	14-1-99	20.3102	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2230
K439							C5907 C5908 C5909 C5910 C5911
		20.2126	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory, organic remains	MFA, Boston	
maybe		Eg.Inv.3748	Furniture	Bed inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
		Eg.Inv.3749	Furniture	Bed inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
		Eg.Inv.3753	Furniture	Tree inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-?	20.3111	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
C (?)	14-1-1	20.1529	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-164	20.3890	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-165	20.2034	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-166	20.3891	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-167	20.2118	Vessels	Miniature beaker	Ceramic	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-167	20.3108	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-168	20.2119	Vessels	Black topped beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309
	14-1-169	14-1-169	Vessels	Black topped beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-170	20.2120	Vessels	Black-polished spouted beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6365
	14-1-171	20.1135	Vessels	Straight sided beaker	Granite	MFA, Boston	A2030 B2269
	14-1-172	20.3761	Vessels	Small bowl/lid with decorative tab handles	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-173	14-1-173	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-174	14-1-174	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-175	20.3889	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309
	14-1-176	14-1-176	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-177	14-1-177	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-178	20.2121	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-179	14-1-179	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-180	20.3112	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309
	14-1-181	20.2122	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309
	14-1-182	14-1-182	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-183	14-1-183	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-184	20.1136	Vessels	Stone cylindrical jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	A2030 B2269
	14-1-185	20.4666	Vessels	Buffware vessel fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-186	20.2035	Vessels	Tall bag-shaped jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235 C6318
	14-1-186	20.5000	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235 C6318
	14-1-187	20.3110	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-188	20.2036	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-189	20.2123	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-190	14-1-190	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-191	14-1-191	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-192	20.3887	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6305
	14-1-193	14-1-193	Vessels	Alabaster jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	A2030 B2270
	14-1-194	20.3107	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235 C6318
	14-1-194	20.3546	Vessels	Globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235 C6318
	14-1-194	20.2037	Vessels	Vessel lid	Ceramic	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-195	20.3124	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-196	14-1-196	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-197	14-1-197	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-198	14-1-198	Vessels	Graphite	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-198a	20.2038	Vessels	Miniature beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-199	20.3109	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
C (?)	14-1-2	20.1528	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-200	14-1-200	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-201	14-1-201	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-202	14-1-202	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-203	20.3106	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2235
	14-1-204	20.3892	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6305
	14-1-205	20.4533	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309
	14-1-206	14-1-206	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6305
	14-1-206 & 14-1-208	20.2124	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-207	14-1-207	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-208	14-1-208	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-209	14-1-209	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-210	20.3888	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6309

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-211	14-1-211	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-212	14-1-212	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6305
	14-1-213	14-1-213	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-214	14-1-214	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	B2235
	14-1-215	14-1-215	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6309
	14-1-216	20.2125	Vessels	Miniature black-topped bowl	Ceramic	MFA, Boston	B2235
B	14-1-217	14-1-217		Scarab	Faience, gold	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
B	14-1-218	14-1-218	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Sphinx amulets	Carnelian	Unknown	C6394 C6395
A	14-1-219	14-1-219	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience and glazed quartzite	Unknown	A2120 A2123 A2127 A2132 A2135 A2118

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	14-1-220	20.1669	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Silver beads	Silver	MFA, Boston	C6436
A	14-1-221	14-1-221	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Discoid bead	Silver	Unknown	A2133 A2138
A	14-1-222	14-1-222	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Stone	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149
A	14-1-223	14.1040	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-224	20.1354	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148
B	14-1-225	20.1355	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-226	20.1356	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-227	20.1357	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-228	20.1358	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-229	20.1512	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-229, Original accession number: 20.1512	20.2108	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a vulture	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-230	20.1513	Furniture	Fragmentary vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
B	14-1-230, Original accession number: 20.1359	20.2041	Furniture	Two-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-231	20.1511	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-232	14-1-232	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	Unknown	
B	14-1-233	14-1-233	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	Unknown	
B	14-1-234	20.1510	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	Unknown	B2148
B	14-1-235	14.1041	Furniture	Tree inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-235	20.1359	Furniture	Two-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-236	20.1360	Furniture	Bed inlay in the form of a tree	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-237, Original accession number: 20.2046	20.1361	Furniture	Two-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-238	20.1362	Furniture	Tree inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-238	20.2046	Furniture	Two-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-239, 14 -1-240	20.1363	Furniture	Tree/plant motif inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-239, 14 -1-240	20.1363a-b	Furniture	Inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-241	20.1364	Furniture	Tree inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-241	20.2042	Furniture	Two-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-243	20.1365	Furniture	Bed inlay fragments of tree	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-243	20.1366	Furniture	Plant inlay fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-244	20.1367a	Furniture	Vulture inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-244	20.1367b	Furniture	Vulture inlay and fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
B	14-1-245	20.1368	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-246	20.1369	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148
B	14-1-247	20.1370	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148
B	14-1-248	20.1371	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-249	20.2027	Furniture	Taweret inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
B	14-1-249, new accession number: 20.2027	20.1502	Furniture	Taweret inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-250	20.1519	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-251	20.1504	Furniture	Taweret inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-252	20.1503	Furniture	Taweret inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-252, Original accession number: 20.1503	20.2040	Furniture	Taweret inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-253	14-1-253	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	Unknown	
A	14-1-254	20.1518	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-255	20.1517	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148
A	14-1-256	20.1516	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148
A	14-1-257	20.1515	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-258	20.1514	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-259	20.1372a	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-259	20.1372b	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-259	20.1372c	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-260	20.1373	Furniture	Inlay of goats and tree	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	14-1-261	20.1374	Furniture	Inlays in the form of a tree and two goats	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148
A	14-1-261, Original accession number: 20.1374	20.2039a-c	Furniture	Inlays in the form of a tree and two goats	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-262	20.1375	Furniture	Inlay of goats and tree	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-263	20.1376	Furniture	Inlay of goats and tree	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-264, 14-1-265	20.1538a-b	Furniture	Tree inlays and fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-266, Original accession number: 20.2043	20.1536	Furniture	Three-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-267	20.1537	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-268, 14-1-269	20.1535a-b	Furniture	Tree inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-270	20.1533	Furniture	Three-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-271, Original accession number: 20.2045	20.1534	Furniture	Single-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-272	14.1042	Furniture	Tree inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-1-273	20.1532	Furniture	Tree inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2148
C (?)	14-1-274	20.1531	Furniture	Tree inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
C (?)	14-1-274, Original accession number: 20.1377	20.2106	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a running gazelle	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
C (?)	14-1-274a, now 20.2106	20.1377	Furniture	Bed inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
C (?)	14-1-3	20.1527	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-2-266, Original accession number: 20.1536	20.2043	Furniture	Three-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-2-270, Original accession number: 20.1533	20.2044	Furniture	Three-tiered plant inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
A	14-2-271	20.2045	Furniture	Bed inlay, single-tiered plant	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2236
	K439-xii	K439-xii	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K440							C5898 C5899 C5912
	14-1-408	20.1657	Tools & Equipment	Mortar	Diorite	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-409	20.4577	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2229
	14-1-410	20.3114	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2229
	14-1-411	20.3549	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2229
	14-1-412	20.3142	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2229

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-413	20.3117	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2019 A2020 B2229
	14-1-414	20.3144	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2229
	14-1-415	20.3115	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2229
	14-1-416	14-1-416	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-417	14-1-417	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-418	14-1-418	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-419	14-1-419	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-420	14-1-420	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-421	14-1-421	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-422	14-1-422	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-423	20.3116	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2229
	14-1-424	14-1-424	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-425	14-1-425	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-426	14-1-426	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	A2173 B2229
	14-1-427	14-1-427	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-428	14-1-428	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-429	14-1-429	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2229
	14-1-430	14-1-430	Vessels	Black-topped pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-431	14-1-431	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-1-432	14.1066	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Various beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-457	14-1-457	Tools & Equipment	Awls	Bone	Unknown	B2329
	14-1-458	14-1-458	Tools & Equipment	Palette	Hematite	Unknown	B2333
	14-1-459	14-1-459	Raw materials and by-products	Graphite	Graphite	Unknown	
debris	14-1-460	20.1807	Tools & Equipment	Tweezer	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2036 A2157
debris	14-1-461	20.1785	Jewelry / Adornment- Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear stud	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K441							C5924
		20.2050	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-462	14.1070	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelets	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2291
	14-1-463	14-1-463	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	B2319
	14-1-464	14-1-464	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6369
	14-1-465	20.4592	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6369
	14-1-466	14-1-466	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-467	14.1071	Furniture	Fibre remains of a basket(?)	Fibre	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-468	14-1-468	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Ivory dagger butt	Ivory	Unknown	B2365

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-480	20.1446	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn protector	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-564	20.3753	Vessels	Small globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
K442							C5905
	14-1-381	14-1-381	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Bronze and ivory and wood, cloth	Unknown	B2311
	14-1-382	20.1461	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger - blade	Bronze or copper, cloth	MFA, Boston	B2307
	14-1-383	14-1-383	Vessels	Kohl pot	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	Unknown	B2275
	14-1-384	20.3633	Vessels	Squat jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-385	14-1-385	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-386	20.3696	Vessels	Small squat jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-387	20.3897	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-388	20.4641	Vessels	redware jar fragments (with red slip)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-389	14-1-389	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-392	14-1-392	Vessels	Jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-393	14-1-393	Vessels	Potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
debris (intrusive)	14-1-64	14.1011	Sculpture	Sculpture fragment	Faience (bubbly)	MFA, Boston	B2172 B2260

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-1-65 and or 14-1-391, beads MFA 14-1-390 (?) / 1922,0513.6 0	EA55470	Costumes	Earstud beads	Mica, faience	British Museum	
	14-1-66	14-1-66	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Armlets	Ivory	Unknown	A2035 B2291
K443							C5900
	14-1-130	14-1-130	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-131	14-1-131	Vessels	Pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-132	20.4676	Vessels	Buffware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6444
	14-1-133	20.3122	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6444
	14-1-134	14-1-134	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6444
	14-1-135	20.3896	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6444
	14-1-136	14-1-136	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6444
	14-1-137	14-1-137	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6444
	14-1-138	14-1-138	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	C6444
	14-1-139	14-1-139	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	A2174 C6444
debris	14-1-140	14.1034	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K444							A2108 A2109 A2514 B2127 B2196 B2197 C6191 C6192 C6193 C6378
	14-1-298	14-1-298	Vessels	Small jar, Kenh ware	Pottery	Unknown	B2196
	14-1-299	14-1-299	Vessels	Large wide Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-300	20.3412	Vessels	Globular Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-301	20.3137	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-302	20.3120	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2176 A2177 B2197
	14-1-303	20.3133	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-304	20.3894	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-305	14-1-305	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2197
	14-1-306	20.3125	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
14-1-307	20.3138	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197	
14-1-308	20.3900	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197	
14-1-309	20.3139	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197	
14-1-310	20.3132	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-311	20.3134	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-312	20.3135	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-313	20.3140	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-314	20.3126	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-315	14-1-315	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2197
	14-1-316	20.3136	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-317	20.3121	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-318	20.3898	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-319	20.3129	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-320	20.3118	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-321	20.3131	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-322	20.3119	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-323	14-1-323	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	C6378
	14-1-324	20.3500	Vessels	Shouldered red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6191
	14-1-325	20.4645	Vessels	redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-326	20.3496	Vessels	Shouldered red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-327	14-1-327	Vessels	Bulging jar, red polished ware	Pottery	Unknown	B2196 C6193
	14-1-328	21.11805	Vessels	Polished buff ware in imitation of stone ware, was in string net		MFA, Boston	B2196 C6192
	14-1-329	14-1-329	Vessels	Globular jar with rilled neck, white painted gray ware	Pottery	Unknown	B2196
	14-1-330	20.4665	Vessels	Buffware globular jar fragments and other vessels fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-331	20.4668	Vessels	Buffware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-332	20.3128	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-333	20.3907	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-334	20.3127	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2197
	14-1-335	20.3130	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2196
	14-1-336	14.1046	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2295
	14-1-337	14.1047	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory and copper	MFA, Boston	B2295
	14-1-338	14.1048	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-339	14-1-339	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	Unknown	
	14-1-340	14-1-340	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Horn cover	Ivory	Unknown	
debris	14-1-341	20.1394a-b	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Archery, Spears, Javelins	Pair of throw sticks	Wood	MFA, Boston	A2181
	14-1-342	14-1-342	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	
	14-1-343	14-1-343	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	B2280
A	14-1-344	14.1050	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Decorated cylinder beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2108 A2109 A2114

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	14-1-345	14.1051	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2108 A2109
	14-1-346	14.1052	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Bead	Blue glazed quartz	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-1-347	14-1-347	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid	Ivory	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
debris	14-1-348	14.1053	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Rivet from dagger	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-349	20.1526	Furniture	Inlay pieces and fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2035
G	14-1-397	14-1-397	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet	Blue-green faience	MFA, Boston	
K	14-1-398	14.1064	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Various beads, circlet and beaded tunic?	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
M	14-1-399	14-1-399	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
N	14-1-400	14.1065	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring and barrel beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K445							C5906 C5953
	14-1-433	14-1-433	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Glazed crystal ball beads	Blue-glazed quartz	Unknown	A2120 A2123 A2127 A2132 A2135
K446							C5913
	14-1-401	20.2095	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6271
	14-1-402	14-1-402	Vessels	Small jar, redware	Pottery	Unknown	C6271
	14-1-403	20.3145	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6271
	14-1-404	20.3141	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6271
	14-1-405	20.3143	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6271
	14-1-406	20.3899	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6271
K447							
	14-1-394	14-1-394	Vessels	Tall wide mouthed pot, white slipped redware	Pottery	Unknown	A2126
	14-1-395	14-1-395	Furniture	Three decayed bed legs	Wood	Unknown	
	14-1-396	14-1-396	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	Unknown	B2280
K448							C5923
	14-1-468	14-1-468	Vessels	Bulging medium sized jar, red polished ware	Pottery	Unknown	B2365
	14-1-469	20.3650	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2365
	14-1-470	14-1-470	Furniture	Fragments of bed	Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-471	14-1-471	Furniture	Fragments of bed	Wood	Unknown	A2500 A2501
	14-1-472	20.3703	Vessels	Small bag-shaped jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2365
debris	14-1-474a-b	14-1-474a-b	Costumes	Two sandals	Leather	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-1-475	20.1438	Textiles	Cloth woven with ostrich-feathers	Ostrich feather and fiber	MFA, Boston	A2179
debris	14-1-476	20.1751	Costumes	Mica appliques	Mica	MFA, Boston	A2162
C	14-1-477	14-1-477	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from circlet	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	K448-iii	K448-iii	Vessels	Black-topped redware and red polished ware sherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K449							C6069 C6071
debris	14-3-1464	20.1495a	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-784	20.1494	Furniture	Foot board of bed with inlays	Ivory and wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-784	20.1495b	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a vulture with outstretched wings	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-784	20.1495c	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a vulture with outstretched wings	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-784, previously 20.1495c	20.2107	Furniture	Vulture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-785, 14-3-786, 14-3-787, 14-3-788, 14-3-789, 14-3-793, 14-3-794, 14-3-795.	20.1497a-j	Furniture	Inlay pieces	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-790, 14-3-791, 14-3-792, 14-3-809	20.1496a-d	Furniture	Inlay pieces	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-796	20.3901	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-798	14-3-798	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	14-3-799	20.3655	Vessels	Small jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-800	20.3151	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-801	20.3123	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-802	20.3146	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-803	20.3147	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-804	20.3150	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-805	14-3-805	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2238
	14-3-806	14-3-806	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	A2164 B2238
	14-3-807	20.3149	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-808	20.3148	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2238
	14-3-811	14-3-811	Vessels	Three Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2238
debris	14-3-812	20.1572	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K450							
	14-3-898	20.3152	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6439
	14-3-899	14-3-899	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6439
	14-3-900	14-3-900	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6439
	14-3-901	14-3-901	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6439
	14-3-902?	20.4752	Vessels	Ribbed black polished beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-903	14-3-903	Vessels	Ribbed black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6439
	14-3-904	20.2114	Vessels	Black-polished squat globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6439
	14-3-905	14-3-905	Vessels	Painted squat jar fragments	Pottery	Unknown	B2188
K451							C6072
	14-3-913	14-3-913	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	C6438
	14-3-913 / 1922,0513.13	EA55424	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-914 / 1922,0513.14	EA55425	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-915	14-3-915	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6438
	14-3-916 / 1922,0513.12	EA55423	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-917	14-3-917	Vessels	Black-topped redware large wide pot	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-918	14-3-918	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6438

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-919	14-3-919	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6438
	14-3-920	14-3-920	Vessels	Small red polished jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6438
	14-3-921 / 1922,0513.1 5	EA55426	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-922	14-3-922	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6438
debris	14-3-924	14.1616	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ball bead	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-925	14-3-925	Tools & Equipment	Awl	Bone	Unknown	
debris	14-3-976	20.1757	Costumes	Mica appliqués of giraffe	Mica	MFA, Boston	A2162
debris	14-3-976a	14-3-976a	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
K452							
	14-3-926 / 1922,0513.8	EA55419	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-927 / 1922,0513.9	EA55420	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-928 / 1922,0513.1 0	EA55421	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-929 / 1922,0513.1 1	EA55422	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-3-930 / 1922,0513.1 8	EA55429	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
debris	14-3-931 / 1922,0513.2 2	EA55433	Vessels	Small red polished handled jug?	Pottery	British Museum	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-932 / 1922,0513.1	EA55412	Vessels	Globular pot, red polished	Pottery	British Museum	
K453							C6160
	14-2-878	20.4750	Vessels	Base fragment of a stemmed black polished beaker cover	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2155 A2156 B2179
	14-3-849	14-3-849	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-850	20.4621	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-851	14-3-851	Vessels	White slipped redware jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-852	14.1606	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Cylinder beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-853	14-3-853	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-854	14-3-854	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-855	14-3-855	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-856	14-3-856	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-857	14-3-857	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-858	14-3-858	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-859	14-3-859	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-860	14-3-860	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-861	14.1607	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Amulet beads (735+) and ring beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2114 A2110
	14-3-862	14-3-862	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-863	14-3-863	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-864	14-3-864	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6470
	14-3-865	14-3-865	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-3-866	14-3-866	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-867	14-3-867	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-868	14-3-868	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-869	14-3-869	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-870	14-3-870	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-871	14-3-871	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-872	14-3-872	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-873	14-3-873	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-874	20.3516	Vessels	Ovoid marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6470
	14-3-875	14-3-875	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads from pot net	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-876	20.3616	Vessels	Ovoid jar, Keneh ware	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6470
	14-3-877	20.4828	Vessels	Incised blackware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-879	20.4669	Vessels	Buffware globular jar fragments, Keneh ware	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-880	14-3-880	Vessels	Buffware globular jar fragments, Keneh ware	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-881	20.4749	Vessels	Base fragment of a stemmed, ribbed black polished beaker cover	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6470
debris	14-3-882	20.3217	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6470
	14-3-883	20.4583	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris?	14-3-884	14.1608	Vessels	Vessel fragment, basket form with black rills	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-885	14-3-885	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger pommel	Ivory	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-3-886	14.1609	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Three rivets	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-887	14-3-887	Vessels	Red polished beaker cover	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-3-888	14.1610	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-3-889	14-3-889	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Amulet beads and ring beads	Faience	Unknown	
intrusive debris?	14-3-890	14.1611	Vessels	Disc lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-995	20.2105	Vessels	Red polished beaker cover	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6470
	14-3-996	14-3-996	Vessels	Potsherds, Black-topped redware, etc.	Pottery	Unknown	
K455							
	14-3-906	14-3-906	Vessels	Potsherds, Red polished ware and Keneh ware	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-3-907	20.4890	Vessels	Redware/buffware vessel fragment with a pot-mark	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-908	20.1596	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-908	14-3-908	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	
intrusive debris	14-3-909	14-3-909	Raw materials and by-products	Setter pebble	Blue-glazed quartz	Unknown	
intrusive debris	14-3-910	14.1615	Vessels	Vessel fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-3-911	14-3-911	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K456							C6163
	K456-debris	K456-debris	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Pair of horn protectors	Bone	Unknown	
	K456-debris	K456-debris	Vessels	Potsherds, including black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
K457							C6162
	K457-debris	K457-debris	Vessels	Potsherds of unknown type	Pottery	Unknown	
KIII							
K306							
	13-12-394 / 1955,0212.8	EA65584	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	13-12-395	13-12-395	Vessels	Painted vessel, VII-gen.	Pottery	Unknown	A2025
	13-12-396	13-12-396	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads- blue faience	Blue faience	Unknown	
	13-12-468	13-12-468	Vessels	Red polished ware XXIX-gen., cover	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-469	13-12-469	Models	Torso of boatman	Blue faience	Unknown	B2172 B2260
	13-12-470	13-12-470	Tools & Equipment-Household	Disc pot lid	Slate	Unknown	B2325
	13-12-471	13-12-471	Tools & Equipment	Half of pierced palette (?) with rounded ends	Unidentifiable material	Unknown	
	13-12-472	13-12-472	Tools & Equipment-Household	Fragment of Sandstone pestle	Sandstone	Unknown	A2031
	13-12-473	13-12-473	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-474	13-12-474	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads- blue faience	Blue faience	Unknown	
	13-12-542	20.3155	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6466
	13-12-543	13-12-543	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2363
	13-12-544	13-12-544	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2363
	13-12-545	13-12-545	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6466
	13-12-546	13-12-546	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-547	13-12-547	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-548	13-12-548	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-549	13-12-549	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-550	13-12-550	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-551	13-12-551	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-552	13-12-552	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-553	20.3919	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-554	13-12-554	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-555	20.4648	Vessels	Base fragments of a red polished vessel	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-556	20.4581	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K307							C5838
	13-12-557	20.4596	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-558	20.3215	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2199
	13-12-559	20.3161	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6469
	13-12-560	13-12-560	Vessels	Stack of Black-topped redware Beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6469
	13-12-561	20.3162	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6469
	13-12-562	20.3156	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2199

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-563	20.2741	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2199
	13-12-564	20.3163	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2199
	13-12-565	13-12-565	Vessels	Bowl, Black ware	Pottery	Unknown	B2199
	13-12-566	20.3911	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2199
	13-12-567	13-12-567	Vessels		Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-568	13-12-568	Vessels	Jar, Red polished ware	Pottery	Unknown	B2199 C6194
	13-12-569	13-12-569	Vessels	Stack of Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6469
	13-12-570	13-12-570	Vessels	Stack of Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6469
	13-12-571	13-12-571	Vessels	Stack of Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2199
	13-12-572	13-12-572	Vessels	Stack of Black-topped redware beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2199
B	13-12-573	13-12-573	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Bead girdle	Faience	Unknown	A2122 A2125
B	13-12-574	13-12-574	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads, barrel-beads, and pendant beads from a many stranded circlet around head	Blue and black faience	Unknown	
	13-12-575	13-12-575	Vessels	Bowl, Black ware	Pottery	Unknown	B2199
	13-12-576	20.3160	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6469
	13-12-577	20.1761	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-578	20.4820	Vessels	Blackware vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2155 A2156 B2149
	13-12-579	13-12-579	Organic remains	Mass of resin	Resin	Unknown	B2330
	13-12-580	13-12-580	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Pair of bronze razors	Bronze	Unknown	A2155 A2156 B2149
	13-12-582	20.1400	Textiles	String net		MFA, Boston	A2037
	13-12-584	13-12-584	Vessels	Jar, Black polished ware	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-585	20.3909	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2199
	13-12-585A	20.3157	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-585B	20.3159	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-586	20.1389a	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2300
	13-12-586	20.1389b	Furniture	Bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2300
	13-12-586	20.1389c	Furniture	Wooden bed leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2300
K308							C5837
	13-12-581	20.4573	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-587	20.2094	Vessels	Polished blackware beaker in the shape of stacked cups	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2038 B2199 B2200 C6196
	13-12-588	20.3695	Vessels	Small squat jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-590	13.5770	Vessels	Red polished bottle	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200 C6200

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-590	13-12-590	Vessels	Large wide Kenek ware jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2200 C6200
	13-12-591	20.3553	Vessels	Red polished globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6199
	13-12-592	20.3214	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-593	20.3169	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-594	13-12-594	Vessels	Black-topped redware II-19, beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6190
	13-12-595	20.3910	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-596	13-12-596	Vessels	Black-topped redware II-19, beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6190
	13-12-597	20.3167	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200 B2363
	13-12-598	20.3914	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200 B2363
	13-12-599	20.3166	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-600	20.3216	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-601	20.3913	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-602	20.3165	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-603	20.3168	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-604	13-12-604	Vessels	Black-topped redware II-19, beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2200
	13-12-605	13-12-605	Vessels	Black-topped redware II-19, beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2200
	13-12-606	20.3915	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-607	20.3170	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200
	13-12-608	20.3164	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-609	13-12-609	Vessels	Black-topped redware II-27, beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2200
	13-12-610	13-12-610	Vessels	Rilled Beaker, Black polished ware XI-1	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-611	20.4580	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-612	13-12-612	Vessels	Black-topped redware XXII- gen. basin	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-614	20.3880	Vessels	Fragment of an incised blackware vessel	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2160 C6190
	13-12-615	13-12-615	Vessels	Large jar, redware XIII-1	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-616	13-12-616	Vessels	Small jar, Red polished ware VI-8	Red-polished ceramic	Unknown	B2200
	13-12-617	20.4652	Vessels	Large fragment of a small squat red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-618	20.5008	Vessels	Pot lid, disc. of Red polished ware	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6190
	13-12-619	20.4729	Vessels	Fragment of a rectangular pottery token/lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	13-12-620	13.5771	Vessels	Porphyry vessel body fragment	Porphyry	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-621	13-12-621	Tools & Equipment-Animal-related	Ostrich feathers	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	13-12-622	13-12-622	Vessels	Small jar, Red polished ware VI-gen.	Red-polished ceramic	Unknown	
	13-12-623	13-12-623	Models	Hippopotamus figure	Blue faience	Unknown	A2024 B2263
	13-12-624	20.1411	Textiles	Woven giraffe hair (?) or string pot net	Giraffe hair?	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-625	20.1401	Textiles	String net		MFA, Boston	A2037
	13-12-626	20.1412	Organic remains	Nut (dom-nut?)	nut	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-627	20.1413	Organic remains	Hair braids	Human hair	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-628	13.5772	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads and cloth fragment from Pot net, beaded	Faience, cloth	MFA, Boston	A2036 A2168
	13-12-629	20.1762	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2157 A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149
	13-12-629	20.1809	Tools & Equipment	Tweezers	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2157 A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149
	13-12-630	20.3599	Vessels	Ovoid jar with cream-colored slip	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2200 C6200
	13-12-631	13-12-631	Vessels	“Teapot” redware decorated with applied relief, a man leading an animal, on one side, a crocodile on the other, spout shaped like a cow’s head	Red-polished ceramic	Unknown	A2039
	13-12-632	13-12-632	Vessels	Bottle jar, Black polished ware VI-7	Pottery	Unknown	C6195
K309							A2180
	13-12-1026	20.1506	Furniture	Vulture inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2180
	13-12-1027	20.1505	Furniture	Inlay from funerary bed or other furniture: vulture	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2035
	13-12-633	20.3586	Vessels	Black polished bottle	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2038 B2222
	13-12-634	20.3171	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-635	13-12-635	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2222

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-636	13-12-636	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2222
	13-12-637	20.3172	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-638	20.3173	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-639	13-12-639	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2222
	13-12-640	13-12-640	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2222
	13-12-641	13-12-641	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	A2038 B2334 B2343
	13-12-642	20.1806	Jewelry / Adornment- Pendants	Fly shaped pendant	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2157
	13-12-643	13-12-643	Vessels	Large jar, redware XVII-2	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-644	20.1716	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Blue-glazed quartz beads from gridle	Clear quartz (rock crystal)	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-645	20.1658	Tools & Equipment	Mortar	Stone	MFA, Boston	A2031 B2327
	13-12-646 / 1922,0513.3 4	EA55444	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Razor	Bronze	British Museum	
	13-12-647 / 1922,0513.3 5	EA55445	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Razor	Bronze	British Museum	
	13-12-648	20.4993	Vessels	Fragments of a vessel with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-649	13-12-649	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl-pot with lid and pencil	Hematite, Alabaster	Unknown	B2275 A2030
	13-12-650	13-12-650	Tools & Equipment-Knives, Blades, Scrapers	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	B2319
	13-12-651	20.1795	Tools & Equipment	Cutting out knife	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2036
	13-12-652	13.5773	Furniture	Stool legs	Wood	MFA, Boston	B2303
	13-12-653	13-12-653	Furniture	Stool legs	Wood	Unknown	B2303
	13-12-654	20.3918	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-654	20.4579	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-655	20.4575	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-656	20.1562a-b	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Fragments of dagger	Bronze or copper	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-657	13-12-657	Vessels	Large jar, redware XVII-2	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-658	13-12-658	Vessels	Basin	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-659	13-12-659	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2222
	13-12-660	13-12-660	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-661	13-12-661	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-662	20.3903	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-663	20.1789b	Personal accessories	Mirror handle	Silver	MFA, Boston	B2250 B2257

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-663	20.1789a	Personal accessories	Mirror	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-664	13.5774	Furniture	Box with triangular ivory inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-665	13-12-665	Furniture	Stool legs	Wood	Unknown	B2303
debris	13-12-666	20.2019	Vessels	Bowl with spout, Red polished ware XXVI-2	Red-polished ceramic	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-667	13-12-667	Vessels	Black-topped redware vessel	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-668	13-12-668	Vessels	Black-topped redware vessel	Pottery	Unknown	B2222
	13-12-669	13-12-669	Vessels	Black-topped redware vessel	Pottery	Unknown	B2222
	13-12-670	20.4995	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-671	20.4758	Vessels	Blackware vessel fragments (2) with incised animal(?) motif	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2157
	13-12-672	20.4635	Vessels	Polished white slip ware jar fragments, IV-1	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2222
	13-12-673	13-12-673	Vessels	Jar, Keneh ware IV-3	Pottery	Unknown	B2222
	13-12-674	13-12-674	Vessels	Red polished ware jar, potsherds only	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	13-12-675	20.1402	Textiles	String net		MFA, Boston	A2037
	13-12-676	20.1403	Textiles	String net		MFA, Boston	
	13-12-677	13-12-677	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Girdle, single strand of ball beads	Faience and leather	Unknown	A2120 A2123 A2127 A2132 A2135
	13-12-678	13.5775	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beaded Pot Net	Faience, shell	MFA, Boston	A2168

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-679	13-12-679	Jewelry / Adornment- Pendants	Scarab	Blue glazed quartz	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2147 A2148 A2150
	13-12-680	13-12-680	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Barrel shaped beads	Blue faience	Unknown	
	13-12-802	13-12-802	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-803	13-12-803	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-804	13-12-804	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-805	13-12-805	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-806	13-12-806	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-807	13-12-807	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-808	13-12-808	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-809	20.1544	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2035
	13-12-810	20.1545	Furniture	Inlay in the form of a winged giraffe	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-811	20.1546	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-812	13-12-812	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-813	13-12-813	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2035 A2180
	13-12-814	13-12-814	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-815	13-12-815	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-816	13-12-816	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-817	13-12-817	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-818	13-12-818	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-819	13-12-819	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-820	13-12-820	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-821	20.1509	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2035 A2180
	13-12-822	13-12-822	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-823	13-12-823	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2035 A2180
	13-12-824	13-12-824	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2035 A2180
	13-12-825	13-12-825	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-826	13-12-826	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-827	13-12-827	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-828	13-12-828	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-829	13-12-829	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-830	13-12-830	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-831	13-12-831	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-832	13-12-832	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180
	13-12-833	20.1641	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2035
	13-12-834	20.1642	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-835	13.5792	Furniture	Fragments of ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-836	20.1643	Furniture	Fragmentary inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-837	20.1644	Furniture	Taweret inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2035
	13-12-838	13-12-838	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	
	13-12-839	20.1645	Furniture	Inlay of Taweret	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-840	13.5793	Furniture	Taweret and other bed inlay fragments	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-841	13.5794	Furniture	Fragments of ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-842	13-12-842	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2035 A2180
	13-12-843	13-12-843	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	
	13-12-844	13-12-844	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	A2180

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-845	13-12-845	Furniture	Ivory Inlays	Ivory and wood	Unknown	
	13-12-846	20.1507	Furniture	Vulture inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	A2180
	13-12-846	20.1547a	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-846	20.1547b	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-846	20.1547c	Furniture	Furniture inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	Eg.Inv.6378	Eg.Inv.6378	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	String of beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	Unknown	20.1508	Furniture	Inlay piece	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K310							C5859
	13-12-847	20.1711	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2347
	13-12-848	13-12-848	Jewelry / Adornment	Girdle	Blue faience	Unknown	A2134
	13-12-849	13-12-849	Vessels	Black ware pot (pitted body)	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-850	20.1718	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Quartz crystal	MFA, Boston	A2126
	K310-ii	K310-ii	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Beads	Beads	Unknown	
K311							C5860
	13-12-852	13-12-852	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-854	13-12-854	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience	Unknown	A2114 A2112 A2113
	K311-ii	K311-ii	Vessels	Cover	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	K311-iv	K311-iv	Jewelry / Adornment- Pendants	Scarab	Green glazed Steatite	Unknown	
K312							C5861
	13-12-856	20.3798	Vessels	Large Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-857	13-12-857	Vessels	Wide mouthed pot, Black-topped redware XXII-1	Pottery	Unknown	B2232 C6319
	13-12-858	20.4998	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-858	13-12-858	Vessels	Jar, Kenh ware VII-8 with Black- topped redware disc-lid	Pottery	Unknown	B2232
	13-12-858?	20.3361	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-858?	20.4999	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-859	13.5795	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-860	20.3177	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-861	20.3178	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-862	20.3174	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-863	13-12-863	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2232
	13-12-864	13-12-864	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2232
	13-12-865	20.3175	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-866	20.3176	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-867	20.3179	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2232
	13-12-868	20.1798	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Copper knife	copper	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-869	13-12-869	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Green glazed Steatite and silver	Unknown	A2040 A2041 A2042 A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149
	13-12-870	13-12-870	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience, Blue-glazed quartz, faience, black faience	Unknown	
K313							C5862
	13-12-877	13-12-877	Personal accessories	Ostrich Feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
	13-12-878 / 1955,0212.1 5	EA65591	Vessels	Bottle-Jar, Red polished ware XIII-5	Pottery	British Museum	
	13-12-879	13-12-879	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Black polished ware VI-4	Pottery	Unknown	B2220
	13-12-880	20.3588	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Black polished ware VI-4	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2220
	13-12-881	13-12-881	Vessels	Bottle-Jar, Red polished ware XIII-5	Pottery	Unknown	B2220
	13-12-882	13-12-882	Vessels	Wide-mouthed pot, Black-topped redware XVII-17	Pottery	Unknown	B2220 C6261
	13-12-883	20.3181	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-884	20.3180	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2220
	13-12-885	20.2103	Vessels	Black-polished ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2038 B2220
	13-12-885	21.11802	Vessels	Vase	Ceramic	MFA, Boston	A2038 B2220

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-886	20.3589	Vessels	Bottle jar, Black polished ware VI-5	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2038 B2220
	13-12-887	13-12-887	Vessels	Black-polished Rilled Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2220
	13-12-888	20.2017	Vessels	Black-polished Rilled Beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2038 B2220
	13-12-889	13-12-889	Vessels	Black-polished Rilled Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2220
	13-12-890	20.2018	Vessels	Lid		MFA, Boston	
	K313-i	K313-i	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Beads	Unknown	
	K313-ii	K313-ii	Vessels	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K314							C5863
	13-12-871	13-12-871	Tools & Equipment- Knives, Blades, Scrapers	Dagger in leather scabbard	Leather and metal	Unknown	B2310
	13-12-872	13-12-872	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	13-12-873	20.3327	Vessels	Globular Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6257
	13-12-874	20.3385	Vessels	Globular Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6257
	13-12-875	20.3614	Vessels	Keneh ware XVI-1, Jar, with Black polished ware disc-lid	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6257
	13-12-875	20.5003	Vessels	Disc-shaped lid formed from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6257
	13-12-876	13-12-876	Jewelry / Adornment	Hair ring	White shell	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-876	13-12-876	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklace of a single strand	Beads and thread	Unknown	
K315							C5864
	13-12-893	13-12-893	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	13-12-894	13-12-894	Vessels	Bowl, Blk. W. XIII-3	Pottery	Unknown	B2221
	13-12-895	13-12-895	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2221
	13-12-896	13-12-896	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2221
	13-12-897	13-12-897	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2221
	13-12-898	13-12-898	Vessels	Bowl with cover, Painted I-1	Pottery	Unknown	A2025
	13-12-899	20.4542	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-900	20.4537	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-901	20.3185	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-902	20.4541	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-903	13-12-903	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2221
	13-12-904	13-12-904	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2221
	13-12-905	20.3183	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-906	20.3187	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-907	20.3190	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-908	20.3189	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-909	20.3186	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-910	20.3188	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-911	20.4536	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-912	20.3182	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-913	20.4534	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-914	20.5023	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-915	20.1404	Textiles	String net		MFA, Boston	A2037
	13-12-916	20.3902	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-917	20.3184	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	13-12-918	13-12-918	Vessels	Large jar, Red polished ware XVII-4	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-919	20.4535	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2221
	K315-v	K315-v	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience	Unknown	
K316							C5869
	13-12-660	20.3193	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-930	20.3795	Vessels	Large red polished globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6281
	13-12-931	13-12-931	Vessels	Large Jar, Red polished ware XXI-3	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-932a	13-12-932a	Vessels	Two small beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
	13-12-932b	20.3195	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-933	13-12-933	Vessels	Bowl, Black-topped redware X-5	Pottery	Unknown	B2216
	13-12-934	20.3498	Vessels	Spouted globular red polished jar ("Teapot" pitcher) with handle and incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	13-12-935	13-12-935	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2216
	13-12-936	20.2096	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2216

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	13-12-937	20.3194	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2216
	13-12-938	13-12-938	Vessels	Bowl, Black-topped redware X-5	Pottery	Unknown	B2216
	13-12-939	13-12-939	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2216
	13-12-940	20.3266	Vessels	Wide mouthed pot, Black-topped redware XVII-17	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2216
	13-12-941	20.3192	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2216
	13-12-942	20.3384	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar, Keneh ware VII-6	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2216
	13-12-943	20.3191	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2216
	13-12-944	20.2093	Vessels	Black-topped bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2216
	13-12-945	13-12-945	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl pot with lid and pencil	Stone and bone	Unknown	B2275 A2030
debris	13-12-946	13-12-946	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Fragments of dagger handle	Ivory	Unknown	
debris	13-12-947	13-12-947	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Blue faience	Unknown	
debris	13-12-948	13-12-948	Tools & Equipment-Knives, Blades, Scrapers	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	
K317							C5920 C5937 C5983
	14-1-543	14.1085	Vessels	Lid of a jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2218

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-543	20.3534	Vessels	Bag-shaped marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-544	20.2049	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Pommel	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-545	20.3497	Vessels	Spouted globular red polished jar ("teapot" pitcher) with handle and incised line decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2039 B2218
	14-1-546	20.3692	Vessels	Small globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-547	14-1-547	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl pot with lid	Stone, Blue Marble and Alabaster	Unknown	A2030
	14-1-548	14-1-548	Tools & Equipment- Knives, Blades, Scrapers	Knife	Bronze	Unknown	A2036 A2157
	14-1-549	14-1-549	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl stick	Wood	Unknown	
	14-1-550	14-1-550	Tools & Equipment- Household	Scissor-shaped implement	Bronze	Unknown	A2036 A2157
	14-1-551	14-1-551	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Tweezers	Bronze	Unknown	A2157
	14-1-552	14-1-552	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Razor	Bronze	Unknown	A2036 A2155 A2156
	14-1-553	14-1-553	Vessels	Wide mouthed pot, Blk. W. XIX-2	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-554	20.1137	Vessels	Bowl	Granite	MFA, Boston	A2030
	14-1-555	14-1-555	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	14-1-556	20.1817	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Comb	Wood	MFA, Boston	A2165 B2189 B2190
	14-1-557	20.1635	Tools & Equipment	Bone threader (or spatula)	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-558	14-1-558	Raw materials and by-products	Round cake of resin	Resin and Leather	Unknown	
	14-1-559	14-1-559	Vessels	Wide pot, Black-topped redware XVII-6; potmark scratched inside rim	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-560	21.3089	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-561	21.3079	Vessels	Pitted Bowl, Blk. W.XIII-2	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-562	14-1-562	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2218
	14-1-562 / 570	21.3067	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-563	21.3077	Vessels	Pitted Bowl, Blk. W. XIII-2	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-564	21.3078	Vessels	Pitted Bowl, Blk. W. XIII-6	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-565	14-1-565	Vessels	Pitted Bowl, Blk. W. XIII-2	Pottery	Unknown	B2218
	14-1-566	20.2599	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-567	21.3084	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Red polished ware XIII-1	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-568	21.3083	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Red polished ware XIII-3	Ceramic	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-569	21.3069	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-571	21.3063	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-572	21.3064	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-573	14-1-573	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Black polished ware VI-s; contained in green leather pot net (Leather Pot-Net, No. 1)	Pottery and Leather	Unknown	A2090 A2178 B2218
	14-1-573	20.1414	Tools & Equipment	Net fragment	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-574	14-1-574	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and Leather	Unknown	B2219
	14-1-575	21.3071	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-576	14-1-576	Vessels	Painted bowl, Type III-1	Pottery and Leather	Unknown	A2026
	14-1-577	21.3085	Vessels	Red polished bottle	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2218
	14-1-578	14-1-578	Vessels	Red slipped ware potsherd	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-579	21.3062	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
A	14-1-580	14.1087	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Ring beads and mud fragments	Faience, mud	MFA, Boston	A2168
A	14-1-581	14-1-581	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Faience, mud	MFA, Boston	
	14-1-582	21.3075	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-583	21.3066	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-584	21.3061	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-585	21.3072	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-586	14-1-586	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-587	21.3082	Vessels	Fragmentary red polished ovoid jar		MFA, Boston	B2218 B2219
	14-1-588	14-1-588	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-589	21.3087	Vessels	Bowl, Black-topped redware X-2	Pottery	Unknown	B2218

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-1-590	14-1-590	Vessels	Stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2219 B2325
	14-1-591	14-1-591	Vessels	stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-1-592	21.3065	Vessels	Black-topped red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
	14-1-593	21.3088	Vessels	Miniature Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2219
debris	14-1-594	14-1-594	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience	Unknown	
	14-1-594b	14.1088	Vessels	Vessel fragment		MFA, Boston	
debris	14-1-595	14-1-595	Organic remains	Head with circlet	Faience, human remains	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-1-595a	14-1-595a	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	K317-52	K317-52	Furniture	Wooden tablet	Wood	Unknown	
	K317-53	K317-53	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	A rounded wooden board	Wood	Unknown	
	Unknown	21.3073a-b	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	Unknown	21.3074	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K318							A2025 C5993 C6003 C6004 C6008 C6013
	14-2-25	14-2-25	Personal accessories	Bronze Mirror	Bronze, cloth, and leather	Unknown	C6277

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-26	14-2-26	Personal accessories	Resin on Bronze mirror handle	Resin	Unknown	A2133 A2138
	14-2-27	14-2-27	Personal accessories	Coarse cloth, perhaps cloth case for mirror	Cloth	Unknown	A2115 A2116
	14-2-31	14-2-31	Vessels	Rilled beaker	Pottery and thread	Unknown	A2038 C6313
	14-2-32	20.1442	Textiles	Net		MFA, Boston	B2284
	14-2-33	14-2-33	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Black polished wareVIII-2	Pottery	Unknown	A2038 C6313
	14-2-34	20.1694a-d	Vessels	Painted jar		MFA, Boston	A2025
	14-2-35	20.1820	Tools & Equipment	Razor case	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-36	14-2-36	Vessels	Kohl-pot with disc lid	Alabaster	Unknown	B2275
	14-2-37	14-2-37	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6313
	14-2-38	14-2-38	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6313
	14-2-39	14-2-39	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6320
	14-2-40	14-2-40	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6320
	14-2-41	14-2-41	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6313
	14-2-42	14-2-42	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6313 C6427
	14-2-43	14-2-43	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6313
	14-2-44	14-2-44	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6313

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-45	20.1790	Tools & Equipment	Mirror	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2152 A2153 A2154 B2251 B2252
	14-2-46	14.1220	Unclassifiable objects-Fragments	Resin fragments	Resin	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-47	20.1435	Textiles	Cloth	Cloth	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-48	14.1223	Costumes	Leather Skirt with beaded waist band	Leather and silver	MFA, Boston	C6436
	14-2-49	14-2-49	Vessels	Wide pot, W.S.R. XV-1	Pottery	Unknown	C6313
	14-2-50	14.1225	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads and copper fragments	Faience, silver, copper	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-51	20.1498	Jewelry / Adornment-Bracelets, Armlets	Bracelet fragment	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-52	14-2-52	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Silver beads from leather skirt	Silver or copper, and blue faience	Unknown	
debris	14-2-53	14-2-53	Tools & Equipment-Household	Saucer	Pottery	Unknown	C6313
debris	14-2-54	14.1229	Warfare, hunting, & fishing	Rod	Wood	MFA, Boston	A2165
debris	14-2-56	14-2-56	Sculpture	Inscribed base fragment of a statue	Granodiorite	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-57	14-2-57	Vessels	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K319							C6012
	14-2-265	14.1282	Costumes	Bead garment on pelvis bone	Faience and bone	MFA, Boston	B2323
	14-2-266	20.3198	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-267	20.4574	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236 C6312
	14-2-268	14-2-268	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2236
	14-2-269	20.3206	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-270	20.3202	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-271	20.4613	Vessels	Wide pot, Black-topped redware XVII-6	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236
	14-2-272	20.3801	Vessels	Large pot, Red polished ware XVII-6; contains decayed vegetable matter	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236 C6342
	14-2-273	14.1283	Organic remains	Vegetable remains	Organic material	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-274	20.3210	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6312
	14-2-275	20.3196	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-276	20.4538	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-277	20.3212	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236
	14-2-278	14-2-278	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Black polished wareVII-1	Pottery	Unknown	C6312
	14-2-279	20.3205	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-280	20.3211	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236
	14-2-281	20.3207	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-282	14-2-282	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6312
	14-2-283	20.3201	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-284	20.2005	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-285	14-2-285	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2236
	14-2-286	20.3208	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-287	20.3204	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236
	14-2-288	20.3200	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-289	14-2-289	Vessels	Bottle jar Black polished ware VII-1	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-290	20.3197	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6315
	14-2-291	14-2-291	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6315
	14-2-292	20.3209	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6312
	14-2-293	14-2-293	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2236
	14-2-294	14-2-294	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2236
	14-2-295	14-2-295	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6315
	14-2-296	14-2-296	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6315
	14-2-297	14-2-297	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6315
	14-2-298	14-2-298	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Bronze razor	Bronze	Unknown	A2159
	14-2-298	20.1695	Vessels	Squat jar with painted decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-299	14-2-299	Vessels	Squat Jar	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-300	14-2-300	Vessels	Rilled Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6312
	14-2-301	20.2006	Vessels	Rilled beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-302	20.1142a-b	Vessels	Kohl jar and lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2275

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-303	20.1143a-b	Vessels	Tall bag shaped jar	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2270
	14-2-304	14-2-304	Vessels	Squat jar	Pottery	Unknown	B2236 C6336
	14-2-305	20.3203	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236
	14-2-306	20.3199	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2236
	14-2-307	14-2-307	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and thread	Unknown	
debris	14-2-308	14-2-308	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Blue glazed steatite	Unknown	A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149
debris	14-2-309	14-2-309	Personal accessories	Tweezers	Bronze	Unknown	A2157
debris	14-2-310	14-2-310	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue glazed quartzite and blue faience	Unknown	A2118
	14-2-311	14.1284	Costumes	Fragment of beaded cloth	Faience, cloth	MFA, Boston	A2168
debris	14-2-312	14-2-312	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armlets	Ivory bracelets	Ivory	Unknown	
K320							
debris	14-2-316	14-2-316	Vessels	Slender jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6314
debris	14-2-317	14-2-317	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6314
debris	14-2-318	14-2-318	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6314
debris	14-2-319	14-2-319	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6314

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-320 / 1922,0513.1 7	EA55428	Bone	Black-topped redware beaker	Bone	British Museum	
debris	14-2-321	14-2-321	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-323?	20.3218	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-473	14-2-473	Jewelry / Adornment- Bracelets, Armllets	Fragments of bracelets	Ivory	Unknown	
debris	14-2-474	14.1324	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
K321							A2028 C6027
	14-2-450	20.1678	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-451	20.1144	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Axes, Maces, Clubs	Staff knob	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2276
	14-2-452	14.1316	Costumes	Beaded cloth with beaded fringe	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-483	14-2-483	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	bone	Unknown	B2368
debris	14-2-484	20.1452a	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2368
debris	14-2-484	20.1452b	Tools & Equipment- Animal-related	Horn protectors	Ivory, organic remains	MFA, Boston	B2368
	14-2-582	14-2-582	Costumes	Beaded cloth with beaded fringe	Beads and cloth	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	K321-4	K321-4	Jewelry / Adornment- Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Blue glazed steatite	Unknown	
K322							C6029
	14-2-1052	14-2-1052	Vessels	Bowl, Black-topped redware X-5	Pottery	Unknown	C6321 C6340
	14-2-1053	20.3222	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6324 C6340
	14-2-1054	20.3499	Vessels	Ovoid red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6321 C6331
	14-2-1054	20.5017	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6321 C6331
	14-2-1055	20.3362	Vessels	Bottle-jar Keneh ware XII-2	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6331
	14-2-1055	20.5016	Vessels	Lid shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6331
	14-2-1056	14-2-1056	Vessels	Wide mouth pot, Black-topped redware XXII-1	Pottery	Unknown	C6324 C6333
	14-2-1057	14-2-1057	Tools & Equipment- Cordage	Leather thong	Leather	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1058	14.1410	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-1059	14-2-1059	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Razor	Bronze	Unknown	A2159
	14-2-1060	20.4543	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6321

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-1061	20.4539	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6321
K323							C6033
debris	14-2-1000	20.1436	Textiles	String (from pot net?)		MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-1001	14-2-1001	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Blue faience and Cloth	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1002	14-2-1002	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
debris	14-2-1003	14-2-1003	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
debris	14-2-1004	14-2-1004	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1005	14-2-1005	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1006	14-2-1006	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1007	14-2-1007	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
debris	14-2-1008	14-2-1008	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
debris	14-2-1009	14-2-1009	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1010	14-2-1010	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1011	20.3219	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2350
debris	14-2-1012	14-2-1012	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1013	14-2-1013	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1014	14-2-1014	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1015	14-2-1015	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1016	14-2-1016	Vessels	Beaker / bowl, broken but complete	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1017	20.4576	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-1018	14.1409	Raw materials and by-products	Resin fragments	Vegetable	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1019	20.5036	Vessels	Potsherd pendant of Keneh ware	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-971	14-2-971	Furniture	Wooden footstool	Wood	Unknown	C6431

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-972	14-2-972	Vessels	Kohl pot	Alabaster	Unknown	B2274
	14-2-973	14-2-973	Vessels	Kohl pot with lid	Slate	Unknown	B2276
	14-2-974	14-2-974	Vessels	Alabaster globular jar	Alabaster	Unknown	B2272
	14-2-975	20.5045	Vessels	Pendant/weight shaped from a vessel fragment	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-976	14-2-976	Vessels	Wide pot, Black-topped redware XVII-18	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-977	20.1769	Costumes	Mica appliqués	Mica	MFA, Boston	A2160
	14-2-978	14-2-978	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Razor	Bronze	Unknown	A2159
	14-2-979	14-2-979	Vessels	Stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-980	14-2-980	Vessels	Stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-981	14-2-981	Vessels	Stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-982	14-2-982	Vessels	Stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	
A	14-2-983	14-2-983	Jewelry / Adornment-Necklaces, Neck Bands	Beads, necklace (?)	Blue faience	Unknown	
A	14-2-984	14.1407	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads from wristlet	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
B	14-2-985	14.1408	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-986	14-2-986	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	
	14-2-987	14-2-987	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-988	14-2-988	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-989	14-2-989	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	
	14-2-990	14-2-990	Vessels	String net containing above beakers	Pottery and String	Unknown	
	14-2-991	14-2-991	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-992	14-2-992	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-993	14-2-993	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	B2350
	14-2-994	14-2-994	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery and String	Unknown	
	14-2-995	20.1405	Textiles	String net containing above beakers		MFA, Boston	
	14-2-996	20.3508	Vessels	Stoppered globular marl jar (Keneh ware) with contents	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2350
	14-2-997	20.3694	Vessels	Small squat jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2350
	14-2-998	14-2-998	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	14-2-999	14-2-999	Unclassifiable objects-Fragments	Wood fragment	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
debris	K323-ii	K323-ii	Unclassifiable objects-Fragments	Black-topped redware potsherds, and misc.	Pottery	Unknown	
B	K323-vi	K323-vi	Costumes	Wadded Cloth	Cloth	Unknown	
K324							C6034
	14-2-1063	20.3698	Vessels	Small globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6450
	14-2-1063	14-2-1063	Vessels	Jar, Db. W. VI-2	Pottery	Unknown	C6450

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-1064	14-2-1064	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6450
	14-2-1065	14-2-1065	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1066	14-2-1066	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1067	14-2-1067	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6450
	14-2-1068	14-2-1068	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1069	14-2-1069	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6450
	14-2-1070	14-2-1070	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6450
	14-2-1071	14-2-1071	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1072	14-2-1072	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1073	14-2-1073	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1074	14-2-1074	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1075	14-2-1075	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1076	14-2-1076	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6450
	14-2-1077	20.3220	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6450
	14-2-1078	20.3221	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6450
K325							C6038
	14-2-770	14-2-770	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Ceramic pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-771	14-2-771	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Ceramic pottery	Unknown	C6327
	14-2-772	20.1714	Vessels	Vessel with ram-headed spout	Ceramic pottery	MFA, Boston	C6323 C6341
	14-2-773	20.4595	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6328
	14-2-774	20.4624	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6328
	14-2-775	20.3224	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-776	20.3225	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6329

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-777	20.3223	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6323
	14-2-778	14-2-778	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Ceramic pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-779	14-2-779	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Ceramic pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-780	14-2-780	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Ceramic pottery	Unknown	C6329
	14-2-781	14-2-781	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Ceramic pottery	Unknown	C6329
	14-2-782	20.3591	Vessels	Black polished bottle	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6323
	14-2-783	20.3596	Vessels	Red polished bottle	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6327
	14-2-784	20.3597	Vessels	Red polished bottle	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6327
	14-2-785	20.1150a-b	Vessels	Tall shouldered jar inscribed for Horheriat of El-Kab	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2272 B2168 B2171 B2271
	14-2-786	14-2-786	Vessels	Red polished jar	Ceramic pottery	Unknown	C6327
	14-2-787	20.1151	Vessels	Kohl jar	Slate	MFA, Boston	B2276
	14-2-788	20.1792	Tools & Equipment	Bronze mirror	Bronze	MFA, Boston	B2178 B2253 B2254
	14-2-789	20.3363	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar, Keneh ware	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6327
	14-2-790	20.3590	Vessels	Black polished bottle	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6323
	14-2-791	14.1380	Tools & Equipment	Pot net fragment, green leather	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-792	20.3550	Vessels	Red polished globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6323

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-793	14-2-793	Vessels	Black polished globular jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6323
	14-2-794	14-2-794	Tools & Equipment	Pot net fragment, green leather	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-795	14-2-795	Vessels	Black polished globular jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6329
	14-2-796	14.1381	Tools & Equipment	Pot net fragment, green leather	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-797	14-2-797	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring, ball and tubular beads	Faience	Unknown	
	14-2-798	20.4671	Vessels	Buffware globular jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6327
	14-2-799	20.4672	Vessels	Keneh ware globular jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6327
	14-2-800	14.1382	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-801	14-2-801	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scaraboid or plaque seal	Faience	Unknown	A2147 A2148 A2150 B2181 B2182
debris	14-2-802	14.1383	Jewelry / Adornment-Earrings, Flares, Plugs, Studs	Ear plug fragment	Faience	MFA, Boston	C6427
debris	14-2-803	20.1152	Vessels	Kohl jar	Sandstone	MFA, Boston	B2297 B2298
debris	14-2-803	20.1775a	Jewelry / Adornment-Pendants	Fly amulets	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2297 B2298

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-803	20.1775b	Jewelry / Adornment- Pendants	Fly amulets	Ivory	MFA, Boston	B2297 B2298
K326							C6039 C6061 C6074
	14-2-751	14-2-751	Personal accessories	Bronze Mirror	Bronze	Unknown	A2152 A2153 A2154 B2178 B2248 B2249 B2255 B2256
	14-2-752	14-2-752	Vessels	Alabaster pear shaped jar	Alabaster and black line blue faience	Unknown	B2172 B2270 B2168 B2171
	14-2-753	14.1377	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Metallic fragments	Unidentified metal	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-754	14-2-754	Vessels	Beaker	pottery	Unknown	B2365
	14-2-755	14.1378	Unclassifiable objects	Potsherd pendant of Kenh ware	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-756	20.3226	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2365
	14-2-757	14-2-757	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-758	14-2-758	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	14-2-759	14-2-759	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Circllet of ring beads	Faience	Unknown	A2117
	14-2-760	20.4610	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-761	14-2-761	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers and pots	Pottery	Unknown	B2365
debris	14-2-762	14-2-762	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers and pots	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-763	14-2-763	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers and pots	Pottery	Unknown	B2365
debris	14-2-764	14-2-764	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers and pots	Pottery	Unknown	B2365
debris	14-2-765	14-2-765	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers and pots	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-766	14-2-766	Vessels	Black-topped redware beakers and pots	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-767	14.1379	Vessels	Body fragment of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-768	14-2-768	Vessels	Disc lid of Black-topped redware	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-769	20.5046	Vessels	Potsherd pendant of Keneh ware	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-822	14.1384	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Blue faience, uncolored glaze	MFA, Boston	A2131
A	14-2-822c	14-2-822c	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Girdle of disc beads	Faience	Unknown	
A	14-2-822d	14-2-822d	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beaded tunic with lozenge-net pattern	Faience	Unknown	
K327							
	14-2-585	20.1803	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-586	20.1796	Tools & Equipment	Bronze cutting out knife	Bronze	MFA, Boston	B2276 A2157 B2179
debris	14-2-587	20.1812	Tools & Equipment	Tweezers	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2157
debris	14-2-588	20.1145	Vessels	Kohl jar	Stone	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-589	20.1160a-b	Tools & Equipment	Kohl stick	Ivory [BONE]	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-589	14-2-589	Vessels	Kohl pot	Slate and Ivory	Unknown	
debris	14-2-591	20.1146a-b	Vessels	Bag shaped kohl jar with lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2269 B2168 B2171
	14-2-592	14.1347	Vessels	Jar cover	Stone?	MFA, Boston	C6362
	14-2-592	14-2-592	Vessels	Jar, Kenh ware VII-1, with disc lid of Blk. W. (pitted)	Pottery	Unknown	C6362
	14-2-602	14-2-602	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6362
	14-2-603	14-2-603	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6362
	14-2-604	14-2-604	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6362
	14-2-605	14-2-605	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6362
	14-2-606	14-2-606	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6362
K328							C6047
	14-2-858	14-2-858	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Bronze Razor	Bronze and wood	Unknown	A2155 A2156

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-859	14-2-859	Personal accessories	Bronze Mirror	Bronze	Unknown	A2152 A2153 A2154 B2178 C6390 C6391
	14-2-860	14-2-860	Vessels	Small Jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6443
	14-2-861	20.1153	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar with flaring neck	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2268
	14-2-862	14-2-862	Vessels	Kohl-pot	Alabaster	Unknown	B2274
	14-2-863	14-2-863	Vessels	Scattered stack of beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6443
	14-2-864 / 1922,0513.16	EA55427	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-2-865	14-2-865	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6443
	14-2-866	14-2-866	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6443
	14-2-867	20.1483	Furniture	Fragment of a basket		MFA, Boston	
	14-2-868	20.4903	Vessels	Fragment of a ribbed red polished beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K329							C6048
	14-2-838	20.1384	Furniture	Headrest	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-839	14-2-839	Costumes	Rawhide sandals	Raw hide	Unknown	
	14-2-840	14-2-840	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feathers	Unknown	
debris	14-2-841	14.1389	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Ring beads	Blue faience	MFA, Boston	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-842	14.1390	Tools & Equipment	Leather scabbard fragment	Leather	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-843	20.3770	Vessels	Bowl, painted (Red polished ware) VIII-1; black on yellow	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-844	20.3227	Vessels	Small Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K330							C6060
	14-2-1145	20.4819	Vessels	Wide mouthed pot, Red polished ware XXI-3	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6287
	14-2-1146	14-2-1146	Vessels	Large wide jar, redware XVII-2	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1147	20.3231	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6286
	14-2-1147?	20.3255	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1148	20.3232	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6286
	14-2-1149	20.3229	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6286
	14-2-1150	20.4564	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6286
	14-2-1151	20.3230	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6286
	14-2-1152	20.4562	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2233
	14-2-1153	20.2020	Vessels	Three-footed Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2233 C6290
	14-2-1154	14-2-1154	Vessels	Basin	Pottery	Unknown	B2233
	14-2-1155	20.3390	Vessels	Globular redware jar with blackened rim	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2233 C6289
	14-2-1156	20.4561	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6286
	14-2-1157	20.4563	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2233

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-1158	20.4559	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6286
	14-2-1159	20.4560	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1160	14-2-1160	Vessels	Stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6286
	14-2-1161	14-2-1161	Vessels	Stack of four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6286
	14-2-1162	21.11804	Vessels	"Teapot" Red polished ware XXXII-6, spout in form of hippopotamus (half missing)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2233 C6291
debris	14-2-1163	14-2-1163	Tools & Equipment- Woodworking & Stoneworking	Bone awl	Bone	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1164	14.1419	Furniture	Ivory inlay	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
K331							C6044
	14-2-1182	20.3234	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6441
	14-2-1183	20.3233	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	A2176 A2177 C6441
	14-2-1184	14-2-1184	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6441
	14-2-1185	20.3235	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6441
	14-2-1186	20.3630	Vessels	Ovoid jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6441
	14-2-1187	14-2-1187	Vessels	Large jar, Red polished ware XVII-gen., base only	Pottery	Unknown	C6441
debris	14-2-1188	14-2-1188	Vessels	Kohl pot	Stone	Unknown	B2267
debris	14-2-1189	14-2-1189	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-1190	14-2-1190	Unclassifiable objects	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	C6441
debris	14-2-1191	14-2-1191	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Wooden sticks	Wood	Unknown	B2234 C6302
debris	14-2-1192	14.1421	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Wooden pieces	Wood	MFA, Boston	A2165
K332							C6046 C6062
A	14-2-749	14-2-749	Costumes	Beads and fragments of a leather skirt	Faience, glazed quartzite and leather	Unknown	
	14-2-750	14-2-750	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Necklaces	Gold and Blue faience	Unknown	A2115 A2116
	14-2-804	20.3722	Vessels	Slender jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6440
	14-2-805	14-2-805	Vessels	Rilled beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6440
	14-2-806	14-2-806	Vessels	Large bulging jar, Red polished ware XVII-6 (?)	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-807	20.1727	Costumes	Beads from necklace and fragments of a leather skirt	Carnelian	MFA, Boston	A2129 B2238
A	14-2-808	14-2-808	Costumes	Beads and fragments of a leather skirt	Blue Faience and Leather	Unknown	
	14-2-809	14-2-809	Costumes	Leather skirt with bead girdle	Leather and beads	Unknown	A2122 A2125

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-810	20.1720	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Ribbed ball-bead necklace	Faience	MFA, Boston	A2126
	14-2-811	20.3584	Vessels	Red polished globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6440
debris	14-2-812	14-2-812	Vessels	Bottle jar, Black polished ware VI-6	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-813	14-2-813	Vessels	Wide pot, Black-topped redware XVII- gen	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-814	20.3519	Vessels	Redware "beaker-vases" (redware XXII-1)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6440
	14-2-815	20.3720	Vessels	Redware "beaker-vases" (redware XXII-1)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6440
	14-2-816	20.3721	Vessels	Redware "beaker-vases" (redware XXII-1)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6440
	14-2-817	20.4823	Vessels	Buffware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6440
debris	14-2-818	14-2-818	Vessels	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	A2155 A2156
debris	14-2-819	14-2-819	Vessels	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
A	14-2-820	14-2-820	Costumes	Beaded tunic fragments, fragments of a leather skirt	Blue Faience and Leather	Unknown	B2172 B2262
A	14-2-821	20.1300a-b	Costumes	Breast cover appliqué	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2172 B2262
A	14-2-821	14-2-821	Costumes	Breast cover appliqué	Faience	Unknown	B2172 B2262

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
K333							C6045 C6051 C6065
	14-2-945	14-2-945	Vessels	Wide mouthed globular pot. Red polished ware XXI-6	Pottery	Unknown	C6326 C6330
	14-2-946	14-2-946	Jewelry / Adornment-Hair Ornaments	Head circlet	Blue faience	Unknown	A2136 A2137
	14-2-947	14-2-947	Vessels	Small black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6326
	14-2-948	14-2-948	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6326
	14-2-949	14-2-949	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6326
	14-2-950	14-2-950	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6326
	14-2-951	14-2-951	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6326
	14-2-952	14-2-952	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6344
	14-2-953 / 1922,0513.4 6	EA55456	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Kohl jar with sandstone lid	Alabaster and sandstone	British Museum	
	14-2-954	20.1427	Tools & Equipment	Woven giraffe hair textile, beer strainer	Giraffe hair	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-955	14-2-955	Vessels	Small squat jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6344
	14-2-956	14-2-956	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6326
	14-2-957	14-2-957	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6344
	14-2-958	14-2-958	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6344
	14-2-959	14-2-959	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6344
	14-2-960	14-2-960	Vessels	Stack of three beakers and a spouted pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6344

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-961	14-2-961	Vessels	Stack of three beakers and a spouted pot	Pottery	Unknown	C6326
	14-2-962	14-2-962	Vessels	Stack of three beakers and a spouted pot	Pottery	Unknown	B2265 C6344
	14-2-963	14-2-963	Vessels	Spouted pot, black-topped redware	Pottery	Unknown	C6326 C6339
	14-2-964	14.1404	Jewelry / Adornment-Hair Ornaments	Gold plated bronze earrings or hair rings	Gold plated copper	MFA, Boston	A2138
	14-2-965	20.1563a,b	Warfare, hunting, & fishing-Swords, Daggers, Knives	Dagger	Ivory, wood, bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-966	14-2-966	Vessels	Bowl, Black-topped redware X-4 was in place at head of grave	Pottery	Unknown	C6344
debris	14-2-967	14-2-967	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-968	14.1405	Vessels	Fragment of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-968	14.1406	Vessels	Fragment of a banded alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
intrusive debris	14-2-969	20.1315b	Sculpture	Animal statuette fragments, hippopotamus?	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2263
intrusive debris	14-2-969	20.1315c	Sculpture	Animal statuette fragments, hippopotamus?	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2263
intrusive debris	14-2-969	20.1315d	Sculpture	Animal statuette fragments, hippopotamus?	Faience	MFA, Boston	B2263

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
intrusive debris	14-2-970	14-2-970	Unclassifiable objects-Function Unknown	Quartzite pebble	blue glazed quartzite	Unknown	
K334							C6050
							C6052
							C6053
							C6054
							C6055
							C6057
							C6058
							C6059
							C6437
	14-2-661	14-2-661	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-662	14-2-662	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-663	14-2-663	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-664	14-2-664	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-665	14-2-665	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-666	14-2-666	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-667	14-2-667	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-668	14-2-668	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-669	14-2-669	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-670	14-2-670	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-671	14-2-671	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-672	14-2-672	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	B2179
	14-2-673	14-2-673	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-674	14-2-674	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	B2179
	14-2-675	20.4616	Vessels	Black-topped redware jar fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-675	20.4827	Vessels	Fragments of a large incised redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-676	20.3594	Vessels	Bottle jar, Red polished ware XIV-1, in green leather pot net	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-677	20.3598	Vessels	Bottle jar, Red polished ware XIV-1, in green pot net, bottom of separate piece, set in.	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-678	14-2-678	Vessels	Pear shaped alabaster jar inscribed for Sobeknakht of El-Kab	Alabaster	Unknown	B2168 B2171
	14-2-679	20.1147	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar with flaring neck	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2267 B2168 B2171
	14-2-680	14-2-680	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2226
	14-2-681	20.4557	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-682	20.3242	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-683	20.3236	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-684	14-2-684	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2227

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-685	20.3252	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-686	14-2-686	Vessels	Bottle jar, Black polished ware VI-2	Pottery	Unknown	C6279
	14-2-687	14-2-687	Vessels	Bowl, Black-topped redware X-7	Pottery	Unknown	B2227
	14-2-688	14-2-688	Vessels	Bottle-jar, Black polished ware VI-3	Pottery	Unknown	B2226
	14-2-689	20.2742	Vessels	Spouted black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227 C6280
	14-2-690	20.1680	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-691	14-2-691	Vessels	Bronze beaker in shape of ceramic vessel	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-692	20.1689	Vessels	Bronze beaker in shape of ceramic vessel	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-693	20.3244	Vessels	Miniature Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-694	20.3241	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-695	20.3238	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-696	20.3239	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-697	20.4556	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-698	14-2-698	Furniture	Wooden stool leg	Wood	Unknown	
	14-2-699	14.1674.1	Furniture	Wooden stool leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-699	14.1674.2	Furniture	Wooden stool leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-699	14.1674.3	Furniture	Wooden stool leg	Wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-700	14-2-700	Personal accessories	Bronze mirror with silver handle	Bronze, wood and silver	Unknown	
	14-2-701	14-2-701	Vessels	Kohl pot with lid	Alabaster	Unknown	B2274
	14-2-702	14-2-702	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and Wood	Unknown	

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-703	14-2-703	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and wood	Unknown	
	14-2-704	14-2-704	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and wood	Unknown	
	14-2-705	14-2-705	Furniture	Lion bed inlay	Bronze and wood	Unknown	
	14-2-706	20.4555	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-707	20.3237	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-708	20.3240	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-709	20.3259	Vessels	Vessel in the shape of stacked beakers	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-709	20.4558	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-710	20.3727	Vessels	Black polished bottle jar (had green leather pot net)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-711	20.3587	Vessels	Black polished bottle jar (had green leather pot net)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226 C6279
	14-2-712	20.1159	Vessels	Stone vessel cover	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2267 B2168 B2171
	14-2-712	14-2-712	Vessels	Serpentine pear shaped with flat bottom	Alabaster, dark mottled cream drab stone	Unknown	B2267 B2168 B2171
	14-2-713	20.1148	Vessels	Bag-shaped jar with flaring neck	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2168 B2171
	14-2-714	14.1371	Vessels	Red polished bottle (had green leather pot net)	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-715	14-2-715	Vessels	Red polished bottle (had green leather pot net)	Pottery and Leather	Unknown	B2226
	14-2-716	20.3243	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-717	20.1149	Vessels	Round blue marble vessel	Anhydrite	MFA, Boston	B2267 B2171
	14-2-718	14.1372	Vessels	Black polished rilled beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226 C6279
	14-2-719 (14-2-720?)	20.4826	Vessels	Black polished rilled beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-720	20.1487	Textiles	String net	Fiber	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-721	20.3245	Vessels	Red polished rilled beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
possibly	14-2-722 (?); 14-2-728 (?)	20.4649	Vessels	Fragments of a red polished vessel	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-722, 14-2-723	20.1710	Vessels	Red polished rilled beaker with pot net fragments	Pottery, fiber	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-723	20.1488	Textiles	String net	Fiber	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-724	14-2-724	Vessels	Black polished rilled beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2226
	14-2-725	20.3260	Vessels	Black polished rilled beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2226 C6279
	14-2-726	14-2-726	Vessels	Pot net	Fiber	Unknown	B2283
	14-2-727	14-2-727	Vessels	Red polished rilled beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2226
	14-2-728	14-2-728	Vessels	Red polished rilled beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2180
	14-2-729	20.1489	Textiles	String net	Fiber	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-730	20.3389	Vessels	Globular black-topped redware jar with incised decoration	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-731	20.3643	Vessels	Small jar, redware VI-1	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-732	14-2-732	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2226

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-733	20.4618	Vessels	Large wide mouthed pot, Black-topped redware XXII-7	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2227
	14-2-734	20.3393	Vessels	Large wide mouthed pot, Black-topped redware XVI-3	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-735	14-2-735	Tools & Equipment	Flat haematite palette	Haematite	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-736	20.1743	Jewelry / Adornment- Necklaces, Neck Bands	Blue-glazed, quartz beads from leather skirt	Quartz crystal, faience, leather	MFA, Boston	A2129
debris	14-2-737	14.1374	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	B2319
	14-2-737	14-2-737	Tools & Equipment- Household	Bone threader	Bone	Unknown	B2319
	14-2-738	14-2-738	Vessels	Two disc lids	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-739	14.1375	Vessels	Vessel fragments	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-740	14.1376	Tools & Equipment	Black glass kohl (?) stick	Glass	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-741	20.3712	Vessels	Small squat jar with contents	Pottery, organic remains	MFA, Boston	B2226
	14-2-743	14-2-743	Seals	Lump of mud for sealing	Mud	Unknown	
debris	14-2-779	14.1595	Tools & Equipment	Bronze with silver plating, fragments from headdress or crown	Bronze, Silver (?)	MFA, Boston	
	K334-iii	K334-iii	Costumes	Woven or plaited leather	Leather	Unknown	
K335							C6056
	14-2-1022	20.3796	Vessels	Large red polished jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2356
	14-2-1023	14-2-1023	Vessels	Bowl Black-topped redware X-7	Pottery	Unknown	C6301
	14-2-1024	14-2-1024	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-1025	14-2-1025	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1026	14-2-1026	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1027	14-2-1027	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308
	14-2-1028	14-2-1028	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1029	14-2-1029	Vessels	Small squat jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1030	14-2-1030	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1031	14-2-1031	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1032	14-2-1032	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1033	14-2-1033	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308
	14-2-1034	20.1490	Organic remains	String net		MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1035	14-2-1035	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Wooden comb	Wood	Unknown	A2165
	14-2-1036	14-2-1036	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Bronze tweezers	Bronze	Unknown	A2157
	14-2-1037	20.1677	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2159
	14-2-1038	14-2-1038	Vessels	Red polished bottle jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6306 C6308
	14-2-1039	14-2-1039	Vessels	Red polished bottle jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6306 C6308 C6311
	14-2-1040	14-2-1040	Vessels	Red polished bottle jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6306 C6308

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-1041	14-2-1041	Vessels	Red polished bottle jar	Pottery	Unknown	C6306 C6308
	14-2-1042	14-2-1042	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308
	14-2-1043	14-2-1043	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1044	14-2-1044	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308
	14-2-1045	14-2-1045	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308
	14-2-1046	14-2-1046	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308
	14-2-1047	14-2-1047	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6308
	14-2-1048	14-2-1048	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6311
	14-2-1049	14-2-1049	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1050	14-2-1050	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads	Faience	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1051	14-2-1051	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
K336							C6049
	14-2-847	20.3411	Vessels	Wide mouthed pot, Black-topped redware XXII-1	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6445
	14-2-848	20.1639	Tools & Equipment	Horn casing	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-849	14-2-849	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	14-2-850	20.3247	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6445
	14-2-851	20.3248	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6445
	14-2-852	14-2-852	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6445
	14-2-853	20.3249	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6445

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-854	14-2-854	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6445
	14-2-855	20.3250	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6445
	14-2-856	20.3505	Vessels	Globular marl jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-857	14.1391	Organic remains	Vegetable remains	Vegetable matter	MFA, Boston	
K337							C6066
	14-2-1138	20.3251	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6446
	14-2-1139 / 1955,0212.4	EA65580	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	British Museum	
	14-2-1140	14-2-1140	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6446
	14-2-1141	20.3254	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6446
	14-2-1142	20.3365	Vessels	Jar, Kenh ware VII-7	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6446
	14-2-1143	20.3797	Vessels	Large Black-topped redware jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6446
debris	14-2-1144	14-2-1144	Vessels	Kohl pot	Alabaster	Unknown	B2275
K338							C6067 C6070
	14-2-875	14-2-875	Personal accessories	Bronze mirror	Bronze	Unknown	A2152 A2153 A2154 B2179 C6388 C6389
	14-2-876	14-2-876	Tools & Equipment- Knives, Blades, Scrapers	Bronze knife	Bronze	Unknown	B2179 A2143 A2144 A2145

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-877	20.1804	Tools & Equipment-Cosmetic and Medical	Razor	Bronze and wood	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-878	20.1805b	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2155 A2156 B2179
	14-2-878	20.1805a	Tools & Equipment	Razor	Bronze	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-879	20.1808	Tools & Equipment	Tweezer	Bronze	MFA, Boston	A2157
A	14-2-880	14-2-880	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads, on right ankle of body A	Blue faience	Unknown	
	14-2-881	14-2-881	Tools & Equipment-Household	"Teapot," Red polished ware XXXII-3	Pottery	Unknown	C6300 C6303
	14-2-882	14-2-882	Vessels	Beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310
	14-2-883	14-2-883	Vessels	Slender jar, Keneh ware	Pottery	Unknown	C6303
	14-2-884	14-2-884	Vessels	Slender jar, Keneh ware	Pottery	Unknown	C6303
	14-2-885	14-2-885	Vessels	Pear shaped jar with faience vessel reused as lid	Alabaster and black line faience	Unknown	B2268
A	14-2-886	14-2-886	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads from girdle, disc, barrel, ball and amulet beads	Blue and black faience	Unknown	
A	14-2-887	14-2-887	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads from girdle, disc, barrel, ball and amulet beads	Blue and black faience	Unknown	
	14-2-888	14-2-888	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-889	14-2-889	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	A2038 C6303
	14-2-890	14-2-890	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6303
	14-2-891	14-2-891	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310
	14-2-892	14-2-892	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310
	14-2-893	14-2-893	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6307
	14-2-894	14-2-894	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-895	14-2-895	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310
	14-2-896	14-2-896	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-897	14-2-897	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310
	14-2-898	14-2-898	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6299 C6310
	14-2-899	14-2-899	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6299 C6303
	14-2-900	14-2-900	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6303
	14-2-901	14-2-901	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6303
	14-2-902	14-2-902	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310
	14-2-903	14-2-903	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6307
	14-2-904	14-2-904	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6307
	14-2-905	14-2-905	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6310
	14-2-906	14-2-906	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-907	14-2-907	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6303
debris	14-2-908	14-2-908	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6307
debris	14-2-909	14-2-909	Vessels	Flat bottomed pot, red polished ware	Pottery	Unknown	C6307
debris	14-2-910	14-2-910	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6307

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-911	14-2-911	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	C6307
debris	14-2-912	14-2-912	Vessels	Wide mouthed pot, Red polished ware XXI-3	Pottery	Unknown	C6304
	14-2-916	14-2-916	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Blue faience	Unknown	A2119
debris	14-2-918	14-2-918	Raw materials and by-products	Lump of Resin	Resin	Unknown	
debris, intrusive?	14-2-919	14.1395	Vessels	Rim fragment of an alabaster (calcite) vessel	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	
B	14-3-1465	14-3-1465	Vessels	Beads	White shell	Unknown	
K339							C6068
	14-2-1193	20.3364	Vessels	Globular jar	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1194	14-2-1194	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2237
	14-2-1195	14-2-1195	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2237
	14-2-1196	14-2-1196	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2237
	14-2-1197	14.1422	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2237
	14-2-1198	14-2-1198	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2237
	14-2-1199	14-2-1199	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2237
	14-2-1200	14-2-1200	Vessels	Bowl, Black-topped redware X-4	Pottery	Unknown	B2237
	14-2-1201	20.4566	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	B2237
	14-2-1202	20.1154	Vessels	Kohl jar and lid	Travertine (Egyptian alabaster)	MFA, Boston	B2275
	14-2-1203	14-2-1203	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2237

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
A	14-2-1204	14-2-1204	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Beads - ring, ball, tubular, barrel, and amulet beads.	Blue faience	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1205	14.1423	Tools & Equipment	Bone awl	Bone	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1206	14-2-1206	Raw materials and by-products	Lump of red coloring matter	Unidentifiable material	Unknown	B2332
	14-2-1207	14-2-1207	Unclassifiable objects- Fragments	Black-topped redware potsherds	Pottery	Unknown	
A	14-2-1208	14-2-1208	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Short tubular silver beads, from leather skirt?	Silver	Unknown	C6436
K340							
	14-2-1165	14-2-1165	Tools & Equipment- Cosmetic and Medical	Bronze razor	Bronze	Unknown	A2159
	14-2-1166	14-2-1166	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1167	14-2-1167	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1168	14-2-1168	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1169	14-2-1169	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1170	14-2-1170	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1171	14-2-1171	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1172	14-2-1172	Jewelry / Adornment- Beads	Cirklet of ring beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1173	14-2-1173	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1174	14-2-1174	vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-1175	14-2-1175	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1176	14-2-1176	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
	14-2-1177	14-2-1177	vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1178	14-2-1178	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	Unknown	B2234
debris	14-2-1179	14.1420	Unclassifiable objects-Fragments	Resin/ vegetable fragments	Resin/ vegetable material	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1180a	14-2-1180a	Vessels	Black-topped redware basin	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1180b	14-2-1180b	Vessels	Potsherds, Black-topped redware and painted redware (red zigzag)	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1180c	14-2-1180c	Vessels	Potsherds, Black-topped redware and painted redware (red zigzag)	Pottery	Unknown	
	14-2-1181	14-2-1181	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
	14-2-1191	14-2-1191	Vessels	Potsherds, "teapot", Red polished ware XXXII-3	Potsherds, teapot, R.P. XXXII-3	Unknown	B2234 C6302
debris	14-2-824	14-2-824	Jewelry / Adornment-Scarabs and Scaraboids	Scarab	Blue glazed steatite	Unknown	A2141 A2142 A2146 A2149 B2181 B2182
K341							
	14-2-869	14-2-869	Vessels	Large wide pot, Black-topped redware XXII-7	Pottery	Unknown	C6316
	14-2-870	14-2-870	Vessels	Stack of one bowl and four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6316
	14-2-871	14-2-871	Vessels	Stack of one bowl and four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6316

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
	14-2-872	14-2-872	Vessels	Stack of one bowl and four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6316
	14-2-873	14-2-873	Vessels	Stack of one bowl and four beakers	pottery	Unknown	C6316
	14-2-874	14-2-874	Vessels	Stack of one bowl and four beakers	Pottery	Unknown	C6316
K342							
	14-2-1098	20.4611	Vessels	“Teapot,” Fragment of red polished ware XXXII-3	Pottery	MFA, Boston	
K343							
	14-2-1079	14-2-1079	Vessels	Large wide pot, Black-topped redware II-gen.	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1080	14-2-1080	Personal accessories	Ostrich feather fan	Ostrich feather	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1081	14.1411	Jewelry / Adornment-Beads	Beads	Faience	MFA, Boston	
	14-2-1082	14.1412	Furniture	Rectangular ivory inlays from a box	Ivory	MFA, Boston	
debris	14-2-1084	14-2-1084	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
debris	14-2-1085	14-2-1085	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
debris	14-2-1086	14-2-1086	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
	14-2-1087	20.3729	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6383
debris	14-2-1088	14-2-1088	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
	14-2-1089	20.3253	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6383
debris	14-2-1090	14-2-1090	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	
debris	14-2-1091	14-2-1091	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6383

Body	Field No.	Museum No.	Object Type	Object Name	Material	Museum	Neg. No.
debris	14-2-1092	14-2-1092	Vessels	Black-topped redware beaker fragments	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
debris	14-2-1093	14-2-1093	Vessels	Bowls, Black-topped redware X-4 (three)	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
	14-2-1094	20.4588	Vessels	Black-topped redware bowl fragments	Pottery	MFA, Boston	C6383
debris	14-2-1095	14-2-1095	Vessels	Bowls, Black-topped redware X-4 (three)	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
debris	14-2-1096	14-2-1096	Vessel	"Teapot," handle and spout, ordinary, redware	Pottery	Unknown	C6383
	14-2-1097	20.4829	Vessels	Fragments of a Black-topped redware spouted bowl with handle ("Teapot")	Pottery	MFA, Boston	